

VIOLENCE AND DRUGS ON TELEVISION: THE CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT APPROACH TO PREVENTION

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CONTENTS

SUMMARY

PART I. TELEVISION: MAINSTREAM OF THE CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

- Casting and fate
- Violence
- Drugs
- Cultivation Analysis

PART II: WHAT DRIVES TELEVISION VIOLENCE?

- Is It Popularity
- The Global Marketing Factor

PART III: THE CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT APPROACH TO PREVENTION

- Initial Organization and Development
- Dissemination of Information
- Response
- Strategic Planning

APPENDIX

- I-A Prime time Tables
- I-B Saturday morning children's programs Tables
- I-C Cultivation Tables
- II Nielsen ratings
- III Cultural Environment Movement materials

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

- * Violence in major network prime time dramatic programs decreased slightly in 1992 and 1993, but "reality" shows brought violence up to its previous level.
- * Women, youth, older characters and ethnic minorities, especially Latino/Hispanics and Asians, as well as poor people, are underrepresented on television; many of the same groups have more than their share of negative characterizations ("villains"), failures, and relative victimization.
- * The violence and inequities of prime time are intensified in Saturday morning children's programs.
- * Violent programs get a generally lower Nielsen rating than non-violent programs aired at the same time. However, violence "travels well" on the world market, enabling producers to recoup domestic deficits through highly profitable overseas sales.
- * Portrayals of the use of alcoholic beverages and of tobacco declined but portrayals of other drugs increased.
- * The visibility of ATOD use is not matched by the portrayal of serious consequences. Addiction for all major characters and for all time periods studied is below 1 percent.
- * Women, young people, African-Americans, and especially African-American women, are shown as more addiction-prone than most other characters.
- * Female smokers and female alcoholics pay a disproportionately high price in negative characterization and failure.
- * Users of alcohol and other drugs are more likely than other characters to be portrayed as involved in violence and as paying a higher price in relative victimization.
- * Female alcoholics pay the highest price. The victimization ratio of female alcoholics is about twice that of males, and the fatal victimization ratio of female alcoholics is nine times that of males.

- * Heavy viewers are generally more likely to express feelings of gloom and alienation, the "mean world syndrome," than comparable groups of light viewers.
- * Victimization on television and real world fear are highly related, even if contrary to facts. Viewers who see members of their own group have a higher calculus of risk than those of other groups develop a greater sense of apprehension, mistrust, and insecurity.
- * Current television programming as the mainstream of the common cultural environment into which today's children are born poses serious problems by cultivating an unequal sense of vulnerability and mistrust, a generally lower degree of concern about smoking, health, and nutrition, and the homogenization of outlooks.
- * The Cultural Environment Movement (CEM) was launched in 1991 to confront these problems and advance a new approach to health promotion, violence reduction and substance abuse prevention. CEM is a grass-roots organization and coalition working to lighten the burden of damaging formulas driving much television program production.
- * Mailings, meetings, and media publicity generate a constant flow of inquiries, contributions, and expressions of interest in affiliation. At the time of this report, nearly 3,000 individuals and 100 organizations have expressed such interest. A specific action plan will be developed and ratified by the affiliated groups at a forthcoming national "Founding Convention."

SUMMARY

Violence and substance abuse have been among the most pervasive and persistent social pathologies of our time. But the mostly reactive, punitive, and remedial response has not made an appreciable difference in reducing them.

This report advances a new diagnosis and a new, preventive, approach. It outlines a course of research and action intended to address the mainstream cultural sources, supports, and manifestations of violence and substance abuse.

The new frontier for health promotion and disease prevention is the cultural frontier. Most of what ails and kills us -- such as violence and the abuse of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs (ATOD) -- are culturally supported behavior patterns. They are sustained by the images and messages of a cultural environment whose mainstream, television, now pervades the home and affects us every day from cradle to grave. Efforts to reduce and prevent violence and substance abuse are up against the daily flow of "mixed messages" in that cultural environment.

This report summarizes the research on which the new diagnosis is based, the action program that stems from the research, and strategic planning for further action. Part I is the first comprehensive report of 20-years' analysis of the "world" of network television drama, the role of violence and drugs in that world and some consequences of exposure to it. Part II deals with some institutional and economic forces driving violence as a dramatic formula. Part III is the account of a citizen action program, the Cultural Environment Movement, mobilizing a broad coalition for preventive action on the cultural front.

The analysis was conducted at the University of Pennsylvania's The Annenberg School for Communication by the Cultural Indicators project. A sample of 2,198 dramatic (fictional) television programs, including 29,110 characters, aired on the three major networks for 1973 through 1993 was the source of the analysis.

The typical viewer of dramatic programs sees an average of 353 characters in prime time and 139 characters in Saturday morning children's programs. Unlike life, fiction goes behind the scenes and shows how things work out in the end. Casting and fate reveal powerful moral and practical lessons. They demonstrate who is valued and why, who is likely to succeed and how, and who can get away with what

against whom. Rarely, if ever, does a person encounter as many social types and relationships as often and in as compelling and revealing ways as on television.

The moral and behavioral lessons that cultivate health-related behaviors are embedded in that context. Their aggregate facts and figures, remote as they may seem to be from everyday viewing experience, are designed to reveal what large communities absorb in common over long periods of time. The new diagnosis for prevention rests on the understanding of that context, a configuration of cultural forces that prevention efforts are up against.

Casting and fate

The world of U.S. television presents a coherent social structure that changes little over time. Men outnumber women on all networks and dayparts. Females are one out of three characters in prime time, one out of five in Saturday morning children's programs, and -- as other "minorities" -- even fewer as major characters. The proportion of women in prime time rose by about 2 percent each 5-year period but did not change in Saturday morning children's programs. With a primarily male cast, the stage is set for stories of power, conflict, and violence.

The percentage of African Americans rose from about 8.5 to 13.3 percent in prime time but declined from 10 to 8 percent in Saturday morning children's programs during the study period. Latino/Hispanic Americans, over 9 percent of the U.S. population, Asian Americans, more than 3 percent, and Native Americans ("Indians") each remained at 1 percent or less of television characters. Clearly identified "lower class" characters are 1.2 percent.

Age further skews the picture. Visibly old people, more than 12 percent in real life, make up only 2.5 percent of the television population, even less of the female cast, and still less in Saturday morning children's programs. Females are concentrated in the younger categories; they "age faster" than men on television.

Positively valued characters (heroes) outnumber negatively valued characters (villains). "Upper class" and Latino/Hispanic male characters have the largest proportion of villains, about twice the general percentage. The same groups, and "lower class," disabled, gay, and mentally ill characters have the highest negative ratio of "good" vs. "bad" characters. At the bottom of that ratio ranking, are mentally ill characters.

Aging depresses the relative valuation of female characters. Women not only age faster than men but are also seen as relatively more likely to be evil as they age.

Heroes are destined to win and villains to lose, at least in popular fiction. Beyond that, however, being characterized as very rich, ill, or otherwise disabled is most likely to accompany failure. Characters depicted as mentally ill fail almost twice as often as they succeed, the highest ratio of failure in any group. Gender comparisons show that being old, "lower class," lesbian, Asian or mentally ill places a special burden of relative failure on women.

Saturday morning children's programs

The world of Saturday morning children's programs magnifies all anomalies of prime time. Minorities drop in representation in Saturday morning children's programs, especially in major and female parts. Characters of the parents' generation, especially married and mother figures, are few and relatively ill-fated. There are few, if any, Latino/Hispanic, Asian/Pacific, or Native American females as major characters in 20 years of Saturday morning children's programs samples.

The moral lessons of Saturday morning children's programs are also more sharply delineated than those of prime time. There are more villains, and characters pay a higher price for heroism in that they have a higher ratio of "bad" for every "good" character. Older women and African American women bear the brunt of the relative devaluation.

The failure rate also rises with age until it reaches one out of four at the age of most viewers' parents, settled adults. Being poor and in poor health signal less visibility and an even harsher relative fate of failure than in prime time. The relative balance of success vs. failure penalizes the old, the ill and disabled, and the poor.

The "gender gap" heightens the inequities. Being relatively rare and "bad" to begin with, older women are set up to be the most likely to fail by a larger margin than in prime time.

That is the context in which health-related images and messages are embedded. The roles that violence and substance abuse play in the world of television are integral parts of that context.

Violence

Measures of television violence are based on the reliable observation of clear-cut, unambiguous, and overt episodes of physical violence -- hurting or killing or the threat of hurting and/or killing -- in any context. That includes violence that occurs in a fantasy or humorous, as

well as a realistic and serious context; fictional violence is always purposefully contrived, claims victims and demonstrates power. There is evidence to indicate that humor may be the sugar coating on the pill, making the lessons of power easier to absorb.

The Violence Index, a composite measure of violent representations in regular network dramatic programs, fell below its 20-year average in the last three years, but the rise of "reality shows" made up for the decline. Had these shows been included in the Violence Index in 1993, there would have been no drop in violence. Even without the "reality shows," more than six out of ten programs still feature violence, and more than half of all major characters are involved in violence.

Violence extends the inequities of casting and fate. More major than minor characters commit violence, but minor characters, with their larger share of minorities, pay a higher price in victimization for the violence they commit. Latino/Hispanic and Native American characters, and those portrayed as poor, are the most likely to be involved in violence and to become victims of violence. In terms of a violence/victim ratio, "lower class" characters pay the highest price: two victims for every perpetrator of violence.

Women, generally pay a higher price in victimization for their violent actions than men do, and the price rises as they age. Older men suffer 182 victims for 100 violent; older women suffer 215. The ranking of such ratios among major characters shows young boys, gay/lesbian/bisexual, ill and disabled, and Asian American characters paying the highest relative price in their own victimization for perpetrating violence.

Lethal violence further extends the pattern. Characters of color, Latino/Hispanic Americans, "lower class" and disabled or ill characters and older characters are at the greatest relative risk of being killed instead of killing. White Americans lose 104 of their own for every 100 they kill; African Americans lose 154. Latino/Hispanics (who kill more than twice as many) suffer 200; Asian-Americans (who rarely kill) lose 400.

The age differential strikes older women especially hard: their brush with lethal violence is only to get killed.

The gender gap is most striking among the positively valued characters. Heroes presumably kill in a good cause; they kill with relative impunity. While all male characters suffer 124 killed for every 100 they kill, "good" men suffer only 102. But while all female characters lose 143 for every 100 they kill, "good" women lose 188. In short,

heroes kill more, heroines die more.

Among major characters, a ranking of selected killer/killed ratios sheds further light on the gender gap. Males who suffer more deaths than they inflict are the ill, injured, handicapped and generally disabled. Women who pay a comparably higher price for killing are, in addition, women of color, older women, and three other groups of minority women: Latino/Hispanics, Asians and Native Americans. The last four, few as they are, are only victims of fatal violence; they are not cast to kill.

Native Americans characters exhibit an extreme form of gender differentiation. If and when involved in any violence resulting in fatality, Native American males are only killers and Native American females are only killed.

Saturday morning children's programs

Saturday morning children's programs magnify and amplify the patterns of prime time. Over the 20-year period, an average of nine out of ten programs contained violence at an average rate of 23 violent scenes per hour lasting twice as long as in prime time and involving eight out of ten characters.

The Violence Index has been consistently higher than in prime time and, unlike in prime time, it shows no sustained decline.

Instead of muting the mayhem and inequities of prime time, Saturday morning children's programming intensifies them. More than half of all (including minor) characters are involved in violence, twice as many as in prime time. Eight out of ten major characters are involved in violence, compared to 52.3 percent in prime time. The rate of retribution is also higher. For every 100 violent scenes in Saturday morning children's programs, there are 139 victims; for major characters the ratio is 127. Comparable ratios for prime time are 122 and 108.

Not only is there generally more violence in Saturday morning children's programs, but minorities are disproportionately and mostly negatively affected. Native Americans ("Indians") and Latino/Hispanic American characters are the most violence-prone, significantly more than in prime time. The pattern is extended to the violent/victim ratio. African American characters suffer 108 victims for every 100 perpetrators of violence in prime time but 205 on Saturday mornings (Whites suffer 135). "Lower class" characters encounter violence only to be victimized; they have no power to perpetrate it. Asian-Americans pay the highest price: 267 for every 100 (compared to 118 in prime time) and, as major characters, 300 per 100

perpetrators (compared to 180 in prime time).

Saturday morning children's programs present escalation or the pattern of prime-time violence in almost every age category. Old women, however, are the most violent of all age groups; 85.7 percent commit violence), and they absorb as much punishment as they inflict. In relative victimization, heroes suffer more than in prime time, but heroines are battered still more.

A ranking of major character risk ratios in Saturday morning children's programs finds that, as in prime time, but by larger margins, women, gay/lesbian/bisexual, young, ill, and minority characters are at the bottom of the relative risk "pecking order." In addition, but unlike in prime time, African-American, and Asian-American major characters share the highest relative risks of being victims instead of perpetrators of violence.

Cable network action programs are, if anything, more violent than the broadcast networks', though children's programs on cable tend to be less violent. In any case, the more viewers watch, the less choice they have. The majority of network viewers who watch more than 3 hours of prime time, and of course almost any time Saturday morning, have little choice of thematic context or cast of character types, and virtually no chance of avoiding violence.

What drives television violence?

What drives the persistent overkill? The evidence challenges conventional wisdom that violence is "what the public wants" and that it is an expression of artistic freedom. Of course, popular stars, strong stories and intensive promotion can make any program a relative success, at least temporarily. Also, if only a small portion of the television audience gets "addicted" to television violence, that will make violent movies, videos, and games a commercial success. But that does not necessarily make violence *per se* popular with the majority of the television audience. In fact, violent programs consistently have lower average Nielsen ratings than comparable non-violent programs.

Large majorities of respondents to surveys and even television station managers express dissatisfaction with violent programming. If it persists in the face of public disapproval, legislative opposition, high-level governmental criticism, and international embarrassment, factors other than popularity must be considered to understand what makes violent programming profitable.

The answer to the paradox of violent television programming -- other than the traditional projection of

White male power -- may rest in a highly concentrated and globalized system of production and distribution. A preliminary analysis of international data in the Cultural Indicators database supports that hypothesis. A thematic analysis of a sample of 250 U.S. programs exported to 10 countries, compared with 111 programs shown only in the U.S. at the same time, found that violence was the main theme of 40 percent of home-shown and 49 percent of exported programs. Crime/action series comprised 17 percent of home-shown and 46 percent of exported programs.

U.S.-based media industries dominate more than half of the world's screens, a few buyers of programs dominate the worldwide distribution of programs, and violence dominates U.S. production for export. The reason is that the buyers can set the price so low that program producers do not break even on the domestic market and are forced onto the world market to recoup their costs and make a profit. The dependence on foreign sales affects the nature of the product in crucial ways. It makes producers search for an ingredient in a marketing formula that requires no translation, is image-driven, "speaks action" in any language, and can be inserted into the culture of almost any country. They find that ingredient in violence.

Independent production companies emphasizing alternative approaches to human conflict report that they have difficulty selling their product. Far from reflecting creative freedom, viewer preference, citizen demands, or crime statistics, the global marketing strategy driving the television violence overkill wastes talent, restricts freedom, chills originality and damages human rights and the public interest. Helping broadcasters loosen these constraints is a key objective of the cultural environmental approach to prevention.

Drugs

The analysis of the use and abuse of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs (ATOD) on television began in 1978 and focused on major characters in prime time. In the three five-year periods from 1978 through 1993, 2,959 characters were analyzed and one-third (33.7 percent) were shown as ATOD users.

The use of alcoholic beverages declined from 35.3 percent of characters drinking in the first time period to 20.8 percent in the last. Smoking declined from 7.8 percent to 5.9 percent. However, other drug use increased from 1.9 to 2.8 percent of characters.

The visibility of ATOD use is not matched by the portrayal of serious consequences. Portrayal of addiction for all major characters and all time periods remains below

1 percent. About one in 33 drinkers of alcoholic beverages is shown as alcoholic, and one in 3 drug users as addicted.

The portrayal of drug use and its consequences is an act of social typing. Adolescent girls and older women are less likely to use alcohol but more likely to be addicted to it. The use of other drugs is shown as most addictive for young men and African American men and women. African American women users are more than twice as addiction-prone as their White counterparts.

The use of addictive substances is associated with villainy and failure. Though heroes drink almost as much as villains, drug use doubles and smoking triples a character's chances of being "bad" rather than "good." Addicts are villains rather than heroes eight times and alcoholics nine times out of ten. Smokers are more than twice as likely to fail as non-smokers. Drug addicts are three times as likely to fail as users only, and five times as likely to fail as non-users.

Female smokers and female alcoholics pay a disproportionately high price in negative characterization and failure. But male alcoholics fail rather than succeed no more often than all male drinkers, and not much more than male non-users, while female alcoholics fail 10 times as often as female drinkers and 14 times as often as female non-users of any addictive substance.

Users of alcohol and other drugs are generally more likely to be portrayed as involved in violence, both as perpetrators and as victims, than non-users. Drug users also have a higher victimization ratio. Alcoholics and smokers are more likely to kill than to be killed. Addicts of other drugs are more likely to get killed.

Female alcoholics pay the highest price. The general victimization ratio of female alcoholics is about twice that of males, and the fatal victimization ratio of female alcoholics is nine times that of males. Male drug addicts suffer a higher ratio of general victimization, but female drug addicts are, again, more likely to be killed.

What are the consequences?

Cultivation analysis attempts to ascertain what it means to be born into and grow up in a television home. The systematic patterns observed in television content provide the basis for formulating questions about people's conceptions of social reality. Using standard techniques of survey methodology, the questions are posed to samples (national probability, regional, or convenience samples) of children, adolescents, and adults. Secondary analysis of large scale national surveys (for example, the National

Opinion Research Center's General Social Surveys) have often been used when they include questions that relate to identifiable and relevant aspects of the television world as well as measures of amount of television viewing.

Data from numerous large national probability surveys indicate that long-term regular exposure to television, in addition to many other factors, tends to make an independent contribution to the feeling of living in a mean and gloomy world. The "lessons" range from aggression to desensitization and a sense of vulnerability and dependence.

Victimization on television and real world fear, even if contrary to facts, are highly related. Viewers who see members of their own group have a higher calculus of risk than those of other groups develop a greater sense of apprehension, mistrust, and alienation.

The relationship is stronger in some groups and weaker in others. These differences across groups illustrate the dynamics of "mainstreaming" -- the tendency for viewing to blur distinctions between groups, to bring heavy viewers of otherwise different groups closer together in the television "mainstream." Viewing may also leave some groups already in the "mainstream" (for reasons other than television) relatively unaffected while other groups are extremely susceptible to the television image.

Heavy viewers in most subgroups are much more likely to express feelings of gloom and alienation than the light viewers in the same groups, and these patterns remain stable in surveys over time. Many subgroup patterns show evidence of mainstreaming. For example, light viewing men are less likely to express feelings of gloom than light viewing women, while about the same percent of men and women who are heavy viewers have a high score on this Index. In other words, heavy viewing members of the genders are closer together than light viewers of the two groups. Similar patterns hold when the associations are controlled for education and income. In short, heavy viewers seem to be more homogeneous, and more likely to express gloom and alienation, than their light viewing counterparts.

Television's impact is especially pronounced in terms of how people feel about walking alone at night on a street in their own neighborhoods. Overall, less than a third of the light viewers, but almost half of the heavy viewers, say that being out alone at night on their own street is "not safe." This relationship holds up across-the-board, but the cultivation differentials are about 20 percentage points or higher for females, middle-aged respondents, and those with more education. Whatever real dangers may lurk outside people's homes, heavy television viewing is related to more intense fears and apprehensions.

These patterns illustrate the interplay of television viewing with demographic and other factors. In most subgroups, those who watch more television tend to express a heightened sense of living in a mean world of danger, mistrust and alienation. Their responses to a number of health-related questions also suggest consistently negative associations between viewing and health.

An unequal sense of danger, vulnerability and mistrust, a generally lower degree of concern about smoking, health, and nutrition, and the homogenization of outlooks are the deeper problems of violence-laden, market-driven television. These are not only simple policy issues. They are structural problems that any health-promotion and substance abuse prevention program has to confront.

The Cultural Environment Movement

The Cultural Environment Movement (CEM) was launched in 1991 to confront these problems. Depictions of violence and of substance abuse are integral parts of the new cultural environment pervading every community and every home. CEM is an educational nonprofit tax-exempt corporation organized to address the need for a new approach to prevention. Its main objective is reach out to communities and to build a coalition of independent organizations committed to joint action in developing mechanisms of greater public participation in cultural decision-making, with a view toward changing current representations of violence, substance abuse, and other aspects of physical and social well-being.

The first three years of CEM activity were devoted to (1) the initial stages of organization and development; (2) dissemination of information through personal appearances, speeches, conference participation, regional CEM meetings, publications, and the news media; (3) developing a database of responses, and (4) strategic planning.

As of August 15, 1994, 2,765 names are in the database. New inquiries, membership forms, and expressions of interest are being received at the rate of approximately 10-15 a week, depending on activity and news coverage.

Regional organizing meetings were held in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Urbana, Ill., Fargo, N.D., Houston, Ashville, N.C., and Vancouver, B.C. Meetings in other countries were conducted in Rome, Cairo, Istanbul, London, Budapest, Moscow, Caracas, Helsinki, Paris. Television appearances introduced CEM in England, Australia and Japan.

Plans for the next three-years are to continue and

extend the research, organizational, development, and informational activities of the CI and CEM projects. Updated and augmented message system and cultivation analyses, and further investigation of industry structures and trends, will provide the bases for a comprehensive and definitive statement of the new diagnosis and preventive approach. A national "Founding Conference," with international representation, will assemble representatives of affiliated organization and develop a joint prevention action program.

By the end of the next three-year period, CEM expects to be in the forefront of the preventive effort toward a free, fair, diverse, and non-damaging cultural environment, serving the needs of all people.

VIOLENCE AND DRUGS ON TELEVISION; THE CULTURAL APPROACH TO PREVENTION

by
George Gerbner

Violence and substance abuse have been among the most pervasive and persistent social pathologies of our time. They continue to drain vital energies, undermine the sense of community and security, strain systems of law enforcement and justice, and destroy families, health and lives.

The predominant response has been reactive. We "pour resources into deterring and incapacitating...apprehending, arresting, adjudicating and incarcerating..." writes James A. Mercy of the Center for Injury Prevention and Control in the Winter 1993 issue of *Health Affairs*. And that approach, he concludes, "has not made an appreciable difference."

This report presents a new and different research and action program. It is designed to prevent rather than to react, based on five major considerations:

1. A prime requirement of any effort to change behavior endemic to a culture is to know what one is up against.

2. Violence and substance abuse reduction programs are up against a massive daily flow of media images and messages sustaining those behavior patterns.

3. The new frontier of health promotion, disease prevention and violence reduction is, therefore, the cultural frontier.

4. Preventive action on that frontier is based on a careful mapping and monitoring of the world of media messages and images, the roles that violence and substance abuse play in that world, and the production policies that guide them.

5. Such action on the cultural front is not limited to specific messages, programs, or genres. With the increasing concentration of media industries, traditional cultural diversity and selectivity is giving way to an all-pervasive, integrated, and homogenized cultural environment in every home. Preventive action requires a citizen movement and coalition dedicated to changing the mainstream of that environment.

The first major advance on that new frontier was the 1990 OSAP monograph *Youth and Drugs: Society's Mixed Messages*¹. That influential publication provides a basis

¹ U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service. *Youth and Drugs: Society's Mixed Messages*. OSAP Prevention Monograph -

for an approach encompassing the entire community, focusing on leadership and organizational collaboration, and searching for new ways to reach out to the most vulnerable populations.

This report brings that comprehensive approach to a new level of analysis and action. Our previous study, "Stories That Hurt; Tobacco, Alcohol and Other Drugs in the Mass Media," published as Chapter 3 in the 1990 OSAP monograph, observed that "How well and how long Americans live are no longer questions of medicine or fate. Preventable illness and premature death are now end products of a complex manufacturing and marketing process." This report describes how that process shapes the mainstream of the cultural environment, what are the implications for women, youth, minorities and other populations most at risk, what policy implications flow from these findings, and the initial experience of an outreach effort carrying these implications into action.

The report is presented in three parts:

Part I is the first comprehensive report of 20-years' analysis of the "world" of network television drama and the role of violence and drugs in that world. It describes the cast of the symbolic world, the fate of different types of characters in it, and some consequences of viewer exposure to it.

Part II deals with some institutional and economic forces driving violence as a dramatic formula. The results of pilot studies challenge conventional rationalizations for the persistence of high levels of violence and suggest a new hypothesis based on the dynamic of global marketing.

Part III is the account of a citizen action program. It describes the launching of the Cultural Environment Movement (CEM); the results of a pilot survey, personal networking and exploratory outreach efforts; and CEM's potential in organizing and mobilizing a broad coalition for preventive action on the cultural front.

PART I. TELEVISION: MAINSTREAM OF THE CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

A child is born into a home in which television is on an average of more than seven hours a day. For the first time in human history, most of the stories for most of the children are not told by parents, schools, churches, or others in the community who have something to tell, but by groups of distant conglomerates that have something to sell.

This is a radical change in the way we employ creative talent, raise our children, and manage our affairs. The roles we grow into and the ways we see others and the world are no longer home-made, hand-crafted, community-inspired. They are products of a complex manufacturing and marketing process. That process has an important bearing on the messages and images that cultivate conceptions about people, power, and values, and, therefore, about violence and the use of addictive substances.

Part I of this report describes some manifestations and consequences of that process. It presents a birds-eye-view of familiar territory, the broader cultural context within which, and against whose powerful currents, public health professionals must design new prevention strategies.

The source of information is the Cultural Indicators (CI) project, a database and ongoing research project that relates long-term exposure to recurrent features of television to viewer conceptions about the world.²

Cultural Indicators research consists of two interrelated parts: (1) message system analysis, monitoring of the world of network television dramatic programs and (2) cultivation analysis, determining the contributions of television to viewer conceptions of social reality.

² The research began in 1967-68 with a study for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. It continued under the sponsorship of 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 Administration on Aging, the National Science Foundation, the W. Alton Jones Foundation, the Hose Bunka Foundation of Japan, the Screen Actors' Guild, the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, the National Cable Television Association, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, the Ark Foundation, Inc., the Turner Broadcasting System, the Women's Initiative of the American Association of Retired Persons, the Institute for Mental Health Initiatives, and the Office of Substance Abuse Prevention of the U.S. Public Health Service.

Message system analysis is the systematic, reliable, and cumulative investigation of the relatively unambiguous and commonly understood facts of media portrayal. The analysis has been performed on annual samples of prime-time and Saturday morning network dramatic (fictional) programs by trained analysts who observe and code various aspects of content. Units of analysis include programs (thematic structure, various program characteristics), characters (every speaking part, coded for demographic characteristics, fate of character, etc.) and certain activities such as violence, use of drugs, etc. Measures of reliability, computed on double-coded data, guide instrument construction and coder training.

The results are presented in tabular form in the Appendix, with selected summary Tables in the text of the report. The 20-year database is summarized in Table 1. All units of analysis are distributed fairly evenly among the

TABLE 1: PROGRAMS AND CHARACTERS ANALYZED 1973-93

		Prime Time	Saturday Morning	Total
PROGRAMS	N	1,306	892	2,198
	Hrs.	1,173	262	1,435
CHARACTERS	All	21,199	7,911	29,110
	Major Characters	4,017	2,334	6,351

three major networks and four 5-year time periods (App. Tables I-A-1 and I-A-2).

The number of Saturday morning children's program hours on major networks declined from a total of 236 a week in 1983-88 to 145 in 1988-93. Almost nine out of ten (86.5 percent) were animated cartoons (App. Tables I-B-1 and I-B-2).

Casting and Fate

The television drama is a transparent construction. Unlike real life, it illuminates not only what things and people appear to be, but also moral values, final outcomes, and "fate." Casting and fate reveal powerful moral and practical lessons. They demonstrate who is valued and why, who is likely to succeed and how, and who can get away with what against whom. Rarely, if ever, does a person encounter as many social types and relationships as often and in as compelling and revealing ways as on television.

"Fate" is the clear-cut and unambiguous evaluation of

characters as "good" or "bad" and of the outcomes for which they are destined. The viewer learns relatively quickly and frequently who are heroes and villains, winners and losers, perpetrators of violence and their victims.

Violence and substance abuse are inextricably woven into patterns of casting and fate. What television culture contributes to viewer conceptions of violence and substance can best be understood in that context.

Cast of characters

The typical viewer of major network dramatic programs sees in one week of prime time an average of 353 fictional characters in speaking parts. About 67, or almost one in five, are major characters, defined as more highly developed and essential to the plot. The typical viewer of Saturday morning children's programs sees an average of 139 characters each week, 41 of whom, or 29.5 percent, are major characters. Some characteristics, such as illness, disability, sexual orientation, and drug use were coded only for major characters.

Prime time. Two-thirds of the prime time cast are male, a proportion that declined from 72.4 percent during the first five-year period to 65.3 percent during the last five-year period. Otherwise, despite changes in styles, stars, and formats, network television drama presents a remarkably stable cast (App. Tables I-A-3 and I-A-4).

Both chronological age and "social age" of characters was recorded. The latter serves to indicate life cycle and dramatic role. The categories are child and adolescents, young adult (typically the age between adolescence and more settled vocational and personal responsibilities), settled adults, and "elderly," a casting term for characters who definitely look and act old.³

The age distribution of prime time characters on television is stable and skewed (App. Tables I-A-3, I-A-4 and I-A-5). Children and old persons are underrepresented while young and "settled" adults dominate the cast. *Visibly* old people (those cast as "elderly") make up ~~about~~ only 2.5 percent of the prime-time population (the real-life proportion is more than 12 percent). Their representation

³ In previous studies of aging on television, including commercials, whose relevant findings we shall briefly note, we also coded various aspects of characterization including personality traits, success, the type of role (comic, serious, or mixed) in which a character is cast, and a variety of other aspects. See Gerbner 1994, Gerbner, Gross, and Signorielli, 1980, Gerbner 1980, Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli 1981, 1986.

declines in time, contrary to population trends, and further drops for major characters. It also decreases on the youth-oriented Fox network and on network daytime series. (See Gerbner, 1993a, 1993b.)

Women tend to be concentrated in the younger age groups and "age faster" than men. While 15.7 percent of males but 24.7 percent of females are portrayed as young adults, by the time they reach "settled" adulthood, the proportions are reversed: 72.2 percent of men but only 58.5 percent of women are portrayed as settled adults. Men of nearly any age play romantic roles; their partners are younger women.

Romance may be rampant on prime time, but marriage is not. Only 11.5 percent of all characters and 20.1 percent of major characters are married. Marriage is a more defining circumstance for women than it is for men. More than two-thirds of all men but less than half of all women characters appear in roles whose marital status is indeterminate. Despite their generally younger age, women are almost twice as likely to play the role of wife as men are to play the role of husband.

Socio-economic status was observed by coding the extremes: visibly rich characters were classified as "Clearly upper class," visibly poor "Clearly lower class," and most others "middle class."

Predictably, the population of prime-time television drama is overwhelmingly (about nine out of ten) "middle class." "Upper class" characters are three to four times as numerous as "lower class" characters.

The U.S. Census classifies more than 13 percent of the population, nearly one-third of the children of New York City, and one-third of all African Americans, as living in poverty. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reports about 7 percent of White, 15 percent of African Americans and 20 percent of teenagers seeking work as unemployed. Many more are low-income wage-earners. Avid viewers but poor consumers all, they are all but invisible on television. Clearly identifiable "lower class" characters make up only 1.2 percent of all characters in prime time and even less in Saturday morning children's programs. "Lower class" women, who hold most of the lower-paid jobs in real life, are even more out of the picture; their percentage drops to nearly half of the men's in prime time and to one-third of the men's in Saturday morning children's programs..

Race and ethnicity of prime-time characters is as skewed as gender, age and class, except perhaps for African Americans. Their percentage increased during the 20-year period, averaging 11.5 percent of all and 9.4 percent of major characters. However, the representation of

Latino/Hispanic American characters remained little over 1 percent, Asian-Americans about 1 percent, and Native Americans ("Indians") 0.3 percent of all characters, and even less as major characters. Sexual minorities (gay/lesbian/bisexual) characters, coded only for major characters), were 2.4 percent.

Some form of disability strikes 11.1 percent of prime-time major characters (the only ones coded for disability) with little fluctuation between time periods. (App. Table I-A-6). Physical injury afflicts 7.1 percent, despite the fact that 42.9 percent suffer some violence. Physical illness strikes almost as many, and mental illness 3.3 percent.

Saturday morning. Cartoon characters make up most of the Saturday morning cast. Males dominate even more than in prime time. The proportion of female characters, one out of three in prime time, is one out of five in Saturday morning children's programs and even fewer as major characters. Unlike in prime time, there has been no change over the years (App. Tables I-B-3, I-B-4, and I-B-5).

Anthropomorphic animals and other creatures are not easily classified in clear-cut demographic categories, especially as minor characters. For example, two out of 10 are "ageless," compared to two out of 100 in prime time. Children and adolescents predictably play a larger role than in prime time. As characters age, they are generally less likely to play major roles. "Elderly" characters in major roles are even more invisible than in prime time.

Married characters, potential father and mother figures, numbering 11.5 percent of all characters in prime time, are less than half of that (5.0 percent) in Saturday morning children's programs. Furthermore, while in prime time 20.1 percent of major characters are shown as married, on Saturday only 4.4 of major characters are married. Married women play 23.1 percent of major female roles in prime time but only 5.9 percent in Saturday morning children's programs.

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

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 8.8 percent of all and 7.9 percent of major

characters. Other minorities are 1.2 percent or less each, further declining in major roles.

Table 2 shows gender and role comparisons of selected characteristics between prime time and Saturday morning

TABLE 2: COMPARISONS OF SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN PRIME TIME AND SATURDAY MORNING

	PRIME TIME				SATURDAY MORNING			
	Percent of		Percent of		Percent of		Percent of	
	Minor	Major	Minor	Major	Minor	Major	Minor	Major
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Age 60 and above	5.1	4.9	5.9	3.5	4.6	5.9	3.9	1.8
Married	6.9	15.3	18.7	23.1	3.0	12.4	4.4	5.9
"Lower class"	1.5	0.9	2.5	1.4	0.3	1.0	1.3	0.5
African American	11.8	12.2	10.0	8.2	9.4	8.7	8.2	6.9
Latino/Hispanic Am.	1.6	0.8	1.5	0.6	1.2	1.5	0.7	0.0
Asian/Pacific Am.	1.1	1.1	0.4	0.4	0.6	1.7	0.7	0.0
Native American	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.9	0.0
Gay/lesbian/bisex.			2.0	3.2			0.2	0.3

children's programs. Gender biases of prime time are magnified Saturday morning and further extended among major characters. Women age even faster than in prime time. The reduction in the proportion of mature adults (age 60 and above) in major roles means a further decline in parental role models. Married women play 23.1 percent of major roles in prime time but only 5.9 percent in Saturday morning children's programs.

Women are still more likely than men to be shown married, but men are more likely to play older roles, especially as major characters. Older women, greatly underrepresented (3.5 percent) in prime time, are reduced to 1.8 percent of female characters in Saturday morning children's programs.

Many cartoon characters defy ethnic or racial classification. Only 27.6 percent of all characters and 39.1 percent of major characters in Saturday morning children's programs could be reliably observed on race or ethnicity. It is not surprising, therefore, that all minorities drop in representation in Saturday morning children's programs, especially in major and female parts. There are no Latino/Hispanic, Asian/Pacific, or Native American females as major characters in Saturday morning children's program samples, at least until 1993, when Carmen Sandiego has an Hispanic name but no other ethnic characteristics.

Disability of any kind, afflicting 11.1 percent of characters in prime time, occurs in only 4.0 percent of characters in Saturday morning children's programs (App. Table I-B-6). Despite all the mayhem, physical injury is half as frequent as in prime time, and any disability is one-third as frequent.

Representation in the cultural environment is, of course, not only a question of numbers. Underrepresentation means growing up with the experience of a restricted range of roles, opportunities, activities and other resources. The consequences also extend to the evaluations, destinies, risks and social relationships that provide the context in which violence and substance abuse play their part.

Heroes and villains

The moral power of drama comes from the struggle between good and evil, embodied in heroes and villains. Heroes are positively valued characters, coded "good," and villains are negatively valued and coded "bad." The distribution of such values among social types and their associations with actions such as violence and substance abuse gives these acts their moral dimensions.

Prime time. Positively valued characters outnumber evil characters almost three to one (App. Table I-A-7), while more than half (54.5 percent) are of "mixed" (unclear, uncertain) evaluation. Although women, children, elderly characters and all characters of color have a slightly higher than average share of positive evaluations, there is little variation in the proportion of "good" characters across demographic categories. The burden of villainy and misfortune appears to be a more distinctive and distinguishing mark of fate. Overall, 10.1 percent of all and 11.7 percent of major characters are classified as villains. "Upper class" and (mostly minor) Latino/Hispanic American characters have about twice the average share of villains. Among major characters (App. Table I-A-8), the heaviest burden of negative characterizations go to gay/lesbian/bisexual characters (16.5 percent), mentally ill characters (24.2 percent) and physically injured characters (40.9 percent).

The balance of evaluations can be expressed by a ratio of heroes vs. villains (i.e., "bad" vs. "good" characters) in the same groups. (These ratios are shown on App. Tables I-A-7 and I-A-8, and ranked by role and gender on App. Tables I-A-9 through I-A-12.) The ratios indicate the evaluative balance by showing what any group has to "pay" in villainy to have 100 heroes.⁴

⁴ The 100/per ratio was chosen for convenience of presentation

Overall, there are 35 villains for 100 heroes. The most favorably balanced types (the fewest villains for 100 heroes) are women, children, the elderly and ethnic minorities except Latino/Hispanic. The most relatively villainous character types are (typically minor) "lower class," Latino/Hispanic, and "upper class" characters. Their ratios are 61, 75 and 109 villains, respectively, for every 100 heroes (App. Table I-A-9).

Major characters rank higher on the hero/villain ratio than minor characters; they only count 22 villains (26 males and 13 females) for every 100 heroes (App. Table I-A-10). Paying a higher-than-average price for being "good" among major characters are disabled, ill, and gay/lesbian/bisexuals, as well as "upper class." Characters portrayed as mentally ill are at the very bottom of this ranking, with an even distribution of heroes and villains.

Looking at the balance of evaluations by gender sheds additional light on the dynamics of fate in prime time (App. Table I-A-11 and I-A-12). Although women are generally more positively balanced than men, they pay a higher price for virtue as they age. Males aged 60 and above rank as the third most favorably balanced male characters. Their ratio of villains (20 out of 100) is less than one-third of that of young adult males (68). Women aged 60 and above rank as the third most unfavorably balanced. Their ratio of villains (23) is higher than that of young adult females (17). In other words, aging improves the relative evaluation of male characters but depresses that of female characters. Women not only age faster than men, but are also seen as relatively more likely to be evil as they age.

The major character cast magnifies these inequities and reveals new ones. Males over 60 have 17 villains for every 100 heroes. Females over 60 have 33, twice the male number. Older females playing major parts, few as they are, seem to pay five times the price for positive evaluation than when they play minor parts.

Mental illness, on the other hand, is primarily a male menace. While it stigmatizes both men and women, the ratio of mentally ill male characters (130 for every 100 male heroes) is six times the ratio of mentally ill women (22 for every 100 female heroes).

Saturday morning. Saturday morning children's program characters pay a higher price for heroism than do the characters of prime time (App. Tables I-B-7 through I-B-12). While prime time has 35 villains for 100 heroes, Saturday

in whole numbers. Of course, some small groups have less than 100 characters in some cells.

morning children's programs have 41.

The disparities grow with age. Major characters age 60 and above have 21 villains for every 100 heroes in prime time but four times as many, 83, in Saturday morning children's programs.

Gender comparisons show that the brunt of relative devaluation falls, again, on elderly women and also on African-American women. For 100 elderly male heroes, there are 17 elderly male villains; but for 100 elderly female heroes, there are 59 elderly female villains -- more than three times the male ratio. Among major characters, that ratio differential goes up to more than four. These ratios among African-American men and women, respectively, are 12 and 31 for all and 7 and 25 for major characters. In other words, in Saturday morning children's programs, elderly and African-American women are few and far-between, and three to four times more likely to be evil than good.

Winners and losers

In popular drama, if not necessarily in life, being "good" is the key to success. Most heroes are destined to succeed and most villains are destined to fail. Beyond that, however, the relative differences between winners and losers can be seen as a matter of efficacy of characterizations. A reliable determination of success or failure in achieving objectives was made for major characters only.

Prime time. Prime-time winners outnumber losers more than two-to-one. But of those judged "good," almost ten times as many succeed as fail, while "bad" characters are nearly ten times as likely to fail (App. Table I-A-13).

The demography of winners and losers in prime time can be seen on App. Tables I-A-14 through I-A-16. Men and women succeed at about the same rate (44.0 and 44.8 percent, respectively) but women are slightly more likely to get a "mixed" effectiveness rating, and men are slightly more likely to fail. Elderly, "upper" and "lower class," gay/lesbian/bisexual and ill or disabled characters tend to be the least effective in achieving their goals. Most minorities receive relatively high "mixed" ratings. The mentally ill have by far the lowest percentage of success and highest percentage of failure.

The relative balance of effectiveness, as of evaluation, was calculated by the number of failures in each group for every 100 successes (App. Table I-A-14 and I-A-15). The overall list reveals no surprises. Being "upper class", disabled, or mentally ill are the conditions that tend to condemn characters to failure. Characters depicted

as mentally ill fail almost twice as often as they succeed, the highest ratio of failure in any group.

Gender comparisons show that being old, "lower class," lesbian, Asian or mentally ill places a special burden of relative failure on women. African American men balance out like all men, but African-American women rarely fail. Asian men are among the most effective; Asian women are few, but their relative rate of failure is five times that of Asian men.

Saturday morning. The moral lessons of Saturday morning children's programs are more sharply delineated than those of prime time (App. Table I-B-13). Of "good" characters, 73.2 percent succeed (compared to only 61.1 in prime time), and of villains, 84.2 percent fail (compared to prime time's 71.5 percent).

A comparison of selected characteristics presented in Table 3 shows that the disparities of fate evident in prime time are heightened in Saturday morning. Failure looms larger in children's programs, except for children and adolescents, where it is lower than in prime time. The failure rate rises until it reaches four out of ten for mature adults, the age of most viewers' parents. "Upper class" and "lower class," mentally ill and disabled characters also suffer a harsher relative fate of failure than in prime time.

The relative balance of success vs. failure, evident in Table 3, further penalizes the old, ill, disabled, and poor (App. Table I-B-15 and I-B-16). These are the only character types more likely to fail than to succeed, and by a larger margin than in prime time. The "gender gap" further heightens the inequities. For every 100 elderly males who succeed in prime time, 48 fail; for every 100 elderly women

TABLE 3: COMPARISONS OF SELECTED EFFECTIVENESS CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN PRIME TIME AND SATURDAY MORNING

	PRIME TIME		SATURDAY MORNING	
	Percent of Characters who succeed	Percent of Characters who fail	Percent of Characters who succeed	Percent of Characters who fail
All characters	44.3	18.1	49.5	25.5
Child. & adolescents	44.0	12.6	56.2	9.8
Young adults	40.8	19.8	62.5	13.6
Settled adults	46.0	18.3	39.5	39.5
Age 60 and above	43.7	15.6	28.6	42.9
"Lower class"	33.7	17.4	33.3	29.6
Mentally ill	21.2	40.2	27.3	54.3
Any disability	31.0	25.9	36.3	40.7

who succeed in prime time, 118 fail -- a gap of 70. In Saturday morning children's programs, for every 100 elderly males who succeed, 58 fail; the corresponding number for females is 150 -- a gap of 92. Being relatively few and "bad" to begin with, older women are set up to be the most likely to fail by a larger margin than in prime time.

