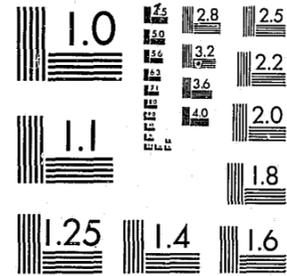


Mf-1

National Criminal Justice Reference Service



This microfiche was produced from documents received for inclusion in the NCJRS data base. Since NCJRS cannot exercise control over the physical condition of the documents submitted, the individual frame quality will vary. The resolution chart on this frame may be used to evaluate the document quality.



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

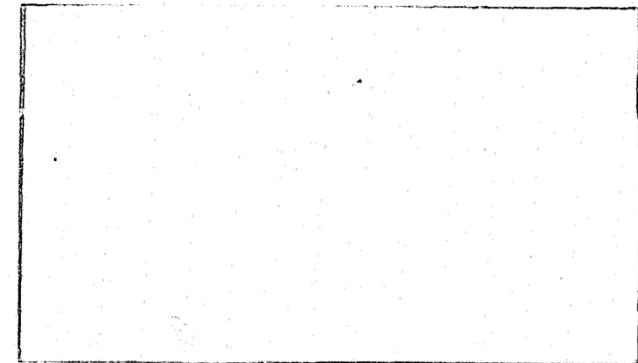
Microfilming procedures used to create this fiche comply with the standards set forth in 41CFR 101-11.504.

Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the author(s) and do not represent the official position or policies of the U. S. Department of Justice.

National Institute of Justice
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20531

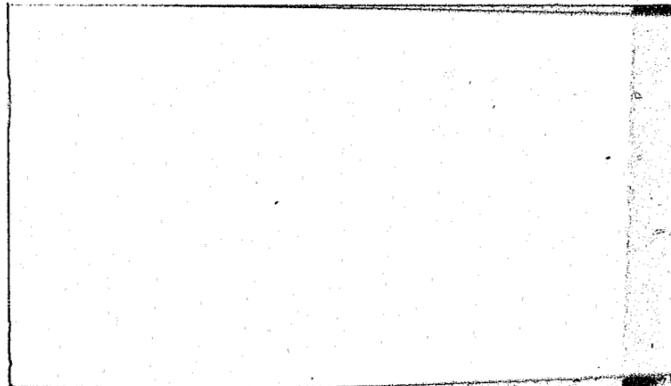
DATE FILMED

1/22/82



UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA
ANNENBERG SCHOOL of COMMUNICATIONS
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19104

79871



U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice

This document has been reproduced exactly as received from the person or organization originating it. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the National Institute of Justice.

Permission to reproduce this copyrighted material has been granted by

George Gerbner

University of Pennsylvania

to the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS).

Further reproduction outside of the NCJRS system requires permission of the copyright owner.

VIOLENCE PROFILE NO. 11

Trends in network television drama and
viewer conceptions of social reality
1967-1979

by

George Gerbner, Larry Gross,
Michael Morgan and Nancy Signorielli

The Annenberg School of Communications
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia 19104

April 1980

Copies of this report including all Tables
are available for \$17.50 each (checks to be
made payable to the Trustees of the Univer-
sity of Pennsylvania).

This research is a part of the Cultural Indicators
study of trends in television content and effects
conducted under grants from the American Medical
Association and the National Institute of Mental
Health. George Gerbner and Larry Gross, Co-
Principal Investigators, Nancy Signorielli, Research
Coordinator.

AUG 1

ACQ 15

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to express our thanks to

Debra Giffen, Heather Harr-Mazer and Kendall Whitehouse for their assistance in data collection, preparation and processing;

Maxine Beiderman, Margot Hillman and Erin Jantomaso for report preparation; and

Susanne Katz for dissemination.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
LIST OF TABLES	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	v
INTRODUCTION AND HIGHLIGHTS	vi
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLICATIONS ON CULTURAL INDICATORS	x
METHODS AND FINDINGS	1
The World of Television Drama	1
Message System Analysis	2
Definition of Violence	2
Units of Analysis	3
Samples of Programming	4
Coding and Training Procedures	6
Assessment of Reliability	6
Violence Indicators	9
Findings of Message System Analysis	13
The More Things Change...	21
Portrayal of Violence	24
Cultivation Analysis	30
A Theoretical Refinement	31
Dimensions of Analysis	32
Samples of Respondents	33
Development of Questions	36
Question Wordings	37
Reading the Tables	39
Findings of Cultivation Analysis	41
APPENDIX: MESSAGE SYSTEM ANALYSIS TABLES	63