Violence

Violence can be seen as a legitimate cultural expression, even necessary to convey valid lesson about human consequences. Individually crafted and historically inspired, sparingly and selectively used symbolic violence of powerful stories is capable of balancing tragic costs against deadly compulsions. There is murder in Shakespeare, mayhem in fairy tales, blood and gore in mythology, although Greek drama, often cited for its compelling pathos and cathartic effects, showed only the tragic consequences of violence on stage. "Greek sensibilities," observes theater historian Oscar G. Brockett (1979, p. 98) "dictate that scenes of extreme violence take place offstage, although the results...might be shown."

Under the increasing pressures of global marketing, graphic screen imagery is produced for worldwide entertainment and sales. This "happy violence" is swift, cool, thrilling, painless, effective, and always leads to a happy ending, designed not to upset but to deliver the audience to the commercial message in a receptive mood. In this formula-driven dramatic fare, the limited degrees of attempted justifications for violence have been swamped in a tide of violent overkill and expertly choreographed brutality.

The marketing strategies driving mass-produced violence affect the total tone and context of programming. Beyond considerations of both quantity and quality, and above all other features and justifications, violence is a social relationship in which naked power is exerted. People hurt or kill to resolve a conflict, to force (or deter) unwanted behavior, to dominate, to terrorize. Symbolic violence is literally a "show of force." It demonstrates power and shows who can get away with what against whom and at what cost to themselves.

Measures of television violence presented in this report are based on the reliable observation of clear-cut, unambiguous, and overt representations of physical violence -- hurting or killing or the threat of hurting and/or killing -- in any context. Idle threats, verbal abuse, mental cruelty and other subtle manifestations or gestures

without actually physically hurting or killing (or threatening to do so) are not coded as violence.

Any act of violence that fits the definition is recorded, regardless of conventional notions about types of portrayals that may have "harmful" effects. That includes violence that occurs in a fantasy or humorous context as well as in a realistic and serious context, "accidental" violence and "acts of nature." Of course, fictional violence is always purposefully contrived, claims victims and demonstrates power. There is also considerable research evidence that humor and fantasy are effective forms in which to convey serious lessons (Bandura et al., 1967; Ellis & Sekura, 1972; Lovas, 1961). Fantasy, comic, and "accidental" violence or "acts of God" or "nature" are created to characterize a role and advance a plot. They all demonstrate relationships of power and vulnerability. Humor may be the "sugar coating" on the pill.

The Violence Index

The specific formula developed by the Cultural Indicators project to track violence on television is the Violence Index. Units of analysis used in the Violence Index are the dramatic program as a whole, each character (speaking part) in the program, and the violent scene (defined as violence among the same characters).

The Violence Index combines three sets of observations to provide a single indicator sensitive to a range of program characteristics. The observations record (1) the percent of programs containing any violence (%P); (2) the rate of violent scenes per program (R/P) and per hour (R/H); and (3) the percent of major characters involved in violence (%V) either as perpetrators or victims or both. The Violence Index is the sum of these measures with the rates of violent scenes and the percent of major characters involved in killing weighted by a factor of two. The formula is $VI = \%P + 2R/P + 2R/H + \%V + \%K$. Its purpose is to facilitate comparisons over time and across networks and types of programs. The individual components on which the Violence Index is based are tabulated separately and can be seen on the relevant Tables in the Appendix.

Prime time. Violence in prime-time major network dramatic programs, as measured by the Violence Index (Tables I-A-17 through I-A-20), declined in the 1989-90 season and has remained below its 20-year average. Audience dissatisfaction and political pressures may have contributed to the decline. However, the economic pressures increased as highly violent action programs sold well on the global market. "Ironically," *Variety* explained in its Oct. 5, 1992 issue (p. 21), "current pressures on violence make the networks often choose cheaper reality shows instead." (The

economic underpinnings of violent programming are further discussed in Part II.)

The rise of "reality shows" based on purportedly true accounts of often violent events prompted a special analysis of a week of prime-time programs broadcast on ABC, CBS, NBC, and Fox in February 1993⁵. (App. Table I-A-21) It found that more than seven out of ten "reality shows" contained violence at a rate of 5.3 violent scenes per program. Had "reality" shows been included, the 1993 Violence Index would have been closer to, if not above, the 20-year average.

Another special study focused on violence in cable-originated programs (those **produced** by cable networks rather than all programs carried by them) for the 1990-91 season (Table I-A-22; for a full report see Gerbner, 1993a.) Cable-originated children's programs had substantially less violence than children's programs broadcast on the networks. On the other hand, cable-originated general programming and particularly action programs were more violent than similar programs broadcast on the networks.

Saturday morning. Saturday morning children's programs magnify and amplify the patterns of prime time (see App. Tables I-B-17 through I-B-20). Over the 20-year period, an average of nine out of ten programs contained violence at an average rate of 23 violent scenes per hour lasting twice as long as in prime time and involving eight out of ten major roles. The Saturday morning children's program Violence Index has been consistently higher than the prime time Violence Index and it shows no sustained decline.

Violence and victimization

Violence defines character, enhances importance, and allocates risk. More major than minor characters commit violence, but minor characters, with their larger share of minorities, pay a higher price for it. (App. Tables I-A-23, I-A-24).

Prime time. In the total cast, the most likely to be involved in violence are Native Americans (45.9 percent), Latino/Hispanic Americans (41.4 percent) and "lower class" characters (38.8 percent). The same groups are also the most likely to become victims of violence. However, the highest overall imbalance of victimization goes to the "lower class;" they suffer 214 victims (compared to 122 for all characters) for every 100 violent.

The age distribution shows that older characters commit less violence but suffer proportionately more. The class

⁵ This study was conducted at the University of Delaware under the direction of Dr. Nancy Signorielli.

distribution shows the "upper class" as the most violent, but the "lower class" as paying the highest price for violence. Characters of color are no more violent than others but suffer slightly more victims for the violence they commit. African Americans, however, fare no differently from other Americans.

A closer look at major characters finds that more than half are involved in some violence. The most likely to be involved are young adults, "lower class," minorities (except African Americans), disabled, and mentally ill characters.

The measure of imbalance is the ratio of perpetrators to victims, expressed as the number of victims per 100 perpetrators of violence. This measure is separate and independent from the amount of violence; it implies its relative risk or cost. It indicates the "price" in victimization that characters pay for committing violence. A high ratio means that a group of characters commits less violence than they suffer. In other words, they pay a relatively high price for the violence they commit; their violence seems to provoke greater retribution than the often higher levels of violence by other groups.

The overall balance of victimization is 122 victims for every 100 violent. The burden of imbalance falls most heavily on older characters (190 victims for 100 violent) and "lower class" characters (214 victims for 100 violent).

Major characters both commit and suffer more violence, but it is more evenly balanced. Their overall ratio is 108 victims for 100 violent -- almost a tooth for a tooth. But there are some group differences. "Lower class" characters commit more violence and suffer much more victimization; their ratio is 133. The highest ratio (180) is inflicted on the few Asian-Americans who play leading roles.

Gender, especially when combined with age, plays a key role in the violence scenario. Table 4 provides an account of that role in prime time. It shows that both men and women are about twice as violent as major than as minor characters; that minor characters regularly suffer greater relative victimization; and that in 15 of the 18 groups compared, women pay a higher price than men for the violence they commit.

A disproportionately large share of all parts and also of major roles marks a group a "majority." Conversely, a smaller share of all roles and a disproportionately large share of minor parts defines a "minority." Their greater relative victimization is part of that general pattern of deprivation.

The exceptions are equally revealing. Among all

children and adolescents, girls commit less violence than boys but are punished with as great --if not greater-- relative victimization, as are females in general. However, young and adolescent boys in major parts seem to present a particular menace; they provoke the fiercest retribution (152 victims per 100 violents) of all major characters.

TABLE 4: VIOLENCE, VICTIMIZATION AND RATIOS OF SELECTED ALL AND MAJOR CHARACTERS IN PRIME TIME

	Male characters			Female characters		
	p ¹ %	v ² %	Ratio	p ¹ %	v ² %	Ratio p/v ³
Totals	21.4	24.9	116	9.5	14.0	148
Major	45.5	48.5	107	27.3	31.3	114
Child, adol.	15.9	22.6	142	6.5	9.4	145
Major	28.4	43.2	152	18.5	22.7	123
Young adult	27.1	33.7	124	9.9	17.5	178
Major	50.1	55.9	112	31.7	39.2	124
Settled adult	20.8	23.2	111	9.9	13.3	135
Major	46.2	47.7	103	26.8	29.4	110
Elderly	11.6	21.0	182	6.7	14.5	215
Major	31.3	26.6	85	24.1	27.6	114
Heroes	24.2	29.2	120	12.7	19.2	151
Major	43.2	47.4	110	27.0	33.2	123
Villains	58.5	59.2	101	34.4	33.1	96
Major	77.1	72.1	93	53.3	50.0	94
Married	20.7	25.7	124	8.5	14.0	165
Major	31.9	35.9	113	17.4	21.0	121
Chars. of color	21.4	25.8	121	6.6	10.0	152
Major	43.1	47.5	110	23.0	23.0	100

¹ Perpetrators of violence ² Victims of violence

³ The ratio is the number of victims per 100 perpetrators

Among all characters, the elderly -- and especially older women -- pay the highest price for committing violence. Older men suffer 182 victims for 100 violents; older women suffer 215.

A ranking of victimization ratios shows the "pecking order" of risk, the number of victims per 100 perpetrators. As we have seen, among all characters, with a ratio 214 victims for every 100 perpetrators, "lower class" characters pay the highest price for their violence. The ranking of ratios among major characters (App. Table I-A-25) shows gay/lesbian/bisexual, ill and disabled, child and adolescent, and Asian American characters paying the highest

price for their violence.

Killers and killed

Lethal violence extends the pattern (Tables I-A-27 through I-A-30). The power to kill with relative impunity is mostly a young adult male White middle-class prerogative. More major than minor characters are involved in killing, but minor characters, with their concentrations of minorities, pay more than twice as dearly for it. "Lower class" characters, for example, die at the rate of 200 for every 100 they kill, double the "upper class" ratio. Characters of color also kill less and die more, as do most other minorities.

As characters age they kill less but pay more for it -- with their own lives. Older characters, and especially older women, run the greatest relative risk of being killed.

As violence turns lethal, African Americans also fall into the minority victimization pattern. White Americans lose 104 of their own for every 100 they kill; African Americans lose 154. Latino/Hispanics (who kill more than twice as many) suffer 200; Asian-Americans (who rarely kill) lose 400. The exceptions are Native Americans: they are the most likely to kill (8.1 percent) but they only lose one of their own for every one they kill.

Major characters kill more and die less than minor characters (where most minorities are cast). As Table 5 shows, killing mostly extends gender differences and magnifies some others. In 11 of the 18 groups presented, women pay a higher price for killing than men. The exceptions further illuminate some particular manifestations of the dynamics of risk in prime time.

As we have seen above, boys rarely kill, but their ratio of killed for every 100 they kill is 425, among the highest of major characters, along with women of color (433). Older women in major roles encounter violence only to get killed.

Male villains are more dangerous and pay a higher collective price for killing, than evil women do. Male heroes, however, restore the gender balance. When "good" men kill, presumably in a good cause, they kill with relative impunity. While all male characters suffer 124 killed for every 100 they kill, "good" men suffer only 102. But when "good" women kill, the cause rarely justifies the act; while all women lose 143 for every 100 they kill,

TABLE 5: KILLERS, KILLED AND RATIOS OF SELECTED ALL AND MAJOR CHARACTERS IN PRIME TIME

	Male characters			Female characters		
	Kill %	Killed %	Ratio	Kill %	Killed %	Ratio p/v ¹
Totals	3.4	4.2	124	1.1	1.6	143
Major	9.5	4.6	49	3.9	2.0	52
Child, adol., tot.	0.3	1.5	425	0.4	0.6	167
Major	1.4	0.9	67	1.7	0.8	50
Young adult, tot.	4.4	5.2	118	1.0	2.1	200
Major	12.0	6.5	54	5.5	2.0	38
Settled adult, tot.	3.5	4.3	124	1.3	1.5	114
Major	9.8	4.6	47	3.9	1.8	45
Elderly, tot.	2.7	3.0	111	1.6	3.6	233
Major	7.8	3.1	40	0.0	10.3	killed only
Heroes, tot.	3.1	3.2	102	0.8	1.4	188
Major	5.8	2.2	37	1.5	1.4	91
Villains, tot.	14.6	13.7	94	9.8	4.9	50
Major	33.8	17.0	50	25.0	8.7	35
Married	4.1	6.1	148	1.8	2.2	125
Major	7.2	4.0	56	3.6	3.0	82
Chars. of color	2.9	4.0	138	0.4	1.6	433
Major	7.8	3.7	48	2.7	4.4	167

¹ The ratio is the number of victims per 100 perpetrators

"good" women lose 188. A ranking of selected killer/killed ratios of major characters by gender (App. Table I-A-30), sheds further light on some differences. Males who suffer more deaths than they inflict are the ill, injured, handicapped and generally disabled. Women who pay a comparably higher price for killing are, in addition, women of color, older women, and three other groups of minority women: Latino/Hispanics, Asians and Native Americans. The last four, few as they are, are *only* victims of fatal violence; they are not cast to kill.

Let us examine the minority gender pattern more closely, Table 6 shows that compared to the killer/killed

TABLE 6: KILLER/KILLED RATIOS (NUMBER KILLED FOR EVERY 100 KILLERS) OF MAJOR CHARACTERS IN PRIME TIME

	Males	Females
All major characters	49	52
African Americans	56	67
Latino/Hispanic Americans	40	Killed only
Asian-Americans	Killed only	Killed only
Native Americans ("Indians")	Killers only	Killed only

ratios of all major characters, African Americans, and especially women, suffer a higher ratio of fatal victimization. Latino/Hispanic American males fare better, but the few Latino/Hispanic American female characters cast in violent scenes that result in fatality all get killed. The same fate awaits both male and female Asian characters. Native Americans characters, however, exhibit an extreme form of gender differentiation. If and when involved in any violence resulting in fatality, Native American males are only killers, and Native American females are only killed.

Power and peril on Saturday morning

Instead of muting the mayhem and inequities of prime time, Saturday morning children's programming intensifies them. More than half of all (including minor) characters are involved in violence, twice as many as in prime time. Eight out of ten major characters are involved in violence, compared to 52.3 percent in prime time. The rate of retribution is also higher. For every 100 violent acts in Saturday morning children's programs, there are 139 victims; for major characters, the ratio is 127. Comparable ratios for prime time are 122 and 108.

The invidious social patterns are also magnified Saturday morning. Native Americans and Latino/Hispanic American characters are the most violence-prone, significantly more than in prime time. Six out of ten "Indians" are cast in violent roles and seven out of ten fall victim to violence. "Lower class" characters encounter violence only to be victimized; they have no power to commit it. Asian-Americans pay the highest price -- 267 for every 100 (compared to 118 in prime time) -- and, as major characters, 300 per 100 perpetrators (compared to 180 in prime time).

A comparison of minority involvement in violence (Table 7) shows that not only is there generally more violence in

TABLE 7: COMPARISONS OF VIOLENCE, VICTIMIZATION AND RATIOS OF MINORITY AND OTHER CHARACTERS PLAYING MAJOR ROLES IN PRIME TIME AND SATURDAY MORNING CHILDREN'S PROGRAMS

	Perpetrator %	Victim %	Ratio p/v ¹
African Americans, p.t.	35.8	38.7	108
Saturday morning	30.4	62.3	205
Latino/Hispanic Americans, p.t.	46.7	51.1	110
Saturday morning	60.0	60.0	100
Asian-Americans, p.t.	33.3	60.0	180
Saturday morning	20.0	60.0	300
Native Americans, p.t.	58.3	41.7	71
Saturday morning	83.3	83.3	100
Others ("Whites"), p.t.	38.4	41.6	108
Saturday morning	47.8	64.7	135

¹ The ratio is the number of victims per 100 perpetrators

Saturday morning children's programs but minorities are disproportionately and mostly negatively affected. African-American characters suffer 205 victims for every 100 violent characters Saturday morning; in prime time they suffer only 108, and "Whites" on Saturdays suffer only 135. Latino/Hispanic Americans become more violent in Saturday morning children's programs. Asian-Americans are less violent but their victimization ratio increases from the already high 180 per 100 perpetrators in prime time to 300 in Saturday morning children's programs. Native Americans are the most violent of all; eight out of ten commit and the same number suffer violence.

A comparison of other characteristics of major characters by gender between prime time and Saturday morning children's programs appears in Table 8. Saturday morning

TABLE 8: COMPARISONS OF VIOLENCE, VICTIMIZATION AND RATIOS OF SELECTED CHARACTERIZATIONS OF MAJOR CHARACTERS IN PRIME TIME AND SATURDAY MORNING CHILDREN'S PROGRAMS

	Male characters			Female characters		
	P ¹ %	V ² %	Ratio p/v	P ¹ %	V ² %	Ratio ³ p/v
All, prime time	45.5	48.5	107	27.3	31.3	114
Saturday morning	58.3	73.3	126	39.9	58.0	145
Child, adol., p.t.	28.4	43.2	152	18.5	22.7	123
Saturday morning	39.6	66.0	166	24.8	45.5	183
Young adult, p.t.	50.1	55.9	112	31.7	39.2	124
Saturday morning	58.1	73.0	126	42.0	64.8	154
Settled adult, p.t.	46.2	47.7	103	26.8	29.4	110
Saturday morning	62.9	75.2	120	47.4	61.4	130
Elderly, p.t.	31.3	26.6	85	24.1	27.6	114
Saturday morning	38.5	53.8	140	85.7	85.7	100
Heroes, p.t.	43.2	47.4	110	27.0	33.2	123
Saturday morning	49.8	70.1	141	31.2	60.3	194
Villains, p.t.	77.1	72.1	93	53.3	50.0	94
Saturday morning	77.9	77.9	100	80.4	72.5	90
Married, p.t.	31.9	35.9	113	17.4	21.0	121
Saturday morning	38.3	63.0	165	22.7	45.5	200
Chars. of color, p.t.	43.1	47.5	110	23.0	23.0	100
Saturday morning	40.4	67.4	167	30.0	45.0	150

- ¹ Perpetrators of violence ² Victims of violence
³ The ratio is the number of victims per 100 perpetrators

children's programs escalate violence in every age category, especially for women. Older women are most violent of all age groups; 85.7 percent commit violence, and they absorb as much punishment as they inflict.

Heroes suffer more than in prime time, but heroines are battered even more. The "good" male ratio of victims for every 100 violent in prime time is 110; the ratio in Saturday morning children's programs is 141. The comparable female ratios are 123 and 194, a ratio of victimization second only to married women.

The negative characterizations of the parents' generation is reflected in the burden of married characters, and especially of women. The victimization ratio of married women in Saturday morning children's programs is the highest

of all age and status roles.

Characters of color are more likely to be involved and pay a higher price for violence than in prime time. The ranking of major character risk ratios in Saturday morning children's programs can be seen on App. Tables I-B-23 and I-B-24. In general, as in prime time, but by larger margins, women, young, ill, and minority characters are at the low end of the risk ratio "pecking order." Married characters, African Americans and Asian-Americans are the bottom of the list.

Violent as it is, Saturday morning children's programming shows virtually no tragic or lasting consequences (App. Table I-B-25). That may be why a rare death of a major cartoon character, such as in the Disney film "The Lion King," creates controversy.

Drugs

The analysis of the use and abuse of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs (ATOD) on television began in 1978 and focused on major characters in prime time. In the three five-year periods from 1978 through 1993, 2,959 characters were analyzed (App. Table I-A-31). One-third (33.7 percent) were shown as ATOD users.

The use of alcoholic beverages declined from 35.3 percent of characters drinking in the first time period to 20.8 percent in the last. Smoking declined from 7.8 percent to 5.9 percent. However, other drug use increased from 1.9 to 2.8 percent of characters. About one in 33 drinkers of alcoholic beverages is shown as alcoholic, and one in 3 drug users as addicted.

The demography of ATOD

"Upper class," gay/lesbian/bisexual, and the few Native American characters show the highest level of (mostly alcohol) use; about half of them are users (App. Tables I-A-32 through I-A-36). Although lighter users, older characters are the most likely to be portrayed as alcoholics (3.2 percent). Alcohol addiction among the elderly afflicts one in nine drinkers, compared to one in 30 drinkers in general, and one in 65 "upper class" drinkers.

Drug use is most prevalent among adolescents (3.7 percent, Latino/Hispanic Americans (4.3 percent), and gay/lesbian/bisexual characters (3.6 percent). Smoking is about twice as frequent among "lower class," Native American and gay/lesbian/bisexual characters as it is in the general character population.

Biases of alcohol and other drug use

The portrayal of drinking and drug use is an act of social typing that disadvantages young girls and older women; they are less likely to use alcohol than other age groups but more likely to be addicted to it.

"Addiction ratios" (numbers of addicts per 100 users) by age and gender indicate the main biases of drug use in Table 9. Adolescent girls and older women drinkers are

TABLE 9: AGE, RACE AND GENDER OF ALCOHOL AND OTHER DRUG USERS AND ADDICTS, MAJOR CHARACTERS, PRIME TIME

	Drinkers		Alcoholics per 100 drinkers		Drug users		Addicts per 100 users	
	Male %	Fem. %	Male %	Fem. %	Male %	Fem. %	Male %	Fem. %
All char.	30.8	27.9	4	3	2.0	2.2	40	23
Adolescent	8.0	5.3	0	40	4.0	3.2	58	34
Young ad.	24.5	24.2	3	0	2.1	1.9	81	26
Settled	35.1	32.6	4	3	1.4	1.8	21	28
Elderly	30.8	21.7	8	20	2.6	0.0	0	-
White Am.	32.6	28.8	4	3	1.9	2.3	42	22
Af. Am.	18.1	20.0	3	0	2.2	2.7	50	48
Lat.Hisp.	11.1	0.0	0	-	5.6	0.0	0	-
Asian Am.	0.0	0.0	-	-	0.0	0.0	-	-
Native Am.	33.3	¹	0	-	0.0	0.0	-	-

¹ Only one character in sample.

especially prone to be shown as alcoholics. The use of other drugs is shown as most addictive for adolescent, young and African American men and women. African American women users are more than twice as addiction-prone as their White counterparts.

The use of addictive substances is associated with villainy and failure (App. Tables I-A-38 through I-A-41). Though heroes drink almost as much as villains, other drug use doubles and smoking triples a character's chances of being "bad" rather than "good." Addicts are villains rather than heroes eight times out of ten, and alcoholics nine times out of ten. Smokers are more than twice as likely to fail as non-smokers. Drug addicts are three times as likely to fail

as users only, and five times as likely to fail as non-users.

Gender differences are shown on Table 10. Female

TABLE 10: FATE OF ATOD NON-USERS AND USERS; RATIOS OF MAJOR CHARACTERS IN PRIME TIME

	No. of villains per 100 heroes		No. of failures per 100 successes	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
No ATOD use	22	11	38	29
Drink alcohol	35	13	49	39
Smokes tobacco	62	73	79	130
Uses drug	73	None	100	40
Alcoholic	100	50	50	400
Drug addict	133	None	300	100

smokers and female alcoholics pay a disproportionately high price in negative characterization and failure. While male smokers number 62 villains for every 100 heroes, female smokers number 73. Both male and female alcoholics are almost five times as likely to be villains than heroes as non-users of their gender. But while male alcoholics fail rather than succeed no more often than all male drinkers, and not much more than male non-users, female alcoholics fail 10 times as often as female drinkers and 14 times as often as female non-users of any addictive substance.

Drugs and violence

Users of alcohol and other drugs are generally more likely to be portrayed as involved in violence, both as perpetrators and as victims, than non-users (App. Tables I-A-42 through I-A-48). The portrayal of addiction escalates the violence and, in the case of drug addicts (other than alcohol or tobacco) raises the victimization ratio from 108 victims for each 100 perpetrators to 127 victims. Although, as we have seen, women generally have a higher relative victimization ratio than men, they are less likely to become victims of violence as drug addicts but more likely as alcoholics.

Killing further escalates the pattern. The use of alcohol or other drugs doubles, smoking triples, and addiction quadruples characters' involvement in killing.

Characters portraying alcoholics and smokers are more likely to kill than to be killed. Addicts of other drugs are more likely to get killed. Drug addicts have not only the highest general victimization ratio, but are the only ATOD users whose killer/killed ratio is negative; they are more likely to get killed than to kill. While all ATOD users suffer 45 and alcoholics 71 killed for every 100 they

kill, addicts of other drugs pay with 167 lives for every 100 they take.

Female alcoholics pay the highest price (Table 11). The

TABLE 11: ADDICT VICTIMIZATION RATIOS BY GENDER; MAJOR CHARACTERS, PRIME TIME

	Victims of any violence per 100 perpetrators		Number killed per 100 killers	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Alcoholic	69	133	33	300
Drug addict	138	100	150	200

general victimization ratio of female alcoholics is about twice that of males, and the fatal victimization ratio of female alcoholics is nine times that of males. Other drug addicts all suffer a higher ratio of general victimization, but female drug addicts are, again, more likely to be killed than male drug addicts.

Cultivation Analysis

What are the long-range consequences of growing up and living in television's world of images and messages? Television violence research has been the most prolific area of effects studies. However, most of the research inquired into a limited area of potential consequences, and one in which causal connections are the most difficult to trace, namely effects on violent behavior. Conclusions concerning the contribution heavy viewing makes to such behavior range between 5 and 10 percent of reported occurrences. (For a general review of television violence research see Gerbner 1988a.)

A second and more general finding of research was the "desensitization effect," namely that viewing media violence increases children's toleration of real-life aggression (see Drabman and Thomas, 1974 and its replication by Molitor and Hirsch, 1994).

For about the past 20 years, the CI research has undertaken to address the much broader question of cognitive, attitudinal and value learnings derived from growing up and living in the television mainstream of the cultural environment. This is not a question about the effects of specific campaigns or types of programs but about the associations of the overarching and repetitive patterns of television's systems of images and messages with viewers' perspectives of reality. More specifically, for present purposes, what health-related ideas and actions does

television tend to cultivate? Cultivation analysis attempts to answer this questions.

Of course, it is not possible to trace every aspects of the world of television (or, indeed, of the real world) to the cultivation of specific elements in one's framework of knowledge. But it is possible to relate some common conceptions and actions to frequent exposure to some recurrent and pervasive features of television, even if not always to specific content configurations. This report is limited to the cultivation of health-related conceptions and actions, including perspectives that may reflect frequent exposure to violence and the use of addictive substances on television.

Procedure

In its simplest form, cultivation analysis explores whether those who spend more time with television tend to perceive the real world in ways that reflect the most common and repetitive messages and lessons of the television world. (See Signorielli and Morgan, 1990, for a detailed discussion of the theoretical assumptions and methodological procedures of cultivation analysis.)

The investigation relates amount of respondents' television viewing to their responses to survey questions about facts and values. The questions are based on the monitoring and analysis of the world of television and other information pertinent to the purpose of the investigation. They typically have one answer closer to the facts in the world of television and another closer to the facts of the real world or just a different but equally plausible answer.

The amount of television viewing is usually measured by asking how much time the respondent watches television on an average day. Other media use habits are also recorded. Respondents in each sample are divided into those who watch the most television, those who watch a moderate amount, and those who watch the least. Cultivation is assessed by comparing patterns of responses in the three viewing groups (light, medium, and heavy), while controlling for important demographic and other characteristics.

Typical findings show that the amount of viewing makes an independent contribution, over and above that of other factors, to the way the questions are answered. Those who watch more are more likely than comparable lighter viewers to give the "television answer," or, at any rate, a different answer. The direction and strength of these relationships vary according to the nature of the questions, their relevance to representations on television, and the respondents' social and other characteristics.

Television also appears to cultivate relatively homogeneous "mainstream" conceptions of life. Traditional differences of perspective among different social groups remain mainly among light viewers. Those who watch a great deal of television share more of the outlook of heavy viewers in other demographic groups. Heavy viewers, compared to their light viewing counterparts, tend to converge upon the television "mainstream," particularly in those concepts that reflect its most pervasive messages and images. This is the phenomenon called "mainstreaming."

Patterns of response

Even light viewers may be watching a fair amount of television, and, in any case, live in the same cultural environment as heavy viewers. As the cards are stacked against finding large differences between light and heavy viewers, the evidence of cultivation discovered in CI research assumes far-reaching significance.

The cultivation analyses reported here use data from several sources including the annual General Social Surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center, the Monitoring the Future Surveys conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan, and a New York and New Jersey High School survey and a national survey conducted for CI by the Roper Organization. Questions from these surveys tap several dimensions related to television exposure such as feelings of danger of violence and victimization, interpersonal mistrust and alienation.

The responses were cross-tabulated with reported amount of daily television viewing, controlling for important background variables (e.g., gender, age, education, etc.). Respondents were classified into light (under 2 hours each day), medium (2 to 4 hours per day), and heavy (over 4 hours each day) viewing groups. (There are minor variations in these viewing time distinctions across surveys; the important factor is not the absolute amount of viewing but the relative differences in viewing levels.) The measure of cultivation is the difference in responses between light and heavy viewers, especially in comparable subgroups, expressed in some Tables as the Cultivation Differential (CD) -- the percent of heavy viewers minus the percent of light viewers who give a specific response.

The results demonstrate cultivation of a sense of danger and risk, the "mean world" syndrome, of mistrust and gloom, and of various more specifically health and addictive substance related consequence of television viewing. The specific gender, age, and racial dynamics of television's message systems also make measurable contributions to cultivation among different groups. Finally, the findings reveal the homogenization, or "mainstreaming," of otherwise

people, and some minorities rank as the most vulnerable to victimization on television. The cultivation data show that victimization on television and real world fear among women and minorities, even if contrary to the facts, are highly related (see also Morgan, 1983). Viewers whose own groups have a higher calculus of risks than those of other groups seem to develop a greater sense of apprehension and mistrust in the real world.

The relationships hold up, under simultaneous controls, for Whites and both low and high income respondents. Among respondents of color, who generally score higher on the Mean World Index ($r=.15, p<.001$), the significance of the relationship disappears under simultaneous controls, although the correlation is only slightly smaller than it is for White respondents.

Cultivation data on smoking illustrate both change over time and relative cultivation. Comparison of results of the NORC General Social Survey for 1977-78 and 1988-89 (App. Tables I-C-8 and I-C-9), indicates a general decline in smoking from one time period to another, but a constant association between smoking and heavy viewing in both periods. The 1988-89 results (see Figure 3) also show a striking cultivation difference between light and heavy heavy viewers of color.

A consistently negative association between television viewing and satisfaction from health, especially among respondents who also smoke, can be seen in App. Table I-C-10. In another survey (Figure 4), heavy viewing was strongly related to nutritional complacency as indicated by agreement with the statement "I am not concerned about weight, I eat whatever I want, whenever I want" (rather than

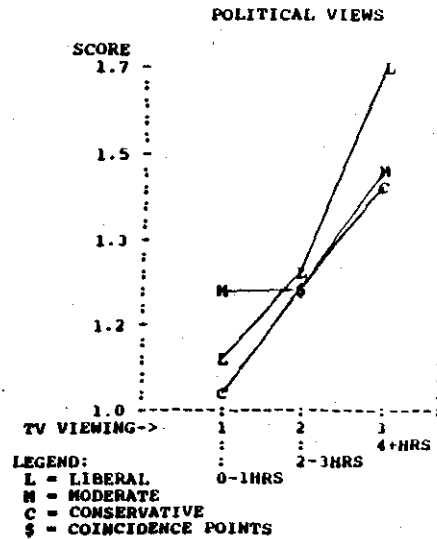
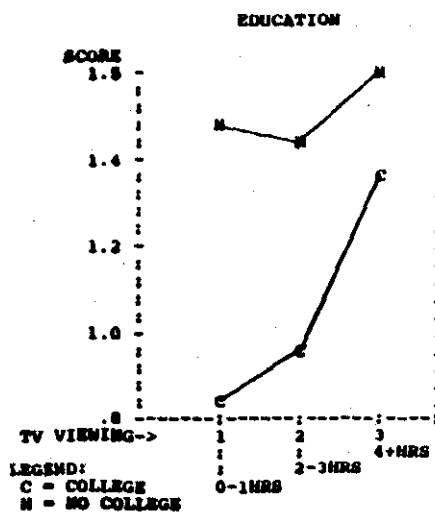
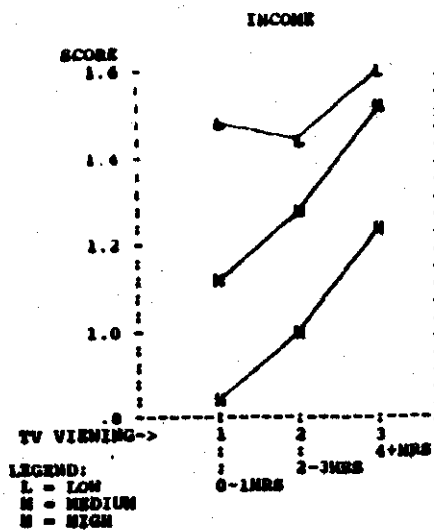
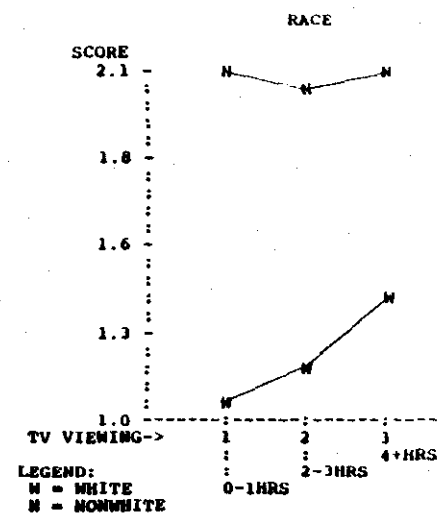
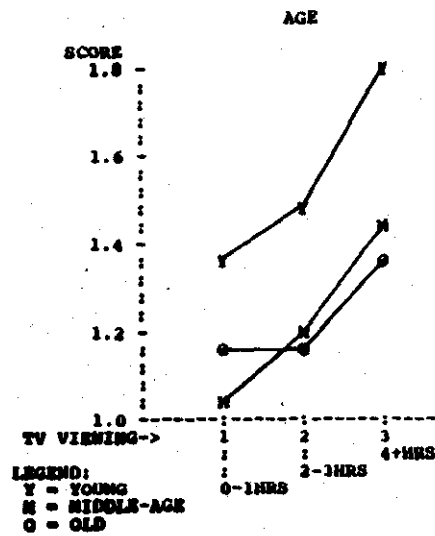
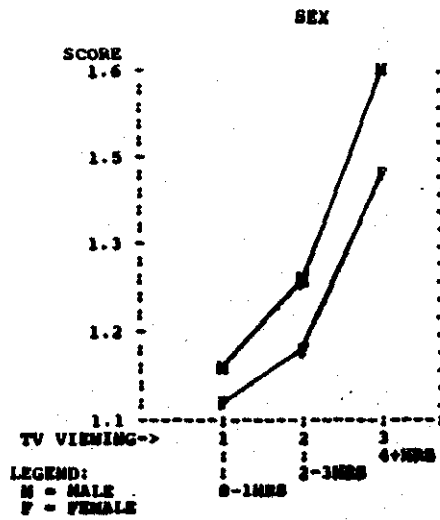


FIGURE 1: SCORES ON THE "MEAN WORLD INDEX" FOR SIX SUBGROUPS

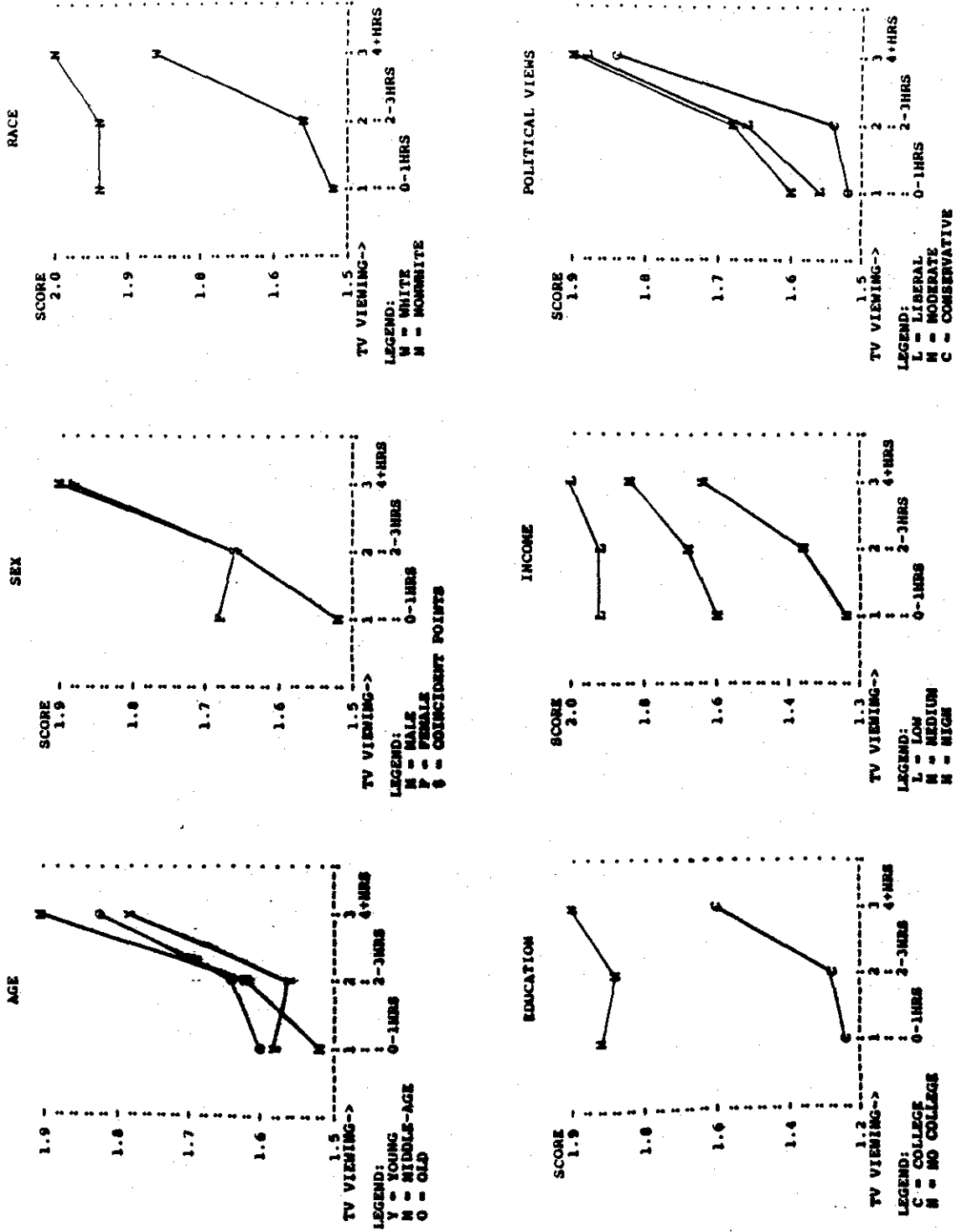


FIGURE 2: SCORES ON THE "GLOOM AND DOOM" INDEX FOR SIX SUBGROUPS

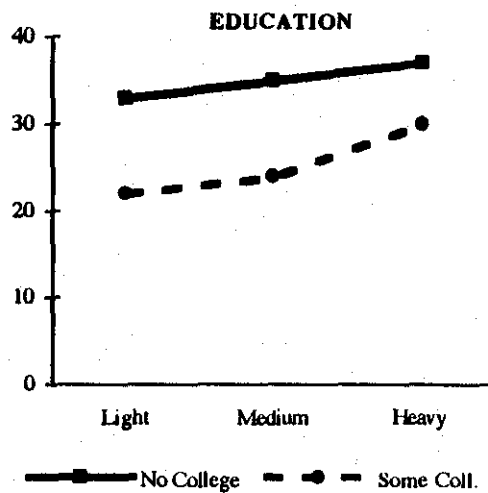
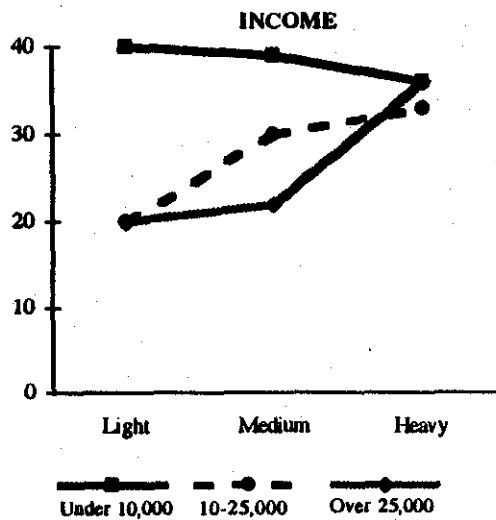
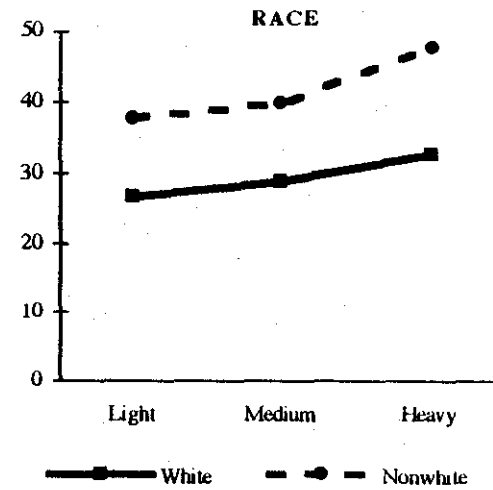
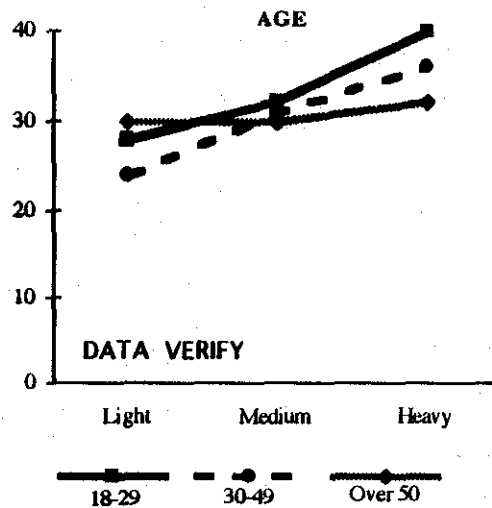
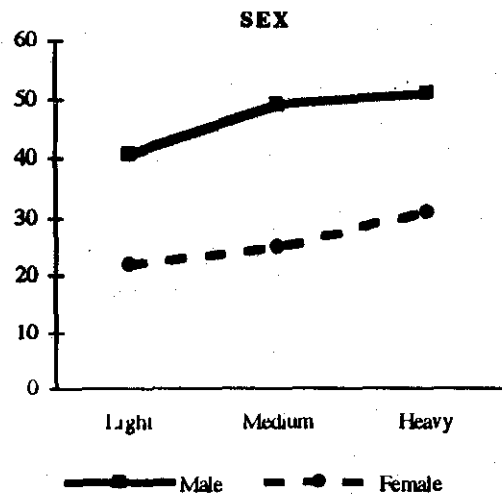


FIGURE 4: ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN VIEWING AND NUTRITIONAL COMPLACENCY

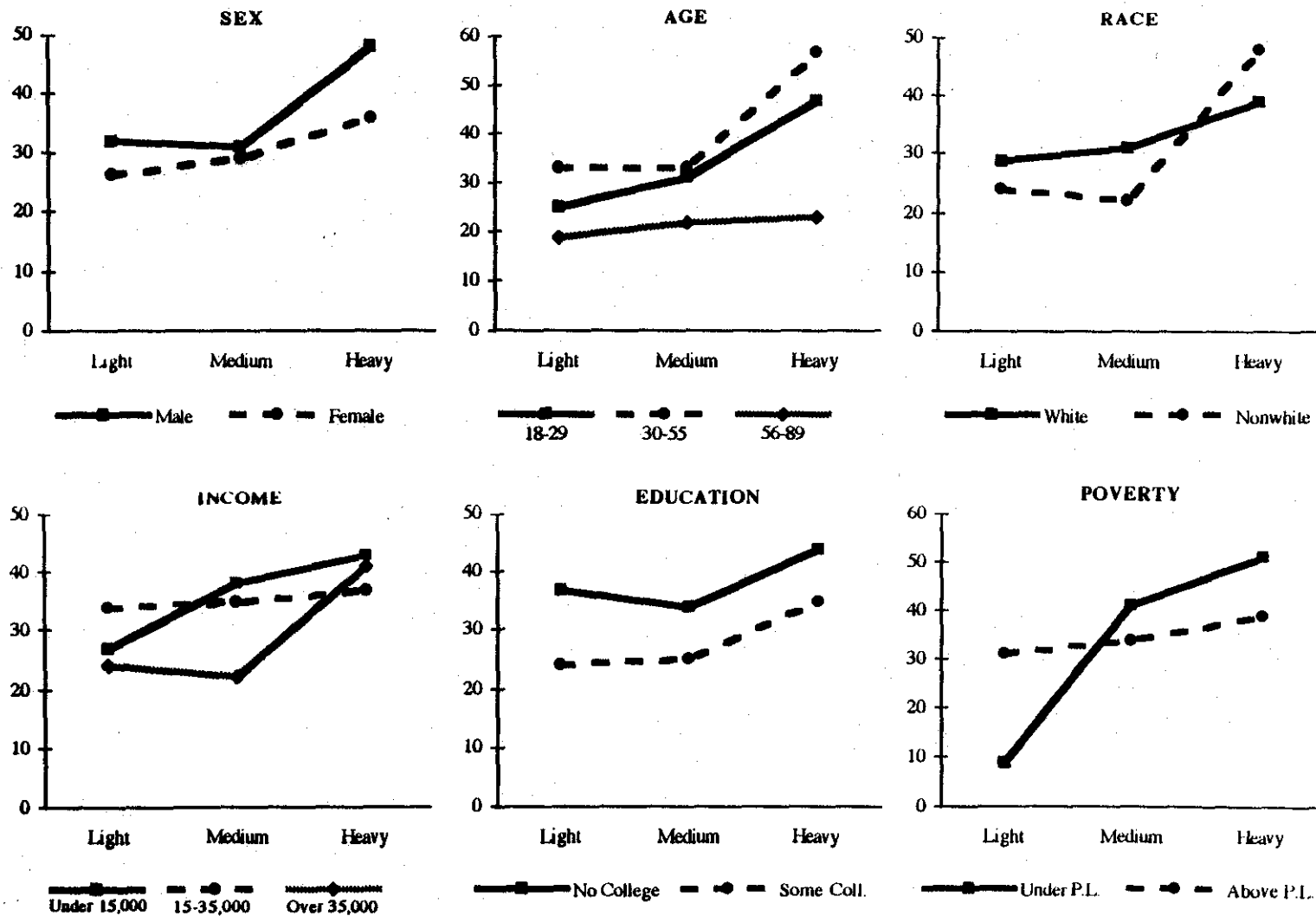


FIGURE 3: ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN VIEWING AND SMOKING

various degrees of concern with eating and diet). (App. Table I-C-11. Finally, in a different type of study, health values, behaviors, and information about health were all negatively related to selecting television as a "main source of information." (App. Table I-C-12.)