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
1	Reliability Coefficients	8
2	Reliability Coefficients for the Violence Index	11
3	Violence Index Components (1967-1979)	14
4	Violence Index Components for 1978 and 1979 by Network	16
5	Network Ranking by Violence Index (1967-1979)	19
6	Summary of Violence Index (1967-1979)	20
7	Rate of Violent Actions per Hour of Programming (1967-1979)	22
8	Percent of Programs Containing Violence and Number of Violent Acts per Hour (1967-1979)	23
9	RISK RATIOS: Trends of Risk Ratios for All Characters (1969-1979)	25
10	RISK RATIOS: Major Characters in Prime-Time Programs (1969-1979)	27
11	RISK RATIOS: Major Characters in Weekend-Daytime Programs (1969-1979)	28
12	Percent who are High Scorers on an Index of Sexism	42
13	Partial Correlations between Amount of Viewing and Anomie by Educational Level	44
14	Within-Group Partial Correlations between Amount of Television Viewing and an Index of Inter-personal Mistrust	45
15	Summary of Analyses of Questions Relating to Fear and Violence in the 1979 ORC Survey	47
16	Percent Saying Their Chances of Being Involved in Violence are "10 in 100"	48

LIST OF TABLES CONTINUED

<u>Table</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
17	Percent Saying They "Agree" that Women are More Likely to be Victims of Crimes	49
18	Percent Saying Their Neighborhoods are Only Somewhat Safe or Not Safe at All	50
19	Percent Saying that Fear of Crime is a "Very Serious" Problem	51
20	Percent Agreeing that "Crime is Rising"	52
21	Within-Group Correlations between Amount of Viewing and an Index of Images of Violence	54
22	Percent Saying They "Agree" that the Elderly are More Likely to be Victims of Crime	55
23	Percent Agreeing that the Elderly are More Likely to be Victims of Violent Crimes, within Age-Groups	56

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
1	Violence Index in Children's and Prime-Time Programming, 1967-1979	15
2	Violence Index by Network and Program Time, 1967-1979	17
3	Data Bases Used in Cultivation Analysis	34
4	Coefficients Linking Concepts to Observed Indicators in Structural Equation Model	58
5	Structural Equation Model of the Longitudinal Relationship between Viewing, Fear, and Mistrust	60
6	Graph of Interaction between Second Year Television Viewing and Scores on Second Year Images of Violence Index on Third Year Images of Violence Index Scores, among Boys in the New Jersey School Panel	61

INTRODUCTION AND HIGHLIGHTS

Americans live much of their lives in the world of television drama. Children and adults alike are exposed to vivid patterns of the facts of life in that world. What are those facts, especially with regard to the structure and function of violence, and what lessons do children and adults derive from their exposure to those facts?

These are the basic questions addressed in the long-term research called Cultural Indicators that yields the Violence Profile.

This report updates our continuing effort to monitor and assess important aspects of the world of dramatic television. It focuses on findings of our analysis of a sample of the most recent television season as well as upon long-term trends. Although we find a number of changes and fluctuations, the overall picture is one of consistency and stability.

We also present empirical findings that have led us to refine our theory of the contribution television makes to viewers' conceptions of social reality. Our central argument is that the direction of television's contribution is not necessarily the same for all groups of viewers. Rather, in many cases, television viewing cultivates "mainstream" conceptions of life and society. That is, groups who may differ (either positively or negatively) in their perceptions of social reality, may, as their television viewing increases, come to share a more homogeneous view of the world.

At the same time, we find strong evidence that television may serve to reinforce real-life perceptions and/or expectations of certain groups of viewers. The presence or absence of specific real-world circumstances may "resonate" with relevant aspects of the television world and significantly enhance cultivation. Taken together, these two processes -- "mainstreaming" and "resonance" -- offer considerable theoretical promise for understanding who is likely to be susceptible to television.

Cultural Indicators is a long-term research project that has been in progress since 1967-68. It is a data bank, research project, and service that relates televised images and messages to conceptions of social reality and to actions based on those conceptions. Cultural Indicators is designed to investigate television's contribution (by itself as well as in combination with other demographic and media use characteristics) to viewers' assumptions about and responses to a large number of issues and topics.

Violence Profile No. 11 reports trends in network television drama from 1967 through 1979. The content data are drawn from the Cultural Indicators archive of observations based on the analysis of 1674 programs and 4785 major dramatic characters. The viewer response data come from surveys conducted expressly for Cultural Indicators and surveys conducted for other primary purposes (for example, the NORC General Social Survey).

Violence Profiles are cumulative. Each report summarizes the methodology and significant findings of previous reports and presents trends in dramatic content for all samples included in the analysis. The most recent report supersedes previous Violence Profiles.

Each report in this series extends and refines selected aspects of our research, often in response to discussions and critiques of our work. Each such extension and amplification has helped to advance, refine and confirm our theory.

This 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, and other agencies. Although violence-related findings and indicators have been published most widely, the approach was broadly based from the beginning to collect observations on the role and functions of many aspects of life presented in television drama.

The research consists of two interrelated parts: (1) message system analysis -- monitoring the world of prime-time and weekend-daytime network television drama and (2) cultivation analysis -- determining conceptions of social reality that television tends to cultivate in different groups of viewers. The analyses provide information about the geography, demography, character profiles, and action structure of the world of television, and focus these images and lessons upon specific issues, policies, and topics.

The annual Violence Index and Profile (9, 13, 20, 23) has made an impact upon national policy in television programming. But the Cultural Indicators project is also generating an increasing variety of studies in other areas. Theoretical papers have presented and discussed methodological issues (4, 5, 6, 9, 30, 32, 34). Others examined the importance of applying the Cultural Indicators paradigm to the study of television news (21) and to the assessment of television's impact upon children and adolescents (16, 17). One study examined personal and social characteristics of the non-viewers of television (18). Message analysis data have been used to isolate the image of the elderly (22, 28), as well as women and minorities (24). Several analyses of cultivation data have revealed that heavy television viewing by school children is consistently and negatively related to IQ and school achievement scores, especially reading comprehension (27, 29, 31). Cultural Indicators researchers have also investigated how children's conceptions of occupations are related to television portrayals of occupations (26) and how television viewing is related to educational aspirations (35) and sexist attitudes among adolescents (17, 30).

We are currently extending the research in the areas of aging, health, family life, and education, and incorporating the analysis of commercials; our plans also call for conducting the research cross-culturally, and for applying the method to other issues of governmental and corporate interest. In each case, the focus of the investigation is the contribution of television programming to viewer conceptions and actions.

The following section presents the highlights of the most recent findings. We then present the methodologies and results of the message system and cultivation analyses. An appendix contains detailed tabulations of the message analysis findings.

Highlights

Television's relatively violence-free "family hour" is dead. Violence rose sharply in a sample of fall 1979 early evening network television while declining after 9 p.m. Both early and late evening programs in the sample contained equal amounts of violence. In contrast, all three networks reduced violence in their weekend-daytime children's programs with NBC leading the way. Our findings also support the theory that viewer conceptions of social reality tend toward a conventional "mainstream" view of life and that the presence or absence of specific real-world circumstances may "resonate" with relevant aspects of the television world and significantly enhance cultivation.

The eleventh annual Violence Profile focuses upon a sample of fall 1979 network dramatic prime-time and weekend-daytime (children's) programming. It isolates only clear, unambiguous, overt physical violence -- hurting or killing a person or the credible threat of hurting and/or killing in any context.

This update, incorporating the analysis of network dramatic programming from 1967 through 1979, reveals that the basic structure of themes, characterizations, action and fate in the world of dramatic television is remarkably stable from year to year. The overall prevalence, rates, and roles represented in our 1979 Violence Index (174) show some decline over 1978 (183) and the 13-year average (178). However, violence rose in the 1979 "family viewing" time (8:00 to 9:00 p.m. EST) from 116 to 156 and dropped in late evening prime-time (9:00 to 11:00 p.m. EST) from 180 to 150. Also declining, although still way above the level of prime-time, was violence in weekend-daytime children's programming -- from 249 in 1978 to 210 in 1979.

The biggest increase in violence in our 1979 sample was in new prime-time programs, especially in the former "family hour," and particularly on NBC. The largest reductions in violence were achieved in the late evening by ABC and NBC and on weekend-daytime programs by all networks but especially NBC. Overall, including both prime-time and weekend-daytime, CBS leads the violence score with NBC close behind and ABC a fairly distant third.

The assessment of violence involves much more than counting violent outbursts. Violence is written into a plot for reasons -- to attract attention, create tension and excitement, and to eliminate or otherwise incapacitate characters. Thus, it illustrates who is strong and who is weak and creates a scenario of power and social relationships.

Violence in the portrayal of characters is isolated by two measures -- the percent of characters who are involved in violence and risk-ratios. Characters who are involved in violence may commit and/or suffer violence and our measure notes the percent of a particular group of characters. Risk-ratios, on the other hand, reveal how different types of characters fare once involved in violence -- whether certain groups are more likely

to be victimized or to commit violence.*

Overall, the percent of characters involved in violence has remained fairly steady for the past 11 years. We find that more males than females are involved: about two-thirds of the men and less than half of the women. Moreover, female characters are much more likely than male characters to be the victims of violence. When we rank the violent-victim ratios, we find that there is only one group of male characters -- young boys -- among the ten groups who are most likely to be victimized. Women cast in minority roles (old women, upper class women, other race women, young women, and lower class women) are especially prone to victimization. Finally, only two groups of characters -- old men and "bad" women -- are more likely to hurt others than to be hurt themselves.

Findings of cultivation analysis reveal that television viewing seems to cultivate homogeneous outlooks and orientations -- especially in regard to expressions of interpersonal mistrust and alienation. Heavy viewing may serve to bring into the mainstream of beliefs those disparate and divergent groups who would otherwise be apart from it. For example, as a group, non-whites are more likely to be mistrustful but we have found that those who watch more television express less mistrust. Whites, on the other hand, are less mistrustful, but whites who watch more television express more mistrust.

We also found that cultivation will often be pronounced when other aspects of one's social environment are congruent with (and thereby "resonate" with) television's messages. For example, we have found that those who live in relatively high crime areas are even more susceptible to television's message of a mean and a dangerous world than are other viewers in the same demographic categories. And, the elderly, although generally less susceptible to the effects of television, may be more influenced by images concerning their own personal safety and vulnerability. The more television they watch the more they feel, contrary to fact, that older people are most likely to be victims of crime.