Clearly, television viewing cultivates in most groups negative conceptions, habits, and information about health. Furthermore, cultivation appears to erode the usual distinctions among groups of different demographic and other characteristics in the process of homogenization or "mainstreaming."

Mainstreaming is the tendency for viewing to blur distinctions between groups, to bring heavy viewers of otherwise different groups closer together in the television "mainstream." Viewing may also leave some groups, already in the "mainstream" for reasons other than television, relatively unaffected, while other groups are extremely susceptible to television cultivation. In short, heavy viewers seem to be constitute more homogeneous groups than their light viewing counterparts.

An unequal sense of danger, vulnerability and mistrust, a generally lower degree of concern about smoking, health, and nutrition, and the homogenization of outlooks are the deeper problems of violence-laden, market-driven television. These are structural problems that any health-promotion and substance abuse prevention program has to confront.

PART II: WHAT DRIVES TELEVISION VIOLENCE?

The standard rationalization is that violence is pervasive in television programming because it is popular. The evidence reported in Part II challenges that violence is "what the public wants to see."

Of course, popular stars, strong stories and intensive promotion can make any program a relative success, at least temporarily. Also, if only a small portion of the television audience gets "addicted" to television violence, that can make graphically violent movies, videos, and games a commercial success. In fact, escalation of the body count seems to be one way to get attention from those addicted to global mayhem.⁶

But that does not necessarily make violence *per se* popular with the television audience. Results of a comparative study of Nielsen rating suggest that factors other than what the audience wants need to be considered to understand what makes violent programming profitable.

Is It Popularity?

The A.C. Nielsen Company provides survey-based estimates of television viewing used by most broadcasters to set the prices charged for advertising time and to calculate "cost per thousand" (CPM). CPM is the cost of reaching 1,000 viewers -- the standard for assessing the relative marketing efficiency of different media and programs, and the key economic factor in programming.

Nielsen rating is the estimated size of the audience viewing a program, expressed as a percentage of the total sample. Share is the percentage of households tuned into a program out of all household viewing at that time.

Two methods were used to compare Nielsen ratings and shares of violent and non-violent programs. The first comparison samples were drawn by scanning all 30-minute and hour-length titles in the Cultural Indicators data base for

⁶ The first rampage of "Robocop" for law and order in 1987 killed 32 people. The 1990 "Robocop 2," targeting a 12-year-old "drug lord," among others, slaughters 81. "Death Wish" claimed 9 victims in 1974. In the 1988 version the "bleeding heart liberal" turned vigilante disposes of 52. "Rambo: First Blood," released in 1985, left behind 62 corpses. In the 1988 release "Rambo III" visits Afghanistan killing 106. Godfather I produced 12 corpses, Godfather II put away 18 and Godfather III killed 53. The daredevil cop in the original "Die Hard" in 1988 saved the day with a modest 18 dead. Two years later, "Die Hard 2" thwarts a plot to rescue "the biggest drug dealer in the world," coincidentally a Central American dictator to be tried in a U.S. court, achieving a phenomenal body count of 264.

five years, covering the 1988-89 through the 1992-93 seasons. Violent programs were defined as those that contained at least 10 seconds of overt physical violence per hour. Non-violent programs had none. After eliminating titles that aired more than once within the same season's sample (in order to avoid undue emphasis on such programs), each sample ended up with 101 programs.

The second comparison eliminated programs that were only occasionally violent, i.e., programs that did not have violence in each annual sample. That comparison tests the ratings of repeatedly and consistently violent, occasionally violent, and non-violent programs.

Comparisons of Nielsen ratings

The first comparison tests the general viewership of the total violent and non-violent program samples (App. Table II-1). It shows that the overall average rating of the non-violent sample is 13.9 and the rating of the violent sample is 11.2. The shares of the non-violent and violent samples are 22.5 and 18.92, respectively. Furthermore, the non-violent sample is more highly rated than the violent sample for each of the five seasons tested.

The second method tests if there is a further difference between the viewership of repeatedly and consistently violent vs. only occasionally violent programs. Programs with some episodes that were violent and others non-violent are in a "mixed" category. The remaining two categories contain consistently violent and always non-violent programs (App. Table II-2).

This most rigorous test of the violence formula, seen on Figure 5, further demonstrates the relative unpopularity

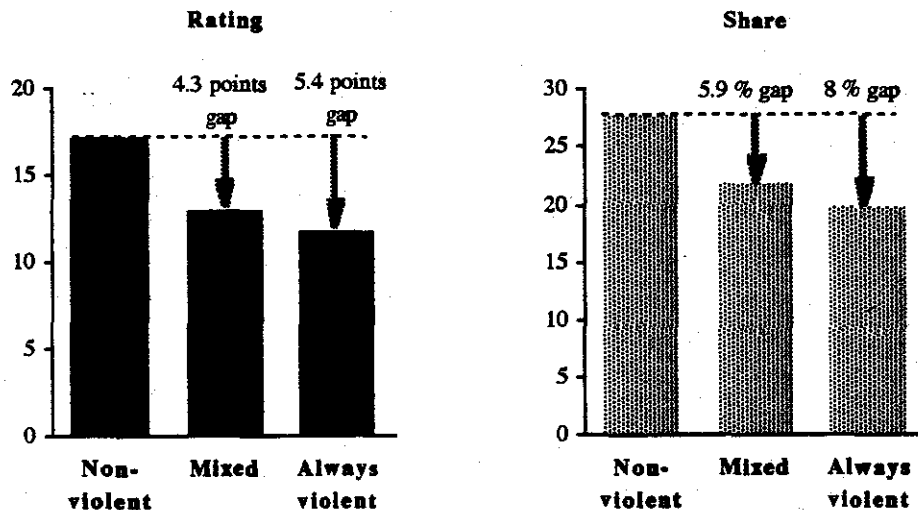


FIGURE 5: RATINGS AND SHARES COMPARISONS BETWEEN NON-VIOLENT, MIXED, AND VIOLENT PROGRAMS

of violent programming. Non-violent programs rate 17.2, mixed programs rate 12.9, and always violent programs rate 11.8. The respective shares are 27.7, 21.8 and 19.7. The gap between the relatively high viewership of non-violent and lower viewership of violent programs increases with the the increase of violence in the programs.

The more consistently violent the programs are, the more they decline in ratings, share, and presumably earnings based on them. The question arises that, as CPM is the key formula for longevity, perhaps violent programs are sufficiently cheaper to produce than non-violent programs to offset the loss of ratings. Therefore, the next assumption investigated was that controlling costs rather than increasing ratings may be an economic driving force behind violent programming.

Cost, genre, importance

Data compiled from the trade papers *Variety* and *Channels* (now defunct) show that the cost-control assumption is false. The average cost of non-violent programs is \$702,000, of occasionally violent programs is \$801,000, and of consistently violent programs is \$1,208,000.

The paradox of the persistence of violent programming despite low ratings and high cost required further investigation. It is possible that the programs' genre rather than the presence or absence of violence accounts for differences in viewership. Ratings vary also by time period, as audience flow depends on the time programs are aired. Finally, whether violence is incidental, significant, or the main focus of the program might also affect viewing.

However, none of these potentially confounding conditions changes the results (App. Table II-3). The ratings gap favors non-violent programs both before and after 9 p.m. Situation comedies that have some violence receive lower ratings and shares than those that have none. Crime-action programs (where most violence is concentrated) are consistently lower rated than sitcoms and others. Humorous non-violent programs have consistently higher average ratings and shares than mixed or serious programs, and these ratings and shares generally decline as violence enters the programs. Finally, as the significance of violence increases, viewership decreases.

Backlash

The trade paper *Broadcasting & Cable* editorialized (Sept. 20, 1993, p. 66) that "the most popular programming

is hardly violent as anyone with a passing knowledge of Nielsen ratings will tell you." The violence formula is, in fact, a reason for popular dismay, political pressure, international embarrassment⁷, and general institutional stress. Of course, growing up with violence produces its addicts who then provide the core audience for even more graphic cable programs, movies, video games, etc. But it only takes a small proportion of viewers, perhaps the equivalent of one night's television audience, to make other violent media a commercial success. But there is no evidence that, other factors being equal, violence *per se* is giving most television viewers in any country "what they want."

On the contrary, most people suffer the violence inflicted on them with diminishing tolerance. Organizations of creative workers in media, health-professionals, law enforcement agencies, and virtually all other media-oriented professional and citizen groups have come out against television violence.

A March 1985 Harris survey showed that 78 percent disapprove of violence they see on television. A Gallup poll of October 1990 found 79 percent in favor of regulating objectionable content in television. A Times-Mirror national poll in 1983 showed that Americans who said they were "personally bothered" by violence in entertainment shows jumped to 59 percent from 44 percent in 1983. Furthermore, 80 percent said entertainment violence was "harmful" to society, compared with 64 percent in 1983, reported Diane Duston of the Associated Press in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (March 24, 1993, p. F5).

"No topic touches a nerve in American homes as does violence on television..." began the lead article of a highly publicized special issue of *TV Guide* on August 22, 1992. Soon thereafter, ten Senators signed a letter to television executives demanding voluntary controls on violence. The Television Violence Act, in force since 1990, offered a three-year limited exemption from the threat of antitrust action if the industry responds. It expired without evoking significant policy change.

Attorney General Janet Reno and Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala, along with Department of

⁷ Nowhere is the shock of the sudden invasion of global marketing more evident than in the countries of East-Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, used to subsidized domestic and more diverse international fare. "They are deluged by third-rate terminator movies and soaps," wrote Yelena Khanga, a former reporter for the *Moscow News* in *The New York Times* on August 20, 1994 (p. 23). "And why, people ask, we now bombarded with ads for cigarettes -- something Americans themselves are fighting?"

Education Secretary Richard W. Riley, convened in Washington, D.C. a "National Consultation on Violence." Their report, released in July, 1993, broke new ground in pointing out that "The issue of media violence is really just the first phase of a major cultural debate about life in the 21st Century. What kind of people do we want our children to become? What kind of culture will best give them the environment they will need to grow up healthy and whole?" The group recommended that citizens "Take lessons from the environmental movement to form a 'cultural environmental' movement."

By the end of 1993, President Bill Clinton and most members of the cabinet spoke out on television violence. No speech reverberated more than that of the Attorney General. "Top cop Janet Reno may have turned Congress's anti-TV violence bandwagon into a runaway freight train," exclaimed *Variety* (Nov. 1, 1993, p. 25). Nine bills were introduced in Congress to curb television violence. A year later, none had even advanced to the floor of either house.

Meanwhile, local broadcast license holders complained about their loss of freedom to choose what they show and exercise some control over violent programming. The trade paper *Electronic Media* reported on August 2, 1993, the results of its survey of 100 television station general managers across all regions and in all market sizes. Despite the law that makes the license holder fully responsible for programming for the local community and "in the public interest," three out of four said there is too much needless violence on television; 57 percent would like to have "more input on program content decisions."

Networks were imposing their own programming formulas on affiliates, in clear violation of the letter and intent of the law and FCC regulations. Even the trade paper *Variety* observed (August 22, 1994, p. 19) that "Tough language in recent contractual agreements ... is raising questions of whether the webs are playing fast and loose with long standing FCC rules mandating that stations -- and not the networks -- have the ultimate say in program schedules..." For example, when, in the most dramatic media merger of 1994, Fox Broadcasting (the network owned by Rupert Murdoch's Australia-based News Corporation, "financed," according to *Variety* (June 6, 1994, p.1), "99 percent by foreign coin" and airing the most violent action shows) acquired the 12-station New World Communications Group, its contract stipulated that "no (Fox) programming will be deemed to be unsatisfactory, unsuitable, or contrary to the public interest...which the licensee believes to be more profitable or more attractive," and none may be preempted "except to present locally produced non-entertainment...approved by Fox."

In an industry quick to claim the protection of the First Amendment when the violence formula is attacked, no loud voice was raised to protest violations of broadcast licensees' freedom to choose programming most suitable to their viewers and the public interest. (It remained to the New York chapter of the NAACP to charge Fox with "flagrant violation" of the FCC rule limiting foreign ownership of a broadcast station or network to 25 percent. The reason was the web's cancellation of "Roc," the only issue-oriented comedy about a working-class African-American family.)

Many in the creative community, however, expressed great concern about the loss of freedom. The Hollywood Caucus of Producers, Writers and Directors said in a statement issued on the eve of the August 1993 "summit" conference: "We stand today at a point in time when the country's dissatisfaction with the quality of television is at an all-time high, while our own feelings of helplessness and lack of power, in not only choosing material that seeks to enrich, but also in our ability to execute to the best of our ability, is at an all-time low."

Industry conflict and Hollywood's dissatisfaction was also reflected in a *U.S. News and World Report* poll, reported by the Associated Press on April 30, 1994. The Hollywood survey was conducted for the magazine by the UCLA Center for Communication Policy and found that views on violence inside the entertainment industry are not much different from those of the general public. The survey found that 59 percent of Hollywood workers polled saw entertainment violence as a serious problem, 87 percent said media violence is at least a contributing factor to violence in America, 58 percent said they themselves have avoided violent programs, and 76 percent said they have stopped or discouraged their children from watching such programs.

Leaders of the television industry responded by declaring their intention to run disclaimers and "parental advisories," and, a year later, by commissioning violence "monitors" to report still another year later. Another effort at damage-control was the "Industry-Wide Leadership Conference on Violence in Television Programming" in Los Angeles on August 2, 1993. It was dubbed the "Violence Summit" by the international media crowding into its hotel ballroom. This was the first time that the electronic media industries invited legislators, educators, researchers and representatives of citizens groups to discuss a matter of programming policy. The conference was covered by all major networks, broadcast live by CNN and later aired in full by C-SPAN. It made no effort to reach consensus, adjourned without making any recommendations for change, and had no impact on overall program policy.

Nevertheless, industry sources cited in the trade paper *Broadcasting & Cable* (Oct. 25, 1993, p. 6) complained that "we're not getting any credit for what we've already done." Others called for a counter-attack and unveiled some of the most violent movies, programs, and cartoon series ever produced. "Up to now" said "a network source" quoted by *Broadcasting & Cable* "we have tried to be good guys...I think you'll see a change in how we react." A one-day "snapshot" study of programming, reported in *TV Guide* on August 13, 1993, showed a significant rise of violence in the news, in promotional announcements, and in cartoons.

The Global Marketing Factor

What accounts for the perennially violent fare and a virtual policy paralysis in the face of the ratings and cost paradox, turmoil in the media industries, and fierce public backlash? The answer challenges the two standard rationalizations: first, that violence is what people want, and, secondly, that it is an expression of creative freedom.

Broadcasting & Cable magazine wrote in its Sept. 20, 1993, editorial (p. 66) that "Action hours and movies have been the most popular exports for years...." Bruce Gordon, President of Paramount International TV Group, explained in the same journal (June 15, 1992, p. 19) that "The international demand rarely changes....Action-adventure series and movies continue to be the genre in demand, primarily because those projects lose less in translation to other languages... Comedy series are never easy because in most of the world most of the comedies have to be dubbed and wind up losing their humor in the dubbing."

The magazine of the broadcasting industry returned to the theme in its August 25, 1994 "Special Report," entitled "ACTION ESCALATES FOR SYNDICATORS." It noted that "...the closest thing to a guaranteed hit overseas continues to be U.S. action-adventure shows" (p.27). The most dramatic new entry into the "action market" in 1944-45 is the "Action Pack" series produced by MCA TV, employing lavish special effects used in "Jurassic Park" and "The Mask," and, despite its relatively good ratings, expecting a domestic deficit to be made up on the world market. Some executives, like Keith Samples, President of Rysher, a major syndicator of action programs, have earned their "reputation for negotiating international co-production deals that allow projects to succeed financially with lower domestic ratings..." (P.34)

Global syndicators demand "action" (the code word for violence) because it "travels well around the world," said the producer of "Die Hard 2" (which killed 264 compared to 18 in "Die Hard 1." "Everyone understands an action movie. If I tell a joke, you may not get it but if a bullet goes

through the window, we all know how to hit the floor, no matter the language." (Cited by Ken Auletta in "What Won't They Do," *The New Yorker*, May 17, 1993, pp. 45-46.)

"Syndicators are developing action shows with international play in mind and are triggering 20 to 22 initial hours," *Electronic Media* reported in its March 8, 1993 issue (p. 4), because foreign buyers are "tired of ...series ordered in dribs and drabs of six or eight episodes - in genres they don't find appealing."

"Action series," reported *Variety* on Oct. 5, 1992 (p. 21) sell particularly well if produced by the dozens. "...In today's trigger-happy marketplace, a 22-episode order is a creative (and financial) cushion for producers" because the network standard of 13 or even 6 installments "is too paltry" for cable and foreign markets where the marketers' profits come from.

The answer to the dilemma of violent television programming thus rests in a highly concentrated and globalized system of production and distribution. Governments and private operators who import violent action series in large quantities at low unit cost. The local product is typically more popular but, for smaller markets, much more expensive to produce.

U.S.-based media industries dominate more than half of the world's screens, and violence dominates U.S. production for export. A pilot study of international data in the Cultural Indicators database provides some information about the scope of the international "overkill." A thematic analysis of a sample of 250 U.S. programs exported to 10 countries, compared with 111 programs shown only in the U.S. at the same time, found that violence was the main theme of 40 percent of home-shown and 49 percent of exported programs. Crime/action series comprised 17 percent of home-shown and 46 percent of exported programs.

Economic trends compound the pressures. Expensive and risky production requires the pooling of large resources and even larger distribution capabilities. "Studios are clipping productions and consolidating operations, closing off gateways for newcomers," notes the trade paper *Variety* on the front page of its August 2, 1993, issue. The number of major studios declines while their share of domestic and global markets rises. Channels multiply while investment in new talent drops, gateways close, and creative sources shrink.

Concentration brings streamlining of production, economies of scale, and emphasis on dramatic ingredients most suitable for aggressive international promotion. Cross-media conglomeration and "synergy" means that

ownership of product in one medium can be used, reviewed, promoted, and marketed in other media "in house." It means less competition, fewer alternative voices, greater emphasis on formulas that saturate more markets. "Privatization" of formerly public-service broadcasting around the world means a decline of subsidies for the arts, reduction of staffs, and the production and distribution of more of the type of product that can be purchased at the lowest cost on the world market.

Networks pay producers a "license fee" for one or two airings of their product. The few buyers that dominate the market can set the license fee so low that most producers do not break even on the domestic market. Deficit financing is the rule, not the exception, in program production.

This system places a great burden on producers and distributors. They must find additional sources of income to compensate for lower ratings and higher average cost of violent programs and to make a profit. That is a difficult task that often takes a long time and is a long-range strategy.

The additional sources of income are syndication of programs, home video sales, various forms of ancillary merchandising and franchising, and, most importantly, foreign sales. The dependence on foreign sales affects the nature of the product in crucial ways. It makes producers search for an ingredient in a marketing formula that requires no translation, is image-driven, "speaks action" in any language, and can be inserted into the culture of almost any country. They find that ingredient in violence. (Graphic sex is second, but, ironically, that runs into many more inhibitions and restrictions around the world.)

Production companies emphasizing alternative approaches to human conflict, like Globalvision, Inc., G-W Associates, and Future Wave, report that they have difficulty selling their product. Far from reflecting creative freedom, viewer preference, citizen demands, or crime statistics, the global marketing strategy driving the television violence overkill wastes talent, restricts freedom, chills originality and damages human rights and the public interest. Helping broadcasters loosen these constraints, and serve audiences with more diverse fare addressed to their own needs and interests, is a key aspect of the cultural environment approach to prevention.

PART III: THE CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT APPROACH TO PREVENTION

Channels multiply but communication technologies converge and media merge. With every merger, staffs shrink and creative opportunities diminish. Cross-media conglomeration reduces competition and denies entry to newcomers. The coming of cable and VCR's has not led to greater diversity of product or actual viewing (See e.g. Morgan and Shanahan, 1991b.; Gerbner, 1993b; Gerbner et al., 1993).

A study of "The Limits of Selective Viewing" (Sun, 1989) related frequent thematic categories to the incidence of violence and found that, on the whole, television presents a relatively small set of common themes, and violence pervades all of them. A major network viewer looking for a nature or family theme, for example, would find violence in 7 or 8 out of every 10 programs. The majority of viewers who watch more than 3 hours a day have little choice of thematic context or cast of character types, and virtually no chance of avoiding violence.

Fewer sources fill more outlets more of the time with ever more standardized fare designed for global markets. Global marketing streamlines production, homogenizes content, and sweeps alternative perspectives from the mainstream. Media coalesce into a seamless, pervasive and inescapable cultural environment, with television its mainstream.

Media anti-trust legislation and broadcast regulations for localism, public trusteeship of license holders, fairness and equal time, and against multiple, foreign and cross-media ownership and trafficking in stations are ignored, or obsolete, or irrelevant. There is no historical precedent, constitutional provision, or legislative blueprint to confront the challenge of the new consolidated controls that really count -- controls over the design, production, promotion and distribution of media content. Even the word "media" has lost its meaning of plurality. Media coalesce into a seamless, pervasive, and increasingly homogenized cultural environment that has drifted out of democratic reach.

The Cultural Environment Movement (CEM) was launched in 1991 in response to this drift. Depictions of violence and of substance abuse are integral parts of the new cultural environment pervading every community and every home. CEM is an educational nonprofit tax-exempt corporation organized to address the need for a new approach to prevention. Its main objective is reach out to communities and to build a coalition of independent organizations committed to joint

action in developing mechanisms of greater public participation in cultural decision-making. The current mailing packet and some press materials are attached as Appendix III.

The first three years were devoted to four types of activity: (1) the initial stages of organization and development; (2) dissemination of information through personal appearances, speeches, conference participation, regional CEM meetings, publications, and the news media; (3) developing a database of responses, and (4) strategic planning.

Initial Organization and Development

The founding Board of Directors helped assemble a larger group of advisors and consultants from a variety of professional, media-oriented, health-related, women's, minority, environmental, labor, religious, academic, and other citizens groups, including local, regional, national and international representation (see Appendix [X]).

This group held a series of organizing and policy meetings in Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia in 1991 and 1992. Following these meetings, the CEM Board of Directors approved a prospectus, a survey, an outreach program, and the general direction of CEM.

Initial start-up grants were obtained from the New World Foundation (\$5,000), Peter Buckley (Public Media Center) (\$5,000), and the Foundation for Deep Ecology (\$5,000). Individual contributions of an average of \$25 each totaled over \$8,400 in August, 1994. A professional services contract with the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention helped support the research and activity programs.

A volunteer staff assisted with research and outreach activity until, in March 1994, Sheila Witherington was appointed Coordinator for both the Cultural Indicators research and the Cultural Environment Movement outreach project. Ms. Witherington is an M.A. graduate of the Annenberg School for Communication. She has more than 25 years experience in writing, editing, publishing, advertising, marketing, research and development.

Dissemination of Information

Soon after the development of the prospectus and other basic materials, the chair and other CEM officers began to disseminate information through personal appearances, interviews, reports and publications. These events and

activities provided information on CEM, media analysis and citizen organization, violence, substance abuse and other health related media issues, and related media policies. Most events and activities involved distribution of CEM literature, research reports, and other relevant materials.

The response is encouraging, and at times overwhelming. In addition to a constant flow of inquiries, the CEM office receives 5-6 media calls a week (sometimes a day), including requests for interviews and talk-show appearances, some also generating press coverage, and all stimulating the flow of inquiries.

Groups that have already voted to affiliate with CEM include Citizen Action for Better Television, Philadelphia, Pa.; the National Telemedia Council, Madison Wisc.; Citizens for Media Literacy, Asheville, N.C.; Stigma Clearinghouse, New York; Strategies for Media Literacy, San Francisco; Unplug, Washington D.C.; Center for Media and Values, Los Angeles; Media Access Project, Washington, D.C.; Center for Media Education, Washington, D.C.; Minority Media Ownership Fund, Washington, D.C.; Physicians for Social Responsibility; Screen Actors Guild; American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, etc. (For a complete list of organizations, see below.)

Regional organizing meetings were held in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Urbana, Ill., Fargo, N.D., Houston, Ashville, N.C., and Vancouver, B.C. Meetings in other countries were conducted in Rome, Cairo, Istanbul, London, Budapest, Moscow, Caracas, Helsinki, Paris. Television appearances introduced CEM in England, Australia and Japan.

Several video productions featuring CI and CEM are being marketed or are in production. The Media Education Foundation produced a video entitled "The Killing Screens: Media and the Culture of Violence," directed by Sut Jhally. Productions for the "All About TV" and "Frontline" series for PBS are underway.

A more specific chronology of highlights of activities follows.

1992

February. All-university lecture at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Participation and lecture in the Communication Consultation In Seminary Education at the Yale Divinity School in New Haven.

March. Panel discussion in Washington, D.C. on "The New Global Popular Culture" organized by the American Enterprise

Institute and televised by C-SPAN and PBS. The chair of CEM served As Distinguished Visiting Professor at American University, Cairo (Egypt) and organized a meeting of interested media personnel on CEM. Keynote address at the International Symposium On Media Literacy organized by the Bertelsman Foundation in Gutersloh, Germany.

May. Convention of the American Psychiatric Association in Washington, D.C. panels on Children And Television Violence and on drafting the APA policy on television violence. Commencement speaker at Worcester State College, Worcester, Mass. Discussant at a panel presentation at the International Communication Association annual convention in Miami.

June. Panel discussion with John Leonard, Peggy Charren, Ronald Slaby, Deborah Prothro-Stith and others in New York, organized by TV Guide for a print symposium on television violence, published in the August 22 issue, generating over 1,000 letters. Panelist in the international media symposium of the Frankfurt Fair (Messe Frankfurt) in Germany, introducing CEM to an international audience. Participant in a Freedom Forum-sponsored conference on media law and regulation in Moscow. Keynote address at the Conference on Media Education of the National Council of Teachers of English.

July, August. Meeting of the advisory board of the Scott Newman Center in Washington D.C. on a drug abuse program. Panels on television violence and new technologies at the general conference of the International Association for Mass Communications Research in Guaruja, Brazil, gaining support for CEM from an international group of academics and practitioners. Addressed the Healthy Block Campaign meeting in Philadelphia on "The Cultural Frontier in Health Promotion and Disease Prevention."

September. Public lecture and a workshop for teachers in the Princeton, N.J. school system on media analysis and citizen organization with special emphasis on violence and community organization. Keynote paper on "Alcohol Culture" at a conference of the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, U.S. Public Health Service, in Washington, D.C.

October. Conducted a 10-day course on media analysis and citizen organization at the Salesian University, Rome, Italy. Addressed a conference of foundation representatives organized by the Pew Charitable Trusts in Philadelphia on the same issue.

November. Consulted with the Satellite Network Committee of cable network CEO's in La Quinta, Calif., commissioning a study of violence in cable-originated

programming. Spoke on "Television Violence and Ethics" at an international conference organized by the Institut Quabecois de Recherche Sur la Culture in Montreal. Recorded three programs for "All About TV" educational television series in New York.

December, spoke in Houston, Texas, at the GTE Lecture Series "Technology and Ethics" organized by the University of Texas Health Sciences Center Program on Humanities and Technology in Health Care. Participation in the Aspen Foundation National Leadership Conference on Media Literacy. Appearance on a WCAU (CBS) Television program on media and aging. Testimony a hearing of the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Crime and Criminal Justice on the need for CEM community organizing and coalition building resulted in significant media attention and reprints of the transcript in several publications, generating much mail and offers of volunteer help.

1993

January. Public lecture at St. Mary's College in Moraga, California. Meeting with staff members and others interested in the Cultural Environment Movement at the Far West Laboratories in San Francisco. Guest speaker on a 1-hour radio call-in program in San Francisco. Taped a television program interview in Los Angeles. Meeting with the Cable Network Satellite Committee of the National Cable Television Association (NCTA) in Beverly Hills, Calif., to discuss progress on CI study of violence in cable-originated programs. Meeting of the International Advisory Board for Hungarian Television in Budapest.

February. A Public Affairs Symposium at Dickinson College, Pa. Commentator on international comparative work on television violence at a workshop on "Rethinking Soviet Studies" organized by the Kennen Institute of the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, D.C. Speaker on television violence and cameras in the courtroom" at the Bar-Bench-Media Conference sponsored by the Delaware State Bar Association in Wilmington, De.

March. Speaker on "Television, the Hidden Curriculum" at the Glenelg Country School in Maryland. Delivered the 1993 Guy Wilkerson Gray lecture on health and television at the Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge. An op-ed commentary on violence and the CEM in the New York Newsday elicited many responses. Addressed the annual "Meet the Broadcasters" conference of Citizens Action for Better Television of Philadelphia. Seminar on "Technology and Constraints on the Cultural Environment" in the "Visions" series of lectures sponsored by the Columbia Institute for Tele-Information of the Columbia University Business School in New York. Public lectures at The American University in

Washington, D.C. and at Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.

April. Introduced CEM at a Haverford Historical Society meeting on "Instant History." International media organization was discussed in a speech at a conference on "The Impact of the Media on UN Operations" sponsored by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in New York. The Citizens for Media Literacy of Ashvile, N.C., sponsored a press conference and a public lecture (carried in full on local public radio), after which CML offered to affiliate and formed a local organizing committee for a regional conference for CEM.

May. A consultation with Turner Broadcasting staff in Washington, D.C. led to a contract to CI to study violence in Turner-produced movies for television. Delivered keynote speech at a conference on "The Media, Violence, and Youth" sponsored by the Nigeria-America Institute of Camden, N.J. Addressed the Philadelphia Chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility, after which PSR formed a coordinating committee to organize health professionals for affiliation with CEM. Gave a paper at the International Communication Association Annual Conference in New Orleans on "Invisible Crises." Gave a presentation on television violence to the staff of Turner Broadcasting in Atlanta.

June. Released the report of a CI study on "Women and Minorities on Television; Casting and Fate" at a press conference called by the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA) and the Screen Actors Guild (SAG), in Washington, D.C. The findings were widely reported; a summary presenting CEM's approach appeared as an op-ed piece in The Philadelphia Inquirer. Gave the results of violence studies as a panelist in a BBC television programs "Right of Reply" in London.

July. Released an updated Television Violence Profile at a Washington, D.D. press conference called by Senator Paul Simon. Consulted with Senator Byron Dorgan (Dem. North Dakota) concerning television violence legislation. Spoke in Los Angeles at the annual meeting of Education First!, an organization of Hollywood producers concerned with the educational impact of entertainment. A "National Consultation on Safeguarding Our Youth: Violence Prevention for Our Children," convened by Attorney General Janet Reno, Department of Education Secretary Richard W. Riley and Department of Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala in Washington, D.C. recommended that citizens "Take lessons from the environmental movement to form a 'cultural environmental' movement."

August. Panelist at the Industry-Wide Leadership Conference on Violence in Television Programing in Los Angeles, covered by CNN and CSPAN and other media.

Conducted the first West Coast Organizing Conference for CEM in Los Angeles. Met with American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA) and the Screen Actors Guild (SAG) representatives to discuss their affiliation with the Cultural Environment Movement. Electronic Media carried the first trade paper story about CEM. It reported the Los Angeles organizing meeting, described the diversity goals of the Movement, and cited SAG and AFTRA representatives declaring that "It's a cause both unions feel very strongly about."

September, October. Spoke to another meeting of the Philadelphia Chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility. Spoke at the Haddonfield United Methodist Church Sunday Forum, at a New Jersey State Conference on Violence Against Women, at a New Jersey State Public Health Department Conference on Youth Violence, and at a Camden, N.J. conference on violence. Spoke and conducted a workshop at the national conference of Health Professionals Handgun Epidemic Lowering Plan (HELP) Network in Chicago. Spoke at the annual conference of the Sustainable Society Action Project in Philadelphia. Conducted a 3-day seminar discussing international media activism at the University of Budapest. Gave a lecture at the School of Media of the College of Printing in London, and spoke to the staffs of the Broadcast Standards Council and the British Board of Film Classification, also in London. Keynoted the International Communication and Democracy Conference in Caracas, Venezuela.

November. Delivered the Linda M. Weisman Memorial Lecture at the Pennsylvania Hospital. A delegation of media union leaders with CEM participation met with executives of the three major television networks in New York to discuss the findings of the report on violence, women and minorities on television. Subsequent meetings with SAG and AFTRA representatives resulted in the decision of the SAG National Boards to affiliate with CEM and to encourage other media unions to do likewise. Appeared as panelist on the WBAL-TV (Baltimore) program The Last Word. Was the luncheon speaker at a Media Literacy Conference at the University of Pennsylvania. Spoke to the meeting of the Hellenic University Club at Penn. Gave the keynote speech at a conference on the "Impact and Implication of the Media on Social Behavior" sponsored by the Children and Family Resource Center in Philadelphia.

December. Addressed the staff of the American Association of Retired Persons in Washington, D.C., leading to the commissioning of a CI study of midlife and older women on television. Appeared as guest on the McNeil/Lehrer News Hour

January. Attended the organizing meeting of the Academic Action Team of Operation Peace in Philadelphia. Taped two half-hour programs on The Open Mind, New York Public Television. Gave an invitational lecture on the Cultural Environment Movement at the University of Tampere and spoke to the Finnish Media Studies Conference at the University of Helsinki, Finland. Panelist at the National Association of Television Executives (NATPE) annual convention in Miami on television violence.

February. Conducted two workshops on media violence at the Making Prevention Work conference in Springfield, Ill., supported by CSAP. Gave several radio and TV interviews in the Midwest. Spoke to the Program for Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security in Urbana, Ill., on television violence, delivered the MillerCom94 Lecture at the University of Illinois, and addressed the organizing meeting of People for Better Television, in Urbana, Ill. Gave a talk at the Peacemaking Task Force colloquium of the Bryn Mawr Presbyterian Church. Was the February Forum speaker of the Columbus Metropolitan Club and participated in the organizing meeting of a community media group in Columbus, Ohio.

March. Keynote address at a conference on "Adolescents in the Schools; Issues for the '90s" at the Morristown, N.J. Memorial Hospital. Lecture at the International Communication program of American University, Washington, D.C.

April. Spoke to the National High-Risk Youth Learning Community Workshop, supported by the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention, in Dallas, Texas. Presented at a conference on "Violence in the Community" at Bridgewater (Mass.) State Hospital. Panelist at a conference on television violence at the Hofstra University School of Law. Keynoted the Red River Communication Conference at the North Dakota State University (Fargo), gave interviews on North Dakota radio and television. Addressed a local CEM-sponsored public meeting at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, British Columbia. Lecture on "The Role of the Mass Media in the Development of a Global Drug Culture" at a workshop on the International Implications of the Transnational Drug Phenomenon" at the University of Pennsylvania. Participated in an all-day televised symposium on television violence at Troy State University, Troy, Alabama.

May. Met with Operation Peace in Philadelphia and consulted about CEM with the Center for Disease Control Philadelphia representative Deputy Health Commissioner Dr. Chukwudi Onwuachi-Saunders. Keynote address at the annual meeting of the Public Relations Society of America,

International Section, in New York. An hour-long radio broadcast of the Fred Fiske Show on WAMU radio in the Washington, D.C. area produced over 200 letters from listeners. (Each inquiry receives a packet of information about CEM, in addition to a current short article about research findings.) Panelist at the International Conference in New York on "Involving Communities in the Global Drug Problem" sponsored by the United Nations International Drug Control Program. Spoke at the Violence Symposium of the American Psychiatric Association Annual Meeting in Philadelphia.

June, July, and August. Keynote address on television violence at the 4th Annual International Colloquium at the Sorbonne, Paris, France. Interviewed by Bob Edwards on NPR "Morning Edition." Spoke at three Media Literacy Workshops, sponsored by Teachers College, Columbia University, New York; the 1994 Conference on Media Education sponsored by the National Council of Teachers of English and the Telemedia Council, at the University of Wisconsin, Madison; and the Institute on Media Education sponsored by the Harvard University Graduate School of Education in Cambridge, Mass. Speaker at the Advanced Strategic Management Program for Public Broadcasters, Sugarloaf Conference Center, Philadelphia.

Response

A test mailing of 1,500 was sent out in November, 1993, to a list compiled from inquiries received in response to personal appearances, collected from board members, and selected from an encyclopedia of national associations. Included in the mailing were (1) a prospectus, (2) a one-page survey (front and back), (3) an individual charter membership form, and (4) a form for organizational expression of interest in affiliation. The same packet is sent to those who learned about CEM in other ways and request information.

As of August 15, 1994, 2,765 names were in the database. New inquiries, membership forms, and expressions of interest were being received at the rate of approximately 10-15 a week, depending on activity and news coverage. Approximately 1,954 listings are membership prospects, 88 are individuals representing affiliated organizations, 500 are individuals who have completed membership forms, and the remaining names are from persons who have contacted CEM for information. Returns have come from all but six states and 34 countries.

The survey

A summary of 128 completed survey responses (8.5 percent of the test mailing) shows that the activist, change-oriented aims of CEM received the most support (62.5 percent), while critical comments focused mostly on these aims being too abstract and/or too comprehensive (Table 12).

TABLE 12: PERCENTS OF SUPPORTIVE AND CRITICAL COMMENTS

SUPPORT Propositions (+) (106 Surveys)	No. of Respondents	CRITICAL Propositions (-) (90 Surveys)	No. of Respondents
1. Emphasis on changing/reforming cultural environment; cultural environment issues.	47	1. CEM concept and/or agenda is too abstract/academic/elitist for general public, or to make a difference in policies/actions.	19
2. CEM is proactive in building grassroots coalitions and is not merely reactive (has an activist agenda).	35	2. Aims of the movement are too all-encompassing (needs more focus) or unclear to bring collective reform action.	11
3. The diverse and all-inclusive perspective of CEM.	17	3. Title of organization (CEM) is problematic (ambiguous, unclear, stands for something other than true aims of movement).	9
4. CEM can possibly create a freer, more democratic media environment (idealism).	14	4. CEM's aims are in danger of being coopted/influenced by special interests or groups (religious, conservative, etc).	8
5. Focus on education, awareness, and/or media literacy.	11	5. CEM advocates censorship (damage to the First Amendment).	7
6. CEM provides opportunity to improve cultural environment without damaging First Amendment (no censorship).	6	6. Conservatism or extremism in CEM and the imposition of dogmatism in the movement (problem of "political correctness").	7
7. CEM's international perspective.	6	7. CEM overlooks positive aspects of media (It is too negative).	6
8. CEM believes in working with mass media institutions to change cultural environment.	6	8. CEM approaches are old and have been proven ineffective in past organizations.	5
		9. CEM is unorganized in communicating its message, and/or is unresponsive to individuals.	5
		10. CEM charter/prospectus/goal does not have an adequate international focus (no references to cultural impact overseas).	4

A count of specific issues of interest is represented on Figure 6. Other survey results show that 78 percent are

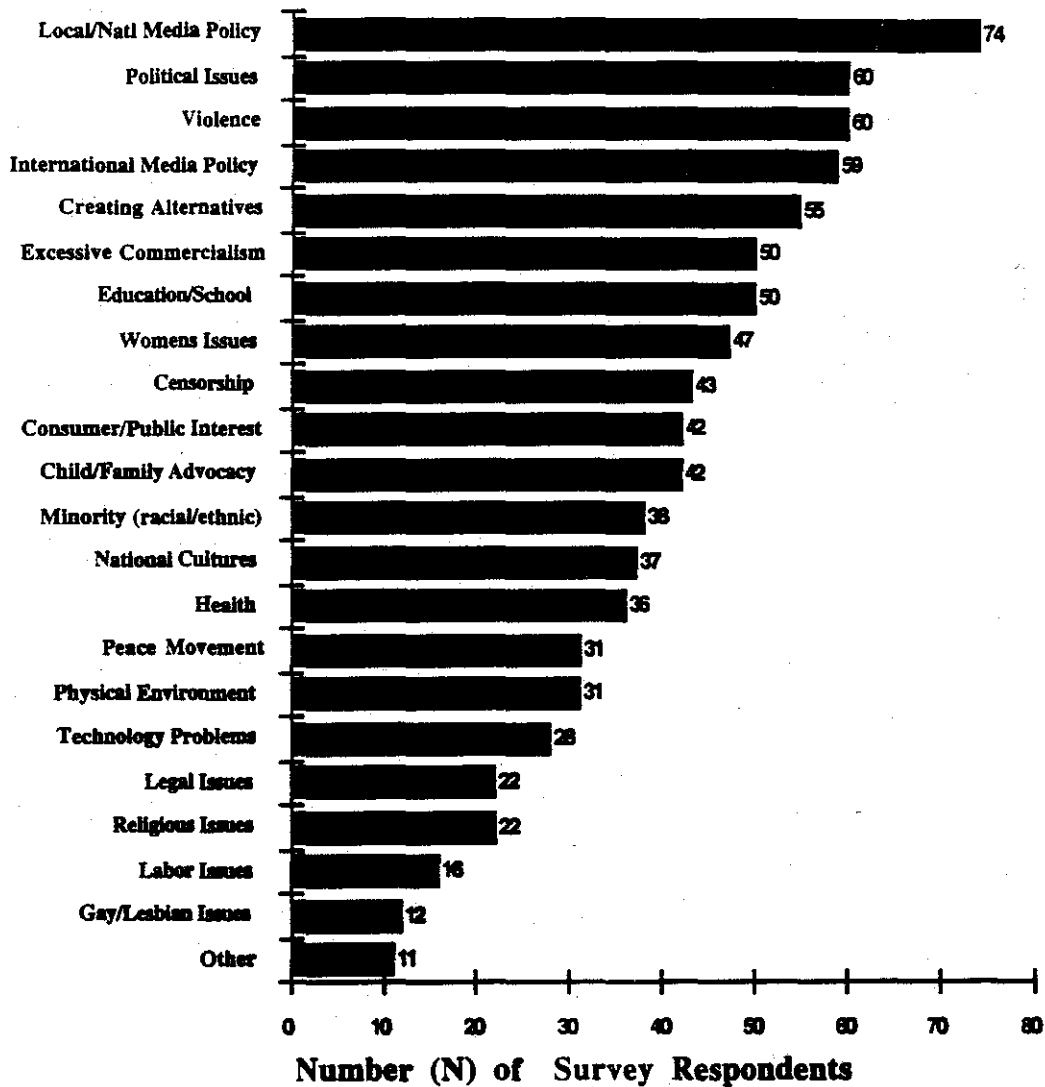


FIGURE 6: ISSUES OF INTEREST INDICATED IN THE SURVEY RESULTS (PERCENTS)

"very interested" and another 11 percent are "somewhat interested" in CEM, and 71 percent would like to attend a "Founding Conference" as an individual or delegate.

Organizations

Representatives of 88 different organizations have notified CEM in writing of their interest in affiliation, and new expressions of interest continue to arrive.

FIGURE 6: ISSUES OF INTEREST INDICATED IN THE SURVEY RESULTS (PERCENTS)

youth, women's and minority concerns, labor, religion, education, ecology, conflict resolution, neighborhood organizing, media policy and analysis, human and civil rights, independent production and creative work, family education, corporate and marketing policies, freedom of press, story-telling, communication technology and ethics. They share an interest in developing a joint action program in areas of common concern. An alphabetical list and brief description of the organizations follows.

Alliance 2000, Inc., Great Neck, N.Y. A non-profit organization, Ronald B. Brinn, CEO. Advocates public policy reform and drug abuse education in media.

Alliance for Children and Television, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. A national, non-profit organization dedicated to enhancing the television experience of Canadian children. Tom Perlmutter, executive director.

Alliance for Cultural Democracy, Minneapolis, Minn. Promotes community participation. Michael Schwartz, National Board Member, contact person.

Alpha Plus Communications, Cos Cob, Conn. Also known as the Media Nutrition Project. Ron Jacobson, president. Published *Media Nutrition: A Guide to Intelligent Media Selection and Usage in the Information Age*.

Aquarian Research Foundation, Philadelphia, Penn. A non-profit organization concerned about global peace, conservation and media. Art Rosenblum, director.

Artists for Recovery, Philadelphia, Penn. By and for creative and performing artists in recovery from emotional illness and/or addiction. Connie Schuster, director.

Association for Media Literacy, Weston, Ontario, Canada. The first comprehensive organization for media literacy teachers in Canada. Barry Duncan, president.

Ben Boothe & Associates, Inc., Fort Worth, Tex. An economic consulting firm for corporations. Ben B. Boothe, president. Concerned with global media concentration and its effects on culture and ethical development.

The Cable Lady, Lindenwold, N.J. Felicia Marshall-Altle, president, a media activist and performer.

Canadians Concerned About Violence In Entertainment (C-CAVE), Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Major Canadian critical media advocacy group dedicated to increasing public awareness about the effects of entertainment violence on society. Rose A. Dyson, chair.

The Center for Literacy, Montreal, Canada. A resource and teacher-training center. Judy Brandeis, director. Conducts workshops and seminars, and publish Literacy Across the Curriculum.

The Center for Media Literacy, Los Angeles, Cal. A major U.S. nonprofit media literacy membership organization. Elizabeth Thoman, executive director, also on CEM board of advisors.

The Center for Partnership Studies, Pacific Grove, Cal. A system of research and education centers that work to accelerate the global shift from domination to partnership. Riane Eisler and David Loye, co-founders and directors. A national network of 20 centers, in addition to international locations in China, Costa Rica, Germany, and Argentina.

Centre for Communication and Human Rights, Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Cees J. Hamelink is executive director. They publish a series of occasional papers on communication and human rights and produce Rules for World Communication, a comprehensive compendium of the most important international normative texts on mass communication and telecommunication.

The Centre for Cultural and Media Studies, Durban, South Africa, the University of Natal. Keyan Tomaselli, chair. Disseminates information about media policies, alternative presses, and current trends.

Centre for the Study of Commercialism, Washington, D.C., Michael Jacobson, director.

Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture, St. Louis, Mo. Founded in London, England, in 1977, by the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), with the purpose of stimulating the use of research findings by church-related communicators and decision-makers, William E. Biernatzki, S.J., research director. Publishes *Communication Research Trends*.

Challenging Media Images of Women, Framingham, Mass. A feminist activist organization. Sarah Ciriello, editor.

Chatham School District, Chatham, N.J. Holly Simmenroth, chair of the media committee; concerned about violence in the media.

Choosing Our Future, Palo Alto, Cal. Working for more media accountability. Duane Elgin, executive director.

Citizens Action for Better Television, Philadelphia, Penn. Anne Breidenstein, president. Involves parents in evaluating and selecting programs, encourages teachers to discuss and evaluate media, and supports broadcaster and advertiser efforts in responsible programming.

Citizens for Media Literacy, Asheville, N.C. Wally Bowen, executive director. CML promotes citizen access and publishes a quarterly newsletter entitled *The New Citizen*.

The College Board, New York City, N.Y. Interested in child and family advocacy issues. Donald M. Stewart, president.

Communication for Change, Inc., New York City, N.Y. A nonprofit video production and training organization. Louise Woodstock, director.

Council for Public Media, Austin, Tex., seeks to provide public spaces in the media for public voices. Cynthia Bock-Goodner is liaison and a member of the CEM board of directors.

Critical Issues Communications, New York City. A communications consulting firm helping companies and communities to handle sensitive issues. Arthur C. Benedict, director.

Deakin University, School of Visual, Performing & Media Arts, Clayton, Australia. Max Robinson, director.

Diversity University, Cambridge, Mass. Harris Sussman, president.

Eaglecrest High School, Denver, Colo. A coalition of teachers. John E. Dunlavy, chair.

Ecopsychology Institute, Berkeley, Calif. Mary King, director. Publishing *Ecopsychology*, a quarterly newsletter.

The Episcopal Church Center, New York City, Bruce Campbell, director.

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), New York City, Jeff Cohen, executive director. Media-watch group publishing Extra! eight times a year, reporting media bias, mergers, corruption.

Foundation for Deep Ecology, San Francisco, Calif. A grant-making foundation, Quincey Tompkins, executive director.

Law Offices of Peter Franck, San Francisco, Calif. A law practice that specializes in entertainment, copyright, and business law, and civil rights issues. Peter Franck, president.

Futures-Inventions Association, New York City, Paul McInsaac, director.

Globalvision, Inc., New York City. An independent television production company, Danny Schechter, vice president, concerned with programming for global change. Produced the "South Africa Now" series and "Rights and Wrongs: Human Rights Television."

Greens of Philadelphia, Charles Sherrouse, director. Concerned about concentration of ownership and pervasive violence on media.

Haddonfield United Methodist Church, Haddonfield, N.J., William R. McElwee, minister. The largest United Methodist Church in the Northeast.

Seoul National University, Institute of Communication Research, Hyeon-Dew Kang, director. Instrumental in introducing CEM to the Korean and other Asian communities.

International Organization of Journalists, Madrid, Spain, Armando Ruollenberg, president. Nongovernmental Organization at the UN represents over 200,000 journalists in 110 different countries, working for media pluralism and democratization of communication.

International Public Relations Association, Paris, France, Pierre Andre Hervo, president. The group promotes a philosophy of public relations as public responsibility.

International Visual Literacy Association, Minneapolis, Minn., Lyn Lacy, director. IVLA board of directors unanimously passed a resolution to enter into a dialogue with CEM, with goals of exchanging information and exploring cooperative efforts concerning visual media education.

Jesuit Communication Project, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, John J. Pungente, S.J., project director. Established to promote and develop media education in schools across Canada.

Key of See Storytellers, Minneapolis, Minn., Larry Johnson and Elaine Wynne, co-directors. Serve schools, libraries, churches, hospitals/hospices, colleges, festivals, museums, TV, radio.

The Lumpen Times, Chicago, Ill., Ed Marszewski, director. A group of artists, writers, activists and hackers publish the monthly magazine.

Marin Institute for the Prevention of Alcohol and other Drug Problems, San Rafael, Calif., James F. Mosher, executive director. Prevention advocates working to empower communities to develop comprehensive programs that incorporate principles of social justice and a special focus on traditionally disfranchised populations.

Donald McGannon Communication Research Center, Fordham University, Bronx, N.Y., John M. Phelan, director. Dedicated to fostering the public interest in broadcasting.

Media Alliance, New York City, Mona Jimenez, executive director. A nonprofit organization with more than 50,000 members dedicated to advancing the independent media arts in New York State.

Media Ethics Update, Emerson College, Division of Mass Communication, Boston, Mass., Tom Cooper, editor.

The Media Foundation, Canada. Kalle Lasn, president. Publishes *AdBusters*, *The Journal of the Mental Environment*.

Media Initiatives, New Haven, Conn., Leona Peterson, director. Publishes *Media News*, a monthly newsletter of critical media information.

Mediascope, Studio City, Calif., Marcy Kelly, president. A forum for researchers, social scientists, and the Hollywood creative community, monitors television violence for the cable industry.

Mediated; The Media Education Foundation, Northampton, Mass., Sut Jhally, executive director. Educational video producers. Produced a one-hour video entitled "The Killing Screens," featuring a series of discussions with George Gerbner about television violence and CEM.

Media Watch CANADA. National Watch on Images of Women in the Media, Inc., Toronto, Ontario, Canada, Catherine McNeely, director. A national, volunteer, feminist organization that works to eliminate sexism in the media.

Media Watch USA, Santa Cruz, Calif., Ann Simonton, director. Dedicated to opposing sexist, racist and violent images of women in the media and to promoting critical media awareness.

Minority Media and Telecommunications Council, Washington, D.C., David Honig, executive director. Provides legal representation, research and scholarly support, for four national civil rights organizations in policy and rulemaking proceedings at the FCC and in the federal courts.

Narrow Bridge Films, Riverdale, N.Y., Yael S. Ukeles, director. Independent documentary producers.

National Center for Service Learning in Early Adolescence, the Center for Advanced Study in Education, Graduate School, City University of New York, Alice Halsted, executive director.

National Council of Churches, New York City, J. Martin Bailey, director. The largest ecumenical organization in the United States, representing more than 45 million members nationwide.

National Literature and Arts Society, Ludhiana, Punjab, India, Ranjit Singh, president. Promotes initiatives on cultural issues, literature and art.

National Stigma Clearinghouse, New York City, Jean Arnold, the chair, Nora Weinerth, co-chair. Dedicated to opposing the exploitation of mental illness for humor, sensationalism and routine dramatic formulas and promoting the accurate portrayals of people with mental illness.

National Telemedia Council, Madison, Wisc., Marieli Rowe, executive director. Dedicated to promoting media literacy and critical TV viewing skills.

New World Foundation, New York City, Colin Greer, president, supporting movements for progressive social change.

Non-Prof Policies, Ltd., Ill., Kevin James Miller, director.

Obor Indonesia Foundation, Jakarta, Mochtar Lubis, chair. Dedicated to publishing on human rights, democracy, the environment, international governance, development, global human and societal problems.

The Ochre House, Seattle, Wash., John H. Cooper, founder and publisher of poetry, literature, and critical essays on cultural issues.

The Open University, School of Media Studies, Jerusalem, Israel, Dov Shinar, liaison with CEM, working on a Jerusalem Center for Media Literacy.

Pacific Mountain Network, TV Literacy Project Development, Lakewood, Col., Anne Ward, Director. A regional public broadcasting network with 45 stations in 13 states.

People for Better Television, Urbana, Ill., Jerry M. Landay, founding member.

The Philadelphia Lesbian and Gay Task Force, Rita Addessa, executive director.

Physicians for Social Responsibility, Philadelphia Chapter, Joel L. Chinitz, chair of the executive committee.

Project Censored, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, Calif., Carl Jensen, director. Primary objective is to expose censorship in the U.S.

Public Media Center, San Francisco. Herb Chao Gunther, executive director; Jerry Mander, senior fellow.

Punja Farm Journalists Association, Ludhiana, Punja, India, Balwinder Singh, founder and general secretary, involved in disseminating developmental news.

Radio Venceremos, San Salvador, El Salvador, Carlos E. Hennquez-Consalvi, director.

Real World Communications, Baldwin, N.Y. Robert E. A. Lee, director. Offers creative services mainly to religious and educational institutions.

Screen Actors Guild, Los Angeles, Calif. Rodney Mitchell, executive administrator for affirmative action, and Sumi Haru, first national vice-president, are the chairs of a committee authorized to work with CEM to effect more balanced representations of women, African Americans, Latino/Hispanic, Asian/Pacific, and Native Americans, seniors and people with disabilities in television, film, and radio.

Summer Institute for the Gifted, Parsippany, N.J., Philip Zypsie, director. Operates summer camps for gifted youth at George School, Vassar College, Bryn Mawr College, and Drew University.

Telluride Institute: InfoZone Program, Telluride, Col., Richard Lowenberg, program director. A project for community development and education in rural areas, using information and telecommunications technologies.

Tursak: Turkish Foundation of Cinema and Audio-Visual Culture, Istanbul, Turkey, Feride Gigeckoglu, general secretary.

TV-Tune USA, Waynesboro, Pa., Ruth W. Pflager, founder and director. Established to help viewers exercise their power and to collaborate with other community groups to address the impact of television on society and our lives.

The United Church of Canada, Division of Communication, Toronto, Randy Naylor, general secretary. The integrated communication arm of Canada's largest Protestant denomination.

United Church of Christ, Office of Communication, Cleveland, Ohio, Beverly J. Chain, director and CEM advisor. An organization of 6,200 congregations with more than 1.5 million members.

University of Gent, Department of Communication, Belgium, Elsa de Bens, professor.

University of Oslo, Department of Media and Communication, Norway, Ove Solum, professor.

University of Zulia-Maracaibo, Venezuela, Emperatriz Anneaza, professor. Supports research on alternative media for national liberation.

UNPLUG, Washington, D.C., Robin Templeton, co-founder and director. A national coalition to protest watching compulsory advertising in public schools on Channel One.

Widener University, Media Studies Department, Philadelphia, Barry King, professor.

Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, Washington, D.C., Donna Allen, president. Working with about 700 affiliates for fair representation in the media.

Yellowstone Environmental Science, Inc., Bozeman, Mont., Mary M. Hunter and Robert M. Hunter, principals. Dedicated to protecting the environment, improving public health, reducing television violence and enhancing individual liberty.

Strategic Planning

Plans for the next three-years are to continue and extend the research, organizational, development, and informational activities of the CI and CEM projects.

Research

1. The research base of the activity will be updated and refined in several ways. Annual monitoring will continue. The analysis will further amplify the portrayal of genders, youth, aging, minority groups, disabled persons and other vulnerable populations, and the consequences of exposure to these portrayals, particularly with respect to violence and substance abuse. Cultural Indicators data will be augmented with information from the Annenberg School Television Script Archives.

2. The far-reaching and highly suggestive results of past cultivation studies will be augmented and brought up to date in order to provide the comprehensive and focused results needed for a definitive resolution of the controversial issues of television effects in the violence, substance abuse and other health-related areas.

3. A new cultivation survey will be undertaken, focusing on specific questions suggested by the message system analysis summarized in Part I of this report, and targeting high-risk populations.

4. The influence of global marketing upon domestic production will be further assessed through the use of domestic and international industry data.

5. The expanded and focused research program will be applied to the development of CEM action programs. A "Television Violence and Substance Abuse Index" will be prepared for annual release, tracking trends in content, cultivation, and global marketing practices, as well as other results of citizen action programs.

Action

1. A coordinated new graphic design includes logo, stationery, and a newsletter called *The Cultural Environment Monitor*.

2. New materials will be used in a second general mailing designed to further diversify the grass-roots multicultural and organizational capabilities of CEM. Reaching organizations of women; ethnic, national, racial and sexual minorities; youth, aging, disabled and mentally ill Americans; and others opposing stigmatization, violence, and substance abuse, will receive special attention.

3. A case statement and proposals will be developed and used to approach major funders for additional support.

4. A series of further regional meetings will help prepare for a national conference.

5. The "Founding Conference" will assemble for the first time representatives of affiliated organizations and potential affiliates from the U.S. and abroad. The conference program will include (a) nationally prominent keynote speakers; (b) working sessions to develop areas, targets and priorities for joint action; (c) formation of a Coordinating Council of representatives of affiliated groups; and (d) the ratification of a covenant of "People's Communication Rights," and a "Viewers' Declaration of Independence" stating aims and aspirations of the Movement, with specific reference to violence and other health issues.

6. *The Cultural Environment Monitor* and CEMNET will be the regular channels for the dissemination of information about CI and CEM activity.

The substantive approach for all of these activities is a community-based culturally focused media-oriented preventive approach. By the end of the next three-year period, CEM expects to be in the forefront of the preventive effort toward a free, fair, diverse, and non-damaging cultural environment, serving the needs of all people.

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APPENDIX I

TABLE I-A-1: PROGRAMS IN PRIME TIME; NETWORKS
1973-93

	1973-78	1978-83	1983-88	1988-93	Total (1973-93)
Number of Programs	315	333	337	321	1,306
	%	%	%	%	%
Network					
ABC	31.7	35.1	29.4	32.4	32.2
CBS	39.0	37.5	33.8	30.2	35.1
NBC	29.2	27.3	36.8	37.4	32.7

TABLE I-A-2: PROGRAMS IN PRIME TIME; FORMATS
1973-93

	1973-78	1978-83	1983-88	1988-93	Total (1973-93)
Number of Programs	315	333	337	321	1,306
	%	%	%	%	%
Format					
Cartoon	1.0	4.2	1.8	2.2	2.3
hrs:	(2)	(5)	(3)	(3)	(12)
TV Play	85.7	85.0	89.0	92.8	88.1
hrs:	(215)	(219)	(239)	(232)	(904)
Feature Film	13.3	10.8	9.2	5.0	9.6
hrs:	(80)	(77)	(63)	(29)	(250)

TABLE I-A-3: DEMOGRAPHY OF PRIME TIME, ALL CHARACTERS
1973-93

		1973-78	1978-83	1983-88	1988-93	Total
	N:	4,971	5,742	5,497	4,915	21,125
MALE	%:	72.4	69.3	67.9	65.3	68.7
Cannot Code		2.1	1.7	1.6	1.9	1.8
Child, adolesc.		6.2	8.0	6.9	11.3	8.0
Young Adult		16.2	15.0	17.0	14.7	15.7
Settled Adult		72.5	72.8	72.1	71.0	72.2
Elderly		3.0	2.5	2.3	1.1	2.3
FEMALE	%:	27.6	30.7	32.1	34.7	31.3
Cannot Code		1.7	1.0	2.0	1.8	1.6
Child, adolesc.		11.7	11.0	10.8	15.6	12.3
Young Adult		26.7	26.5	24.4	21.6	24.7
Settled Adult		56.1	57.7	60.2	59.4	58.5
Elderly		3.8	3.8	2.6	1.6	2.9
AGE 60 & above	N: ¹	4,887	5,616	5,374	4,754	20,631
	%	4.2	5.0	5.1	6.0	5.1
SOCIAL CLASS	N: ²			2,091	4,928	7,019
Cannot Code	%			3.0	1.8	2.2
Clearly Upper				5.2	3.6	4.1
Middle				90.8	93.2	92.5
Clearly Lower				1.0	1.3	1.2
MARITAL STATUS	N:	4985	5,763	5,505	4,927	21,180
Cannot code	%	60.0	58.4	60.8	55.9	58.8
Not Married		26.7	31.6	28.2	32.1	29.7
Married		13.2	10.0	10.9	12.0	11.5
MINORITY GROUPS	N: ³		4,075	5,033	4,523	13,631
Afric.- Americ.	%		8.5	12.5	13.3	11.5
Hisp. Americ.			1.2	1.3	1.2	1.2
Asian Americ.			1.1	.8	1.0	1.0
Native Americ.			.0	.3	.4	.3

¹Differences in N's are due to variations in the reliability of recorded observations. All other figures are percentages of each preceding N.

²Social Class was not coded for minor characters prior to 1985.

³Characters of American nationality only. Nationality was not coded for the samples covered in the first period. These notes apply to all subsequent Tables.

**TABLE I-A-4: DEMOGRAPHY OF PRIME TIME, MAJOR CHARACTERS
1973-93**

		1973-78	1978-83	1983-88	1988-93	Total
	N:	1,057	1,097	998	856	4,008
MALE	%:	71.3	66.2	64.7	65.7	67.1
Cannot Code age		1.3	2.6	1.9	2.3	2.0
Child, adolesc.		6.2	7.7	8.5	11.4	8.3
Young Adult		19.0	15.4	13.9	15.7	16.1
Settled Adult		70.2	71.6	73.1	70.1	71.2
Elderly		3.3	2.6	2.6	.5	2.4
FEMALE	%:	28.7	33.8	35.3	34.3	32.9
Cannot Code age		1.0	2.2	2.6	2.0	2.0
Child, adolesc.		8.3	8.6	8.0	11.6	9.0
Young Adult		27.1	26.7	17.0	17.7	22.2
Settled Adult		61.7	59.8	69.3	68.0	64.6
Elderly		2.0	2.7	3.1	.7	2.2
AGE 60 & ABOVE	N:	1,040	1,065	964	803	3,872
	%:	4.8	5.1	5.4	5.4	5.1
SOCIAL CLASS	N:	1,058	1,101	999	859	4,017
Cannot Code class	%:	1.0	2.3	2.3	2.0	1.9
Clearly Upper		6.5	8.8	11.1	7.6	8.5
Middle		86.8	87.6	86.2	89.6	87.5
Clearly Lower		5.7	1.4	.4	.8	2.1
MARITAL STATUS	N:	1,058	1,101	999	858	4,016
Cannot Code m.s.	%:	24.7	22.9	24.9	19.9	23.2
Not Married		49.2	60.1	57.0	61.1	56.7
Married		26.1	17.0	18.1	19.0	20.1
MINORITY GROUPS	N:	982	1,007	930	767	3,686
African-American	%:	9.1	6.2	10.9	12.3	9.4
Latino/Hispanic		2.2	.8	1.0	.8	1.2
Asian Americ.		.5	.4	.5	.1	.4
Native American		.5	.2	.2	.4	.3
Gay or Bisexual	N:	620	1,101	999	858	3,578
	%:	.3	1.6	4.6	2.2	2.4

**TABLE I-A-5: MINORITIES IN PRIME TIME; GENDER, AGE
CLASS, MARITAL STATUS, SEXUAL ORIENTATION
1973-1993**

	MAJOR CHARACTERS			MINOR CHARACTERS*			ALL CHARACTERS		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
N=	2,688	1,320	4,008	11,835	5,302	17,137	14,523	6,622	21,145
Age under 60	94.1	96.5	94.9	94.9	95.1	94.9	94.7	95.4	94.9
Age 60 and above	5.9	3.5	5.1	5.1	4.9	5.1	5.3	4.6	5.1
N**=	2,590	1,282	3,872	11,558	5,209	16,767	14,148	6,491	20,639
Upper Class	7.9	9.8	8.5	2.6	4.2	3.1	3.6	5.0	4.1
Middle Class	87.6	87.6	87.6	93.5	93.2	93.4	92.6	92.5	92.6
Lower Class	2.5	1.4	2.1	1.5	0.9	1.3	1.4	0.8	1.2
N=	2,688	1,320	4,008	3,829	1,972	5,801	4,624	2,399	7,023
Marital Stat. indet.	27.9	13.3	23.1	75.1	49.1	67.1	66.4	41.9	58.7
Not Married	53.4	63.6	56.8	18.0	35.6	23.4	24.5	41.2	29.7
Married	18.7	23.1	20.1	6.9	15.3	9.5	9.1	16.9	11.5
N=	2,688	1,319	4,007	11,835	5,302	17,137	14,523	6,621	21,144
African-American	10.0	8.2	9.4	11.8	12.2	11.9	11.6	11.4	11.5
Hisp./Latino-Am.	1.5	0.6	1.2	1.6	0.8	1.3	1.5	0.7	1.2
Asian/Pacific-Am.	0.4	0.4	0.4	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0
Native American	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3
N=	2,452	1,234	3,686	7,400	3,722	11,122	9,035	4,607	13,642
Gay or Bisexual	2.0	3.2	2.4						
N=	2,373	1,196	3,569						

* Minor characters were not coded for socio-economic status prior to 1986, and for Nationality (therefore for minority status) prior to 1979 samples.

** All N's are of the total out of which the proportion of categories are computed. If the number does not match the number in the first row, it means that there were uncodeable characters for the item, and that the item was not coded for the sample-years indicated in above note

TABLE I-A-6: DISABILITY, PRIME TIME, MAJOR CHARACTERS

		1973-78	1978-83	1983-88	1988-93	Total
Physical Illness	N:	1,058	1,101	999	859	4,017
	%:	6.9	8.2	8.0	3.5	6.8
Physical Injury	N:		247	999	859	2,105
	%:		6.5	8.0	6.2	7.1
Mental Illness	N:	1,058	1,101	999	859	4,017
	%:	3.1	2.8	3.5	3.8	3.3
Handicap	N:	1,058	1,101	998	858	4,015
	%:	1.7	2.0	1.7	1.4	1.7
Any Disability	N:	1,058	1,101	999	694	3,852
	%:	10.3	11.3	11.4	11.8	11.1

**TABLE I-A-7: DEMOGRAPHY OF HEROES AND VILLAINS
IN PRIME TIME; ALL CHARACTERS
1973-1993**

	N for Category	Heroes %	Mixed %	Villains %	# Villains Per 100 Heroes
TOTAL	21,199	28.5	54.5	10.1	35
ALL MALES	14,523	27.3	53.2	12.6	46
ALL FEMALES	6,622	31.4	57.4	4.6	15
Social Age					
Children & adol.	1,992	30.4	57.7	4.8	16
Young adult	3,922	25.1	56.2	11.6	46
Settled adult	14,360	29.3	53.8	10.5	36
Elderly	522	31.4	52.5	7.5	24
Chronological Age					
Age under 60	19,601	28.5	54.3	10.3	36
Age 60 and above	1,048	29.6	58.3	6.2	21
Social Class					
Upper Class	288	18.4	59.4	20.1	109
Middle Class	6,511	23.2	65.0	8.6	37
Lower Class	85	21.2	61.2	12.9	61
Marital Status					
Marital Stat. indeterminate	12,462	21.2	57.2	11.8	56
Not Married	6,302	39.1	50.7	7.6	20
Married	2,434	38.9	51.0	8.0	20
All Races					
All Whites	18,101	28.1	54.5	10.4	37
All Characters of Color	2,719	31.5	54.7	7.6	24
American Characters					
White American	11,733	24.8	60.5	9.6	39
African-American	1,576	29.1	59.6	6.0	20
Hispanic/Latino-American	169	26.0	53.3	19.5	75
Asian/Pacific-American	134	24.6	64.9	4.5	18
Native American	37	32.4	62.2	5.4	17

**TABLE I-A-8: DEMOGRAPHY OF HEROES & VILLAINS
IN PRIME TIME; MAJOR CHARACTERS
1973-1993**

	N for Category	Heroes %	Mixed %	Villains %	# Villains Per 100 Heroes
TOTAL	4,017	53.5	34.7	11.7	22
ALL MALES	2,688	52.9	33.1	14.0	26
ALL FEMALES	1,320	55.2	37.7	7.0	13
Social Age					
Children & adol.	341	53.1	41.6	5.3	10
Young adult	726	53.0	36.2	10.7	20
Settled adult	2,768	54.4	32.7	12.8	24
Elderly	93	41.9	49.5	8.6	21
Chronological Age					
Age under 60	3,673	54.2	34.0	11.8	22
Age 60 and above	199	45.7	45.2	9.0	20
Social Class					
Upper Class	342	33.3	38.6	28.1	84
Middle Class	3,513	55.8	34.0	10.1	18
Lower Class	86	47.7	44.2	8.1	17
Marital Status					
Marital Stat. indeterminate	933	49.3	31.0	19.6	40
Not Married	2,276	55.6	35.6	8.7	16
Married	807	52.7	36.6	10.8	20
All Races					
All Whites	3,533	53.4	34.4	12.2	23
All Characters of Color	410	55.4	37.1	7.6	14
American Characters					
White American	3,268	53.9	34.6	11.5	21
African-American	346	53.8	37.3	8.1	15
Hispanic/Latino-American	45	62.2	26.7	11.1	18
Asian/Pacific-American	15	60.0	33.3	6.7	11
Native American	12	75.0	25.0	0.0	No villains
Sexual Orientation					
Not Gay or Bisexual	3,493	53.7	35.2	11.1	21
Gay or Bisexual	85	42.4	41.2	16.5	39
Disability & Injury					
Physically injured	149	128.9	38.9	40.9	32
Physically ill	273	51.3	40.3	8.4	16
Mentally ill	132	24.2	51.5	24.2	100
Handicapped	69	46.4	39.1	14.5	31
Any and all disability	429	44.8	41.0	14.2	32

**TABLE I-A-9: HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS OF
ALL CHARACTERS; PRIME TIME
1973-1993**

	N for Category	# Villains Per 100 Heroes
ALL FEMALES	6,622	15
Children & adol.	1,992	16
Native American	37	17
Asian/Pacific-American	134	18
Not Married	6,302	20
Married	2,434	20
African-American	1,576	20
Age 60 and above	1,048	21
Elderly	522	24
All characters of color	2,719	24
TOTAL	21,199	35
Settled adult	14,360	36
All Whites	18,101	37
Middle Class	6,511	37
White American	11,733	39
ALL MALES	14,523	46
Young adult	3,922	46
Marital Stat. indeterminate	12,462	56
Lower Class	85	61
Hispanic/Latino-American	169	75
Upper Class	288	109

**TABLE I-A-10: HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS OF
MAJOR CHARACTERS; PRIME TIME
1973-1993**

	N for Category	# Villains Per 10 Heroes
Native American	12	No villains
Children & adol.	341	10
Asian/Pacific-American	15	11
ALL FEMALES	1,320	13
All characters of color	410	14
African-American	346	15
Not Married	2,276	16
Physically ill	273	16
Lower Class	86	17
Hispanic/Latino-American	45	18
Middle Class	3,513	18
Age 60 and above	199	20
Young adult	726	20
Married	807	20
Elderly	93	21
White American	3,268	21
TOTAL	4,017	22
All Whites	3,533	23
Settled adult	2,768	24
ALL MALES	2,688	26
Handicapped	69	31
Physically injured	149	32
Any and all disability	429	32
Gay or Bisexual	85	39
Marital Stat. indeterminate	933	40
Upper Class	342	84
Mentally ill	132	100

**TABLE I-A-11: HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS OF
ALL CHARACTERS; MALE & FEMALE; PRIME TIME
1973-1993**

	Males		Females	
	No of Males in Category	# Villains Per 100 Heroes	No of Females in Category	# Villains Per 100 Heroes
Children & adol.	1,162	18	Native American	10 No villn.
Native American	27	20	Asian/Pacific-American	46 9
Age 60 and above	748	20	All Characters of Color	820 10
Asian/Pacific-American	88	23	African-American	527 11
Not Married	3,562	24	Hispanic/Latino-American	34 11
African-American	1,047	25	Married	1,118 12
Elderly	329	25	Not Married	2,727 13
Married	1,316	28	Children & adol.	815 13
All Characters of Color	1,894	30	Settled adult	3,874 14
Settled adult	10,481	46	ALL FEMALES	6,622 15
ALL MALES	14,523	46	All Whites	5,727 15
Middle Class	4,281	48	White American	3,990 16
All Whites	12,367	49	Middle Class	2,220 17
White American	7,738	52	Young adult	1,634 17
Lower Class	66	64	Marital Stat. indeterminate	2,776 20
Marital Stat. indeterminate	9,645	66	Elderly	193 21
Young adult	2,284	68	Age 60 and above	300 23
Hispanic/Latino-American	135	91	Lower Class	19 50
Upper Class	167	125	Upper Class	121 86

**TABLE I-A-12: HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS OF
MAJOR CHARACTERS; MALE & FEMALE; PRIME TIME
1973-1993**

Males		Females			
	No of Males in Category	# Villains Per 10 Heroes			
			No of Females in Category		
			# Villains Per 10 Heroes		
Native American	10	No villn.	Hispanic/Latino-American	7	No villn.
Children & adol.	222	10	Asian/Pacific-American	5	No villn.
All Characters of color	295	15	Native American	2	No villn.
Age 60 and above	154	17	Physically ill	84	6
Lower Class	67	17	Physically injured	40	8
African-American	245	17	All Characters of color	113	8
Not Married	1,435	18	African-American	101	9
Asian/Pacific-American	10	20	Children & adol.	119	9
Elderly	64	21	Middle Class	1,156	9
Physically ill	189	22	Any and all disability	131	10
Middle Class	2,354	23	Not Married	839	11
Hispanic/Latino-American	38	24	Settled adult	853	12
Young adult	433	24	ALL FEMALES	1,320	13
Married	502	25	White American	1,119	13
White American	2,149	26	All Whites	1,193	13
ALL MALES	2,688	26	Married	305	14
All Whites	2,340	28	Young adult	293	14
Settled adult	1,915	29	Marital Stat. indeterminat	175	15
Handicapped	54	36	Lower Class	19	17
Physically injured	109	40	Elderly	29	18
Any and all disability	298	44	Handicapped	15	20
Marital Stat. indeterminat	751	46	Mentally ill	40	22
Gay or Bisexual	47	60	Gay or Bisexual	38	24
Upper Class	213	96	Age 60 and above	45	33
Mentally ill	92	130	Upper Class	129	63

**TABLE I-A-13: SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF HEROES AND VILLAINS
IN PRIME TIME; MAJOR CHARACTERS
1973-1993**

	Heroes			Villains		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Successful	62.4	58.7	61.1	6.4	12.0	7.9
Mixed	31.3	33.4	32.0	18.6	29.3	20.6
Failure	6.3	7.8	6.8	75.0	58.7	71.5
N:	1,421	727	2,149	376	92	470

**TABLE I-A-14: DEMOGRAPHY OF SUCCES & FAILURE
IN PRIME TIME; MAJOR CHARACTERS
1973-1993**

	N for Category	Successful %	Mixed %	Failure %	# who fail for every 100 successful
TOTAL	4,017	44.3	37.4	18.1	41
ALL MALES	2,688	44.0	36.3	19.6	44
ALL FEMALES	1,320	44.8	39.8	15.2	34
Social Age					
Children & adol.	341	44.0	43.4	12.6	29
Young adult	726	40.8	39.3	19.8	49
Settled adult	2,768	46.0	35.6	18.3	40
Elderly	93	32.3	47.3	20.4	63
Chronological Age					
Age under 60	3,673	44.5	37.1	18.3	41
Age 60 and above	199	43.7	40.7	15.6	36
Social Class					
Upper Class	342	31.0	37.7	31.3	101
Middle Class	3,513	45.9	37.1	16.9	37
Lower Class	86	33.7	48.8	17.4	52
Marital Status					
Marital Stat. indeterminate	933	45.9	30.8	23.3	51
Not Married	2,276	45.8	37.4	16.7	36
Married	807	38.4	45.1	16.4	43
All Races					
All Whites	3,533	44.4	36.9	18.7	42
All Colored Characters	410	42.7	42.4	14.4	34
American Characters					
White American	3,268	44.8	37.2	17.9	40
African-American	346	42.5	41.9	15.0	35
Hispanic/Latino-American	45	44.4	37.8	17.8	40
Asian/Pacific-American	15	40.0	46.7	13.3	33
Native American	12	33.3	41.7	25.0	No failures
Sexual Orientation					
Not Gay or Bisexual	3,493	46.7	35.2	18.0	39
Gay or Bisexual	85	36.5	44.7	18.8	52
Disability & Injury					
Physically injured	149	30.9	43.6	24.8	80
Physically ill	273	31.9	45.8	22.0	69
Mentally ill	132	21.2	37.9	40.2	189
Handicapped	69	43.5	37.7	18.8	43
Any and all disability	429	31.0	41.0	25.9	83

**TABLE I-A-15: SUCCESS/FAILURE RATIOS OF
MAJOR CHARACTERS; PRIME TIME
1973-1993**

	N for Category	# who fail for every 100 successful
Children & adol.	341	29
Asian/Pacific-American	15	33
All Colored Characters	410	34
ALL FEMALES	1,320	34
African-American	346	35
Age 60 and above	199	36
Not Married	2,276	36
Middle Class	3,513	37
Settled adult	2,768	40
Hispanic/Latino-American	45	40
White American	3,268	40
TOTAL	4,017	41
All Whites	3,533	42
Married	807	43
Handicapped	69	43
ALL MALES	2,688	44
Young adult	726	49
Marital Stat. indeterminate	933	51
Gay or Bisexual	85	52
Lower Class	86	52
Elderly	93	63
Physically ill	273	69
Native American	12	75
Physically injured	149	80
Any and all disability	429	83
Upper Class	342	101
Mentally ill	132	189

**TABLE I-A-16: SUCCESS/FAILURE RATIOS OF
MAJOR CHARACTERS; MALE & FEMALE; PRIME TIME
1973-1993**

Males			Females		
	No of Males in Category	# who fail for every 100 successful		No of Females in Category	# who fail for every 100 successful
Asian/Pacific-American	10	20	African-American	101	17
Native American	10	25	Hispanic/Latino-American	7	17
Children & adol.	222	25	Marital Stat. indeterminate	175	22
Age 60 and above	154	31	Handicapped	15	22
Not Married	1,435	36	All Characters of Color	113	24
All Characters of Color	295	38	Settled adult	853	29
Middle Class	2,354	40	Middle Class	1,156	30
White American	2,149	42	ALL FEMALES	1,320	34
Lower Class	67	44	Married	305	35
ALL MALES	2,688	44	All Whites	1,193	35
African-American	245	44	White American	1,119	35
Settled adult	1,915	45	Children & adol.	119	36
All Whites	2,340	45	Not Married	839	37
Gay or Bisexual	47	47	Young adult	293	41
Married	502	48	Physically ill	84	48
Elderly	64	48	Age 60 and above	45	56
Hispanic/Latino-American	38	50	Gay or Bisexual	38	57
Handicapped	54	52	Physically injured	40	57
Young adult	433	54	Any and all disability	131	57
Marital Stat. indeterminate	751	59	Upper Class	129	82
Physically ill	189	80	Lower Class	19	100
Physically injured	109	91	Asian/Pacific-American	5	100
Any and all disability	298	98	Elderly	29	114
Upper Class	213	112	Mentally ill	40	217
Mentally ill	92	182	Native American	2	Fail only

**TABLE I-A-17: VIOLENCE IN
TELEVISION NETWORKS PRIME-TIME DRAMATIC PROGRAMS
(1973 - 1993)**

Season	S a m p l e s		Chars	Percent of progs with viol.	Violent Scenes per hr.	Duration of viol. min/hr.	Characters		Violence Index
	Pgms	Hrs					%V	%K	
1973-74	62	56.5	214	59.7	4.9	2.3	41.1	12.1	131.6
1974-75	58	60.0	224	77.6	5.5	2.8	58.5	20.5	178.8
1975-76	66	61.0	238	69.7	5.9	2.3	54.2	13.4	160.1
1976-77	61	58.5	172	80.3	5.8	3.3	67.4	12.2	182.8
1977-78	68	62.4	210	66.2	5.9	2.3	53.8	9.0	151.8
1978-79	63	63.0	191	74.6	4.5	1.5	52.9	7.9	153.5
1979-80	64	60.7	218	70.3	5.7	2.6	53.7	6.9	153.0
1980-81	64	59.2	229	77.4	5.7	2.5	50.7	4.8	150.8
1981-82	65	57.8	216	80.0	5.9	2.5	50.0	5.6	158.0
1982-83	77	60.6	247	63.6	4.6	2.3	48.2	6.5	134.7
1983-84	63	58.8	195	73.0	4.8	2.9	53.3	9.7	154.4
1984-85	65	60.0	221	78.5	6.9	3.3	63.3	12.7	181.1
1985-86	67	61.5	217	79.1	6.8	2.6	58.5	11.1	175.0
1986-87	67	61.5	178	71.6	5.2	1.7	47.2	12.9	151.5
1987-88	75	63.3	188	74.7	5.1	1.6	58.0	7.4	158.9
1988-89	77	66.0	213	74.0	6.2	2.3	49.8	9.4	156.0
1989-90	69	56.3	174	56.5	4.7	1.1	40.2	10.9	124.8
1990-91	54	45.0	159	74.1	4.0	1.6	47.2	5.7	141.8
1991-92	61	50.5	166	62.3	5.1	1.8	49.4	11.4	141.6
1992-93	60	50.0	147	65.0	2.9	1.3	45.6	6.1	127.2
1973-93	1,306	1,173	4,017	71.2	5.3	2.2	52.1	9.8	153.4

Pgms: Number of programs

Hrs: Number of program hours analyzed

Chars: Number of leading characters

%V: Percent of major characters involved in violence

%K: Percent of major characters involved in killing

Violence Index (VI)=

Pct of progs with viol. + 2*(Violent scenes per pgm) + 2*(Violent scenes per hr.) + %V + %K

**TABLE I-A-18: VIOLENCE IN
ABC PRIME-TIME DRAMATIC PROGRAMS
(1973 - 1993)**

Season	S a m p l e s Pgms	Hrs	Chars	Percent of progs with viol.	Violent Scenes per hr.	Duration of viol. min/hr.	Characters %V	Characters %K	Violence Index
1973-74	23	19.5	80	47.8	3.9	1.0	33.8	5.0	101.0
1974-75	17	19.0	67	94.1	7.0	4.7	71.6	26.9	222.2
1975-76	20	19.0	75	75.0	7.8	2.8	66.7	9.3	181.4
1976-77	19	17.0	60	89.5	6.5	4.0	75.0	6.7	195.7
1977-78	21	18.0	66	66.7	5.0	2.3	47.0	0.0	132.3
1978-79	24	20.5	65	83.3	4.6	1.8	60.0	4.6	164.9
1979-80	23	19.0	81	60.9	4.2	2.3	38.3	1.2	115.8
1980-81	24	19.9	96	66.7	5.8	1.4	46.9	3.1	137.8
1981-82	24	18.2	75	83.3	5.5	2.1	50.7	4.0	157.5
1982-83	22	19.2	79	63.6	4.4	2.7	54.4	7.6	142.0
1983-84	18	16.7	64	83.3	6.4	4.6	51.6	14.1	173.9
1984-85	18	18.0	60	83.3	5.9	3.6	56.7	8.3	172.1
1985-86	20	20.0	68	80.0	7.2	3.4	58.8	11.8	179.6
1986-87	20	17.0	55	75.0	6.6	2.6	49.1	14.5	163.2
1987-88	23	18.0	51	65.2	5.1	2.0	56.9	3.9	144.2
1988-89	25	19.0	77	80.0	5.3	1.7	44.2	5.2	147.9
1989-90	24	18.0	57	41.7	4.3	1.3	40.4	12.3	109.5
1990-91	16	11.5	40	81.3	5.1	1.9	52.5	2.5	153.9
1991-92	18	14.5	47	66.7	4.4	1.5	53.2	6.4	142.2
1992-93	21	15.0	44	57.1	1.5	1.0	29.5	2.3	94.2
1973-93	420	357	1,307	72.2	5.3	2.4	51.9	7.5	151.6