Finally, new analyses have revealed that television heightens apprehension in adolescents. Students who watch a lot of television will, when asked similar questions a year later, show a marked rise in their beliefs about the amount of violence in the world and the importance of knowing self defense.

* Risk-ratios are calculated by dividing the more numerous of the violence roles by the less numerous within each group of characters.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLICATIONS ON CULTURAL INDICATORS

1. Gerbner, George, "Toward 'Cultural Indicators'; The Analysis of Mass Mediated Message Systems." AV Communication Review, 1969. Also in George Gerbner, Ole R. Holsti, Klaus Krippendorff, William J. Paisley, and Philip J. Stone, (eds.), The Analysis of Communication Content; Developments in Scientific Theories and Computer Techniques. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1969.
2. Gerbner, George, "Dimensions of Violence in Television Drama." In Robert K. Baker and Sandra J. Ball (eds.), Violence in the Media, staff report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969.
3. Gerbner, George, "Cultural Indicators: The Case of Violence in Television Drama." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1970.
4. Gerbner, George, "Violence and Television Drama: Trends and Symbolic Functions." In G. A. Comstock and E. A. Rubinstein (eds.), Television and Social Behavior, Vol. 1 Content and Control. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1972.
5. Gerbner, George, "Communication and Social Environment." Scientific American, September 1972. Reprinted in Communication: A Scientific American Book. San Francisco, CA.: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1972.
6. Gerbner, George, "Cultural Indicators: The Third Voice." In George Gerbner, Larry P. Gross, and William H. Melody (eds.), Communications Technology and Social Policy. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973.
7. Gross, Larry "The Real World of Television." Today's Education (the Journal of the National Education Association), January-February 1974.
8. Gerbner, George and Larry Gross, "The World of Television: Towards Cultural Indicators." Intermedia (Journal of International Broadcast Institute), December 1975.
9. Gerbner, George and Larry Gross, "Living with Television: The Violence Profile." Journal of Communication, Spring 1976.
10. Gerbner, George and Larry Gross, "The Scary World of TV's Heavy Viewer." Psychology Today, April 1976.
11. Gerbner, George, "Television: The New State Religion?" Et Cetera, June 1977.
12. Gerbner, George, "Comparative Cultural Indicators." In George Gerbner (ed.), Mass Media Policies in Changing Cultures. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977.
13. Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, Michael F. Eleey, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Suzanne Jeffries-Fox, and Nancy Signoriellii, "TV Violence Profile No. 8: The Highlights." Journal of Communication, Spring 1977.

Bibliography of Publications on Cultural Indicators

14. Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, Michael Eleey, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Suzanne Jeffries-Fox and Nancy Signorielli. "The Gerbner Violence Profile -- An Analysis of the CBS Report." Journal of Broadcasting, Summer 1977.
15. Gross, Larry, "How True is Television's Image?" Getting the Message Across, Paris, France: The UNESCO Press, 1977.
16. Gross, Larry, "Television as a Trojan Horse." School Media Quarterly, Spring 1977.
17. Gross, Larry and Suzanne Jeffries-Fox, "What Do You Want To Be When You Grow Up, Little Girl?" In Gaye Tuchman, et al (eds.), Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media, New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
18. Jackson-Beeck, Marilyn, "The Non-Viewers: Who are They?" Journal of Communication, Summer 1977.
19. Jeffries-Fox, Suzanne and George Gerbner, "Television and the Family." (Fernsehen und Familie). In Fernsehen und Bildung, 1977, 11(3).
20. Gerbner, George and Larry Gross, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Suzanne Jeffries-Fox, and Nancy Signorielli, "Cultural Indicators: Violence Profile No.9." Journal of Communication, Summer 1978.
21. Gerbner, George and Nancy Signorielli, "The World of Television News." In William Adams and Fay Scriebman (eds.) Television News Archives: A Guide to Research. Washington D.C.: George Washington University, 1978.
22. Signorielli, Nancy and George Gerbner, "The Image of the Elderly in Prime-Time Television Drama." Generations, Fall 1978.
23. Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, Nancy Signorielli, Michael Morgan and Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, "The Demonstration of Power: Violence Profile No. 10." Journal of Communication, Summer 1979.
24. Gerbner, George and Nancy Signorielli, "Women and Minorities in Television Drama, 1969-1978." Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, October 1979.
25. Gross, Larry. "Television and Violence." In Ben Logan and Kate Moody (eds.), Television Awareness Training, New York: Media Action Research Center, 1979.
26. Jeffries-Fox, Suzanne and Nancy Signorielli, "Television and Children's Conceptions about Occupations." In Herb S. Dordick (ed.), Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Telecommunications Policy Research Conference, Lexington MA.: Lexington Books, 1979.
27. Morgan, Michael and Larry Gross, "Television, IQ, and School Achievement." In S. Scheuyer (ed.), The TV Annual 1978-1979, New York: Macmillan, 1979.