Pgms: Number of programs

Hrs: Number of program hours analyzed

Chars: Number of leading characters

%V: Percent of major characters involved in violence

%K: Percent of major characters involved in killing

Violence Index (VI)=

Pct of progs with viol. + 2*(Violent scenes per pgm) + 2*(Violent scenes per hr.) + %V + %K

**TABLE I-A-19: VIOLENCE IN
CBS PRIME-TIME DRAMATIC PROGRAMS
(1973 - 1993)**

Season	S a m p l e s		Chars	Percent	Violent	Duration	Characters		Violence
	Pgms	Hrs		of progs with viol.	Scenes per hr.	of viol. min/hr.	%V	%K	Index
1973-74	21	19.0	75	66.7	5.7	2.9	45.3	18.7	152.4
1974-75	22	20.0	80	63.6	5.7	1.7	47.5	20.0	153.1
1975-76	25	19.5	82	52.0	4.6	1.6	41.5	13.4	123.1
1976-77	24	18.0	61	70.8	4.7	1.5	54.1	8.2	149.4
1977-78	31	25.9	91	61.3	6.7	1.8	49.5	12.1	147.4
1978-79	22	20.2	65	68.2	4.4	1.6	44.6	6.2	135.9
1979-80	24	22.0	73	79.2	5.9	3.1	64.4	6.8	172.9
1980-81	22	20.2	78	68.2	4.0	1.9	44.9	5.1	133.8
1981-82	24	21.5	80	79.2	6.9	1.7	50.0	1.2	156.5
1982-83	33	21.9	95	63.6	4.9	2.7	45.3	3.2	128.4
1983-84	22	22.0	63	63.6	3.1	1.3	57.1	11.1	144.2
1984-85	23	21.0	82	82.6	8.1	3.1	67.1	15.9	196.8
1985-86	22	20.0	74	77.3	5.0	1.8	58.1	10.8	165.3
1986-87	21	23.0	58	85.7	5.1	1.7	60.3	20.7	188.0
1987-88	26	22.8	68	88.5	6.9	2.0	69.1	11.8	195.4
1988-89	25	24.0	63	68.0	7.3	2.1	55.6	6.3	158.5
1989-90	18	16.5	46	77.8	6.2	1.1	43.5	15.2	160.2
1990-91	18	16.5	53	72.2	3.3	1.4	52.8	5.7	143.5
1991-92	19	16.5	51	68.4	8.2	3.2	49.0	21.6	169.6
1992-93	17	17.0	39	64.7	2.4	0.7	41.0	7.7	123.1
1973-93	459	408	1,377	71.1	5.5	1.9	52.0	11.1	154.9

Pgms: Number of programs

Hrs: Number of program hours analyzed

Chars: Number of leading characters

%V: Percent of major characters involved in violence

%K: Percent of major characters involved in killing

Violence Index (VI)=

Pct of progs with viol. + 2*(Violent scenes per pgm) + 2*(Violent scenes per hr.) + %V + %K

**TABLE I-A-20: VIOLENCE IN
NBC PRIME-TIME DRAMATIC PROGRAMS
(1973 - 1993)**

Season	S a m p l e s			Percent of progs with viol.	Violent Scenes per hr.	Duration of viol. min/hr.	Characters %V	Characters %K	Violence Index
1973-74	18	18.0	59	66.7	5.2	3.2	45.8	13.6	146.8
1974-75	19	21.0	77	78.9	3.8	2.2	58.4	15.6	168.9
1975-76	21	22.5	81	85.7	5.5	2.5	55.6	17.3	181.4
1976-77	18	21.5	51	83.3	6.9	4.5	74.5	23.5	211.5
1977-78	16	18.5	53	75.0	5.8	2.8	69.8	15.1	185.1
1978-79	17	22.2	61	70.6	4.6	1.0	54.1	13.1	159.0
1979-80	17	19.7	64	70.6	6.9	2.3	60.9	14.1	175.2
1980-81	18	19.0	55	88.9	7.3	4.3	65.4	7.3	191.7
1981-82	17	18.0	61	76.5	5.2	3.9	49.2	13.1	160.3
1982-83	22	19.5	73	63.6	4.5	1.5	45.2	9.6	135.2
1983-84	23	20.0	68	73.9	5.2	3.1	51.5	4.4	149.2
1984-85	24	21.0	79	70.8	6.5	3.1	64.6	12.7	172.6
1985-86	25	21.5	75	80.0	8.2	2.6	58.7	10.7	179.9
1986-87	26	21.5	65	57.7	4.1	1.0	33.8	4.6	111.1
1987-88	26	22.5	69	69.2	3.2	0.9	47.8	5.8	134.9
1988-89	27	23.0	73	74.1	5.7	3.1	50.7	16.4	162.3
1989-90	29	21.8	71	51.7	3.9	0.9	38.0	7.0	110.6
1990-91	20	17.0	66	70.0	4.0	1.6	39.4	7.6	131.8
1991-92	24	19.5	68	54.2	2.9	0.8	47.1	7.4	119.2
1992-93	22	18.0	64	72.7	4.4	2.1	59.4	7.8	155.9
1973-93	429	406	1,333	71.7	5.2	2.4	53.5	11.3	157.1

Pgms: Number of programs

Hrs: Number of program hours analyzed

Chars: Number of leading characters

%V: Percent of major characters involved in violence

%K: Percent of major characters involved in killing

Violence Index (VI)=

Pct of progs with viol. + 2*(Violent scenes per pgm) + 2*(Violent scenes per hr.) + %V + %K

**TABLE I-A-21: VIOLENCE IN PRIME TIME, 1993,
INCLUDING NON-FICTION PROGRAMS**

		Percent of Programs with any violence %P	Rate per Program R/P	Rate per Hour R/H	Violence Index
Sit-Com	(N=36)	52.8	1.4	2.7	85.6
Action	(N=9)	88.9	5.0	4.7	165.4
Gen. Drama	(N=19)	63.2	5.4	4.2	120.8
"Reality"	(N=15)	73.3	5.3	7.5	145.9

TABLE I-A-22: COMPARISONS OF VIOLENCE IN CABLE-ORIGINATED AND BROADCAST NETWORK DRAMATIC PROGRAMS, FALL 1991

	Cable Networks			Broadcast Networks		
	ChP1	Gen2	Tot.	ChP1	PT3	Tot.
Programs analyzed	26	172	198	40	54	94
Program HRS analyzed	7.9	99.7	107.6	9.7	45	54.8

PERCENT OF PROGRAMS WITH VIOLENCE (%P)	76.9	69.8	70.7	82.5	74.1	77.7
NO. OF VIOLENT ACTS PER PROGRAM (NVA/P)	5.2	5.3	5.3	7.8	3.4	5.2
NO. OF VIOLENT ACTS PER HOUR (NVA/H)	17.3	9.2	9.8	32.0	4.0	9.0

VIOLENT CHARACTERS	46.3	44.0	44.6	55.6	34.0	41.8
VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE	55.6	51.5	51.9	74.4	33.3	48.2
PERCENT INVOLVED AS VIOLENTS OR VICTIMS OR BOTH (%V)	70.4	60.3	61.5	78.9	47.2	58.6
PERCENT INVOLVED AS KILLERS OR KILLED OR BOTH (%K)	3.7	10.2	9.4	3.3	5.7	4.8

VIOLENCE INDICATORS						
Program score (PS) PS=(%P)+2(NVA/P)+2(NVA/H)	122.0	98.8	100.9	162.0	88.9	106.2
Character score (CS) CS=(%V)+(%K)	74.1	70.5	70.9	82.2	52.9	63.5
VIOLENCE INDEX (VI) VI=PS+CS	196.0	169.2	171.8	244.4	141.8	169.6

- 1 Children's programs
 2 General programs (not children's)
 3 Prime time programs

**TABLE I-A-23: VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION;
ALL CHARACTERS; PRIME TIME 1973-1993**

	N	Involved in violence	As Perpetrators	As Victims	As both	For every 100 perpetrators, no. of victims
	100%	%	%	%	%	
Total	21,199	27.0	17.7	21.5	12.2	122
Social Age						
Child.,adol.	1,992	21.5	12.0	17.3	7.8	144
Young adult	3,922	31.4	20.0	27.0	15.5	135
Settled adult	14,360	26.5	17.9	20.6	12.0	115
Elderly	522	22.6	9.8	18.6	5.7	190
Chronological Age						
Age under 60	19,601	26.9	17.7	21.5	12.3	121
Age 60 & over	1,048	20.1	10.1	16.4	6.4	162
Social Class						
Upper class	288	30.2	21.2	21.5	12.5	102
Middle class	6,511	23.5	15.2	17.9	9.6	118
"Lower class"	85	38.8	16.5	35.3	12.9	214
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	12,462	23.7	15.6	18.5	10.4	119
Not married	6,302	34.0	22.8	27.9	16.7	122
Married	2,434	26.1	15.1	20.3	9.3	135
All Races						
All White chars.	18,101	26.8	17.5	21.4	12.1	122
Chars. of color	2,719	26.1	16.9	21.1	11.8	125
American Characters						
White American	11,733	24.7	16.1	19.5	11.0	121
Afric.-Americ.	1,576	23.3	14.9	18.1	9.8	122
Hisp./Lat. Americ.	169	41.4	29.0	33.7	21.3	116
Asian/Pacific Amer.	134	18.7	12.7	14.9	9.0	118
Native American	37	45.9	24.3	35.1	13.5	144

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(I-A-23 CONTINUED)	N	Involved in violence	As Perpetrators	As Victims	As both	For every 100 perpetrators, no. of victims
	100%	%	%	%	%	
Men	14,523	31.1	21.4	24.9	15.2	116
Social Age						
Child.,adol.	1,162	27.5	15.9	22.6	11.1	142
Young adult	2,284	39.1	27.1	33.7	21.8	124
Settled adult	10,481	29.7	20.8	23.2	14.3	111
Elderly	329	25.8	11.6	21.0	6.7	182
Hero/Villain						
Heroes	3,961	35.6	24.4	29.2	17.9	120
Villains	1,834	70.2	58.5	59.2	47.5	101
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	9,645	26.9	18.3	21.0	12.4	114
Not married	3,562	42.0	30.0	35.1	23.1	117
Married	1,316	32.6	20.7	25.7	13.8	124
All Races						
All White chars.	12,367	30.7	21.2	24.6	15.0	116
Chars. of color	1,894	31.8	21.4	25.8	15.4	121
Women	6,622	17.9	9.5	14.0	5.6	148
Social Age						
Child.,adol.	815	12.9	6.5	9.4	3.1	145
Young adult	1,634	20.7	9.9	17.5	6.7	178
Settled adult	3,874	17.6	9.9	13.3	5.6	135
Elderly	193	17.1	6.7	14.5	4.1	215
Hero/Villain						
Heroes	2,078	23.7	12.7	19.2	8.2	151
Villains	305	44.3	34.4	33.1	23.3	96
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	2,776	12.2	5.9	9.7	3.5	163
Not married	2,727	23.4	13.5	18.4	8.4	136
Married	1,118	18.5	8.5	14.0	4.0	165
All Races						
All White chars.	5,727	18.4	9.7	14.5	5.8	149
Chars. of color	820	12.9	6.6	10.0	3.7	152

**TABLE I-A-24: VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION;
MAJOR CHARACTERS; PRIME TIME 1973-1993**

	N	Involved in violence %	As Perpetrators %	As Victims %	As both %	For every 100 perpetrators, no. of victims
	1					
Total	4,017	52.3	39.6	42.9	30.2	108
Social Age						
Child, adol.	341	43.1	24.9	36.1	17.9	145
Young adult	726	56.6	42.7	49.2	35.3	115
Settled adult	2,768	52.1	40.2	42.1	30.2	104
Elderly	93	38.7	29.0	26.9	17.2	93
Chronological Age						
Age under 60	3,673	52.5	39.6	43.3	30.4	109
Age 60 & over	199	39.2	29.6	27.6	18.1	93
Social Class						
Upper class	342	48.2	36.8	38.9	27.5	106
Middle class	3,513	52.1	39.3	42.6	29.8	108
"Lower class"	86	58.1	41.9	55.8	39.5	133
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	933	56.6	46.1	46.5	36.0	101
Not married	2,276	55.2	41.6	46.0	32.4	110
Married	807	39.4	26.4	30.2	17.2	115
All Races						
All White chars.	3,533	52.3	39.5	42.8	30.0	108
Chars. of color	410	49.3	37.3	40.5	28.5	108
American Characters						
White American	3,268	50.9	38.4	41.6	29.1	108
Afric.-Americ.	346	47.4	35.8	38.7	27.2	108
Hisp./Lat. Americ.	45	62.2	46.7	51.1	35.6	110
Asian/Pacific Amer.	15	66.7	33.3	60.0	26.7	180
Native American	12	58.3	58.3	41.7	41.7	71
Sexual Orientation						
Not Gay or Bisexual	3,493	52.5	39.9	42.8	30.2	107
Gay or Bisexual	85	56.5	38.8	49.4	31.8	127
Disability & Injury						
Physically injured	149	69.8	49.0	65.1	44.3	133
Physically ill	273	66.3	42.9	61.9	38.5	144
Mentally ill	132	82.6	68.9	72.7	59.1	105
Handicapped	69	69.6	40.6	62.3	33.3	154
Any and all disability	429	71.3	50.8	65.0	44.5	128

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(I-A-24 CONTINUED)

	N	Involved in violence %	As Perpetrators %	As Victims %	As both %	For every 100 perpetrators, no. of victims
Men	2,688	59.5	45.5	48.5	36.1	107
Social Age						
Child.,adol.	222	49.1	28.4	43.2	22.5	152
Young adult	433	63.3	50.1	55.9	42.7	112
Settled adult	1,915	57.8	46.2	47.7	36.1	103
Elderly	64	40.6	31.3	26.6	17.2	85
Hero/Villain						
Heroes	1,421	56.2	43.2	47.4	34.4	110
Villains	376	83.2	77.1	72.1	66.0	93
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	751	59.8	49.3	49.8	39.3	101
Not married	1,435	61.6	48.4	52.3	39.1	108
Married	502	45.0	31.9	35.9	22.7	113
All Races						
All White chars.	2,340	57.9	45.5	48.3	35.9	106
Chars. of color	295	55.9	43.1	47.5	34.6	110
Women	1,320	40.6	27.3	31.3	18.0	114
Social Age						
Child.,adol.	119	31.9	18.5	22.7	9.2	123
Young adult	293	46.8	31.7	39.2	24.2	124
Settled adult	853	39.5	26.8	29.4	16.8	110
Elderly	29	34.5	24.1	27.6	17.2	114
Hero/Villain						
Heroes	729	42.0	27.0	33.2	18.2	123
Villains	92	66.3	53.3	50.0	37.0	94
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	175	42.3	31.4	32.0	21.1	102
Not married	839	44.1	30.2	34.9	21.0	116
Married	305	30.2	17.4	21.0	8.2	121
All Races						
All White chars.	1,193	41.2	27.6	32.0	18.4	116
Chars. of color	113	32.7	23.0	23.0	13.3	100

**TABLE I-A-25: VIOLENT/VICTIM RATIOS
MAJOR CHARACTERS; PRIME TIME
1973-1993**

	Number of Chars in Group	For every 100 perpetrators number of victims
Native American	12	71
Elderly	93	93
Age 60 and above	199	93
Marital Stat. indeterminate	933	101
Settled adult	2,768	104
Mentally ill	132	105
Upper Class	342	106
ALL MALES	2,688	107
African-American	346	108
Middle Class	3,513	108
White American	3,268	108
TOTAL	4,017	108
All Whites	3,533	108
All Colored Characters	410	108
Hispanic/Latino-American	45	110
Not Married	2,276	110
ALL FEMALES	1,320	114
Married	807	115
Young adult	726	115
Gay or Bisexual	85	127
Any and all disability	429	128
Physically injured	149	133
Lower Class	86	133
Physically ill	273	144
Children & adol.	341	145
Handicapped	69	154
Asian/Pacific-American	15	180

**TABLE I-A-26: VIOLENT/VICTIM RATIOS
MAJOR CHARACTERS; MALE & FEMALE
PRIME TIME; 1973-1993**

Male			Female		
	Number of Chars in Group	For every 100 perpetrators number of victims		Number of Chars in Group	For every 100 perpetrators number of victims
Native American	10	67	African-American	101	91
Elderly	64	85	Age 60 and above	45	100
Age 60 and above	154	92	All Colored Characters	113	100
Upper Class	213	96	Hispanic/Latino-American	7	100
Marital Stat. indeterminate	751	101	Native American	2	100
Mentally ill	92	101	Marital Stat. indeterminate	175	102
Settled adult	1,915	103	Settled adult	853	110
White American	2,149	106	Middle Class	1,156	112
All Whites	2,340	106	Elderly	29	114
ALL MALES	2,688	107	ALL FEMALES	1,320	114
Middle Class	2,354	107	White American	1,119	116
Not Married	1,435	108	Not Married	839	116
Hispanic/Latino-American	38	110	All Whites	1,193	116
All Colored Characters	295	110	Mentally ill	40	119
Young adult	433	112	Married	305	121
African-American	245	112	Children & adol.	119	123
Married	502	113	Young adult	293	124
Gay or Bisexual	47	123	Lower Class	19	125
Any and all disability	298	125	Physically injured	40	133
Physically injured	109	133	Gay or Bisexual	38	136
Lower Class	67	134	Upper Class	129	137
Handicapped	54	136	Any and all disability	131	139
Asian/Pacific-American	10	140	Physically ill	84	141
Physically ill	189	146	Handicapped	15	300
Children & adol.	222	152	Asian/Pacific-American	5	Victims only

**TABLE I-A-27: KILLERS AND KILLED;
ALL CHARACTERS; PRIME TIME 1973-1993**

	N	Involved in killing	Killers	Killed	Both	For every 100 killers, no. killed
	100%	%	%	%	%	
Total	21,199	5.5	2.7	3.4	0.6	127
Social Age						
Child, adol.	1,992	1.4	0.4	1.1	0.1	314
Young adult	3,922	6.1	3.0	3.9	0.8	130
Settled adult	14,360	5.8	2.9	3.6	0.6	123
Elderly	522	5.6	2.3	3.3	0.0	142
Chronological Age						
Age under 60	19,601	5.5	2.7	3.4	0.6	126
Age 60 & over	1,048	4.6	1.9	2.8	0.1	145
Social Class						
Upper class	288	9.4	5.2	4.9	0.7	93
Middle class	6,511	4.6	2.4	2.6	0.4	109
"Lower class"	85	9.4	3.5	7.1	1.2	200
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	12,462	4.7	2.1	3.2	0.5	152
Not married	6,302	6.4	3.7	3.4	0.7	94
Married	2,434	6.9	3.0	4.3	0.5	142
All Races						
All White chars.	18,101	5.5	2.8	3.4	0.6	121
Chars. of color	2,719	4.9	2.1	3.3	0.5	153
American Characters						
White American	11,733	4.0	2.1	2.2	0.3	104
Afric.-Americ.	1,576	3.8	1.5	2.3	0.1	154
Hisp./Lat. Americ.	169	8.9	3.6	7.1	1.8	200
Asian/Pacific Amer.	134	3.0	0.7	3.0	0.7	400
Native American	37	13.5	8.1	8.1	2.7	100

(CONTINUED)

(I-A-27 CONTINUED)	N	Involved in killing	Killers	Killed	Both	For every 100 killers, no. killed
	100%	%	%	%	%	
Men	14,523	6.8	3.4	4.2	0.8	124
Social Age						
Child.,adol.	1,162	1.8	0.3	1.5	0.0	425
Young adult	2,284	8.4	4.4	5.2	1.2	118
Settled adult	10,481	7.0	3.5	4.3	0.8	124
Elderly	329	5.8	2.7	3.0	0.0	111
Hero/Villain						
Heroes	3,961	6.0	3.1	3.2	0.3	102
Villains	1,834	23.8	14.6	13.7	4.5	94
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	9,645	5.6	2.6	3.8	0.7	145
Not married	3,562	8.8	5.2	4.6	1.1	88
Married	1,316	9.4	4.1	6.1	0.8	148
All Races						
All White chars.	12,367	6.9	3.5	4.2	0.8	120
Chars. of color	1,894	6.2	2.9	4.0	0.7	138
Women	6,622	2.6	1.1	1.6	0.1	143
Social Age						
Child.,adol.	815	0.9	0.4	0.6	0.1	167
Young adult	1,634	3.0	1.0	2.1	0.1	200
Settled adult	3,874	2.7	1.3	1.5	0.1	114
Elderly	193	5.2	1.6	3.6	0.0	233
Hero/Villain						
Heroes	2,078	2.2	0.8	1.4	0.0	188
Villains	305	13.8	9.8	4.9	1.0	50
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	2,776	1.4	0.4	1.1	0.0	273
Not married	2,727	3.3	1.6	1.9	0.2	118
Married	1,118	3.8	1.8	2.2	0.2	125
All Races						
All White chars.	5,727	2.7	1.2	1.6	0.1	130
Chars. of color	820	2.0	0.4	1.6	0.0	433

**TABLE I-A-28: KILLERS AND KILLED;
MAJOR CHARACTERS; PRIME TIME 1973-1993**

	N	Involved in killing	Killers	Killed	Both	For every 100 killers, no. killed
	100%	%	%	%	%	
Total	4017	9.9	7.6	3.8	1.5	49
Social Age						
Child, adol.	341	2.1	1.5	0.9	0.3	60
Young adult	726	11.8	9.4	4.7	2.2	50
Settled adult	2,768	10.2	8.0	3.8	1.6	47
Elderly	93	10.8	5.4	5.4	0.0	100
Chronological Age						
Age under 60	3,673	9.8	7.7	3.7	1.6	48
Age 60 & over	199	9.5	5.5	4.0	0.0	73
Social Class						
Upper class	342	14.0	11.4	4.1	1.5	36
Middle class	3,513	9.3	7.2	3.5	1.5	49
"Lower class"	86	12.8	10.5	8.1	5.8	78
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	933	11.4	9.4	4.3	2.4	45
Not married	2,276	9.8	7.6	3.6	1.3	48
Married	807	8.3	5.8	3.6	1.1	62
All Races						
All White chars.	3,533	10.0	7.9	3.7	1.5	47
Chars. of color	410	9.0	6.3	3.9	1.2	62
American Characters						
White American	3,268	9.1	7.2	3.2	1.3	44
Afric.-Americ.	346	7.5	5.5	3.2	1.2	58
Hisp./Lat. Americ.	45	13.3	11.1	6.7	4.4	60
Asian/Pacific Amer.	15	13.3	0.0	13.3	0.0	killed only
Native American	12	41.7	33.3	8.3	0.0	25
Sexual Orientation						
Not Gay or Bisexual	3,493	9.0	7.0	3.3	1.3	47
Gay or Bisexual	85	12.9	9.4	4.7	1.2	50
Disability & Injury						
Physically injured	149	13.4	8.1	9.4	4.0	117
Physically ill	273	11.4	6.2	7.7	2.6	124
Mentally ill	132	25.8	18.9	15.2	8.3	80
Handicapped	69	17.4	8.7	13.0	4.3	150
Any and all disability	429	16.6	10.3	10.7	4.4	105

(CONTINUED)

(I-A-28 CONTINUED)	N	Involved in killing	Killers	Killed	Both	For every 100 killers, no. killed
	100%	%	%	%	%	
Men	2688	12.1	9.5	4.6	2.0	49
Social Age						
Child.,adol.	222	2.3	1.4	0.9	0.0	67
Young adult	433	15.2	12.0	6.5	3.2	54
Settled adult	1,915	12.3	9.8	4.6	2.1	47
Elderly	64	10.9	7.8	3.1	0.0	40
Hero/Villain						
Heroes	1421	7.5	5.8	2.2	0.5	37
Villains	376	41.0	33.8	17.0	9.8	50
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	751	13.2	10.9	5.2	2.9	48
Not married	1,435	12.3	9.5	4.5	1.8	47
Married	502	9.8	7.2	4.0	1.4	56
All Races						
All White chars.	2,340	12.4	9.8	4.7	2.1	48
Chars. of color	295	9.8	7.8	3.7	1.7	48
Women	1320	5.5	3.9	2.0	0.5	52
Social Age						
Child.,adol.	119	1.7	1.7	0.8	0.8	50
Young adult	293	6.8	5.5	2.0	0.7	38
Settled adult	853	5.4	3.9	1.8	0.2	45
Elderly	29	10.3	0.0	10.3	0.0	killed only
Hero/Villain						
Heroes	729	2.9	1.5	1.4	0.0	91
Villains	92	31.5	25.0	8.7	2.2	35
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	175	4.0	3.4	0.6	0.0	17
Not married	839	5.7	4.2	2.0	0.5	49
Married	305	5.9	3.6	3.0	0.7	82
All Races						
All White chars.	1,193	5.4	4.1	1.8	0.5	45
Chars. of color	113	7.1	2.7	4.4	0.0	167

TABLE I-A29: KILLER/KILLED RATIOS
MAJOR CHARACTERS; PRIME TIME
1973-1993

	Number of Chars in Group	For every 100 killers number of killed
Native American	12	25
Upper Class	342	36
White American	3,268	44
Marital Stat. indeterminate	933	45
Settled adult	2,768	47
All Whites	3,533	47
Not Married	2,276	48
ALL MALES	2,688	49
TOTAL	4,017	49
Middle Class	3,513	49
Young adult	726	50
Gay or Bisexual	85	50
ALL FEMALES	1,320	52
African-American	346	58
Children & adol.	341	60
Hispanic/Latino-American	45	60
All Colored Characters	410	62
Married	807	62
Age 60 and above	199	73
Lower Class	86	78
Mentally ill	132	80
Elderly	93	100
Any and all disability	429	105
Physically injured	149	117
Physically ill	273	124
Handicapped	69	150
Asian/Pacific-American	15	Killed only

**TABLE I-A-30: KILLER/KILLED RATIOS
MAJOR CHARACTERS; MALE & FEMALE
PRIME TIME; 1973-1993**

Male			Female		
	Number of Chars in Group	For every 100 killers number killed		Number of Chars in Group	For every 100 killers number killed
Native American	10	Killers only	Lower Class	19	Killers only
Elderly	64	40	Upper Class	129	8
Hispanic/Latino-American	38	40	Marital Stat. indeterminate	175	17
White American	2,149	45	Gay or Bisexual	38	33
Middle Class	2,354	46	Young adult	293	38
Settled adult	1,915	47	White American	1,119	43
Not Married	1,435	47	All Whites	1,193	45
Marital Stat. indeterminate	751	48	Settled adult	853	45
All Whites	2,340	48	Not Married	839	49
All Colored Characters	295	48	Children & adol.	119	50
ALL MALES	2,688	49	ALL FEMALES	1,320	52
Age 60 and above	154	50	Middle Class	1,156	66
Upper Class	213	50	African-American	101	67
Young adult	433	54	Mentally ill	40	67
Married	502	56	Married	305	82
African-American	245	56	Handicapped	15	100
Gay or Bisexual	47	60	All Colored Characters	113	167
Children & adol.	222	67	Any and all disability	131	175
Mentally ill	92	82	Physically injured	40	200
Lower Class	67	88	Age 60 and above	45	300
Any and all disability	298	98	Physically ill	84	500
Physically ill	189	100	Elderly	29	Killed only
Physically injured	109	109	Hispanic/Latino-American	7	Killed only
Handicapped	54	160	Asian/Pacific-American	5	Killed only
Asian/Pacific-American	10	Killed only	Native American	2	Killed only

TABLE I-A-31: DRUGS, PRIME TIME, MAJOR CHARACTERS, 1978-93

	1978-83 ¹	1983-88	1988-93	Total
N:	1,101	999	859	2,959
	%	%	%	%
Drink alcoholic beverage	35.3	31.2	20.8	29.7
Shown as alcoholic	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0
Use drug ²	1.9	1.5	2.8	2.0
Shown as addicted ³	.8	.5	.7	.7
Smoke	7.8	5.7	5.9	6.6
Any (ATOD) drug use ⁴	39.2	35.2	24.7	33.7

¹ Not coded prior to 1978.

² Includes use of either illicit or medicinal drugs.

³ Includes "excessive use" and "explicit reference as drug addict" for either illicit or medicinal drugs.

⁴ Use of either alcohol, drug, or tobacco, or any combination.

TABLE I-A-32: DEMOGRAPHY OF ALCOHOL, DRUG, AND TOBACCO USE
IN PRIME TIME, MAJOR CHARACTERS, 1978-93

	N	Drink	Alcoholic	Drug ¹	Drugaddict ²	Smoke	AnyDrug ³
TOTAL	2,959	29.7	1.0	2.0	0.7	6.6	33.7
GENDER							
Male	1,934	30.8	1.2	2.0	0.8	8.0	35.3
Female	1,017	27.9	0.8	2.2	0.5	3.8	30.8
SOCIAL AGE							
Cannot Code	75	24.0	1.3	10.7	2.7	17.3	36.0
Child,Adoles.	269	7.1	0.7	3.7	1.9	4.8	11.5
Young Adult	501	24.4	0.4	2.0	1.2	6.4	28.7
Settled Adult	2,052	34.3	1.2	1.5	0.3	6.5	37.8
Elderly	62	27.4	3.2	1.6	0.0	4.8	29.0
AGE 60, UNDER/ OVER							
Under 60	2,683	30.3	1.0	1.8	0.7	6.3	34.0
Over 60	149	26.8	2.7	0.7	0.0	5.4	30.2
SOCIAL CLASS							
Upper	273	45.8	0.7	1.5	0.0	5.5	48.4
Middle	2,595	28.5	1.1	2.0	0.8	6.7	32.4
Lower	26	19.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.5	26.9
MARITAL STATUS							
Can't code	672	21.9	0.4	1.3	0.1	7.6	28.0
Not Married	1,755	31.8	1.2	2.3	0.9	6.6	35.5
Married	531	32.8	1.3	1.9	0.6	4.9	34.7
WHITES & MINORITY GROUPS							
White Americ.	2,407	31.2	1.2	2.0	0.7	6.7	35.0
Afric.-Americ.	257	18.7	0.4	2.3	1.2	3.5	22.6
Latino/Hisp.	23	8.7	0.0	4.3	0.0	4.3	13.0
Asian Americ.	10	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Native Americ.	7	42.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	42.9
SEXUAL ORIENTATION							
Heterosexual	2,875	29.2	1.0	2.0	0.7	6.4	33.1
Gay or Bisex.	83	48.2	2.4	3.6	1.2	10.8	51.8

¹ Includes use of either illicit or medicinal drugs.

² Includes "excessive use" and "explicit reference as drug addict" for either illicit or medicinal drugs.

³ Use of either alcohol, drug, or tobacco, or any combination.

TABLE I-A-33: DEMOGRAPHICS OF ALCOHOL, DRUG, AND TOBACCO USE
AMONG MALES IN PRIME TIME, MAJOR CHARACTERS, 1978-93

	N	Drink	Alcoholic	Drug	Drugaddict	Smoke	AnyDrug
ALL MALES	1,934	30.8	1.2	2.0	0.8	8.0	35.3
SOCIAL AGE							
Cannot Code	44	27.3	2.3	11.4	4.5	15.9	36.4
Child,Adoles.	175	8.0	0.0	4.0	2.3	5.1	12.0
Young Adult	290	24.5	0.7	2.1	1.7	6.6	29.0
Settled Adult	1,386	35.1	1.4	1.4	0.3	8.5	39.6
Elderly	39	30.8	2.6	2.6	0.0	5.1	33.3
AGE 60, UNDER/ OVER							
Under 60	1,739	31.5	1.1	1.7	0.7	8.0	35.9
Over 60	110	27.3	2.7	0.9	0.0	5.5	30.9
SOCIAL CLASS							
Upper	170	50.0	1.2	1.8	0.0	6.5	52.4
Middle	1,699	29.3	1.2	1.8	0.9	8.3	33.9
Lower	20	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	30.0
MARITAL STATUS							
Can't code	526	23.4	0.2	1.5	0.2	9.3	30.6
Not Married	1,084	33.6	1.6	2.5	1.2	8.0	37.5
Married	324	33.6	1.5	0.9	0.3	5.9	35.5
WHITES & MINORITY GROUPS							
White Americ.	1,538	32.6	1.4	1.9	0.8	8.3	36.9
Afric.-Americ.	182	18.1	0.5	2.2	1.1	4.4	22.0
Latino/Hisp.	18	11.1	0.0	5.6	0.0	5.6	16.7
Asian Americ.	6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Native Americ.	6	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	33.3
SEXUAL ORIENTATION							
Heterosexual	1,888	30.2	1.1	2.0	0.8	7.9	34.9
Gay or Bisex.	46	54.3	4.3	0.0	0.0	13.0	54.3

TABLE I-A-34: DEMOGRAPHICS OF ALCOHOL, DRUG, AND TOBACCO USE
 AMONG FEMALES IN PRIME TIME, MAJOR CHARACTERS, 1978-93

	N	Drink	Alcoholic	Drug	Drugaddict	Smoke	AnyDrug
ALL FEMALES	1,017	27.9	0.8	2.2	0.5	3.8	30.8
SOCIAL AGE							
Cannot Code	23	26.1	0.0	13.0	0.0	26.1	47.8
Child,Adoles.	94	5.3	2.1	3.2	1.1	4.3	10.6
Young Adult	211	24.2	0.0	1.9	0.5	6.2	28.4
Settled Adult	666	32.6	0.8	1.8	0.5	2.3	34.1
Elderly	23	21.7	4.3	0.0	0.0	4.3	21.7
AGE 60, UNDER/ OVER							
Under 60	944	28.2	0.7	2.0	0.5	3.2	30.5
Over 60	39	25.6	2.6	0.0	0.0	5.1	28.2
SOCIAL CLASS							
Upper	103	38.8	0.0	1.0	0.0	3.9	41.7
Middle	893	27.0	0.9	2.4	0.6	3.8	29.8
Lower	6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	16.7
MARITAL STATUS							
Can't code	140	17.1	1.4	0.7	0.0	1.4	18.6
Not Married	669	29.0	0.6	2.1	0.4	4.3	32.4
Married	207	31.4	1.0	3.4	1.0	3.4	33.3
WHITES & MINORITY GROUPS							
White Americ.	869	28.8	0.9	2.3	0.5	3.8	31.5
Afric.-Americ.	75	20.0	0.0	2.7	1.3	1.3	24.0
Latino/Hisp.	5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Asian Americ.	4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Native Americ.	1	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
SEXUAL ORIENTATION							
Heterosexual	979	27.4	0.8	1.9	0.4	3.6	30.0
Gay or Bisex.	37	40.5	0.0	8.1	2.7	8.1	48.6

**TABLE I-A-35: RATIOS OF ALCOHOLISM AMONG DRINKERS
IN PRIME TIME, MAJOR CHARACTERS, 1978-93**

	Drinkers			Alcoholics Per 100 Drinkers ¹		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
TOTAL	30.8	27.9	29.7	4	3	3
SOCIAL AGE						
Cannot Code	27.3	26.1	24.0	8	0	5
Child,Adoles.	8.0	5.3	7.1	0	40	10
Young Adult	24.5	24.2	24.4	3	0	2
Settled Adult	35.1	32.6	34.3	4	3	4
Elderly	30.8	21.7	27.4	8	20	12
AGE 60, UNDER/ OVER						
Under 60	31.5	28.2	30.3	4	3	3
Over 60	27.3	25.6	26.8	10	10	10
SOCIAL CLASS						
Upper	50.0	38.8	45.8	2	0	2
Middle	29.3	27.0	28.5	4	3	4
Lower	25.0	0.0	19.2	0	-	0
MARITAL STATUS						
Can't code	23.4	17.1	21.9	1	8	2
Not Married	33.6	29.0	31.8	5	2	4
Married	33.6	31.4	32.8	5	3	4
WHITES & MINORITY GROUPS						
White Americ.	32.6	28.8	31.2	4	3	4
Afric.-Americ	18.1	20.0	18.7	3	0	2
Latino/Hisp.	11.1	0.0	8.7	0	-	0
Asian Americ.	0.0	0.0	0.0	-	-	-
Native Americ	33.3	100.0	42.9	0	-	0
SEXUAL ORIENTATION						
Heterosexual	30.2	27.4	29.2	4	3	3
Gay or Bisex.	54.3	40.5	48.2	8	0	5

¹ Percent of alcoholics divided by percent of all drinkers.

**TABLE I-A-36: RATIOS OF DRUG ADDICTION AMONG DRUG USERS
IN PRIME TIME, MAJOR CHARACTERS, 1978-93**

	Drug users			Drug addicts per 100 users ¹		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
TOTAL	2.0	2.2	2.0	40	23	35
SOCIAL AGE						
Cannot Code	11.4	13.0	10.7	39	0	25
Child,Adoles.	4.0	3.2	3.7	58	34	51
Young Adult	2.1	1.9	2.0	81	26	60
Settled Adult	1.4	1.8	1.5	21	28	20
Elderly	2.6	0.0	1.6	0	-	0
AGE 60, UNDER/ OVER						
Under 60	1.7	2.0	1.8	41	25	39
Over 60	0.9	0.0	0.7	0	-	0
SOCIAL CLASS						
Upper	1.8	1.0	1.5	0	0	0
Middle	1.8	2.4	2.0	50	25	40
Lower	0.0	0.0	0.0	-	-	-
MARITAL STATUS						
Can't code	1.5	0.7	1.3	13	0	8
Not Married	2.5	2.1	2.3	48	19	39
Married	0.9	3.4	1.9	33	29	32
WHITES & MINORITIES						
White Americ.	1.9	2.3	2.0	42	22	35
Afric.-Americ	2.2	2.7	2.3	50	48	52
Latino/Hisp.	5.6	0.0	4.3	0	-	0
Asian Americ.	0.0	0.0	0.0	-	-	-
Native Americ	0.0	0.0	0.0	-	-	-
SEXUAL ORIENTATION						
Heterosexual	2.0	1.9	2.0	40	21	35
Gay or Bisex.	0.0	8.1	3.6	-	33	33

¹ Percent of addicts divided by percent of all users.

TABLE I-A-37: DRUGS, SATURDAY MORNING, MAJOR CHARACTERS
1978-93

	1978-83 ¹	1983-88	1988-93	Total
N:	741	620	317	1678
	%	%	%	%
Drink alcoholic beverage	.7	.3	.3	.5
Show as alcoholic	.0	.0	.0	.0
Use drug ²	1.2	.2	.0	.6
Shown as addicted ³	.3	.0	.0	.2
Smoke	2.6	.8	.0	1.4
Any (ATOD) drug use ⁴	4.5	1.3	.3	2.5

1 Not coded prior to 1978.

2 Includes use of either illicit or medicinal drugs.

3 Includes "excessive use" and "explicit reference as drug addict" for either illicit or medicinal drugs.

4 Use of either alcohol, drug, or tobacco, or any combination.

**TABLE I-A-38: DRUG, ALCOHOL, TOBACCO USE
AND HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS IN PRIME TIME
MAJOR CHARACTERS, 1978-93**

	N 100%	For every 100 Heroes, no. of villains
Doesn't use alc.,drug, tobac.	1,963	18
Does not drink alcohol	2,079	20
Does not smoke tobacco	2,765	20
Not alcoholic	2,928	22
Does not use drug	2,899	22
Not drug addict	2,939	22
TOTAL	2,959	22
Drinks alcohol	880	27
Uses alc.,drug, tobac.	996	31
Uses drug	60	42
Smokes tobacco	194	64
Drug addict	20	80
Alcoholic	31	88

**TABLE I-A-39: DRUG, ALCOHOL, TOBACCO USE
AND HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS IN PRIME TIME
MALE vs. FEMALE MAJOR CHARACTERS, 1978-93**

Male	N	For every 100 Heroes, no. of villains	Female	N	For every 100 Heroes, no. of villains
Doesn't use alc.,drug, tobac.	1,251	22	Uses drug	22	no villain
Does not drink alcohol	1,338	25	Drug addict	5	no villain
Does not smoke tobacco	1,779	25	Does not smoke tobacc	978	10
Does not use drug	1,896	27	Doesn't use alc.,drug, to	704	11
Not alcoholic	1,911	27	Does not drink alcohol	733	11
Not drug addict	1,919	27	Not alcoholic	1,009	11
ALL MALES	1,934	28	ALL FEMALES	1,017	12
Drinks alcohol	596	35	Not drug addict	1,012	12
Uses alc.,drug, tobac.	683	39	Does not use drug	995	12
Smokes tobacco	155	62	Drinks alcohol	284	13
Uses drug	38	73	Uses alc.,drug, tobac.	313	14
Alcoholic	23	100	Alcoholic	8	50
Drug addict	15	133	Smokes tobacco	39	73

**TABLE I-A-40: DRUG, ALCOHOL, TOBACCO USE
AND SUCCESS/FAILURE RATIOS IN PRIME TIME
MAJOR CHARACTERS, 1978-93**

	N 100%	For every 100 Successful, no. of failures
Doesn't use alc.,drug, tobac.	1,963	35
Does not drink alcohol	2,079	37
Does not smoke tobacco	2,765	37
Not drug addict	2,939	39
Does not use drug	2,899	39
Not alcoholic	2,928	39
TOTAL	2,959	40
Drinks alcohol	880	46
Uses alc.,drug, tobac.	996	51
Uses drug	60	68
Alcoholic	31	82
Smokes tobacco	194	87
Drug addict	20	200

**TABLE I-A-41: DRUG, ALCOHOL, TOBACCO USE
AND SUCCESS/FAILURE RATIOS IN PRIME TIME
MALE vs. FEMALE MAJOR CHARACTERS, 1978-93**

Male	For every 100		Female	For every 100	
	N	Successful, no. of failures		N	Successful, no. of failures
Doesn't use alc.,drug, tobac.	1,251	38	Doesn't use alc.,drug, tobac.	704	29
Does not smoke tobacco	1,779	41	Does not drink alcohol	733	30
Does not drink alcohol	1,338	41	Does not smoke tobacco	978	31
Does not use drug	1,896	43	Not alcoholic	1,009	32
Not drug addict	1,919	43	Not drug addict	1,012	32
Not alcoholic	1,911	43	Does not use drug	995	33
ALL MALES	1,934	43	ALL FEMALES	1,017	33
Drinks alcohol	596	49	Drinks alcohol	284	39
Alcoholic	23	50	Uses drug	22	40
Uses alc.,drug, tobac.	683	54	Uses alc.,drug, tobac.	313	43
Smokes tobacco	155	79	Drug addict	5	100
Uses drug	38	100	Smokes tobacco	39	130
Drug addict	15	300	Alcoholic	8	400

**TABLE I-A-42: DRUG, ALCOHOL, TOBACCO USE
AND VIOLENCE IN PRIME TIME, MAJOR CHARACTERS
1978-93**

	N 100%	Involved in violence %	As Perpetrators %	As Victims %	As both %	For every 100 perpetrators, no. of victims
Total	2,959	51.5	39.0	42.1	29.5	108
Does not drink alcohol	2,079	48.8	35.7	39.1	26.0	109
Drinks alcohol	880	58.0	46.6	49.2	37.8	106
Not alcoholic	2,928	51.4	38.8	42.1	29.5	108
Alcoholic	31	64.5	51.6	41.9	29.0	81
Does not use drug	2,899	51.4	38.8	42.0	29.4	108
Uses drug	60	58.3	46.7	48.3	36.7	104
Not drug addict	2,939	51.4	38.9	41.9	29.4	108
Drug addict	20	75.0	55.0	70.0	50.0	127
Does not smoke tobacco	2,765	50.2	37.5	40.8	28.1	109
Smokes tobacco	194	70.1	59.3	60.8	50.0	103
Doesn't use alc.,drug, tobac.	1,963	48.2	34.8	38.5	25.1	110
Uses alc.,drug, tobac.	996	58.1	47.1	49.3	38.3	105

**TABLE I-A-43: DRUG, ALCOHOL, TOBACCO USE
AND VIOLENT/VICTIM RATIOS IN PRIME TIME
MAJOR CHARACTERS, 1978-93**

	N 100%	For every 100 perpetrators, no. of victims
Alcoholic	31	81
Smokes tobacco	194	103
Uses drug	60	104
Uses alc., drug, tobac.	996	105
Drinks alcohol	880	106
Not drug addict	2,939	108
TOTAL	2,959	108
Does not use drug	2,899	108
Not alcoholic	2,928	108
Does not smoke tobacco	2,765	109
Does not drink alcohol	2,079	109
Doesn't use alc., drug, tobac.	1,963	110
Drug addict	20	127

**TABLE I-A-44: DRUG, ALCOHOL, TOBACCO USE
AND VIOLENT/VICTIM RATIOS IN PRIME TIME
MALE vs. FEMALE MAJOR CHARACTERS, 1978-93**

Male	For every 100		Female	For every 100	
	N	perpetrators, no. of victims		N	perpetrators, no. of victims
Alcoholic	23	69	Uses drug	22	82
Smokes tobacco	155	100	Drug addict	5	100
Drinks alcohol	596	101	Does not drink alcohol	733	108
Uses alc.,drug, tobac.	683	102	Doesn't use alc.,drug, tobac	704	111
Not drug addict	1,919	106	Does not smoke tobacco	978	112
Does not use drug	1,896	106	Not alcoholic	1,009	112
ALL MALES	1,934	107	ALL FEMALES	1,017	113
Not alcoholic	1,911	107	Not drug addict	1,012	113
Does not smoke tobacco	1,779	107	Does not use drug	995	114
Does not drink alcohol	1,338	110	Uses alc.,drug, tobac.	313	115
Doesn't use alc.,drug, tobac.	1,251	110	Smokes tobacco	39	120
Uses drug	38	118	Drinks alcohol	284	122
Drug addict	15	138	Alcoholic	8	133

**TABLE I-A-45: DRUG, ALCOHOL, TOBACCO USE
AND KILLING IN PRIME TIME, MAJOR CHARACTERS
1978-93**

	N 100%	Involved in killing %	Killers %	Killed %	Both %	For every 100 killers, no. killed
Total	2959	8.6	6.6	3.2	1.3	48
Does not drink alcohol	2079	6.6	5.0	2.4	0.8	49
Drinks alcohol	880	13.2	10.6	5.0	2.4	47
Not alcoholic	2928	8.3	6.5	3.0	1.2	47
Alcoholic	31	32.3	22.6	16.1	6.5	71
Does not use drug	2899	8.3	6.5	3.0	1.2	47
Uses drug	60	18.3	11.7	10.0	3.3	86
Not drug addict	2939	8.4	6.6	3.0	1.2	46
Drug addict	20	30.0	15.0	25.0	10.0	167
Does not smoke tobacco	2765	7.7	5.9	2.8	1.0	48
Smokes tobacco	194	21.1	17.0	8.2	4.1	48
Doesn't use alc.,drug, tobac.	1963	5.9	4.3	2.2	0.7	52
Uses alc.,drug, tobac.	996	13.9	11.2	5.0	2.4	45

**TABLE I-A-46: DRUG, ALCOHOL, TOBACCO USE
AND KILLER/KILLED RATIOS IN PRIME TIME
MAJOR CHARACTERS, 1978-93**

	N 100%	For every 100 killers, no. killed
Uses alc.,drug, tobac.	996	45
Not drug addict	2,939	46
Does not use drug	2,899	47
Not alcoholic	2,928	47
Drinks alcohol	880	47
Does not smoke tobacco	2,765	48
TOTAL	2,959	48
Smokes tobacco	194	48
Does not drink alcohol	2,079	49
Doesn't use alc.,drug, tobac.	1,963	52
Alcoholic	31	71
Uses drug	60	86
Drug addict	20	167

**TABLE I-A-47: DRUG, ALCOHOL, TOBACCO USE
AND KILLER/KILLED RATIOS IN PRIME TIME
MALE vs. FEMALE MAJOR CHARACTERS, 1978-93**

Male	N	For every 100 perpetrators, no. of victims	Female	N	For every 100 perpetrators, no. of victims
Alcoholic	23	33	Not alcoholic	1,009	40
Uses alc.,drug, tobac.	683	45	Not drug addict	1,012	43
Drinks alcohol	596	47	Does not drink alcohol	733	43
Not drug addict	1,919	47	Uses alc.,drug, tobac.	313	43
Does not use drug	1,896	47	Does not use drug	995	44
Smokes tobacco	155	48	Does not smoke tobacco	978	46
ALL MALES	1,934	48	ALL FEMALES	1,017	46
Does not smoke tobacco	1,779	48	Drinks alcohol	284	50
Not alcoholic	1,911	49	Smokes tobacco	39	50
Does not drink alcohol	1,338	50	Doesn't use alc.,drug, tobac	704	50
Doesn't use alc.,drug, tobac.	1,251	53	Uses drug	22	100
Uses drug	38	80	Drug addict	5	200
Drug addict	15	150	Alcoholic	8	300

**TABLE I-A-48: PROPORTION OF THE ALCOHOL, DRUG, TOBACCO USERS
IN TOTAL VIOLENCE AND KILLING; MAJOR CHARACTERS; PRIME TIME
1978-1993***

	<u>Proportion in total sample</u>	<u>Involved in viol.</u>	<u>As Perpetrator</u>	<u>As Victim</u>	<u>As both</u>	<u>Involved in killing</u>	<u>As Killer</u>	<u>As Killed</u>	<u>As both</u>
Drinks alcohol	29.7	33.4	35.6	34.8	38.1	45.8	47.4	46.8	56.8
Alcoholic	1.0	1.3	1.4	1.0	1.0	4.0	3.6	5.3	5.4
Uses drug	2.0	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.5	4.3	3.6	6.4	5.4
Drug addict	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.1	2.4	1.5	5.3	5.4
Smokes tobacco	6.6	8.9	10.0	9.5	11.1	16.2	16.8	17.0	21.6
Uses alc.,drug, tobac	33.7	38.0	40.7	39.4	43.6	54.5	57.1	53.2	64.9

* Each number represents the proportion of alcohol drinkers among all of the characters in that category and were involved in violence

**TABLE I-B-1: PROGRAMS IN SATURDAY MORNING; NETWORKS
1973-93**

	1973-78	1978-83	1983-88	1988-93	Total (1973-93)
Number of Programs	222	289	236	145	892
	%	%	%	%	%
Network					
ABC	32.9	23.5	25.4	24.8	26.6
CBS	32.9	44.6	41.1	49.7	41.6
NBC	34.2	31.8	33.5	25.5	31.8

**TABLE I-B-2: PROGRAMS IN SATURDAY MORNING; FORMATS
1973-93**

	1973-78	1978-83	1983-88	1988-93	Total (1973-93)
Number of Programs	222	289	236	145	892
	%	%	%	%	%
Format					
Cartoon	78.8	96.9	80.5	87.6	86.5
hrs:	(58)	(66)	(53)	(36)	(213)
TV Play	19.8	3.1	19.5	12.4	13.1
hrs:	(21)	(4)	(16)	(5)	(46)
Feature Film	1.4				0.3
hrs:	(3)				(3)

**TABLE I-B-3: DEMOGRAPHY OF SATURDAY MORNING, ALL CHARACTERS
1973-93**

		1973-78	1978-83	1983-88	1988-93	Total
MALE	N:	1932	2041	2327	1197	7497
	%:	79.6	82.4	75.3	77.9	78.7
Cannot code age		17.2	20.3	19.6	11.9	18.0
Child, adolescent		16.1	9.9	24.1	26.4	18.3
Young Adult		13.1	15.8	15.3	16.1	15.0
Settled Adult		51.3	52.1	38.4	44.1	46.6
Elderly		2.1	1.9	2.6	1.5	2.1
FEMALE	%:	20.4	17.6	24.7	22.1	21.3
Cannot code age		7.1	5.6	15.2	7.9	9.8
Child, adolescent		29.4	13.9	35.7	37.7	29.5
Young Adult		23.8	34.4	15.2	16.2	21.8
Settled Adult		35.7	43.1	31.4	35.5	35.8
Elderly		4.1	3.1	2.6	2.6	3.1
AGE 60 & ABOVE	N:	1483	1359	1168	612	4622
	%:	3.4	4.3	5.1	6.5	4.5
SOCIAL CLASS	N:			873	1233	2106
Cannot Code class		Not coded during these time periods		25.4	14.8	19.2
Clearly Upper				1.5	1.5	1.5
Middle				72.2	83.5	78.8
Clearly Lower				.9	.2	.5
MARITAL STATUS	N:	2029	2199	2450	1233	7911
Cannot code marital.stat. %:		62.3	68.7	53.8	48.8	59.3
Not Married		32.1	27.5	41.1	46.7	35.9
Married		5.6	3.8	5.1	4.5	4.8
MINORITY GROUPS	N:1		746	880	453	2079
African-Americans %:			9.8	8.1	8.4	8.8
Latino/Hispanic Americans			.7	1.8	.4	1.1
Asian Americans			.8	.8	.7	.8
Native Americans			.9	.2	.2	.5

**TABLE I-B-4: DEMOGRAPHY OF SATURDAY MORNING, MAJOR CHARACTERS
1973-93**

		1973-78	1978-83	1983-88	1988-93	Total
MALE	N:	636	693	592	313	2234
	%:	83.2	86.3	80.3	81.8	83.2
Cannot Code age		22.3	25.4	22.7	14.1	22.3
Child, adolescent		19.5	8.7	29.5	31.6	20.2
Young Adult		16.1	16.7	15.4	14.8	15.9
Settled Adult		40.3	48.3	30.9	37.9	40.2
Elderly		1.9	.8	1.5	1.6	1.4
FEMALE	%:	16.8	13.7	19.7	18.2	16.8
Cannot Code age		6.5	6.3	22.2	12.3	12.2
Child, adolescent		33.6	7.4	41.0	52.6	32.2
Young Adult		24.3	44.2	14.5	5.3	23.4
Settled Adult		33.6	41.1	20.5	26.3	30.3
Elderly		1.9	1.1	1.7	3.5	1.9
AGE 60 & ABOVE	N:	424	390	274	135	1223
	%:	3.3	2.6	4.0	5.2	3.4
SOCIAL CLASS	N:	656	741	620	317	2334
Cannot Code class		16.5	39.9	36.8	13.6	28.9
Clearly Upper		3.8	3.6	2.3	2.8	3.2
Middle		77.1	55.7	60.3	83.3	66.7
Clearly Lower		2.6	.7	.6	.3	1.2
MARITAL STATUS	N:	656	741	620	317	2334
Cannot Code m.s.		48.3	55.3	39.8	39.1	47.0
Not Married		45.7	40.2	56.8	57.7	48.5
Married		5.9	4.5	3.4	3.2	4.4
MINORITY GROUPS	N:	315	265	200	96	876
African-Americans		7.9	8.3	6.0	10.4	7.9
Latino/Hispanic Americans		.6	.4	1.0	.0	.6
Asian Americans		1.3	.4	.0	.0	.6
Native Americans		.0	1.5	1.0	.0	.7
Gay or Bisexual	N:	389	741	620	317	2067
	%:	.0	.0	.6	.0	.2

**TABLE I-B-5: MINORITIES IN SATURDAY MORNING; GENDER, AGE
CLASS, MARITAL STATUS, SEXUAL ORIENTATION
1973-1993**

	MAJOR CHARACTERS			MINOR CHARACTERS*			ALL CHARACTERS*		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
N=	1,859	376	2,235	4,044	1,218	5,262	5,903	1,594	7,497
Under 60	96.1	98.2	96.6	95.4	94.1	95.1	95.6	95.1	95.5
Age 60 and above	3.9	1.8	3.4	4.6	5.9	4.9	4.4	4.9	4.5
N**=	950	271	1,221	2,521	868	3,389	3,471	1,139	4,610
Upper Class	2.9	5.6	3.4	0.8	1.8	1.0	1.3	2.3	1.5
Middle Class	68.2	71.3	68.7	80.4	81.3	80.6	80.3	79.1	80.0
Lower Class	1.3	0.5	1.2	0.3	1.0	0.5	0.3	1.0	0.5
N=	1,859	376	2,235	1,161	396	1,557	1,564	488	2,052
Marital Stat. indet.	49.7	25.3	45.5	69.8	42.0	63.3	63.4	38.1	58.0
Not Married	46.0	68.9	49.8	27.2	45.6	31.5	33.1	51.1	36.9
Married	4.4	5.9	4.6	3.0	12.4	5.2	3.4	10.9	5.0
N=	1,859	376	2,235	4,044	1,218	5,262	5,903	1,594	7,497
African-American	8.2	6.9	7.9	9.4	8.7	9.2	9.1	8.0	8.8
Hisp./Latino-Am.	0.7	0.0	0.6	1.2	1.5	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.1
Asian/Pacific-Am.	0.7	0.0	0.6	0.6	1.7	1.0	0.5	1.4	0.8
Native American	0.9	0.0	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.2	0.5
N=	673	202	875	1,107	461	1,568	1,498	576	2,074
Not Gay or Bisex.	99.8	99.7	99.8						
Gay or Bisexual	0.2	0.3	0.2						
N=	1,651	321	1,972						

* Minor characters were not coded for socio-economic status prior to 1986, and for Nationality (therefore for minority status) prior to 1979 samples.

** All N's are of the total out of which the proportion of categories are computed. If the number does not match the number in the first row, it means that there were uncodeable characters for the item, and that the item was not coded for the sample-years indicated in above note

**TABLE I-B-6: DISABILITY, SATURDAY MORNING, MAJOR CHARACTERS
1973-93**

		1973-78	1978-83	1983-88	1988-93	Total
Physical Illness	N:	656	741	620	317	2334
	%:	1.5	3.0	3.7	.9	2.5
Physical Injury	N:	120	620	317	1057	
	%:	4.2	3.7	1.9	3.2	
Mental Illness	N:	656	741	620	317	2334
	%:	.6	.1	1.0	.0	.5
Phys. Handicap	N:	656	741	620	316	2333
	%:	.9	.7	1.1	2.2	1.1
Any Disability	N:	656	741	620	254	2271
	%:	3.0	3.8	4.8	5.1	4.0

**TABLE I-B-7: DEMOGRAPHY OF HEROES & VILLAINS
IN SATURDAY MORNING; ALL CHARACTERS
1973-1993**

	N for Category	Heroes %	Mixed %	Villains %	# Villains Per 100 Heroes
TOTAL	7,911	39.0	41.0	15.9	41
ALL MALES	5,903	36.5	41.4	17.7	48
ALL FEMALES	1,594	49.7	39.1	8.1	16
Social Age					
Children & adol.	1,591	52.0	40.6	5.1	10
Young adult	1,260	45.1	37.2	14.7	33
Settled adult	3,346	32.3	42.0	20.4	63
Elderly	174	41.4	42.0	10.9	26
Chronological Age					
Age under 60	4,414	40.7	38.4	15.8	39
Age 60 and above	208	35.1	45.2	13.5	38
Social Class					
Upper Class	31	48.4	22.6	29.0	60
Middle Class	1,660	30.7	53.7	13.7	45
Lower Class	10	60.0	20.0	0.0	No villn.
Marital Status					
Marital Stat. indeterminat	4,694	30.9	43.3	20.0	65
Not Married	2,840	52.1	36.1	10.5	20
Married	377	41.1	51.2	6.1	15
All Races					
All Whites	4,100	38.6	39.1	16.9	44
All Colored Characters	512	50.0	36.1	8.8	18
American Characters					
White American	1,848	32.3	49.9	13.6	42
African-American	182	36.8	54.4	6.0	16
Hispanic/Latino-America	23	34.8	60.9	4.3	13
Asian/Pacific-American	16	56.3	37.5	0.0	No villn.
Native American	10	60.0	40.0	0.0	No villn.

**TABLE I-B-8: DEMOGRAPHY OF HEROES & VILLAINS
IN SATURDAY MORNING; MAJOR CHARACTERS
1973-1993**

	N for Category	Heroes %	Mixed %	Villains %	# Villains Per 100 Heroes
TOTAL	2,334	54.5	25.7	19.8	36
ALL MALES	1,859	52.8	26.0	21.1	40
ALL FEMALES	376	65.7	20.7	13.6	21
Social Age					
Children & adol.	502	70.5	24.3	5.2	7
Young adult	389	67.1	23.9	9.0	13
Settled adult	865	44.3	21.5	34.1	77
Elderly	33	51.5	24.2	24.2	47
Chronological Age					
Age under 60	1,181	59.3	19.1	21.6	36
Age 60 and above	42	42.9	214.3	35.7	83
Social Class					
Upper Class	75	40.0	21.3	38.7	97
Middle Class	1,557	57.2	23.3	19.4	34
Lower Class	27	40.7	37.0	22.2	55
Marital Status					
Marital Stat. indeterminate	1,098	45.7	26.7	27.5	60
Not Married	1,133	62.7	23.8	13.5	22
Married	103	57.3	35.0	7.8	14
All Races					
All Whites	1,121	56.7	19.8	23.5	41
All Colored Characters	109	74.3	14.7	11.0	15
American Characters					
White American	791	59.7	20.5	19.8	33
African-American	69	76.8	15.9	7.2	9
Hispanic/Latino-American	5	100.0	0.0	0.0	No villn.
Asian/Pacific-American	5	80.0	20.0	0.0	No villn.
Native American	6	66.7	33.3	0.0	No villn.
Sexual Orientation					
Not Gay or Bisexual	2,063	52.9	26.9	20.3	38
Gay or Bisexual	4	25.0	50.0	25.0	100
Disability & Injury					
Physically injured	34	38.2	41.2	20.6	54
Physically ill	58	36.2	41.4	22.4	62
Mentally ill	11	36.4	54.5	9.1	25
Handicapped	25	48.0	24.0	28.0	58
Any and all disability	91	39.6	37.4	23.1	58

**TABLE I-B-9: HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS OF
ALL CHARACTERS; PRIME TIME & SATURDAY MORNING
1973-1993**

PRIME TIME	N	# Villains for Category Per 100 Heroes	SATURDAY MORNING		
			N	# Villains for Category Per 100 Heroes	
ALL FEMALES	6,622	15	Lower Class	10	No villn.
Children & adol.	1,992	16	Asian/Pacific-American	16	No villn.
Native American	37	17	Native American	10	No villn.
Asian/Pacific-American	134	18	Children & adol.	1,591	10
Not Married	6,302	20	Hispanic/Latino-America	23	13
Married	2,434	20	Married	377	15
African-American	1,576	20	ALL FEMALES	1,594	16
Age 60 and above	1,048	21	African-American	182	16
Elderly	522	24	All Colored Characters	512	18
All Colored Characters	2,719	24	Not Married	2,840	20
TOTAL	21,199	35	Elderly	174	26
Settled adult	14,360	36	Young adult	1,260	33
All Whites	18,101	37	Age 60 and above	208	38
Middle Class	6,511	37	TOTAL	7,911	41
White American	11,733	39	White American	1,848	42
ALL MALES	14,523	46	All Whites	4,100	44
Young adult	3,922	46	Middle Class	1,660	45
Marital Stat. indeterminate	12,462	56	ALL MALES	5,903	48
Lower Class	85	61	Upper Class	31	60
Hispanic/Latino-American	169	75	Settled adult	3,346	63
Upper Class	288	109	Marital Stat. indeterminat	4,694	65

**TABLE I-B-10: HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS OF
ALL CHARACTERS; MALE & FEMALE; SATURDAY MORNING
1973-1993**

	No of Males in Category	# Villains Per 100 Heroes		No of Females in Category	# Villains Per 100 Heroes
Lower Class	5	No villn.	Native American	1	No H., villn.
Asian/Pacific-American	8	No villn.	Lower Class	5	No villn.
Native American	9	No villn.	Hispanic/Latino-American	7	No villn.
Children & adol.	1,083	11	Asian/Pacific-American	8	No villn.
African-American	136	12	Children & adol.	471	7
Married	203	14	Young adult	348	9
Elderly	124	17	Not Married	814	11
Hispanic/Latino-American	16	17	All Colored Characters	116	13
All Colored Characters	395	19	White American	514	14
Not Married	1,956	24	Married	173	14
Age 60 and above	152	40	All Whites	1,030	15
Young adult	886	43	ALL FEMALES	1,594	16
ALL MALES	5,903	48	Marital Stat. indeterminate	607	27
Middle Class	1,256	50	Middle Class	386	28
White American	1,329	57	Settled adult	570	28
All Whites	3,064	58	African-American	46	31
Upper Class	20	67	Age 60 and above	56	33
Settled adult	2,750	73	Upper Class	11	50
Marital Stat. indeterminate	3,744	73	Elderly	49	59

**TABLE I-B-11: HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS OF
MAJOR CHARACTERS; PRIME TIME & SATURDAY MORNING
1973-1993**

Prime Time	N		# Villains Per 100 Heroes	Saturday Morning	N		# Villains Per 100 Heroes
	for Category				for Category		
Native American	12	No villains		Hispanic/Latino-American	5	No villn.	
Children & adol.	341	10		Asian/Pacific-American	5	No villn.	
Asian/Pacific-American	15	11		Native American	6	No villn.	
ALL FEMALES	1,320	13		Children & adol.	502	7	
All Colored Characters	410	14		African-American	69	9	
African-American	346	15		Young adult	389	13	
Not Married	2,276	16		Married	103	14	
Physically ill	273	16		All Colored Characters	109	15	
Lower Class	86	17		ALL FEMALES	376	21	
Hispanic/Latino-American	45	18		Not Married	1,133	22	
Middle Class	3,513	18		Mentally ill	11	25	
Age 60 and above	199	20		White American	791	33	
Young adult	726	20		Middle Class	1,557	34	
Married	807	20		TOTAL	2,235	36	
Elderly	93	21		ALL MALES	1,859	40	
White American	3,268	21		All Whites	1,121	41	
TOTAL	4,017	22		Elderly	33	47	
All Whites	3,533	23		Physically injured	34	54	
Settled adult	2,768	24		Lower Class	27	55	
ALL MALES	2,688	26		Handicapped	25	58	
Handicapped	69	31		Any and all disability	91	58	
Physically injured	149	32		Marital Stat. indeterminate	1,098	60	
Any and all disability	429	32		Physically ill	58	62	
Gay or Bisexual	85	39		Settled adult	865	77	
Marital Stat. indeterminate	933	40		Age 60 and above	42	83	
Upper Class	342	84		Upper Class	75	97	
Mentally ill	132	100		Gay or Bisexual	4	100	

**TABLE I-B-12: HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS OF
MAJOR CHARACTERS; MALE & FEMALE; SATURDAY MORNING
1973-1993**

	No of Males in Category	# Villains Per 100 Heroes		No of Females in Category	# Villains Per 100 Heroes
Hispanic/Latino-American	5	No villn.	Lower Class	2	No villn.
Asian/Pacific-American	5	No villn.	Physically injured	5	No villn.
Native American	6	No villn.	Physically ill	8	No villn.
Gay or Bisexual	3	No villn.	Mentally ill	1	No villn.
African-American	55	7	Any and all disability	10	No villn.
Children & adol.	376	9	Children & adol.	121	3
All Colored Characters	89	13	Young adult	88	4
Married	81	13	White American	188	12
Young adult	296	17	Not Married	259	14
Not Married	855	24	Married	22	14
Elderly	26	33	All Whites	255	18
Mentally ill	9	33	Middle Class	268	18
Middle Class	1,268	38	ALL FEMALES	376	21
ALL MALES	1,859	40	All Colored Characters	20	23
White American	602	42	African-American	14	25
All Whites	865	50	Marital Stat. indeterminate	95	43
Handicapped	24	58	Upper Class	21	50
Marital Stat. indeterminate	923	63	Settled adult	114	66
Lower Class	25	67	Age 60 and above	5	100
Physically injured	27	67	Elderly	7	150
Any and all disability	77	74	Gay or Bisexual	1	Villn. only
Settled adult	746	80	Hispanic/Latino-American	0	N.A.
Age 60 and above	37	81	Asian/Pacific-American	0	N.A.
Physically ill	46	86	Native American	0	N.A.
Upper Class	54	128	Handicapped	0	N.A.

**TABLE I-B-13: SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF HEROES AND VILLAINS
IN SATURDAY MORNING; MAJOR CHARACTERS
1973-1993**

	Heroes			Villains		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Successful	73.4	72.5	73.2	3.6	3.9	3.9
Mixed	22.7	23.9	22.9	12.2	9.8	11.9
Failure	4.0	3.6	3.9	84.2	86.3	84.2
N:	980	247	1,269	393	51	463

**TABLE I-B-14: DEMOGRAPHY OF SUCCESS & FAILURE
IN SATURDAY MORNING; MAJOR CHARACTERS
1973-1993**

	N for Category	Successful %	Mixed %	Failure %	# who fail Per 100 successful
TOTAL	2,334	49.5	24.9	25.5	52
ALL MALES	1,859	47.8	25.1	26.9	56
ALL FEMALES	376	56.9	25.5	17.6	31
Social Age					
Children & adol.	502	56.2	33.7	9.8	17
Young adult	389	62.5	23.9	13.6	22
Settled adult	865	39.5	20.8	39.5	100
Elderly	33	42.4	27.3	30.3	71
Chronological Age					
Age under 60	1,181	47.9	26.2	25.8	54
Age 60 and above	42	28.6	28.6	42.9	150
Social Class					
Upper Class	75	42.7	21.3	36.0	84
Middle Class	1,557	47.7	27.6	24.6	52
Lower Class	27	33.3	37.0	29.6	89
Marital Status					
Marital Stat. indeterminate	1,098	46.2	20.8	33.0	71
Not Married	1,133	53.6	27.6	18.6	35
Married	103	39.8	37.9	22.3	56
All Races					
All Whites	1,121	45.9	26.2	27.9	61
All Colored Characters	109	65.1	22.0	12.8	20
American Characters					
White American	791	49.3	26.3	24.4	49
African-American	69	66.7	24.6	8.7	13
Hispanic/Latino-American	5	80.0	20.0	0.0	No failures
Asian/Pacific-American	5	40.0	60.0	0.0	No failures
Native American	6	100.0	0.0	0.0	No failures
Sexual Orientation					
Not Gay or Bisexual	2,063	50.8	22.4	26.6	52
Gay or Bisexual	4	75.0	0.0	25.0	33
Disability & Injury					
Physically injured	34	44.1	17.6	38.2	87
Physically ill	58	32.8	22.4	44.8	137
Mentally ill	11	27.3	18.2	54.5	200
Handicapped	25	48.0	16.0	36.0	75
Any and all disability	91	36.3	23.1	40.7	112

**TABLE I-B-15: SUCCESS/FAILURE RATIOS OF
MAJOR CHARACTERS; SATURDAY MORNING
1973-1993**

	N for Category	# Failure Per 100 Successful
Hispanic/Latino-American	5	No failure
Asian/Pacific-American	5	No failure
Native American	6	No failure
African-American	69	13
Children & adol.	502	17
All Colored Characters	109	20
Young adult	389	22
ALL FEMALES	376	31
Gay or Bisexual	4	33
Not Married	1,133	35
White American	791	49
TOTAL	2,334	52
Middle Class	1,557	52
Married	103	56
ALL MALES	1,859	56
All Whites	1,121	61
Marital Stat. indeterminate	1,098	71
Elderly	33	71
Handicapped	25	75
Upper Class	75	84
Physically injured	34	87
Lower Class	27	89
Settled adult	865	100
Any and all disability	91	112
Physically ill	58	137
Age 60 and above	42	150
Mentally ill	11	200

**TABLE I-B-16: SUCCESS/FAILURE RATIOS OF
MAJOR CHARACTERS; MALE & FEMALE; SATURDAY MORNING
1973-1993**

Male	No of Chars Number who fail for		Female	No of Chars Number who fail for	
	in Group every 100 successful			in Group every 100 successful	
Hispanic/Latino-American	5	No fail	Lower Class	2	No fail
Asian/Pacific-American	5	No fail	Young adult	88	9
Native American	6	No fail	All Characters of Color	20	15
Gay or Bisexual	3	No fail	Married	22	18
African-American	55	11	Any and all disability	10	20
Children & adol.	376	16	White American	188	21
All Characters of Color	89	21	Children & adol.	121	22
Young adult	296	26	African-American	14	25
Not Married	855	38	Physically ill	8	25
ALL MALES	1859	56	Not Married	259	26
Middle Class	1268	58	All Whites	255	28
Elderly	26	58	Middle Class	268	28
White American	602	62	ALL FEMALES	376	31
Handicapped	24	67	Physically injured	5	33
Married	81	70	Upper Class	21	42
All Whites	865	74	Marital Stat. indetermina	95	48
Marital Stat. indeterminat	923	74	Settled adult	114	57
Physically injured	27	83	Elderly	7	150
Settled adult	746	110	Age 60 and above	5	200
Upper Class	54	110	Gay or Bisexual	1	Fail only
Lower Class	25	114	Hispanic/Latino-American	0	N.A.
Age 60 and above	37	145	Asian/Pacific-American	0	N.A.
Physically ill	46	147	Native American	0	N.A.
Mentally ill	9	167	Mentally ill	1	N.A.
Any and all disability	77	660	Handicapped	0	N.A.

**TABLE I-B-17: VIOLENCE IN
TELEVISION NETWORKS SATURDAY MORNING DRAMATIC PROGRAMS
(1973 - 1993)**

Season	S a m p l e s		Chars	Percent of progs with viol.	Violent Scenes per hr.	Duration of viol. min/hr.	Characters		Violence Index
	Pgms	Hrs					%V	%K	
1973-74	37	18.7	145	94.5	13.2	3.4	77.2	0.7	212.2
1974-75	38	16.0	122	92.1	12.1	3.5	64.8	0.8	192.2
1975-76	45	16.3	126	91.1	16.3	4.6	84.9	0.8	221.1
1976-77	49	15.1	118	100.0	22.4	4.9	85.6	2.5	246.7
1977-78	53	16.5	145	90.6	15.6	4.0	77.2	0.0	208.8
1978-79	48	14.3	107	97.9	25.0	5.5	86.0	0.0	248.9
1979-80	62	16.5	163	91.9	17.2	3.4	74.8	0.0	210.3
1980-81	66	15.1	165	97.0	26.9	4.9	89.7	1.2	254.1
1981-82	69	13.5	186	91.3	30.9	6.1	83.9	0.0	249.2
1982-83	44	10.1	120	97.7	30.3	5.9	93.3	0.8	266.3
1983-84	54	13.7	142	92.6	25.5	6.0	80.3	0.0	237.0
1984-85	55	14.8	146	98.2	27.3	5.9	89.7	2.1	259.3
1985-86	53	15.3	149	92.5	21.3	3.2	75.8	0.7	223.9
1986-87	38	11.6	98	92.1	25.1	3.2	72.4	4.1	234.1
1987-88	36	13.3	85	100.0	25.5	4.8	72.9	0.0	242.7
1988-89	31	10.5	76	87.1	25.5	2.2	76.3	0.0	231.7
1990-91	40	9.7	90	82.5	32.0	3.9	78.9	3.3	244.4
1991-92	43	10.7	88	76.7	26.2	4.1	69.3	3.4	214.8
1992-93	31	10.5	63	90.3	17.9	3.3	81.0	0.0	219.2
1973-93	892	262	2,334	92.4	23.0	4.4	79.7	1.1	230.7

Pgms: Number of programs

Hrs: Number of program hours analyzed

Chars: Number of leading characters

%V: Percent of major characters involved in violence

%K: Percent of major characters involved in killing

Violence Index (VI)=

Pct of progs with viol. + 2*(Violent scenes per pgm) + 2*(Violent scenes per hr.) + %V + %K

**TABLE I-B-18: VIOLENCE IN
ABC SATURDAY MORNING DRAMATIC PROGRAMS
(1973 - 1993)**

Season	S a m p l e s			Percent of progs with viol.	Violent Scenes per hr.	Duration of viol. min/hr.	Characters		Violence Index
	Pgms	Hrs	Chars				%V	%K	
1973-74	13	6.8	46	92.3	12.5	3.2	76.1	2.2	208.7
1974-75	13	5.5	41	84.6	10.0	3.4	46.3	0.0	159.4
1975-76	18	5.3	48	83.3	14.9	2.9	79.2	0.0	201.1
1976-77	13	4.2	37	100.0	18.8	3.8	78.4	8.1	236.3
1977-78	16	5.4	48	93.8	15.9	4.7	79.2	0.0	215.6
1978-79	11	4.0	27	100.0	26.2	7.5	81.5	0.0	253.1
1979-80	11	4.5	32	90.9	15.8	4.4	87.5	0.0	222.9
1980-81	19	4.3	51	100.0	30.5	6.8	98.0	0.0	273.3
1981-82	17	3.8	48	88.2	24.0	6.1	89.6	0.0	237.0
1982-83	10	2.2	23	90.0	21.3	7.2	73.9	0.0	217.1
1983-84	11	3.9	34	100.0	18.8	5.0	78.5	0.0	229.2
1984-85	10	4.0	37	100.0	23.0	5.7	97.3	8.1	269.8
1985-86	20	4.5	47	100.0	30.7	5.0	87.2	0.0	262.3
1986-87	11	4.0	30	100.0	19.8	3.4	93.3	13.3	260.5
1987-88	8	2.8	20	100.0	28.9	5.8	80.0	0.0	258.1
1988-89	10	3.0	26	90.0	35.3	3.6	88.5	0.0	270.4
1990-91	11	2.9	22	100.0	40.2	5.1	81.8	0.0	283.7
1991-92	8	3.5	22	100.0	30.9	4.9	86.4	0.0	275.1
1992-93	7	3.5	22	100.0	18.9	5.4	95.5	0.0	252.0
1973-93	237	78.1	661	95.4	23.0	4.9	83.1	1.7	237.8

Pgms: Number of programs

Hrs: Number of program hours analyzed

Chars: Number of leading characters

%V: Percent of major characters involved in violence

%K: Percent of major characters involved in killing

Violence Index (VI) =

Pct of progs with viol. + 2*(Violent scenes per pgm) + 2*(Violent scenes per hr.) + %V + %K

**TABLE I-B-19: VIOLENCE IN
CBS SATURDAY MORNING DRAMATIC PROGRAMS
(1973 - 1993)**

Season	S a m p l e s			Percent of progs with viol.	Violent Scenes per hr.	Duration of viol. min/hr.	Characters		Violence Index
	Pgms	Hrs	Chars				%V	%K	
1973-74	8	4.1	32	100.0	17.8	2.2	84.4	0.0	238.3
1974-75	12	6.0	44	100.0	12.0	1.7	79.5	2.3	217.8
1975-76	15	6.0	41	93.3	14.2	2.0	82.9	2.4	218.3
1976-77	17	6.0	40	100.0	19.2	1.9	87.5	0.0	239.4
1977-78	21	6.3	52	85.7	15.1	0.9	80.8	0.0	205.7
1978-79	26	6.5	57	100.0	26.8	1.2	86.0	0.0	252.9
1979-80	32	6.5	79	93.8	23.7	0.7	73.4	0.0	224.6
1980-81	29	6.2	71	96.6	32.0	1.1	93.0	1.4	269.3
1981-82	26	4.2	65	92.3	44.9	1.5	87.7	0.0	285.6
1982-83	16	3.0	43	100.0	40.3	1.1	97.7	0.0	293.5
1983-84	26	5.2	61	88.5	30.5	1.2	73.8	0.0	236.1
1984-85	30	6.0	72	96.7	30.3	1.3	90.3	0.0	259.8
1985-86	17	5.8	48	82.4	13.9	0.8	68.8	2.1	190.8
1986-87	12	3.3	30	75.0	26.1	0.6	50.0	0.0	191.5
1987-88	12	4.5	28	100.0	20.9	1.9	85.7	0.0	243.1
1988-89	10	3.5	20	80.0	17.1	0.5	65.0	0.0	191.3
1990-91	23	4.8	48	69.6	20.6	0.5	70.8	0.0	190.3
1991-92	18	4.0	31	88.9	26.5	0.7	74.2	0.0	227.9
1992-93	21	5.5	37	85.7	19.8	0.7	75.7	0.0	211.4
1973-93	371	97.4	899	91.0	23.8	1.2	79.3	0.4	229.3

Pgms: Number of programs

Hrs: Number of program hours analyzed

Chars: Number of leading characters

%V: Percent of major characters involved in violence

%K: Percent of major characters involved in killing

Violence Index (VI)=

Pct of progs with viol. + 2*(Violent scenes per pgm) + 2*(Violent scenes per hr.) + %V + %K

**TABLE I-B-20: VIOLENCE IN
NBC SATURDAY MORNING DRAMATIC PROGRAMS
(1973 - 1993)**

Season	S a m p l e s			Percent of progs with viol.	Violent Scenes per hr.	Duration of viol. min/hr.	Characters		Violence Index
	Pgms	Hrs	Chars				%V	%K	
1973-74	16	7.7	67	93.8	11.6	3.0	74.6	0.0	202.6
1974-75	13	4.5	37	92.3	14.9	3.9	67.6	0.0	200.0
1975-76	12	5.0	37	100.0	20.2	6.1	94.6	0.0	251.8
1976-77	19	4.9	41	100.0	29.4	5.4	90.2	0.0	264.1
1977-78	16	4.9	45	93.8	15.7	4.3	71.1	0.0	206.0
1978-79	11	3.8	23	90.9	20.8	4.7	91.3	0.0	238.1
1979-80	19	5.5	52	89.5	10.5	2.7	69.2	0.0	185.9
1980-81	18	4.5	43	94.4	16.7	2.9	74.4	2.3	212.8
1981-82	26	5.4	73	92.3	24.9	3.5	76.7	0.0	229.4
1982-83	18	4.8	54	100.0	28.4	5.3	98.1	1.9	272.3
1983-84	17	4.6	47	94.1	25.5	6.8	93.6	0.0	252.3
1984-85	15	4.7	37	100.0	27.7	5.6	81.1	0.0	253.8
1985-86	16	5.0	54	93.8	21.4	2.6	72.2	0.0	222.2
1986-87	15	4.4	38	100.0	28.6	3.8	73.7	0.0	247.8
1987-88	16	6.0	37	100.0	27.3	4.2	59.5	0.0	234.7
1988-89	11	4.0	30	90.9	25.5	1.8	73.3	0.0	233.7
1990-91	6	2.0	20	100.0	47.0	5.2	95.0	15.0	335.3
1991-92	17	3.2	35	52.9	20.6	4.3	54.3	8.6	164.8
1992-93	3	1.5	4	100.0	8.7	0.4	50.0	0.0	176.0
1973-93	284	86.4	774	93.6	22.4	4.0	76.9	1.5	228.7

Pgms: Number of programs

Hrs: Number of program hours analyzed

Chars: Number of leading characters

%V: Percent of major characters involved in violence

%K: Percent of major characters involved in killing

Violence Index (VI)=

Pct of progs with viol. + 2*(Violent scenes per pgm) + 2*(Violent scenes per hr.) + %V + %K

**TABLE I-B-21: VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION;
ALL CHARACTERS; SATURDAY MORNING 1973-1993**

	N	Involved in violence	As Perpetrators	As Victims	As both	For every 100 perpetrators, no. of victims
	100%	%	%	%	%	
Total	7,911	52.9	32.0	44.5	23.7	139
Social Age						
Social Age N.A.	1,540	64.2	42.9	54.0	32.7	126
Child.,adol.	1,591	53.3	25.5	45.8	18.0	179
Young adult	1,260	58.7	36.0	50.8	28.1	141
Settled adult	3,346	46.3	29.1	38.3	21.2	131
Elderly	174	32.8	21.8	23.0	12.1	105
Chronological Age						
Age under 60	4,414	46.3	26.7	39.4	19.8	148
Age 60 & over	208	32.7	22.6	22.6	12.5	100
Social Class						
Upper class	31	64.5	41.9	58.1	35.5	138
Middle class	1,660	48.3	28.9	40.1	20.7	139
"Lower class"	10	30.0	0.0	30.0	0.0	Victims only
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	4,694	50.1	32.0	41.6	23.6	130
Not married	2,840	59.4	33.9	51.0	25.5	150
Married	377	38.2	17.2	31.3	10.3	182
All Races						
All White chars.	4,100	45.7	26.8	38.7	19.7	145
Chars. of color	512	44.3	24.8	36.9	17.4	149
American Characters						
White American	1,848	43.0	26.2	36.6	19.9	140
Afric.-Americ.	182	41.8	25.3	36.8	20.3	146
Hisp./Lat. Americ.	23	60.9	43.5	47.8	30.4	110
Asian/Pacific Amer.	16	56.3	18.8	50.0	12.5	267
Native American	10	80.0	60.0	70.0	50.0	117

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(I-B-21 CONTINUED)

	N	Involved	As	As	As both	For every 100 perpetrators, no. of victims
		in violence	Perpetrators	Victims		
	100%	%	%	%	%	
Men	5,903	55.2	34.3	46.8	25.9	137
Social Age						
Social Age N.A.	1,060	65.8	45.0	56.2	35.4	125
Child.,adol.	1,083	58.4	29.3	50.0	20.9	171
Young adult	886	63.5	29.1	55.1	31.9	189
Settled adult	2,750	48.3	31.0	40.3	22.9	130
Elderly	124	27.4	14.5	23.4	10.5	161
Hero/Villain						
Heroes	2,157	61.0	33.6	54.1	26.8	161
Villains	1,046	78.0	61.6	65.0	48.6	106
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	3,744	50.8	32.8	42.7	24.7	130
Not married	1,956	64.2	38.2	55.1	29.1	144
Married	203	49.3	22.7	42.4	15.8	187
All Races						
All White chars.	3,064	48.2	29.1	41.3	22.2	142
Chars. of color	395	46.6	27.6	38.0	19.0	138
Women	1,594	41.6	21.1	34.5	14.0	164
Social Age						
Social Age N.A.	156	51.9	26.3	46.2	20.5	176
Child.,adol.	471	41.0	16.8	35.0	10.8	209
Young adult	348	46.3	23.6	40.2	17.5	171
Settled adult	570	36.1	20.2	28.4	12.5	141
Elderly	49	44.9	38.8	22.4	16.3	58
Hero/Villain						
Heroes	793	49.1	20.2	43.6	14.8	216
Villains	129	66.7	58.1	52.7	44.2	91
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	607	39.0	20.9	32.0	13.8	153
Not married	814	46.9	23.3	39.8	16.2	171
Married	173	25.4	11.0	18.5	4.0	168
All Races						
All White chars.	1,030	38.4	19.9	31.1	12.5	156
Chars. of color	116	36.2	15.5	32.8	12.1	211

**TABLE I-B-22: VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION;
MAJOR CHARACTERS; SATURDAY MORNING 1973-1993**

	N	Involved in violence %	As Perpetrators %	As Victims %	As both %	For every 100 perpetrators, no. of victims
	1					
Total	2,334	80.2	55.7	71.0	46.5	127
Social Age						
Social Age N.A.	544	87.9	66.9	76.8	55.9	115
Child.,adol.	502	69.7	36.1	61.0	27.3	169
Young adult	389	79.2	54.5	71.2	46.5	131
Settled adult	865	82.5	60.9	73.5	51.9	121
Elderly	33	66.7	48.5	60.6	42.4	125
Chronological Age						
Age under 60	1,181	75.2	48.9	67.4	41.1	138
Age 60 & over	42	73.8	59.5	54.8	40.5	92
Social Class						
Upper class	75	74.7	56.0	64.0	45.3	114
Middle class	1,557	77.6	51.4	68.9	42.7	134
"Lower class"	27	74.1	59.3	74.1	59.3	125
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	1,098	86.2	64.7	77.0	55.5	119
Not married	1,133	75.7	49.0	66.3	39.5	135
Married	103	67.0	35.0	59.2	27.2	169
All Races						
All White chars.	1,121	76.6	51.3	68.5	43.2	134
Chars. of color	109	67.9	38.5	63.3	33.9	164
American Characters						
White American	791	72.8	47.8	64.7	39.7	135
Afric.-Americ.	69	65.2	30.4	62.3	27.5	205
Hisp./Lat. Americ.	5	60.0	60.0	60.0	60.0	100
Asian/Pacific Amer.	5	60.0	20.0	60.0	20.0	300
Native American	6	100.0	83.3	83.3	66.7	100
Sexual Orientation						
Not Gay or Bisexual	2,063	81.4	58.0	72.2	48.9	124
Gay or Bisexual	4	75.0	50.0	75.0	50.0	150
Disability & Injury						
Physically injured	34	91.2	55.9	88.2	52.9	158
Physically ill	58	91.4	55.2	87.9	51.7	159
Mentally ill	11	81.8	72.7	63.6	54.5	88
Handicapped	25	80.0	60.0	68.0	48.0	113
Any and all disability	91	89.0	57.1	81.3	49.5	142

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(I-B-22 CONTINUED)	N	Involved in violence	As Perpetrators	As Victims	As both	For every 100 perpetrators, no. of victims
	1	%	%	%	%	
Men	1,859	82.4	58.3	73.3	49.2	126
Social Age						
Social Age N.A.	414	88.6	68.4	78.0	57.7	114
Child.,adol.	376	73.9	39.6	66.0	31.6	166
Young adult	296	81.4	58.1	73.0	49.7	126
Settled adult	746	84.3	62.9	75.2	53.8	120
Elderly	26	61.5	38.5	53.8	30.8	140
Hero/Villain						
Heroes	982	78.0	49.8	70.1	41.9	141
Villains	393	91.1	77.9	77.9	64.6	100
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	923	86.5	65.1	77.1	55.8	118
Not married	855	79.2	52.9	70.1	43.7	133
Married	81	70.4	38.3	63.0	30.9	165
All Races						
All White chars.	865	79.9	55.3	72.1	47.5	131
Chars. of color	89	71.9	40.4	67.4	36.0	167
Women	376	67.0	39.9	58.0	30.9	145
Social Age						
Social Age N.A.	46	76.1	50.0	65.2	39.1	130
Child.,adol.	121	56.2	24.8	45.5	14.0	183
Young adult	88	71.6	42.0	64.8	35.2	154
Settled adult	114	70.2	47.4	61.4	38.6	130
Elderly	7	85.7	85.7	85.7	85.7	100
Hero/Villain						
Heroes	247	67.2	31.2	60.3	24.3	194
Villains	51	84.3	80.4	72.5	68.6	90
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	95	78.9	54.7	72.6	48.4	133
Not married	259	63.7	35.9	53.7	25.9	149
Married	22	54.5	22.7	45.5	13.6	200
All Races						
All White chars.	255	65.5	38.0	56.1	28.6	147
Chars. of color	20	50.0	30.0	45.0	25.0	150

**TABLE I-B-23: VIOLENT/VICTIM
RATIOS; MAJOR CHARACTERS
SATURDAY MORNING 1973-1993**

	N	For every 100 perpetrators, no. of victims
Mentally ill	11	88
Age 60 & over	42	92
Hisp./Lat. Americ.	5	100
Native American	6	100
Handicapped	25	113
Upper class	75	114
Social Age N.A.	544	115
M.S. indeterminate	1,098	119
Settled adult	865	121
Not Gay or Bisexual	2,063	124
Elderly	33	125
"Lower class"	27	125
MEN	1,859	126
TOTAL	2,334	127
Young adult	389	131
All White chars.	1,121	134
Middle class	1,557	134
Not married	1,133	135
White American	791	135
Age under 60	1,181	138
Any and all disability	91	142
WOMEN	376	145
Gay or Bisexual	4	150
Physically injured	34	158
Physically ill	58	159
Chars. of color	109	164
Child, adol.	502	169
Married	103	169
Afric.-Americ.	69	205
Asian/Pacific Amer.	5	300

**TABLE I-B-24: VIOLLEN/VICTIM RATIOS
MAJOR CHARACTERS; MALE & FEMALE
SATURDAY MORNING 1973-1993**

Male	Male		Female	Female	
	Number of Chars in Group	For every 100 perpetrators number of victims		Number of Chars in Group	For every 100 perpetrators number of victims
Mentally ill	9	71	Lower Class	2	None invol.
Age 60 and above	37	90	Gay or Bisexual	1	None invol.
Hispanic/Latino-American	5	100	Upper Class	21	93
Native American	6	100	Elderly	7	100
Social Age N.A.	414	114	Age 60 and above	5	100
Handicapped	24	114	Settled adult	114	130
Marital Stat. indeterminate	923	118	Social Age N.A.	46	130
Settled adult	746	120	Marital Stat. indeterminate	95	133
Upper Class	54	125	ALL FEMALES	376	145
Lower Class	25	125	All Whites	255	147
Young adult	296	126	Not Married	259	149
ALL MALES	1,859	126	Middle Class	268	150
White American	602	130	All Colored Characters	20	150
All Whites	865	131	Young adult	88	154
Middle Class	1,268	131	White American	188	162
Not Married	855	133	Children & adol.	121	183
Any and all disability	77	133	Married	22	200
Elderly	26	140	Physically ill	8	233
Physically injured	27	144	African-American	14	250
Gay or Bisexual	3	150	Any and all disability	10	300
Physically ill	46	154	Physically injured	5	500
Married	81	165	Mentally ill	1	Victim only
Children & adol.	376	166	Hispanic/Latino-American	0	N.A.
All Colored Characters	89	167	Asian/Pacific-American	0	N.A.
African-American	55	200	Native American	0	N.A.
Asian/Pacific-American	5	300	Handicapped	0	N.A.