Bibliography of Publications on Cultural Indicators

28. Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, Nancy Signorielli and Michael Morgan, "Aging with Television: Images on Television Drama and Conceptions of Social Reality." Journal of Communication, Winter 1980.
29. Morgan, Michael, "Television and Reading: Does More Equal Better?" Journal of Communication, Winter 1980.
30. Gross, Larry and Michael Morgan, "Television and Enculturation." In J. R. Dominick and J. Fletcher (eds.), Broadcasting Research Methods: A Reader. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, in press.
31. Morgan, Michael and Larry Gross, "Reading, Writing and Watching: Television Viewing, IQ, and Academic Achievement." Journal of Broadcasting, in press.
32. Signorielli, Nancy, "The Measurement of Violence in Television Programming: Violence Indices." In J. R. Dominick and J. Fletcher (eds.), Broadcasting Research Methods: A Reader. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, in press.
33. Gerbner, George and Larry Gross, "The Violent Face of Television and Its Lessons." In Edward L. Palmer and Aimee Dorr (eds.), Three Faces of Children's Television. Academic Press, in press.
34. Gross, Larry, Michael Morgan and Nancy Signorielli, "Violence in Television Programs: Ten Years Later." In National Institute of Mental Health, Television and Behavior: Ten Years of Scientific Progress and Implications for the 80's, in press.
35. Morgan, Michael and Larry Gross, "Television and Educational Achievement and Aspirations." In National Institute of Mental Health, Television and Behavior: Ten Years of Scientific Progress and Implications for the 80's, in press.
36. Gerbner, George, "Death in Prime-Time: Notes on the Symbolic Functions of Dying in the Mass Media." The Annals, January 1980.
37. Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, Michael Morgan and Nancy Signorielli, "Media and the Family: Images and Impact." Paper for the National Research Forum on Family Issues, White House Conference on Families, April 1980.

METHODS AND FINDINGS

The Violence Profile consists of indicators of (1) the program context in which dramatic violence occurs, (2) the prevalence, rate, and roles of violence that make up the Violence Index, (3) the structure of power in the world of television drama as indicated by the risks of violence and victimization for different groups of characters in the fictional population, and (4) the extent to which (and ways in which) television cultivates its own view of facts and aspects of social reality in the conceptions of its audiences.

The first three measures of the Violence Profile reflect trends in the content of network television drama. They come from message system analysis, our comprehensive and periodic study of that content. The fourth measure comes from cultivation analysis -- our study of viewer conceptions cultivated by that content. The methods and results of our message system and cultivation analyses are summarized in this section. The detailed tabulations presenting the relevant findings of message system analysis appear in the appendix.

The World of Television Drama

Television is the chief creator of synthetic cultural patterns (entertainment and information) for the most heterogeneous mass publics in history, including large groups that have never before shared in any common public message systems. The repetitive pattern of television's mass-produced messages and images forms the mainstream of the common symbolic environment that cultivates the most widely shared conceptions of reality. We live in terms of the stories we tell -- stories about what things exist, stories about how things work, and stories about what to do -- and television tells them all through news, drama, and advertising to almost everybody most of the time.

Information conveyed by drama and fiction differs from information conveyed by bits of fact, but plays an equally significant function. Factual description such as news constructs a selective image of what things are. Drama and fiction demonstrate the invisible connections that show how things work and why.

That story-telling process is essential to human socialization, the introduction to and cultivation of concepts of roles and values. Television is the central and universal story-teller in our society. Its dramatic programming presents a translucent and compelling world of times, places, social types, strivings, powers, and fate. Television offers the most diverse audience of viewers a common and stable pattern of "facts" about life and the world. No member of society escapes the lessons of almost universally enjoyed entertainment, and many millions of viewers seek little other information.

Message System Analysis

The world of television drama is a highly structured, relatively stable, and compelling ritual, used nonselectively by most viewers. The world of television drama is also a highly controlled assembly-line product governed by a relatively few formulas. The message of all stories emerges from aggregate patterns of casting, characterization, and fate.

Cultural Indicators research begins with message system analysis, a flexible tool for making orderly, reliable, and cumulative observations of programming content. The technique allows us to identify almost any aspect of the television world, so that we can then test its contribution to viewers' conceptions of the real world.

Large and representative aggregates of television output (rather than individual selections from it) are the system of messages to which the total communities are exposed. Message system analysis focuses on the gross, unambiguous, and commonly understood patterns of portrayal. The data do not reflect what any particular individual viewer might see but rather what large communities absorb over long periods of time. Thus, our research does not attempt to describe or analyze specific programs, or to draw conclusions about artistic merit. The analysis isolates the patterns and symbolic structures that appear in the yearly samples. The purpose of this content analysis is to provide systematic, cumulative, and objective observations of many important aspects of the world of television.

Definition of Violence *

The findings reported here focus primarily upon the portrayal of violence defined as the overt expression of physical force (with or without a weapon, against self or other), compelling action against one's will on pain of being hurt or killed, or actually killing or hurting.**

A rigorous three- to four-week training period assures that coders isolate only clear, unambiguous, overt physical violence. To be recorded at all, a violent incident must be plausible and credible. It must be directed against human or human-like beings, and it must hurt or kill, or threaten to do so, as part of the script's plot. No idle threats, verbal abuse, or gestures without credible violent consequences are included. However, once an unmistakably violent incident is observed, it is recorded whether the script calls for murder, "natural" catastrophes, or "accidents." (Although accidents are very rare in fiction, they are neither "natural" nor "accidental." "Accidents" written into scripts victimize characters who fall prey to them, and the message of victimization is one significant aspect of exposure to violence.)