**TABLE I-B-25: KILLERS AND KILLED;
ALL CHARACTERS; SATURDAY MORNING 1973-1993**

	N	Involved in killing	Killers	Killed	Both	For every 100 killers, no. killed
	100%	%	%	%	%	
Total	7,911	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.0	92
Social Age						
Social Age N.A.	1,540	1.3	0.3	1.0	0.1	320
Child,adol.	1,591	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0	33
Young adult	1,260	0.8	0.7	0.3	0.0	44
Settled adult	3,346	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	14
Elderly	174	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	Killed only
Chronological Age						
Age under 60	4,414	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	12
Age 60 & over	208	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.0	Killed only
Social Class						
Upper class	31	3.2	3.2	0.0	0.0	Killers only
Middle class	1,660	0.7	0.6	0.1	0.0	10
"Lower class"	10	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	None involved
Marital Status						
M.S. indeterminate	4,694	0.6	0.2	0.4	0.0	233
Not married	2,840	0.6	0.5	0.0	0.0	7
Married	377	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	None involved
All Races						
All White chars.	4,100	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.0	20
Chars. of color	512	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.0	100
American Characters						
White American	1,848	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	Killers only
Afric.-Americ.	182	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	Killers only
Hisp./Lat. Americ.	23	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	None involved
Asian/Pacific Amer.	16	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	None involved
Native American	10	10.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	Killed only

TABLE I-C-1: PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THAT THE DANGER OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION IS "VERY SERIOUS"

TV viewing:	Light	Med	Heavy	Total	Gamma
Overall	16.0	21.6	23.6	21.1	.12*
GENDER:					
Male	20.0	18.2	20.4	19.0	.01
Female	12.2	25.0	25.9	23.0	.20**
AGE:					
18-34	19.1	25.1	23.1	23.6	.05
35-54	13.6	18.6	23.3	18.3	.19*
55+	15.5	20.8	24.3	21.2	.14
EDUC:					
Hi School	19.6	24.8	24.3	23.9	.05
Some Coll +	12.8	17.4	22.2	17.3	.19*

Question: How serious is the danger for you personally that you might be the victim of some crime? Very serious; rather serious; not very serious; not serious at all.

TABLE I-C-2: PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THAT IT IS "NOT SAFE" TO WALK ALONE AT NIGHT ON THEIR STREET

	Light	Med	Heavy	Total	Gamma
Overall	29.1	42.3	47.9	41.4	.21***
GENDER					
Male	20.4	32.6	33.3	30.6	.16*
Female	37.3	51.8	59.0	51.2	.24***
AGE:					
18-34	23.1	40.1	39.7	37.2	.17*
35-54	28.2	38.8	52.0	39.0	.28***
55 +	42.4	50.0	54.3	50.3	.12 (p=.09)
EDUC:					
Hi School	37.3	48.4	51.3	47.7	.13*
Some Coll +	21.8	33.7	41.0	32.5	.25

Question: In your opinion, is it safe to walk alone at night on the street where you live? Yes; no.

TABLE I-C-3: PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY CHANCES OF INVOLVEMENT IN VIOLENCE IN A WEEK ARE 10 IN 100 RATHER THAN 1 IN 100

	Giving Television Answer								CD (% Heavy- % Light)	gamma	Total
	Total		Television Viewing ¹								
	Z	N	Light		Medium		Heavy				
		%	N	%	N	%	N				
Overall	73	(3992)	71	(1206)	69	(1603)	81	(1183)	+10	.14***	5490
controlling for:											
Age											
18-29	81	(1377)	76	(405)	77	(532)	90	(440)	+14	.28***	1706
30-54	69	(1549)	68	(492)	65	(657)	77	(400)	+9	.11**	2256
over 55	70	(1066)	71	(309)	65	(414)	75	(343)	+4	.07	1528
Education											
No College	76	(2914)	76	(807)	71	(1133)	83	(973)	+7	.13***	3844
Some College	65	(1067)	63	(393)	65	(467)	72	(207)	+9	.10**	1630
Newspaper Reading											
Sometimes	80	(1566)	75	(490)	76	(399)	89	(478)	+14	.25***	1971
Everyday	69	(2421)	69	(714)	65	(1004)	76	(702)	+7	.10***	3514
Race											
White	70	(3421)	69	(1042)	66	(1385)	79	(993)	+10	.13***	4854
Non-White	90	(572)	86	(164)	90	(218)	93	(189)	+7	.25**	636
Urban Proximity											
City over 250,000	70	(680)	69	(200)	64	(267)	79	(213)	+10	.13**	974
City under 250,000	73	(448)	74	(125)	70	(182)	76	(141)	+3	.05	614
Suburban	70	(1496)	67	(456)	68	(614)	80	(426)	+13	.18***	2122
Non-Metropolitan	77	(1369)	77	(426)	72	(340)	85	(402)	+8	.13**	1780
Family Income											
under \$10,000	81	(1567)	84	(431)	75	(539)	84	(597)	0	.04	1937
\$10,000 - \$25,000	71	(1703)	68	(483)	70	(777)	76	(443)	+8	.12***	2402
over \$25,000	63	(723)	62	(293)	57	(287)	80	(143)	+18	.13**	1152
Sex											
Male	66	(1719)	67	(581)	61	(698)	76	(439)	+8	.09**	2589
Female	78	(2274)	76	(625)	76	(905)	84	(743)	+8	.15***	2901

¹ "On the average weekday, about how many hours do you personally watch television?"

Light: under 2 hours

Medium: 2 - 4 hours

Heavy: over 4 hours

First-order partial gamma

* $p \leq .05$ (tau)

** $p \leq .01$ (tau)

*** $p \leq .001$ (tau)

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation

TABLE I-C-4: NUMBER AND PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE HIGH SCORE ON THE "MEAN WORLD INDEX"

	Television Viewing								CD (%Heavy- %Light)	Gamma	Total N
	Total		Light		Medium		Heavy				
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%			
<u>Overall</u>	2214	42	454	36	969	40	791	49	13	+.168***	5300
<u>Sex</u>											
Men	1024	44	220	37	482	43	322	53	15	+.194***	2316
Women	1190	40	234	35	487	37	469	47	12	+.160***	2984
<u>Age</u>											
Under 30	739	52	136	44	298	49	305	61	17	+.218***	1413
30 to 54	878	38	205	32	413	37	280	46	14	+.176***	2295
55 and Older	592	38	113	36	255	36	224	41	5	+.075	1576
<u>Education</u>											
No College	1669	48	301	46	721	46	647	50	4	+.066*	3510
Some College	538	30	151	25	245	29	142	44	19	+.223***	1779
<u>Race</u>											
White	1801	38	380	33	809	36	612	45	12	+.155***	4739
Non-White	413	74	74	73	160	73	179	74	1	+.013	561
<u>Income</u>											
Under \$10,000	819	50	161	49	313	47	345	53	4	+.060	1643
\$10,000 to \$20,000	697	43	120	34	321	41	256	52	18	+.226***	1626
Over \$20,000	552	32	140	28	273	32	139	40	12	+.153***	1707
<u>Political Views</u>											
Conservative	558	39	127	32	267	39	164	45	13	+.172***	1441
Moderate	752	43	144	42	315	39	293	48	8	+.093*	1755
Liberal	538	44	113	36	219	41	208	57	21	+.270***	1208

Data Source: NORC General Social Surveys from 1973, 1978, 1980, and 1983.

* p <= .05; ** p <= .01; *** p <= .001

Note: Viewing was measured by the following question: "On the average day, about how many hours do you personally watch television?" Light: under 2 hours; Medium: 2 to 4 hours; Heavy: over 4 hours.

The Mean World Index measures the degree to which respondents agree that most people are just looking out for themselves, that you can't be too careful in dealing with people, and that most people would take advantage of you if they got a chance.

TABLE I-C-5: PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THAT WHEN IT COMES TO TRUSTING PEOPLE "YOU CAN'T BE TOO CAREFUL."

TV viewing:	Light	Med	Heavy	Total	Gamma
Overall	51.6	61.9	64.1	60.6	.14**
GENDER:					
Males	50.8	56.8	63.9	57.3	.15**
Females	52.3	66.8	64.2	63.6	.12*
AGE:					
18-34	58.9	62.7	68.3	63.4	.12 (p=.06)
35-54	43.3	61.5	61.3	57.5	.22**
55 +	55.4	61.3	61.4	60.6	.05
EDUC:					
Hi School	66.6	68.5	65.2	67.3	-.03
Some Coll +	37.9	53.1	61.7	51.4	.27***

Question: In general, do you think that you can trust most people, or do you think that one can't be too careful in dealing with people? You can trust most people; you can't be too careful.

TABLE I-C-6: PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY MOST PEOPLE ARE NOT HELPFUL BUT "ARE JUST LOOKING OUT FOR THEMSELVES."

TV viewing:	Light	Med	Heavy	Total	Gamma
Overall	34.7	48.5	49.6	46.3	.16***
GENDER:					
Male	38.2	49.3	49.7	47.5	.12*
Female	31.6	47.7	49.5	45.3	.19**
AGE:					
18-34	36.6	57.2	52.5	52.5	.14*
35-54	32.7	41.9	50.5	41.5	.21**
55 +	35.5	44.3	45.6	43.6	.09
EDUC:					
Hi School	48.3	54.5	53.3	53.3	.03
Some Coll +	22.1	40.2	42.1	36.5	.26***

Question: In general, do you think most people try to be helpful or are they mainly just looking out for themselves? Most people try to be helpful; they are just looking out for themselves.

TABLE I-C-7: NUMBER AND PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE HIGH SCORES ON THE "GLOOM AND DOOM INDEX"

	Television Viewing								CD (%Heavy- %Light)	Gamma	Total N
	Total		Light		Medium		Heavy				
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%			
<u>Overall</u>	3334	58	740	53	1425	55	1169	65	12	+ .158***	5790
<u>Sex</u>											
Men	1453	58	346	49	685	55	422	64	15	+ .185***	2601
Women	1881	59	394	56	740	55	747	65	9	+ .131***	3189
<u>Age</u>											
Under 30	830	57	183	54	316	53	331	63	9	+ .137**	1459
30 to 54	1442	57	372	51	663	55	407	68	17	+ .203***	2537
Over 55	1045	59	179	56	439	57	427	63	7	+ .110**	1766
<u>Education</u>											
No College	2456	65	460	66	1033	63	963	68	2	+ .050	3756
Some College	868	43	279	40	387	42	202	52	12	+ .139***	2020
<u>Race</u>											
White	2678	55	624	50	1170	53	884	63	13	+ .157***	4856
Non-White	656	70	116	72	255	68	285	72	0	+ .033	932
<u>Income</u>											
Under \$10,000	1059	68	195	68	389	67	475	70	2	+ .037	1542
\$10,000 to \$20,000	980	60	204	56	431	59	345	66	10	+ .132**	1626
Over \$20,000	1040	47	279	42	501	46	260	57	13	+ .173***	2204
<u>Political Views</u>											
Conservative	984	53	242	50	428	51	314	61	11	+ .145***	1842
Moderate	1307	59	253	53	554	57	500	66	13	+ .174***	2202
Liberal	899	58	207	53	385	56	307	66	13	+ .164***	1548

Data Source: NORC General Social Surveys for 1977, 1980, and 1985

* p <= .05; ** p <= .01; *** p <= .001

Note: Viewing was measured by the following question: "In the average day, about how many hours do you personally watch television?" Light: under 2 hours; Medium: 2 to 4 hours; Heavy: over 4 hours.

The Index of Alienation and Gloom was measured by three of Ingle's Anomie items: the lot of the average man is getting worse, it is hardly fair to bring a child into the world, and most public officials are not interested in the lot of the average man.

TABLE I-C-8: ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN AMOUNTS OF VIEWING AND SMOKING¹
1977 AND 1978

	Television Viewing								C ²	Gamma	Base N
	Total		Light		Medium		Heavy				
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N			
Overall	41	(1248)	38	(297)	39	(548)	47	(405)	+ 9	.12***	(3050)
<i>Controlling for:</i>											
<i>Sex:</i>											
Male	49	(660)	44	(173)	48	(308)	57	(170)			
Female	35	(588)	32	(125)	32	(241)	41	(232)	+ 13	.10***	(1002)
<i>Education:</i>											
No College	44	(912)	42	(183)	41	(389)	49	(340)	+ 7	.10**	(2083)
Some College	35	(331)	33	(113)	35	(154)	40	(84)	+ 7	.09	(2758)
<i>Race:</i>											
White	41	(1108)	38	(271)	39	(488)	49	(351)	+ 11	.14***	(2687)
Nonwhite	40	(131)	37	(22)	42	(58)	38	(53)	+ 1	.00	(332)
<i>Income:</i>											
Under \$10,000	40	(411)	40	(88)	35	(150)	45	(173)	+ 5	.10*	(1030)
\$10-20,000	45	(450)	39	(104)	44	(208)	52	(140)	+ 13	.15***	(1005)
Over \$20,000	38	(333)	34	(93)	39	(169)	46	(71)	+ 12	.14**	(869)
<i>Present Health:</i>											
Excellent/Good	42	(459)	40	(119)	38	(196)	49	(144)	+ 9	.11*	(1107)
Fair/Poor	45	(188)	52	(44)	39	(67)	48	(75)	- 3	-.01	(414)
<i>Age:</i>											
18-29	44	(343)	39	(66)	41	(139)	51	(138)	+ 12	.16**	(775)
30-64	44	(784)	40	(210)	43	(908)	53	(208)	+ 13	.15***	(1780)
Over 65	24	(118)	21	(18)	21	(40)	29	(58)	+ 8	.18*	(481)

* p < .05.
** p < .01.
*** p < .001.

Data Source: NORC General Social Surveys 1977 and 1978.
¹C² = Contingency Coefficient. % heavy viewers who smoke minus % light viewers who smoke.

TABLE I-C-9: ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN AMOUNTS OF VIEWING AND SMOKING¹
1988 AND 1989

	Television Viewing								CD ²	Gamma	BaseN
	Total		Light		Medium		Heavy				
	‡	N	‡	N	‡	N	‡	N			
Overall	33	(330)	29	(62)	30	(136)	41	(132)	+12	-.18***	(997)
Controlling for:											
Age:											
18 - 29	35	(88)	25	(13)	31	(35)	47	(40)	+22	-.30**	(251)
30 - 55	39	(78)	33	(40)	33	(75)	57	(63)	+24	-.28***	(458)
56 - 89	22	(63)	19	(8)	22	(26)	23	(29)	+ 4	-.06	(286)
Education:											
No College	38	(212)	37	(28)	34	(83)	44	(19)	+ 7	-.14*	(555)
College	27	(118)	24	(34)	25	(53)	35	(31)	+11	-.14+	(441)
Sex:											
Male	36	(162)	32	(31)	31	(68)	48	(63)	+16	-.23**	(448)
Female	31	(168)	26	(11)	29	(68)	36	(69)	+10	-.15*	(549)
Race:											
White	33	(281)	29	(57)	31	(123)	39	(101)	+10	-.14*	(854)
Non-White	34	(49)	24	(5)	22	(13)	48	(31)	+24	-.44**	(143)
Income:											
Under \$ 15,000	38	(106)	27	(11)	38	(39)	43	(56)	+16	-.19*	(275)
\$ 15 - 35,000	35	(120)	34	(24)	35	(55)	37	(41)	+ 3	-.03	(340)
Over \$ 35,000	26	(75)	24	(20)	22	(36)	41	(19)	+17	-.19 ^{ns}	(290)
Poverty Line:											
Under Poverty Line	41	(31)	9	(1)	41	(11)	51	(19)	+42	-.44*	(75)
Above Poverty Line	35	(149)	31	(29)	34	(64)	39	(56)	+ 8	-.12+	(424)
Satisfaction From Health:											
V.G.Deal/G.Deal	29	(161)	28	(35)	26	(68)	36	(58)	+ 8	-.14*	(552)
Quite a Bit/None	37	(164)	29	(25)	35	(67)	46	(72)	+17	-.23**	(438)
Sex & Income:											
Male & < \$15,000	44	(40)	9	(1)	42	(18)	57	(21)	+48	-.47**	(91)
Female & > \$35,000	24	(31)	17	(7)	23	(15)	37	(9)	+20	-.31*	(131)
Education & Income:											
No college & < \$15,000	40	(82)	32	(7)	35	(25)	45	(50)	+13	-.21*	(205)

+ = < .1; * = < .05; ** = < .01; *** = < .001

¹ Dichotomized as "yes" or "no"

² Cultivation Differential; ‡ Heavy Viewer minus ‡ Light Viewers

Data Source: NORC General Social Surveys 1988 and 1989

TABLE I-C-10: ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN AMOUNTS OF VIEWING AND DERIVING "VERY GREAT" OR "GREAT" SATISFACTION FROM THEIR HEALTH AND PHYSICAL CONDITION

	Television Viewing								cd ¹	Gamma	Base N
	Total		Light		Medium		Heavy				
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N			
Overall	60	(2712)	66	(719)	61	(1267)	54	(724)	-12	-.15***	(4519)
<i>Controlling for:</i>											
<i>Sex:</i>											
Male	64	(1264)	68	(367)	65	(618)	57	(279)	-11	-.15***	(1992)
Female	57	(1448)	64	(352)	58	(651)	52	(445)	-12	-.14***	(2527)
<i>Education:</i>											
No College	57	(1773)	61	(372)	59	(822)	53	(579)	-9	-.11***	(3107)
Some College	67	(935)	72	(345)	66	(447)	59	(143)	-13	-.16***	(1396)
<i>Race:</i>											
White	61	(2415)	67	(661)	62	(1153)	53	(601)	-14	-.16***	(3994)
Nonwhite	57	(277)	60	(50)	57	(108)	55	(119)	-5	-.07	(490)
<i>Income:</i>											
Under \$10,000 ...	51	(836)	57	(189)	52	(347)	47	(300)	-10	-.11***	(1647)
\$10-20,000	66	(1014)	71	(265)	66	(493)	61	(256)	-10	-.12***	(1543)
Over \$20,000	68	(776)	71	(248)	67	(389)	64	(139)	-7	-.09*	(1144)
<i>Present Health:</i>											
Excellent/Good ...	76	(1658)	77	(417)	78	(807)	73	(434)	-4	-.08*	(2170)
Fair/Poor	19	(154)	21	(31)	18	(62)	18	(61)	-3	-.10*	(826)
<i>Age:</i>											
18-29	67	(791)	78	(192)	64	(323)	65	(276)	-13	-.13**	(1174)
30-64	61	(1585)	66	(461)	63	(795)	52	(329)	-14	-.17***	(2597)
Over 65	44	(322)	44	(59)	48	(147)	40	(116)	-4	-.05	(730)

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** $p < .001$.

Data Source: NORC General Social Surveys 1975, 1977, 1978.

¹ cd=Cultivation Differential; % heavy viewers minus % light viewers.

TABLE I-C-11: ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN VIEWING AND NUTRITIONAL COMPLACENCY

	Television Viewing								CD ²	Gamma	BaseN
	Total		Light		Medium		Heavy				
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N			
Overall	56	(552)	59	(126)	58	(266)	50	(160)	- 9	.12**	(991)
Controlling for:											
Age:											
18 - 29	64	(161)	61	(31)	68	(78)	61	(52)	0	.04	(251)
30 - 55	55	(250)	60	(71)	56	(127)	47	(52)	-13	.15*	(456)
56 - 89	50	(140)	55	(23)	51	(61)	46	(56)	- 9	.11	(282)
Sex:											
Male	56	(247)	61	(59)	56	(124)	50	(64)	-11	.13+	(445)
Female	56	(305)	57	(67)	60	(142)	50	(96)	- 7	.11+	(546)
Education:											
No College	52	(286)	57	(42)	55	(137)	47	(107)	-10	.15*	(551)
College	61	(266)	60	(84)	61	(129)	60	(53)	0	-.007	(439)
Race:											
White	57	(480)	59	(114)	59	(236)	51	(130)	- 8	.11*	(849)
Non-White	51	(72)	57	(12)	52	(30)	48	(30)	- 9	.11	(142)
Income:											
Under \$ 15,000	49	(134)	50	(20)	53	(55)	46	(59)	- 4	.09	(272)
\$ 15 - 35,000	56	(190)	59	(41)	54	(85)	57	(64)	- 2	.00	(340)
Over \$ 35,000	63	(182)	64	(54)	64	(102)	58	(26)	- 6	.05	(290)
Smoking:											
Yes	49	(161)	58	(35)	50	(68)	45	(58)	-13	.16*	(325)
No	59	(391)	59	(91)	61	(198)	54	(102)	- 5	.07	(665)
Drinking:											
Yes	58	(392)	60	(90)	59	(191)	53	(111)	- 7	.09+	(680)
No	52	(160)	57	(38)	55	(75)	44	(49)	-13	.17*	(309)
Smoking and Drinking:											
Smoke but not Drink	47	(32)	80	(8)	52	(15)	31	(9)	-49	.53**	(68)
Drink but not Smoke	62	(263)	63	(63)	64	(138)	58	(62)	- 5	.07	(423)
Smoke and Drink	50	(129)	54	(27)	50	(53)	48	(42)	- 8	.06	(257)

+ =< .1; * =< .05; ** =< .01; *** =< .001

¹ Dichotomized as "Very Great Deal/Great Deal", or "Quite a Bit/None"

² Cultivation Differential; † Heavy Viewer minus ‡ Light Viewers

Data Source: NORC General Social Surveys 1988 and 1989

TABLE I-C-12: HEALTH VALUES, BEHAVIORS, AND INFORMATION FOR THOSE WHO DO AND DO NOT SELECT TELEVISION AS ONE OF TWO OR THREE "MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION," FROM A LIST OF 16 SOURCES

	% Who Are Complacent			% With Old Health Values			% Who Are Nonexercisers			% Who Are Poorly Informed			Base N (±5)
	TV not Chosen	TV Chosen	gamma	TV not Chosen	TV Chosen	gamma	TV not Chosen	TV Chosen	gamma	TV not Chosen	TV Chosen	gamma	
Social Class:													
Lower	63	70	.14	7	11	.24	62	60	-.04	24	48	.49***	(380)
Middle	69	76	.17**	14	18	.14*	55	73	.36***	18	29	.30***	(1207)
Upper	70	80	.27**	7	14	.34**	50	60	.21**	13	24	.36***	(539)
Residence:													
Central City ...	70	72	.04	10	30	.57***	60	68	.16*	22	43	.46***	(704)
Urban	68	77	.22***	15	18	.02	54	65	.22***	16	26	.28***	(978)
Rural	66	76	.22**	8	4	-.37*	56	73	.36***	13	21	.30***	(702)
Sex:													
Male	73	72	-.04	13	20	.24***	51	59	.36***	23	33	.25***	(1026)
Female	64	78	.32***	11	13	.12	60	68	.16***	12	26	.42***	(1359)

* p < .05.

** p < .01.

*** p < .001.

Data Source: General Mills/Yankelovich, Skelly, and White 1979.

**TABLE II-1: NIELSEN RATINGS OF VIOLENT AND NON-VIOLENT
PRIME TIME PROGRAMS 1988-93**

	Non-Violent N=101		Violent N=101	
	Rating	Share	Rating	Share
1988-89	14.5	24	12.8	21
1989-90	14.9	24	12.0	20
1990-91 ¹	10.5	21	8.5	17
1991-92	15.2	24	11.3	19
1992-93	13.0	20	9.9	16
Overall means	13.9	22.6	11.2	19.0

¹In this and the next two Tables, the 1990-91 sample was taken in June 1991.

APPENDIX II

**TABLE II-1: NIELSEN RATINGS OF VIOLENT AND NON-VIOLENT
PRIME TIME PROGRAMS 1988-93**

	Non-Violent N=101		Violent N=101	
	Rating	Share	Rating	Share
1988-89	14.5	24	12.8	21
1989-90	14.9	24	12.0	20
1990-91 ¹	10.5	21	8.5	17
1991-92	15.2	24	11.3	19
1992-93	13.0	20	9.9	16
Overall means	13.9	22.6	11.2	19.0

¹In this and the next two Tables, the 1990-91 sample was taken in June 1991.

**TABLE II-2: NIELSEN RATINGS OF REPEATEDLY
VIOLENT, MIXED, AND NON-VIOLENT PRIME TIME PROGRAMS 1988-93**

	Non-Violent N=41		Mixed N=56		Violent N=40	
	Rating	Share	Rating	Share	Rating	Share
1988-89	18.0	29	15.4	26	14.9	24
1989-90	19.5	31	14.5	24	12.4	21
1990-91	11.8	23	9.5	19	8.7	17
1991-92	18.5	28	13.6	22	9.4	15
1992-93	17.9	27	10.8	18	10.6	17
Overall means	17.2	27.7	12.9	21.8	11.8	19.7

TABLE II-3: NIELSEN RATINGS, SHARE, AND COST OF REPEATEDLY VIOLENT, MIXED, AND NON-VIOLENT PRIME TIME PROGRAMS CONTROLLED BY TIME-SLOT, PROGRAM GENRE, TONE, AND SIGNIFICANCE OF VIOLENCE 1988-93

	Non-violent (N=39) ¹			Mixed (N=56)			Violent (N=40) ²		
	Rating	Share	Cost	Rating	Share	Cost	Rating	Share	Cost
TOTAL:	17.2	28	702	12.9	22	801	11.8	20	1208
TIME SLOT³									
Before									
9:00	17.0	28	665	12.2	20	746	9.5	16	1261
		(N=9)			(N=25)			(N=7)	
9:00 & After	17.0	27	775	12.8	22	925	10.9	19	1227
		(N=22)			(N=23)			(N=21)	
GENRE									
Crime, Action	-	-	-	11.9	20	1233	12.0	20	1238
		(N=0)			(N=3)			(N=23)	
Sitcoms	17.5	28	680	13.7	23	635	12.4	21	588
		(N=37)			(N=40)			(N=2)	
Others	10.7	21	1100	10.8	19	1212	11.5	20	1251
		(N=2)			(N=13)			(N=15)	
TOPE									
Humorous	18.0	29	621	13.9	24	624	13.7	22	588
		(N=23)			(N=23)			(N=3)	
Mixed	16.8	27	776	12.3	21	758	10.0	16	1263
		(N=14)			(N=19)			(N=3)	
Serious	10.7	21	1100	12.0	20	1149	11.8	20	1241
		(N=2)			(N=14)			(N=34)	
SIGNIFICANCE OF VIOLENCE									
No Viol.	17.2	28	702	13.7	23	749	-	-	-
		(N=39)			(N=27)			(N=0)	
Incid.	-	-	-	12.3	21	743	13.1	21	1092
		(N=0)			(N=19)			(N=8)	
Signif.	-	-	-	10.8	21	1025	12.0	20	1215
		(N=0)			(N=5)			(N=20)	
Major Focus	-	-	-	12.9	21	1075	10.7	19	1255
		(N=0)			(N=5)			(N=12)	

¹ Only two shows were reported to have large "negative deficit" (i.e. that made profit on the domestic market). They were The Cosby Show and Cheers in 1991. They are excluded lest they confound the figures.

² N is 38 for the cost column of violent programs, due to the absence of cost information for two CBS specials.

³ No time-slot information for '88 sample, therefore, total N is 107 for time-slot section of the table.

APPENDIX III

September, 1994

cem
cultural
environment
movement

P.O. BOX 31847
PHILADELPHIA PA 19104
PHONE: 215.573.7099
FAX: 215.898.2024

Thank you for your interest in the Cultural Environment Movement. As the enclosed prospectus explains, the Movement is a coalition of media, professional, labor, religious, environmental, health-related, and women's and minority groups working for liberation on the cultural front—for reversal of the concentration of control over both old and new communications technologies; for a halt to increasing media commercialization, conglomerization and globalization; for an end to formula-driven homogenization of content; for investing in a freer, fairer, and more diverse cultural environment; and for broadly based participation in cultural decisions that shape the lives of our children.

CEM, in this initial period of formation, sets coalition-building as its immediate goal. To achieve this, it is planning a Constitutional Convention for the Cultural Environment that would bring together affiliated organizations and members to develop priorities for specific action programs. At the same time, it is seeking out leadership potentials in different spheres of interest (e.g., media education, health-related issues, minority concerns, etc.) in different regions of the country to help translate the aims of the Movement into action programs.

If you share the concerns of CEM and want to be a part of the Movement, please complete one or both of the forms (the Affiliation form only if you are signing for an organization) and return them to us as soon as possible. We hope you will suggest how YOU can concretely help in the realization of the broad goals of the Movement in your own locality and in your areas of special interest. Any contribution you can send will help CEM to cover the cost of mailing and organizing.

We invite you to join us to bring about a freer and saner cultural environment. Let us have your comments, suggestions, and plans for action.

An e-mail exchange of information and ideas concerning the cultural environment is available by request. If you are interested in having your e-mail address included in the network of messages, please let us know.

Sincerely,



George Gerbner
Chair

Board of Directors

George Gerbner
Chair

Nolan Bowie
Treasurer

Kathleen Bader Lynch
Secretary

Linda K. Fuller
Development

Rita Addressa

Cynthia Bock-Goodner

Paul Carton

Richard H. Crawford

Mary Lou Huchet

Louise Shoemaker

Prospectus



Most of what we know, or think we know, we know from stories we're told. That process used to be hand-crafted, home-made, and community-inspired. Now it is mostly mass-produced and policy-driven. It is the end result of a complex manufacturing and marketing process.

For the first time in human history, most children are born into homes where most of the stories do not come from their parents, schools, churches, communities, and in many places even from their native countries, but from a handful of conglomerates who have something to sell.

These changes have had profound consequences. They have altered the ways we grow up, learn, and live. Channels proliferate and new technologies pervade home and office while mergers and bottomline pressures shrink creative alternatives and reduce diversity of content. Media are coalescing into an integrated cultural environment that constrains life's choices as the natural environment defines life's chances.

The consequences are as diverse as they are far-reaching. For many people they mean an enrichment of local cultural horizons. But for many they also mean a narrowing of perspectives, homogenization of outlooks, and limitation of alternatives.

This condition did not emerge spontaneously or after thoughtful deliberation. It has been a radical departure overriding significant public opposition, a fact little noted in our history books. Its world-wide fallout and human implications have only recently been studied and are just beginning to be understood.

Ten-year-olds responding to a survey could name more brands of beer than presidents. Nine out of ten six-year-olds recognized "Old Joe" as a Camel cigarette ad. The new cultural environment blurs diverse outlooks, blends perspectives into a pervasive mainstream, and bends that mainstream to the service of those who own and pay for it.

Of course, ultimately we pay for it as consumers, but we pay when we wash, not when we watch. The price of a bar of soap includes money to pay for the "soap opera" that plugs the brands of soap and a style of life. And we have no choice but to pay that levy.

For citizens, this is taxation without representation. For advertisers, it is a tax-deductible business expense that buys the rights to tell the stories we hold in common. For society it is a way of preempting alternatives, limiting freedom of the press to those who own it, divorcing payment from choice, and denying meaningful public participation in cultural decision-making.

The Cultural Environment Movement is concerned with such distortions of the democratic process. They include the promotion of practices that drug, hurt, poison, and kill thousands every day; portrayals that dehumanize and stigmatize; cults of violence that desensitize, terrorize and brutalize; the growing siege mentality of our cities; the drift toward ecological suicide; the silent crumbling of our infrastructure; widening resource gaps and the most glaring inequalities in the industrial world; the costly neglect of vital institutions such as public education, health care, and the arts; make-believe image politics corrupting the electoral process.

How can we heal the wounds of all the stories that hurt and tear us apart? How can we put culture-power to liberating ends? The new cultural environment challenges us to mobilize as public citizens as effectively as commercials mobilize us to act as private consumers and to address these questions. We propose six areas:

Building a new coalition and constituency

The Cultural Environment Movement involves media-oriented networks and councils in the U.S. and abroad; teachers, students and parents; groups concerned with children, youth and aging; women's groups; minority organizations; religious, educational, health, environmental, legal, and other professional associations; consumer groups and agencies; associations of creative workers in the media and in the arts and sciences; independent computer network organizers; and other organizations and individuals committed to creating mechanisms of public participation in cultural policy-making.

Opposing domination

We resist censorship, both public and private; act to extend the First Amendment beyond its use as a shield for the powerful; work to reduce concentration of control of and by media and to include in decision-making the less affluent, more vulnerable groups marginalized by marketers.

Cooperating with groups in other countries that work for the integrity and independence of their own cultural decision-making

We need to learn from countries that have opened their media to the democratic process and oppose trade policies that make cultural development more difficult.

Joining forces with creative workers in the media

We will work with journalists, artists, writers, actors, directors, and other creative workers struggling for greater freedom and diversity in media employment and expression.

Promoting media literacy, awareness, critical viewing and reading, and other media education efforts

We will be collecting, publicizing and disseminating information about relevant programs, services, curricula, and research and teaching materials.

Placing cultural policy issues on the social-political agenda

We will be supporting local and national and international media councils, study groups, citizen groups, minority and professional groups and other forums of public discussion, policy development, representation, and action, moving toward a realistic democratic media agenda.

Send comments to:

cultural environment movement

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P. 40

Electronic Media

New group seeks input on content

By DIANE JOY MOCA
Staff reporter

LOS ANGELES—Hoping to have more influence on TV content, longtime TV violence watchdog George Gerbner has begun building a non-profit Cultural Environment Movement.

Mr. Gerbner, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School for Communications, says the cultural environment organization has existed for the past two years, but until recently, he and others involved had not been actively organizing.

That changed with the Aug. 2 National Council for Families & Television conference on TV violence.

The group held its first West Coast meeting after the violence conference, with approximately 30 people attending.

Mr. Gerbner now says he expects to have a "professional organization" in place to administer Cultural Environment Movement affairs within six months.

"We want to continue the momentum the con-

(Continued from back cover)

ference created. It was the first time the industry sat down with community leaders and researchers and academic people to discuss an important question of cultural policy. This, we consider a turning point," Mr. Gerbner says.

Rather than resort to pressure tactics to try to influence TV, the Cultural Environment Movement seeks instead to gain more access to industry figures and expose them to the group's concerns.

Mr. Gerbner's immediate goals are to acquire funding, build up a staff and establish an office.

"I hope within six months we can do that. We hope to have public announcement of our existence by then," he said.

Once that is in place, the group's mandate will be to strive to "develop a mechanism for public consultation and participation in cultural decision-making," he said.

"We're not focusing on one issue or a group of issues. We are representing our movement as a liberating alternative to the repressive movements in the field," Mr. Gerbner says.

Our children are born into a home in which television—which is on 7 hours and 41 minutes a day—is an environment. Most stories they grow up with are not told by parents or at school or in the church or the community but by this pervasive element called television.

By recognizing it is an environment, we have to make it as free, fair and diverse as it can be in a democratic society."

Representatives of the Screen Actors Guild and American Federation of Television and Radio Artists say they're still considering whether to join Mr. Gerbner's organization, while agreeing that the group's goals have merit.

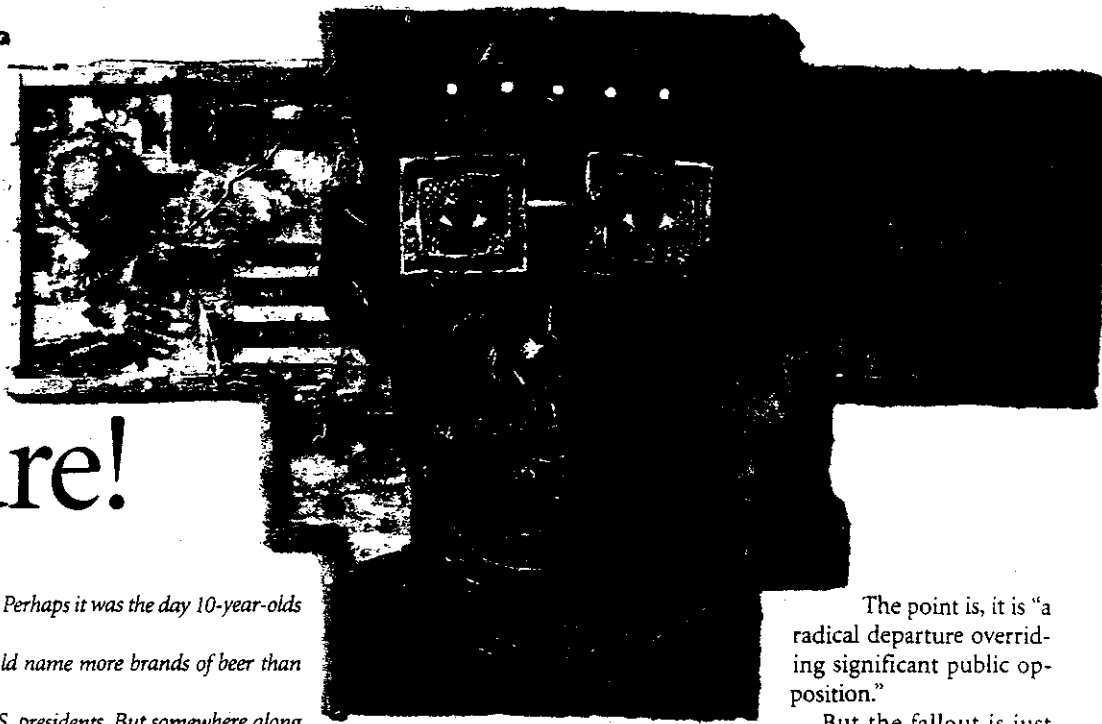
Through advocacy, women, seniors, people with disabilities and people of color will be better portrayed in the media, and that's to our benefit," says AFTRA spokeswoman Pamm Fair.

She explained that AFTRA's union status sometimes limits its ability to be "pro-active."

To get together with advocacy groups can help us do that, she says. "It's a cause both unions feel very strongly about."*

MEDIA AND MARKETING

Take Back The Culture!



Perhaps it was the day 10-year-olds could name more brands of beer than U. S. presidents. But somewhere along the recent way, our culture has become so thoroughly manufactured by marketers that it is no longer able to give real sustenance to thousands of Americans.

Instead of growing up on home-made stories in which we learn about ourselves, we are fed mass-produced images that fit only a few, stigmatizing and marginalizing the rest. As if this weren't bad enough, we are subsidizing our own dehumanization because we are forced to pay the hidden promotional cost at the checkout counter.

Unfair! Taxation without representation, declares the Cultural Environment Movement (CEM), a group now forming that is determined to put cultural decision-making back where it belongs—with the public. Led by George Gerbner, Ph.D., former dean of the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications, the group feels that this is leading to a great narrowing of cultural perspectives.

Most of us didn't have a hand in bringing about this state of affairs; it didn't arise spontaneously or by thoughtful deliberation. It is, rather, the result of the "concentration of control of and by media."

The point is, it is "a radical departure overriding significant public opposition."

But the fallout is just beginning to be realized: "The promotion of practices that drug, hurt, poison, and kill thousands every day; cults of violence that desensitize, terrorize, and brutalize; the growing siege mentality of our cities; the drift toward ecological suicide; the silent crumbling of our infrastructure...." You get the picture.

The CEM seeks to educate Americans about the media, thus opening it up to the democratic process—without fostering censorship.

It welcomes advice and support. Write: Cultural Environment Movement, P.O. Box 31847, Philadelphia, PA 19104.



RICH BERGE/GRAVITY WORKSHOP

TV VIOLENCE

Making a Killing

The classic rationale for TV violence is, that's what viewers want. Wrong, insists America's dean of media studies.

Violence travels cheaply, says George Gerbner, Ph.D.

Gerbner, former head of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania and director of its ongoing media

violence research unit, compared the Nielson ratings of over 100 violent and non-violent network prime-time programs from 1988 to 1993. Not only did the violent programs earn lower scores than nonviolent shows every season, their ratings slipped each year of the study.

Why then is violence the main theme of roughly 100 out of every 250 American programs? As it turns out, most of these so-called



“action” series are not created with Americans in mind. Indeed, Americans increasingly tire of them.

Syndicators export these programs, like any other commodity, to foreign cable and video companies. The shows, in fact, turn a profit—and a huge one—only

by traveling on the international market. Producers need shows that will sell in foreign languages, and violence, like sex, needs no translation.

Ultimately, citizens around the world are exposed to the same violence that has been shown to stimulate aggressive behavior, helplessness, dependency, and even a bunker mentality—what Gerbner appropriately calls the “mean-world syndrome”—here in America. Nor does this help the image of United States in the international community, as Americans are portrayed as bloodthirsty, ruthless thugs.

While networks pour billions of dollars into violent programming, genuinely creative and valuable ideas often never make it to the screen. “This,” Gerbner asserts, “is the real censorship on television.”

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NEW YORK FORUM

ABOUT VIOLENCE

Road Runner Begets Rambo

By George Gerbner

TELEVISION VIOLENCE is making news again. The National Cable Television Association released my study which found an average of nearly 10 overtly violent physical acts per hour on both cable-originated and broadcast network programs, and much more on children's programming. While violence occurs "only" 17 times per hour in cable-originated children's programs, broadcast network children's programs boast an all-time high of 32 violent acts per hour. When these findings and some seemingly unmotivated, passionless assaults by youngsters hit the headlines simulta-

neously, I became a walking, talking media event, trapped on live radio from New Zealand to London and points between, trying to field a battery of questions.

"Children are out of control. What shall we do about violence on TV?" Or: "Why is this hackneyed old subject still with us, after all these years of study and controversy?" "Isn't this violence, after all, what people want?" "Didn't we all grow up with violence in a violent world?" "Isn't there violence in Shakespeare, fairy tales, the Bible?" And, on the other hand, "Isn't it obvious that violence begets violence; monkey see, monkey do?" Or "Nobody believes make-believe." "Isn't cartoon violence (remember Road Runner and the Wily Coyote) just good clean fun?" "Besides, we don't want censorship, do we?"

Let me try to answer here, freed from the tyranny of soundbites. Humankind may have had more bloodthirsty eras, but none as filled with images of

George Gerbner is professor of communication and dean emeritus of the Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Pennsylvania.



violence as the present. We are awash in a tide of violent representations the world has never seen. Of course, there is blood in fairy tales, gore in mythology, murder in Shakespeare. Violence is a legitimate cultural expression, even

necessary to show the tragic consequences of deadly conflicts and lethal compulsions. But the historically limited, individually crafted and selectively used symbolic violence of great drama and good journalism, often conveying a tragic sense of life essential for human compassion, has been swamped by "happy violence": no pain, no permanent damage, just swift, effective, sanitized entertainment leading to happy endings.

Children who are steeped in the violence of cartoons and other fare soon graduate to scarcely less violent adult programming. The consequences of this cradle-to-grave exposure are threefold. For a few (whose acts provoke fright-

—Continued on page 56

—Continued from page 54

ful publicity), violence seems an effective quick-fix to any problem. Many more become desensitized to violence and lose the ability to protest or to resist. And in nearly all of us, but especially in heavy TV viewers, lifelong exposure to images of violence generates a sense of insecurity and a demand for repression (more jails, more executions, more global policing) as long as it can be justified as enhancing our security. Heavy viewers live in a meaner world than their next-door neighbors who watch less television, and they act accordingly.

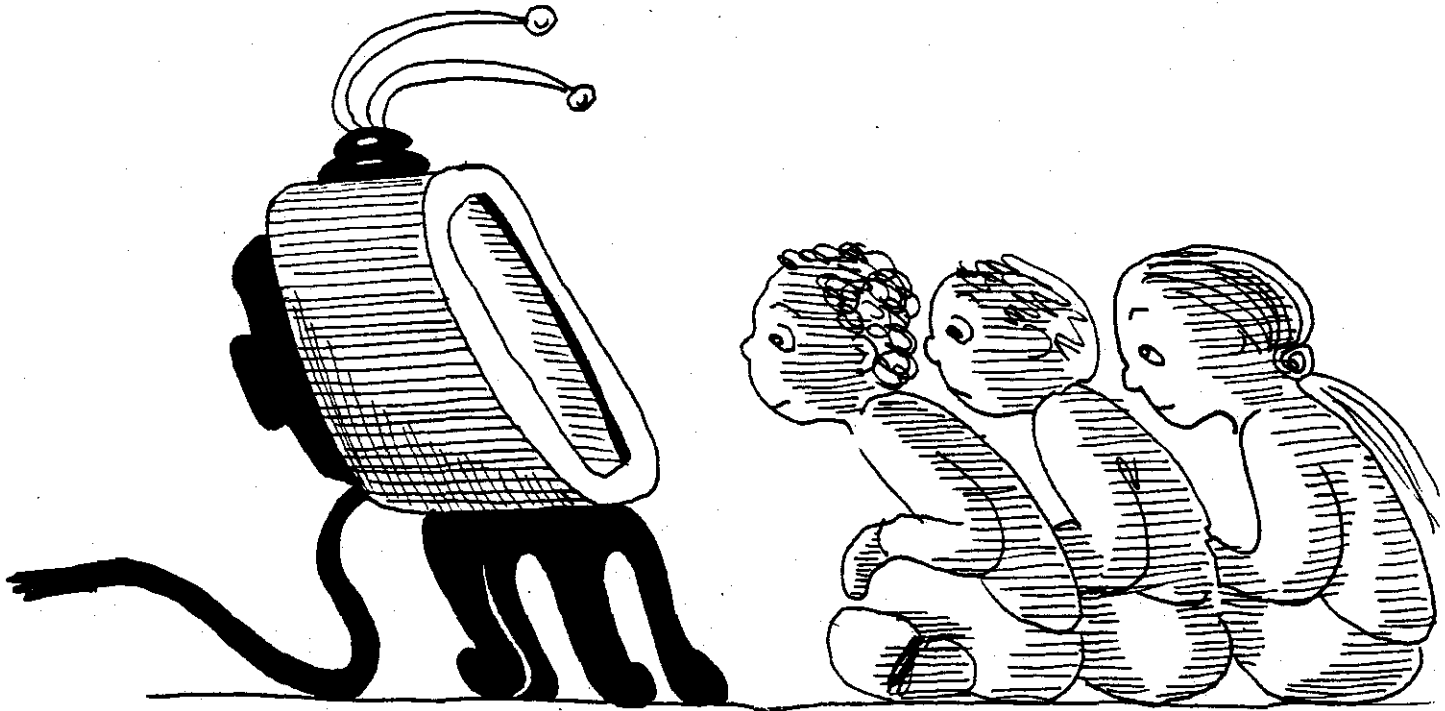
Humor is the sugar-coating on the pill. The pill is power: Who can get away with what against whom. Women and minorities in television drama tend to be underrepresented and over-victimized. This is the lethal "pecking order": Men kill twice as frequently as they are killed. "Good" men, the heroes of television drama, kill three times as frequently as they are killed. "Good" women, the heroines, are killed as often as they kill; a tooth for a tooth. Women of color are killed twice as often as they kill. Older women are written into violent scripts only to get killed. In the mean world of television violence, men kill and women get killed.

This projection of male power starts early in life. Don't just blame the kids or even only the parents. For the first time in human history, most of the stories in our society are being told not by parents, schools, churches or communities with something to tell, but increasingly by global conglomerates with something to sell.

Most highly rated programs are not violent, but they are more expensive to produce and don't travel as well on the global market. Violence is good business because it is relatively cheap to produce, it needs no translation or thoughtful comprehension, and it speaks action in any language. Shows can be sold dirt-cheap abroad, where big media profits come from.

Cheap "happy violence" is the result of a de-facto censorship foisted on our children, our culture, and our creative people by global marketing formulas. To counter it requires not more censorship but, on the contrary, the loosening of the existing marketing noose on creativity and cultural freedom.

Parents need the help of schools to teach media literacy. We all need to act as citizens and form a Cultural Environment Movement to address such problems as TV violence much as we are beginning to address global warming, by recognizing its roots, and building a constituency for democratic participation in cultural decision-making.



For The Inquirer / MARGARET SCOTT

TV's distorted view of the world

By **GEORGE GERBNER**

Television seems to be frozen in a time-warp of obsolete and damaging representations that rob millions of equal opportunity and potential.

Take Saturday morning children's television: A young person will see about 123 characters each Saturday morning but rarely, if ever, a role model of a mature female as leader. Older women, when seen, are most likely to play the villain, such as a witch. At the bottom of the pecking order are characters portrayed as old women and mentally ill, perpetuating stigmas of the most damaging kind.

The young viewer will see an elderly leading character of either sex only about every three weeks, and that is likely to be a man. Married and parent images are curiously rare and gloomy.

And children's cartoons are full of mayhem — 32 acts per hour. Cartoon humor appears to be the sugar coating on the pill of cool and happy violence.

These are among the findings contained in a new study — "Women and Minorities on Television: Casting and Fate" — conducted by the Cultural Indicators research team at the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School for Communication. The study was commissioned by two major unions representing 120,000 performers and broadcasters — the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists and the Screen Actors Guild — and is the most comprehensive record of television performance ever assembled.

It covers more than 10 years and 19,000 characters in prime-time, daytime, Saturday morning children's television, and news.

Here are some of the other key findings:

■ 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. As characters, they age faster than men, and as they age, they are more likely to be portrayed as evil and unsuccessful.

■ Seniors of both genders are greatly underrepresented — not just on children's television. In fact, they seem to be vanishing on television instead of increasing as is happening in real life. As characters, they lose importance, value and effectiveness. Mature women seem to be especially hard to cast — and hard to take. While they are disproportionately underrepresented, undervalued and undersexed, they are over-victimized.

■ African Americans comprise less than 11 percent of prime-time, and only 3 percent of children's program casts. The figures for Latinos are lower — about 1 percent of prime-time, and half that of children's casts. Americans of Asian/Pacific origin and Americans Indians are virtually absent.

■ About 13 percent of the U.S. population is considered to be low income. On television, this is true of only 1.3 percent of the characters. And at a time when the 43 million Americans who suffer some sort of disability are making gains in equal access and employment, physical disability is visible in only 1.5 percent of prime-time programs.

■ Casting and fate also affect those who deliver the news. Women decline in representation from 35 percent as newscasters, to 20 percent as authorities cited, to 17 percent as newsmakers. African Americans make the news as criminals at least twice as often as other groups do, despite the fact that the vast majority of those convicted are white.

The significance of these findings goes beyond numbers and beyond even traditional stereotyping and prejudice. The existing sales-driven and cheap, formula-dictated programming policy violates the producers' nondiscrimination and equal opportunity contracts with the unions. It also violates human and civil rights.

Television, unlike more selectively used media, comes into the home and provides the inescapable human environment for growth. Those who say "you can turn it off" are unrealistic. Few will, and they get the message through the others who don't.

What is needed now is a new cultural environment that is not a matter of choice, but one of public policy. The objective of such a new environment is not to ban or censor; that is what we have now. Rather, the goal is to assure basic rights for media professionals to create a fair cultural environment, and for viewers to grow up in it.

George Gerbner is emeritus dean of the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania. He led the Cultural Indicators research team.

MEDIA ALERT

This graphic scene from the motion picture *Rising Sun* will eventually find its way to the small screen.



EVERETT COLLECTION, INC.

The television you watch, but don't see — is called a cultural environment rather than a medium. We can enjoy its riches but cannot escape its burdens. **Violence** is the most pervasive and damaging of these burdens.

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE GERBNER

For the first time in human history, a child is born into a home in which television is on an average of seven hours and 41 minutes a day. She learns more about herself and the world from television than from her parents, schools, church or any other source. With all its glitz and glamor, its seductive hustle and

George Gerbner, is a Professor of Communication and Dean Emeritus at the Annenberg School For Communication, University of Pennsylvania. For 30 years he has researched the media content and its effects.

bustle, the world according to television places special burdens on women.

My conclusions come from nearly 30 years of research on media content and effects. The project is called **Cultural Indicators**. I direct it at the University of Pennsylvania's "School for Communication" in collaboration with Professors Michael Morgan of the University of Massachusetts and Nancy Signorielli of the University of Delaware.

The television we describe is what everybody watches but nobody sees. It is a bird's-eye-view of familiar territory, very different from the particular programs we watch. It is what large numbers of people absorb from infancy

throughout life. I call it a cultural environment rather than a medium. We can enjoy its riches but cannot escape its burdens. Violence is the most pervasive and damaging of these burdens.

STORIES THAT HURT

Stories of violence demonstrate power. They show who can get away with what against whom. They contribute to a cultural climate of danger and fear in which women are underrepresented and over-victimized. Stereotypic, formula-driven stories of violence help make women, the majority, into a power-minority.

My purpose is not to add to the already rampant anxiety but to try to put it in a realistic perspective. It is important that we neither overreact nor deny or ignore the dangers that face us. In fighting fire with fire we are likely to shoot ourselves in the foot if we do not know that what we are really up against is, among other things, a cultural environment

that is inhospitable to women, and that we have to change if we want to reduce or prevent, instead of only battle, violence against women.

WHAT WE'RE UP AGAINST

Clearly, all violence is not alike. Violence can be a legitimate and even necessary cultural expression if it is not a vast "overkill" of inequitable one-sided victimizations, and if it conveys valid lessons about human consequences. There is murder in Shakespeare, mayhem in fairy tales, blood and gore in mythology. Greek drama, often cited for its compelling pathos and cathartic effects, showed on stage the tragic consequences but not the violent action. But all of that has been swamped by "happy violence" produced on the dramatic assembly line. "Happy violence" is a cheap commercial ingredient to hype otherwise dull programs. It is swift, cool, thrilling, painless, effective, designed not to upset but to lead to a happy ending and to deliver an audience to the advertiser's message in a receptive mood.

Television did not invent the formula but it perfected it, and now discharges it into the common cultural environment. Unlike print, television requires no literacy. It comes into the home, and its relatively non-selective viewing ritual starts in infancy. Children are its captive audience. The slow but momentous realization of what that means for growing up as a boy or a girl, for family life and parental influence, for our schools and nation, lead to the current widespread concern and need for concerted action. Let us look at the evidence. What kind of scenario is violence, and how do men and women fit into it from a bird's-eye-view?

WOMEN ON TELEVISION

The scenario begins with casting and fate, the subtitle of a study we conducted for the Screen Actors Guild and the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists. SAG and AFTRA wanted to know why their women members do not get their fair share of jobs. We want to know how that inequity affects fate on the screen and in real life.

Our recently released *Violence Profile* of ten years of network dramatic television finds that violence occurs on six out of ten prime-time programs. On Saturday morning children's programs, traditionally the most violent, nine out of ten programs and eight out of ten characters involve violence. On the major cable networks, dramatic programs are more violent, but children's programs are less violent.

Women are one out of three characters in prime time. So we begin with a gender-bended cast. They are, of course, not as violent as men. The mostly male writers, producers, and directors of television consider stories about violent women in "bad taste" - a code for threatening. If and when involved, women are more likely to be victims (in what the trade calls "jep" - jeopardy - scenes), and they pay a higher price for the violence they do commit.

THE PRICE WOMEN PAY

Count the number of violent characters in a group, and the number of victims (some of whom may be the same) in that group. Divide the higher number (usually victims) with the lower. The resulting ratio defines the price to be paid for committing violence. Compare these ratios across gender and other groups and you get our bird's-eye-view of television society's pecking order.

For every ten violent males in prime

time, there are 11 male victims. The price men pay for committing violence is close to "a tooth for a tooth." Women, children, old people and some other minorities commit less violence but pay a higher price for it.

For every ten women who commit violence on prime time television, the number of victims of violence is 16 for girls, 17 for young women, and 20 for elderly women. No longer "a tooth for a tooth" but up to a double burden. Saturday morning children's program violence involves more characters than in prime time, and they pay a higher price in victimization, but the patterns are similar. And it's all so painless and funny.

Lethal victimization among major characters extends the pattern. For every ten "good" (positively valued) men who kill, four are killed; male heroes kill with relative impunity. But for every ten "good" women who kill, six are killed; heroines pay 50 percent more. The "kill ratio" of men of color is five but of women of color is 17, more than three times the price for males. Older men on television hardly ever kill or get killed; older women get involved in violence more often, but their fate is *only* to get killed.

A "pecking order" of relative victimization as the price for committing violence finds women and young people at the bottom. A child grows up in a cultural environment of an average of two murders a night. She hardly ever sees a mature woman as leader. She experiences most often that men kill and women get killed. This dreadful travesty (men both commit and suffer most violence) cultivates, confirms, and perpetuates an obsolete and damaging climate of violence against women.

WHAT ARE THE LESSONS?

Our research and that of other independent scholars finds that long-term exposure to television tends to make a contribution to the feeling of living in a mean and dangerous world. The "lessons" range from aggression to

desensitization and, especially for women, to a sense of vulnerability and dependence.

Heavy viewers are more likely than comparable groups of light viewers to overestimate one's chances of involvement in violence; to believe that one's neighborhood is unsafe; to state that fear of crime is a very serious personal problem, and to assume that crime is rising, regardless of the facts of the case. Heavy viewers are also more likely to have bought new locks, watchdogs, and guns "for protection."

THE "MEAN WORLD SYNDROME"

What we call the "Mean World Syndrome" means that those growing up and living in heavy viewing homes are, for all practical purposes, living in a meaner world than their next door neighbors who watch less television. Victimization on television and real world fear, independently of actual circumstances, are highly related. Women who experience, often without being fully aware of it, a higher calculus of risk on television develop a greater sense of apprehension and mistrust.

Television's impact is particularly pronounced in terms of how people feel about walking alone at night on a street in their own neighborhoods. Overall, less

Women who experience a higher calculus of risk on television develop a greater sense of apprehension and mistrust. This unequal sense of danger and vulnerability makes for insecure people who may panic more easily, and accept or even welcome violent action or repression if it promises to relieve their anxieties.

than a third of the light viewers, but almost half of the heavy viewers, say that being out alone at night on their own street is "not safe." The difference is about 20 percentage points higher among women. Whatever real dangers lurk outside, heavy television viewing is related to more intense fears and apprehensions.

This unequal sense of danger, vulnerability and

general unease invites both aggression and repression. Insecure people may be prone to violence but are even more likely to be dependent on authority and susceptible to deceptively simple, strong, hard-line postures and actions. They may panic more easily, and accept or even welcome violent action or repression if it promises to relieve their anxieties. That is the deeper problem of violence-laden television.



Brave New Cultural Environment

AMERICAN REVOLUTION PREPARES FOR TAKE-OFF

A SECOND

YOU FIRST READ about the launching of the Cultural Environmental Movement in *Adbusters* (Winter '90), under the title "The Second American Revolution." The momentum has built ever since.

As you may remember, CEM confronts problems inherent in the cultural changes of our times. Children today are born into homes where the television blares an average of seven hours and 41 minutes a day. As they grow up, most of the

by *George Gerbner*

stories about people, life and values they hear are told not by parents, schools, churches or others in the community who have something to tell, but by a shrinking number of global conglomerates that have something to sell.

This is a radical change in the way we employ creative talent, raise our children and manage the cultural environment. CEM is confronting these problems.

We have set up a non-profit educational, tax-exempt corporation, assem-

bled a group of consultants and advisors, networked, made many personal appearances and helped arrange regional conferences.

The response has been positive, at times overwhelming. People are ready and eager to engage in a new and different kind of action. The reasons include the rise of television violence as a health issue — in which our violence profile study played a part — and the release of our study *Women and Minorities on Television: Casting and Fate*, sponsored by the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA) and the Screen Actors Guild (SAG).

The rise in public concern has caught the attention of government and industry. In July, for the first time, a high-level government-sponsored group of health, youth and education professionals, along with writers and independent producers, met to consider media policy. They concluded: "The issue of media violence is really just the first phase of a major cultural debate about life in the 21st century." Their recommendation, among others: "Take lessons from the environmental movement to form a 'cultural environmental'

VARIETY, Jan 26, 1994

TV violence study challenges ratings

WASHINGTON U. of Pennsylvania professor George Gerbner is challenging a commonly held belief that violent programming translates into boffo ratings.

Gerbner will release results of his study Thursday at the NATPE convention in Miami, where he will be a panelist on a session titled "Sex, Violence & TV."

Gerbner studied the ratings results for 104 violent programs over the past five sea-

sons and compared them with ratings of 103 non-violent shows. The results: Violent programs pulled an average 11.1 rating and an 18.9 share, while non-violent shows averaged a 13.8 rating and 22.5 share.

Despite the lower ratings domestically, Gerbner said violence "travels well" in foreign markets. "What violent programs lose on ratings, they more than make up by grabbing the attention of younger viewers."

TV executives lash out at violence study

By Jefferson Graham
USA TODAY 1/28/94

MIAMI — TV executives responded with anger and skepticism Thursday to statements by the director of a study about the popularity of violent shows.

The University of Pennsylvania's George Gerbner described to the National Association of Television Program Executives a five-season comparison of Nielsen ratings, indicating viewers prefer non-violent programs to violent shows.

Warner Bros. TV President Leslie Moonves called the findings "somewhat suspicious."

Gerbner provoked the audience most by saying that even taking all guns off the streets would "increase violence" because what's shown on TV would still make people want to emulate violent acts.

"There have been tools of destruction prior to television

being on the air," said Lucie Salhany, Fox chairman. "I assure you if guns were off the street, the killing would stop. TV has never killed anybody."

Gerbner agreed with those who say Washington is making a scapegoat out of Hollywood. Ten bills dealing with TV violence are before Congress.

"No responsible researcher has said that TV is the prime cause of violence in America," Gerbner said. "The primary causes are poverty, unemployment and broken families."

John Walsh, of Fox's *America's Most Wanted*, said other countries show American programming, yet they have fewer problems with violence. "The real problem is the 250 million handguns in America."

The Satchi & Satchi agency's Betsy Frank called the debate a witch hunt that will begin with violence and move into other programming.

Challenging 'popularity' of violence

By Donna Gable
USA TODAY

When it comes to watching TV, viewers prefer their programs violent-lite, a new study says.

The study — being previewed today at the National Association of Television Program Executives in Miami — compares the Nielsen ratings of 104 violent and 103 non-violent prime-time and Saturday morning dramatic programs on ABC, CBS and NBC over five seasons.

According to the study, conducted by the Cultural Indicators Project at the University of Pennsylvania, violent programming pulled an average 11.1 rating/18.9 share, while non-violent programs got a 13.8 rating/22.5 share. A ratings point represents 942,000 TV households; shares are the percentage of sets in use.

Project director George Gerbner says the results shoot holes in the entertainment industry's argument of "we just give them what they want."

"That's the usual rationalization. But the fact is, violence is not very popular," Gerbner says.

TV violence has been the topic of numerous congressional hearings that have resulted in a promise from both cable and broadcast networks to regulate violence in their programming.

Richard Cotton, NBC general counsel, says any data gleaned from a scientific study are welcome. But "based on past application of Dr. Gerbner's deeply flawed methodology that found Rowan & Martin's 25th Anniversary *Laugh-In* as one of the most violent programs on TV," such a study "is hard to assess without specifics."

But Leonard D. Eron, a research scientist who has been studying TV violence for the past 40 years, says Gerbner's findings ring true.

"I'm quite sure that people do not want to watch violent programs," Eron says. "It's a case of people watch violence because it's all they get."

Earlier this week, NATPE President Bruce Johansen announced plans to spearhead a five-point program to examine the issue of kids and violence and the relationship to TV and other factors.

Violence Down in Prime Time, Up on Kids' Saturday Shows

By Ellen Edwards
Washington Post Staff Writer

Violence in prime-time television dropped slightly in the past year but increased on Saturday morning children's programs, according to a new study to be presented here today.

The prime-time decrease in the depiction of fictional violence reflects a trend at CBS and, even more so, at ABC. NBC, however, showed more violence in the last year, according to the study by George Gerbner of the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School for Communication.

The issue of televised violence has assumed a higher profile than ever this year in several rounds of congressional hearings and in new promises by networks to air fewer violent shows and to precede those that are with a disclaimer starting this fall.

On Saturday morning children's programming, the least violence was found on NBC (which is getting out of children's programming in that time pe-

See VIOLENCE, C8, Col. 1

riod) and the most was on ABC; CBS was somewhere in the middle. While there was a slight reduction in the incidence of violence, other factors that contribute to what Gerbner calls the Violence Index did not decline, and so the Saturday morning index is up slightly.

"It's good news, bad news," said Gerbner. "The good news is the new part. There's nothing new about the bad news."

Gerbner downplayed the difference between the networks, saying the statistical variations were not that great and that violence was an industry-wide problem. In fact, 20-year comparisons for the three networks show their violence levels very close. "NBC is no worse than the others," he said.

An NBC spokeswoman dismissed Gerbner and his findings. "We are always interested in credible information in making daily decisions about what we put on the air," said Judy Smith. "This is a guy who rates 'I Dream of Jeannie' as one of TV's most violent shows. Now he rates

NBC as the most violent network when reputable studies find NBC equal to PBS in the level of violence. His methodology is at the very best questionable and out of touch with other research."

Smith cited a survey of one day's television in Washington that was done for TV Guide by the Center for Media and Public Affairs. The survey had NBC and PBS showing the least amount of violence.

Gerbner said the reference to "I Dream of Jeannie" was at least 25 years old and that when he went back to look at the episode in question, it contained a very violent dream sequence. He added that it was ridiculous to dismiss his more than two decades of study with a one-day survey.

Gerbner's study shows that 65 percent of prime-time dramatic programs depict violence that involves nearly half their casts, which is down from previous years. He said the number of violent scenes per hour was down by about half.

Only one-fifth of the programming children watch is specifically created for them, Gerbner said; the rest of

their viewing comes in prime time. "Children are prematurely integrated into the world of adult entertainment," he said.

There are considerably more incidents of violence on children's programming (25 to 30 per hour) than on prime-time programming, (five to six per hour), Gerbner said.

Much of that violence is what Gerbner called "happy violence, sugarcoted with humor. . . . Happy violence is swift, effective and cool. It always leads to a happy ending." Yes, he said, a cartoon may simply show a rabbit getting hopped on the head by a pig, but he says the animals are frequently anthropomorphized and may represent one sex or one race beating up on another. Stereotypes of victims and perpetrators are reinforced in that way, he said. "There are Gothic, terrifying things going on there," he said of children's programming.

Gerbner's Violence Index has been charting television violence over the past 20 years, and though there have been some fluctuations in that time, the numbers are remarkably steady. According to his research, violence on television was at its lowest during the 1989-90 season, went up somewhat in the two years following and declined again last season to near the 1989-90 level.

While much of the debate has concerned whether the depiction of violence on television actually incites acts of violence in real life, Gerbner says that should not be the main issue.

"Most of us do not go down the street as muggers," he said, "but as potential victims. . . . I would like to shift the debate from inciting violence to considering violence a demonstration of power that endangers growth and the ability to do better."

He said his research shows that viewing violence on television contributes to an increased sense of vulnerability and victimization.

"There is a general degradation of cultural ethics and norms," he said.

"Parents are losing control over the education of their children."

Gerbner called the labeling agreement "protection for the industry. . . . Those who do more violence are likely to take it as a form of protection. If you think you're doing something wrong, labeling it is not going to change it."

Gerbner defines violence as an "overt physical threat or act that hurts or kills people." His Violence Index is composed of several measures of violence—the number of violent scenes per hour, the percentage

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of programs in which there is violence and the number of characters involved in the violence. Gerbner has measured programming for one week each fall as representative of the season.

Gerbner's report will be released today at a press conference at the Russell Senate Office Building with Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.) and Rep. Dan Glickman (D-Kan.), who have taken up the issue of violence on television with some fervor. Simon's 1990 Television Violence Act, which will expire Dec. 1, waives antitrust laws to permit representatives of the television industry to meet and consider self-regulation on this subject.

A daylong conference on the issue will take place Monday in Los Angeles, with representatives from the networks, the producers of television programming and activists on all sides.

Life According to TV

After years of research, a leading social scientist finds that a growing number of us believe we are what we see.

You people sit there, night after night. You're beginning to believe this illusion we're spinning here. You're beginning to think the tube is reality and your own lives are unreal. This is mass madness!

—Anchorman Howard Beale in the film "Network"

If you can write a nation's stories, you needn't worry about who makes its laws. Today television tells most of the stories to most of the people most of the time.

—George Gerbner, Ph.D.

The late Paddy Chayefsky, who created Howard Beale, would have loved George Gerbner. In "Network," Chayefsky marshaled a scathing, fictional assault on the values and methods of the people who control the world's most potent communications instrument. In real life, Gerbner, perhaps the nation's foremost authority on the social impact of television, is quietly using the disciplines of behavioral research to construct an equally devastating indictment of the medium's images and messages. More than any

spokesman for a pressure group, Gerbner has become the man that television watches. From his cramped, book-lined office at the University of Pennsylvania springs a steady flow of studies that are raising executive blood pressures at the networks' sleek Manhattan command posts.

George Gerbner's work is uniquely important because it transports the scientific examination of television far beyond familiar children-and-violence arguments. Rather than simply studying the link between violence on the tube and crime in the streets, Gerbner is exploring wider and deeper terrain. He has turned his lens on TV's hidden victims—women, the elderly, blacks, blue-collar workers and other groups—to document the ways in which video-entertainment portrayals subliminally condition how we perceive ourselves and how we view those around us. Gerbner's subjects are not merely the impressionable young; they include all the rest of us. And it is his ominous conclusion that heavy watchers of the prime-time mirror are receiving a grossly distorted picture of the real world that they tend to accept more readily than reality itself.

The 63-year-old Gerbner, who is dean of Penn's Annenberg School of Communications, employs a methodology that meshes scholarly observation with mundane legwork. Over the past 15 years, he and a tireless trio of assistants (Larry Gross, Nancy Signorielli and Michael Morgan) videotaped and exhaustively analyzed 1,600 prime-time programs involving more than 15,000 characters. They then drew up multiple-choice questionnaires that offered correct answers about the world at large along with answers that reflected what Gerbner perceived to be the misrepresentations and biases of the world according to TV. Finally, these questions were posed to large samples of citizens from all socioeconomic strata. In every survey, the Annenberg team discovered that heavy viewers of television (those watching more than four hours a day), who account for more than 30 percent of the population, almost invariably chose the TV-influenced answers, while light viewers (less than two hours a day), selected the answers corresponding more closely to actual life. Some of the dimensions of television's reality warp:

■ **Sex:** Male prime-time characters outnumber females by 3 to 1 and, with a few star-turn exceptions, women are portrayed as weak, passive satellites to powerful, effective men. TV's male population also plays a vast variety of roles, while females generally get typecast as either lovers or mothers. Less than 20 percent of TV's married women with children work outside the home—as compared with more than 50 percent in real life. The tube's distorted depictions of women, concludes Gerbner, reinforce stereotypical attitudes and increase sexism. In one Annenberg survey, heavy viewers were far more likely than light ones to agree with



'Seven Bricks for Every Pound' The numbers are there, but what are the feelings?

the proposition: "Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country to men."

■ **Age:** People over 65, too, are grossly underrepresented on television. Correspondingly, heavy-viewing Annenberg respondents believe that the elderly are a vanishing breed, that they make up a smaller proportion of the population today than they did 20 years ago. In fact, they form the nation's most rapidly expanding age group. Heavy viewers also believe that old people are less healthy today than they were two decades ago, when quite the opposite is true. As with women, the portrayals of old people transmit negative impressions. In general, they are cast as silly, stubborn, sexually inactive and eccentric. "They're often shown as feeble grandparents bearing cookies," says Gerbner. "You never see the power that real old people often have. The best and possibly only time to learn about growing old with decency and grace is in youth. And young people are the most susceptible to TV's messages."

■ **Race:** The problem with the medium's treatment of blacks is more one of image than of visibility. Though a tiny percentage of black characters come across as "unrealistically romanticized," reports Gerbner, the overwhelming majority of them are employed in subservient, supporting roles—such as the white hero's comic sidekick. "When a black child looks at prime time," he says, "most of the people he sees doing interesting and important things are white." That imbalance, he goes on, tends to teach young blacks to accept minority status as naturally inevitable and even deserved. To assess the impact of such portrayals on the general audience, the Annenberg survey forms included questions like "Should white people have the right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods?" and "Should there be laws against marriages between blacks and whites?" The more that viewers watched, the more they answered "Yes" to each question.

■ **Work:** Heavy viewers greatly overestimated the proportion of Americans employed as physicians, lawyers, athletes and entertainers, all of whom inhabit prime-time in hordes. A mere 6 to 10 percent of television characters hold blue-collar or service jobs vs. about 60 percent in the real work force. Gerbner sees two dangers in TV's skewed division of labor. On the one hand, the tube so overrepresents and glamorizes the elite occupations that it sets up unrealistic expectations among those who must deal with them in actuality. At the same time, TV largely neglects portraying the occupations that most youngsters will have to enter. "You almost never see the farmer, the factory worker or the small businessman," he notes. "Thus not only do lawyers and other professionals find they cannot measure up to the image TV projects of them, but children's occupational aspirations are channeled in unrealistic directions." The

Blacks on TV usually appear in supporting roles to whites. This tends to teach minorities to accept an inferior status as inevitable and even deserved.



'Bonson': He may no longer be a butler, but he's still a comic sidekick

Gerbner team feels this emphasis on high-powered jobs poses problems for adolescent girls, who are also presented with views of women as homebodies. The two conflicting views, Gerbner says, add to the frustration over choices they have to make as adults.

■ **Health:** Although video characters exist almost entirely on junk food and quaff alcohol 15 times more often than water, they manage to remain slim, healthy and beautiful. Frequent TV watchers, the Annenberg investigators found, eat more, drink more,

The elderly are underrepresented and generally portrayed as sick, silly or helpless. In truth, the older population is larger and healthier than ever.



'It Takes Two': Viewers rarely see the power that old people often have



exercise less and possess an almost mystical faith in the curative powers of medical science. Concludes Gerbner: "Television may well be the single most pervasive source of health information. And its overidealized images of medical people, coupled with its complacency about unhealthy life-styles, leaves both patients and doctors vulnerable to disappointment, frustration and even litigation."

■ **Crime:** On the small screen, crime rages about 10 times more often than in real life. But while other researchers concentrate on the propensity of TV mayhem to incite aggression, the Annenberg team has studied the hidden side of its imprint: fear of victimization. On television, 55 percent of prime-time characters are involved in violent confrontations once a week; in reality, the figure is less than 1 percent. In all demographic groups in every class of neighborhood, heavy viewers overestimated the statistical chance of violence in their own lives and harbored an exaggerated mistrust of strangers—creating what Gerbner calls a "mean-world syndrome." Forty-six percent of heavy viewers who live in cities rated their fear of crime "very serious" as opposed to 26 percent for light viewers. Such paranoia is especially acute among TV entertainment's most common victims: women, the elderly, non-

whites, foreigners and lower-class citizens.

Video violence, proposes Gerbner, is primarily responsible for imparting lessons in social power: it demonstrates who can do what to whom and get away with it. "Television is saying that those at the bottom of the power scale cannot get away with the same



'Heart to Heart': The victim is often a woman

things that a white, middle-class American male can," he says. "It potentially conditions people to think of themselves as victims."

At a quick glance, Gerbner's findings seem to contain a cause-and-effect, chicken-or-the-egg question. Does television make heavy viewers view the world the way they do or do heavy viewers come from the poorer, less experienced segment of the populace that regards the world that way to begin with? In other words, does the tube create or simply confirm the unenlightened attitudes of its most loyal audience? Gerbner, however, was savvy enough to construct a methodology largely immune to such criticism. His samples of heavy viewers cut across all ages, incomes, education levels and ethnic backgrounds—and every category displayed the same tube-induced misconceptions of the world outside.

Needless to say, the networks accept all this as enthusiastically as they would a list of news-coverage complaints from the Ayatollah Khomeini. Even so, their responses tend to be tinged with a singular respect for Gerbner's personal and professional credentials. The man is no ivory-tower recluse. During World War II, the Budapest-born Gerbner parachuted into the mountains of Yugoslavia to join the partisans fighting the Germans. After the war, he hunted down and personally arrested scores of high Nazi officials. Nor is Gerbner some videophobic vigilante. A Ph.D. in communications, he readily acknowledges TV's beneficial effects, noting that it has abolished parochialism, reduced isolation and loneliness and provided the poorest members of society with cheap, plug-in exposure to experiences they otherwise would not have. Funding for his research is supplied by such prestigious bodies as the National Institute of Mental Health, the surgeon general's office and the American Medical Association, and he is called to testify before congressional committees nearly as often as David Stockman.

Mass Entertainment: When challenging Gerbner, network officials focus less on his findings and methods than on what they regard as his own misconceptions of their industry's function. "He's looking at television from the perspective of a social scientist rather than considering what is mass entertainment," says Alfred Schneider, vice president of standards and practices at ABC. "We strive to balance TV's social effects with what will capture an audience's interests. If you showed strong men being victimized as much as women or the elderly, what would comprise the dramatic conflict? If you did a show truly representative of society's total reality, and nobody watched because it wasn't interesting, what have you achieved?"

CBS senior vice president Gene Mater also believes that Gerbner is implicitly asking for the theoretically impossible. "TV is

TELEVISION

unique in its problems," says Mater. "Everyone wants a piece of the action. Everyone feels that their racial or ethnic group is underrepresented or should be portrayed as they would like the world to perceive them. No popular entertainment form, including this one, can or should be an accurate reflection of society."

On that point, at least, Gerbner is first to agree; he hardly expects television entertainment to serve as a mirror image of absolute truth. But what fascinates him about this communications medium is its marked difference from all others. In other media, customers carefully choose what they want to hear or read: a movie, a magazine, a best seller. In television, notes Gerbner, viewers rarely tune in for a particular program. Instead, most just habitually turn on the set—and watch by the clock rather than for a specific show. "Television viewing fulfills the criteria of a ritual," he says. "It is the only medium that can bring to people things they otherwise would not select." With such unique power, believes Gerbner, comes unique responsibility: "No other medium reaches into every home or has a comparable, cradle-to-grave influence over what a society learns about itself."

Match: In Gerbner's view, virtually all of TV's distortions of reality can be attributed to its obsession with demographics. The viewers that prime-time sponsors most want to reach are white, middle-class, female and between 18 and 49—in short, the audience that purchases most of the consumer products advertised on the tube. Accordingly, notes Gerbner, the demographic portrait of TV's fictional characters largely matches that of its prime commercial targets and largely ignores everyone else. "Television," he concludes, "reproduces a world for its own best customers."

Among TV's more candid executives, that theory draws considerable support. Yet by pointing a finger at the power of demographics, Gerbner appears to contradict one of his major findings. If female viewers are so dear to the hearts of sponsors, why are female characters cast in such unflattering light? "In a basically male-oriented power structure," replies Gerbner, "you can't alienate the male viewer. But you can get away with offending women because most women are pretty well brainwashed to accept it." The Annenberg dean has an equally tidy explanation for another curious fact. Since the corporate world provides network television with all of its financial support, one would expect businessmen on TV to be portrayed primarily as good guys. Quite the contrary. As any fan of "Dallas," "Dynasty" or "Falcon Crest" well knows, the image of the company man is usually that of a mendacious, dirty-dealing rascal. Why would TV snap at the hand that feeds it? "Credibility is the way to ratings," proposes Gerbner. "This country has a pop-

ulist tradition of bias against anything big, including big business. So to retain credibility, TV entertainment shows businessmen in relatively derogatory ways."

In the medium's Hollywood-based creative community, the gospel of Gerbner finds some passionate adherents. Rarely have TV's best and brightest talents viewed their industry with so much frustration and anger. The most sweeping indictment emanates from David Rintels, a two-time Emmy-winning writer and former president of the Writers Guild of America, West. "Gerbner is absolutely correct and it is the people who run the networks who are to blame," says Rintels. "The networks get bombarded with thoughtful, reality-oriented scripts. They simply won't do them. They slam the door on them. They believe that the only way to get ratings is to feed



Bernard Gottryd—NEWSWEEK

Gerbner: Charting TV's reality warp

viewers what conforms to their biases or what has limited resemblance to reality. From 8 to 11 o'clock each night, television is one long lie."

Innovative thinkers such as Norman Lear, whose work has been practically driven off the tube, don't fault the networks so much as the climate in which they operate. Says Lear: "All of this country's institutions have become totally fixated on short-term bottom-line thinking. Everyone grabs for what might succeed today and the hell with tomorrow. Television just catches more of the heat because it's more visible." Perhaps the most perceptive assessment of Gerbner's conclusions is offered by one who has worked both sides of the industry street. Deanne Barkley, a former NBC vice president who now helps run an independent production house, reports that the negative depictions of women on TV have made it "nerve-racking" to function as a woman within TV. "No one takes responsibility for

the social impact of their shows," says Barkley. "But then how do you decide where it all begins? Do the networks give viewers what they want? Or are the networks conditioning them to think that way?"

Gerbner himself has no simple answer to that conundrum. Neither a McLuhanesque shaman nor a Naderesque crusader, he hesitates to suggest solutions until pressed. Then out pops a pair of provocative notions. Commercial television will never democratize its treatments of daily life, he believes, until it finds a way to broaden its financial base. Coincidentally, Federal Communications Commission chairman Mark Fowler seems to have arrived at much the same conclusion. In exchange for lifting such government restrictions on TV as the fairness doctrine and the equal-time rule, Fowler would impose a modest levy on station owners called a spectrum-use fee. Funds from the fees would be set aside to finance programs aimed at specialized tastes rather than the mass appetite. Gerbner enthusiastically endorses that proposal: "Let the ratings system dominate most of prime time but not every hour of every day. Let some programs carry advisories that warn: 'This is not for all of you. This is for nonwhites, or for religious people or for the aged and the handicapped. Turn it off unless you'd like to eavesdrop.' That would be a very refreshing thing."

Role: In addition, Gerbner would like to see viewers given an active role in steering the overall direction of television instead of being obliged to passively accept whatever the networks offer. In Britain, he points out, political candidates debate the problems of TV as routinely as the issue of crime. In this country, proposes Gerbner, "every political campaign should put television on the public agenda. Candidates talk about schools, they talk about jobs, they talk about social welfare. They're going to have to start discussing this all-pervasive force."

There are no outright villains in this docudrama. Even Gerbner recognizes that network potentates don't set out to proselytize a point of view; they are simply businessmen selling a mass-market product. At the same time, their 90 million nightly customers deserve to know the side effects of the ingredients. By the time the typical American child reaches the age of reason, calculates Gerbner, he or she will have absorbed more than 30,000 electronic "stories." These stories, he suggests, have replaced the socializing role of the preindustrial church: they create a "cultural mythology" that establishes the norms of approved behavior and belief. And all Gerbner's research indicates that this new mythological world, with its warped picture of a sizable portion of society, may soon become the one most of us think we live in.

Who else is telling us that? Howard Beale and his eloquent alarms have faded into off-network reruns. At the very least, it is comforting to know that a real-life Beale is very much with us . . . and *really* watching.

HARRY F. WATERS