* For a comparison of definitions of violence see, Larry Gross, Michael Morgan, Nancy Signorielli, "Violence in Television Programs: Ten Years Later," National Institute of Mental Health, Television and Behavior: Ten Years of Scientific Progress and Implications for the Eighties, in press.

** The parentheses represent a recent refinement in order to add clarity; before now, they have been commas.

Violence in a realistic or "serious" context is recorded along with violence in a fantasy or "humorous" context (the tone of each incident is also coded so that trends can be examined both separately and together). Clear-cut violence in any context is coded because the social lessons of such violence can be demonstrated -- and learned -- in any context. There is evidence* to suggest, for example, that exposure to fantasy or "humorous" violence is effective in conveying some lessons of violence. Therefore, its exculsion, or that of "accidents" and "catastrophes" would be analytically unacceptable.**

Of course, we recognize that not all violence is alike. Striking out against brutality and injustice is not the same as perpetrating them. But, this study deals with violence mostly as an industrial ingredient injected wholesale into formula plays. The overall patterns of violence as demonstrations of social power are little affected by exceptions to the rule and by subtle differences in "meaning." Victimization denotes vulnerability whether desired or not. Plots may add different "meanings" to standard fates assigned to different social types, but these do not change the calculus of risks implicit in these fates.

At the same time, we feel that our task is more to diagnose than to judge its content, but we report our findings in terms of general standards of equity, fairness, and justice. We do not feel that television programming should be totally devoid of violence. Violence, as most symbols and story-telling devices, can serve many purposes. What we are concerned about, however, is what kinds of violence exist, in what types of programs, as well as who commits violence and who is victimized -- that is, who is powerful and who is powerless. We need to know the lessons that television conveys about risks and fates because our research (and that of many others) has suggested that fear, alienation, and mistrust may be powerfully and pervasively cultivated by television.

Units of Analysis

Observations are recorded for three types of units: the program as a whole, each specific violent action (if any) in the program, and each dramatic character appearing in the program.

*See, for example, Albert Bandura, Dorothea Ross and Sheila Ross, "Transmission of Aggression through Imitation of Aggressive Models," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1967, 63, pp. 575-582; Albert Bandura, Dorothea Ross and Sheila Ross, "Imitation of Film-Mediated Aggression Models," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1963, 66, pp. 3-11; Glenn Thomas Ellis and Francis Sekura III, "The Effect of Aggressive Cartoons on the Behavior of First Grade Children," Journal of Psychology, 1972, 81, pp. 7-43; O.I. Lovas, "Effect of Exposure to Symbolic Aggression on Aggressive Behavior," Child Development, 1961, 32, pp. 37-44.

**George Gerbner, Larry Gross, Michael Eleey, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Suzanne Jeffries-Fox, and Nancy Signorielli, "The Gerbner Violence Profile -- An Analysis of the CBS Report," Journal of Broadcasting, Summer 1977, pp. 280-286.

Program means a single fictional story presented in dramatic form. This may be a play or series produced for television, a feature film telecast during the sample period, or a cartoon story (of which there may be one or more in a single program). Each of these is analyzed separately and recorded as a "program." All such programs telecast during the study periods were analyzed whether or not they contained violence.

A violent episode as a unit of analysis means a scene of some violence confined to the same participants. If a scene is interrupted by flashback or shifts to another scene, but continues in "real time," it is still the same episode. Any change in the cast of characters -- such as a new agent of violence entering the scene -- starts another episode.

Characters analyzed in all programs are of two types -- major characters are the principal roles essential to the story; minor characters include all other speaking roles and are subject to less detailed analysis. The findings summarized in this report include the analysis of major characters only and include data collected from 1969 through 1979. The character portion of the recording instrument underwent extensive changes and additions prior to collection of 1969 data. Therefore, when focusing upon attributes of characterization, it is more parsimonious to exclude data collected in 1967 and 1968.

Samples of programming

Because nationally distributed programs provide the most broadly shared television fare, network dramatic programs transmitted in evening prime-time (8 p.m. to 11 p.m. each day), and network children's dramatic programs transmitted weekend mornings (Saturday and Sunday between 8 a.m. and 2 p.m.) comprise the analytical source material.*

Our sample of programs is videotaped and consists of all dramatic programs broadcast during one week, usually in the fall, of each year.** When an episode of a regularly scheduled program is pre-empted by a non-dramatic special during the selected week, the next available episode of that series is videotaped. If the special is dramatic, it is included in the sample. This replacement procedure is also used for those rare occasions when video-recorder failure results in the loss of a program during the scheduled sample week.

* In 1967 and 1968, the hours included were 7:30 to 10 p.m. Monday through Saturday, 7 to 10 p.m. Sunday, and children's programs 8 a.m. to noon Saturday. Beginning in 1969, these hours were expanded to 11 p.m. each evening and from 8 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. Saturday and Sunday. As of 1971, however, network evening programming has been reduced by the FCC's prime-time access rule. The effective evening parameters since 1971 are therefore 8 to 11 p.m. Monday through Saturday and 7 to 11 p.m. Sunday.

** Programs broadcast during one week in the spring of 1975 and 1976 were videotaped and analyzed as part of our on-going research on sampling.

Although the sheer numbers involved prohibit estimation of sampling error for all of the dimensions in the recording instrument, the solid-week sample is at least as generalizable to a year's programming as larger randomly drawn samples for the four basic sample dimensions -- network, program format (TV play, cartoon, feature film), type (action, etc.), and tone (humorous, serious). In a sampling experiment executed in connection with the 1967-68 study, a sample of 365 programs was constructed according to the parameters of the 1967-68 project's sample, except that it was drawn according to a one-program-per-day random selection procedure, for a calendar year that approximately bridged the interval between the 1967 and 1968 one-week samples.* There was no significant difference between the experimental and solid-week samples in the distribution of programs by network, format, type and tone (as defined for the 1967-68 project).

Two further sampling experiments were conducted in the spring of 1975 and 1976. First, a week's sample from each spring's programming was analyzed and compared with the fall samples for differences in the violence measures and indices. Few differences were found and these did not seem to warrant continuing the spring sampling. Another test of our sample, using a seven-week period as its base, was conducted in 1977. The test focused only upon violence-related content items and found no significant differences for the items that are used to calculate the measures included in the Violence Profile.**

The 1977 sample included an additional week of prime-time programs so as to continue our sampling study. Thus, it consisted of two weeks of network dramatic programs broadcast during prime-time (8-11 p.m. EST, Monday - Saturday and 7-11 p.m. EST, Sunday) and one weekend morning (8 a.m. - 2 p.m. EST Saturday and Sunday) of network dramatic children's programs. The present sample, 1979, reverts back to a one week sample defined by the time parameters described above.

The analysis conducted for this report combines some of the yearly samples to simplify the presentation of a large amount of information. Data from the 1967 and 1968 fall seasons are combined, as are data from the fall of 1969 and 1970, and the fall of 1971 and 1972. Data from the fall of 1973 are reported with data from the 1974-75 season (i.e., the combination of samples). Data from fall 1975 and spring 1976 are presented together and represent the 1975-76 season. Data from the fall of 1976, 1977, 1978, and 1979 are reported separately.

* Michael F. Eeley, "Variations in Generalizability Resulting from Sampling Characteristics of Content Analysis Data: A Case Study," The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, 1969.

** George Gerbner, Larry Gross, Michael F. Eeley, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Suzanne Jeffries-Fox, and Nancy Signorielli, "The Gerbner Violence Profile -- An Analysis of the CBS Report," Journal of Broadcasting, Fall 1977, 21:3, pp. 280-286.

Coding and training procedures

For the analysis of a full week sample of programs, a staff of between 12 and 16 coders is recruited. The entire training period requires about four weeks of instruction and testing. Several introductory sessions are devoted to item-by-item discussion of the recording instrument. The trainee group is subsequently split into randomly assigned coding teams of two each, and all pairs then view and code ten selected programs that have previously been coded by the entire message system analysis staff. Each coder-pair works independently of all other pairs, and returns one joint coding for each program. After each pair completes each training program they meet with a staff member to discuss difficulties encountered in the exercise. When these problems have been resolved, the coder-pairs code the remaining programs (previously coded by the staff) selected from the video-tape archive for training.

The data generated by the coder-pairs on the ten training programs are keypunched and subjected to computerized agreement analysis. On the basis of these results, instructions are further discussed and perhaps revised, and idiosyncratic coder pairs are dismissed. Coder-pairs who survive this testing process proceed to analyze the season's videotaped program sample.

During both the training and data-collection phases, coder pairs monitor their assigned videotaped programs as often as necessary, re-screening portions as needed. All programs in the sample are coded independently by two separate coder-pairs to provide double-coded reliability comparisons. (For budgetary reasons, only 30 percent of the programs in the 1967-1968 analysis were coded a second time.)

A final data set for subsequent analysis is compiled from the full data base by randomly selecting one of the two codings for each program. As a last check against deviant coding, reliability measures are computed for each pair before the final selection. This procedure identifies problem coders who may not have been screened out in the training and pre-test phase. In such an instance, the data recorded by the questionable pair would be excluded from the selection, and the alternative coding used. (Over the course of this study, only two such cases have been encountered.)

Assessment of reliability

The purpose of reliability measures in content analysis is to ascertain the degree to which the recorded data are consistently representative of the material being studied, rather than a reflection of observer bias or instrument ambiguity. Theoretically both types of contamination can be corrected by refining the instrument and/or by intensifying coder training, or, as a last resort, by eliminating the unsalvageable variable or dismissing the incorrigible coders. Thus, measures of reliability may serve two functions: (1) as diagnostic tools in the confirmation of the recording instrument, and (2) as arbiters of the replicability of the procedure, assuring confidence in the final data. In this project, they serve both: during the preliminary period of instrument revision and coder training, they identify problem areas

in the recording process; the final measures computed on the study's entire corpus of double-coded data determine the acceptability of information for analysis, and provide guidelines for its interpretation.

Agreement due merely to chance gives no indication that the data truly reflect the phenomena under observation. Simple percent-agreement measures are, therefore, inadequate indicators of reliability, since they fail to account for the amount of agreement expected by chance. Reliability measures in the form of agreement coefficients, however, indicate the degree to which agreement among independent observers is above chance. In general then,

$$\text{Coefficient of Agreement} = 1 - \frac{\text{observed disagreement}}{\text{expected disagreement}}$$

Values for coefficients of this form will range from +1.00 when agreement is perfect, to .00 when agreement is purely accidental (or perfectly random), to negative values when agreement is less than that expected due to chance. A coefficient of .50 indicates that performance is 50% above the level expected by chance. These coefficients will generally give more conservative estimates of reliability than will simple percent-agreement measures.

Five computational formulas are available for calculating the agreement coefficient.* The variations are distinguished by a difference function -- the form of which depends on whether the variable is considered to constitute a nominal, ordinal, interval, bipolar or ratio scale. Except for their respective scale-appropriate sensitivity to deviations from perfect agreement, the coefficients make the same basic assumptions as the prototype for nominal scales devised by Scott.** Thus in the case of the binary variable, all formulae yield identical results.

The project's double-coded sample of data is analyzed for agreement via these coefficients, with the aid of a computer program.*** The results of the reliability analyses govern the reporting of the findings. Table 1 presents reliability coefficients for the content items included in this report for 1969-76, 1977, 1978, and 1979 samples. Items such as network, program, format, duration, time of broadcast, etc. are administratively coded and are not subjected to reliability analysis.

* For a formal discussion of part of this family of coefficients, see Klaus Krippendorff, "Bivariate Agreement Coefficients for the Reliability of Data," in E.F. Borgatta and G.W. Bohrnstedt (eds.), Sociological Methodology, 1970, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc.).

** William A. Scott, "Reliability of Content Analysis: The Case of Nominal Scale Coding," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1955, 17:3, 321-325.

*** Klaus Krippendorff, "A Computer Program for Agreement Analysis of Reliability Data, Version 4," Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, July 1973 (mimeo).

Table 1
Reliability Coefficients

<u>Program Items</u>	<u>1969 - 1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>
Number of Violent Actions	.746 (I)	.860 (I)	.857 (I)	.862 (I)
Program Tone (comic-serious)	.831 (O)	.876 (O)	.840 (O)	.820 (O)
Place of Major Action	.717 (N)	.638 (N)	.796 (N)	.665 (N)
Date of Major Action	.686 (N)	.659 (N)	.785 (N)	.672 (N)
Setting of Major Action	.574 (N)	.658 (N)	.656 (N)	.568 (N)
Violence-Significance	.781 (O)	.740 (O)	.813 (O)	.765 (O)
Violence-Seriousness	.798 (O)	.784 (O)	.803 (O)	.661 (O)
<u>Characterization Items</u>				
Sex	.930 (N)	.912 (N)	.922 (N)	.920 (N)
Social Age	.640 (N)	.720 (N)	.612 (N)	.540 (N)
Race	.888 (N)	.936 (N)	.965 (N)	.910 (N)
Nationality	.728 (N)	.737 (N)	.734 (N)	.769 (N)
Socio-Economic Status	.567 (O)	.525 (O)	.651 (O)	
Marital Status	.694 (N)	.712 (N)	.716 (N)	.573 (N)
Type of character ("good" - "bad")	.773 (O)	.791 (O)	.688 (O)	.702 (O)
Committing Violence	.704 (N)	.734 (N)	.657 (N)	.717 (N)
Victimization	.673 (N)	.691 (N)	.767 (N)	.668 (N)

Note: (I) Interval Scale Variable
(O) Ordinal Scale Variable
(N) Nominal Scale Variable

Violence Indicators

Message system analysis contributes three types of information to the Violence Profile. The first is the program context of which any dramatic element, such as violence, is an integral part. The second consists of the specific indicators of violence in various program categories, and the composite Violence Index. The third type of information is in the form of risk ratios and scores which show how the pattern of violence and victimization works for different kinds of people that populate the world of television drama.

The Violence Index is composed of three sets of direct observational data. They show the extent to which violence occurs at all in the program samples, the frequency and rate of violent episodes, and the number of roles calling for characterization as violent, victims, or both. These data sets are called prevalence, rate, and role, respectively.

Prevalence is the percent of programs containing any violence in a particular program sample. Prevalence is calculated both as percent of programs (%P) and as percent of program hours containing violence. Only %P is part of the Index.

Rate expresses the frequency of these acts in units of programming and in units of time. The acts themselves are called "violent episodes." The number of such episodes divided by the total number of programs (violent or not) yields the rate per program (R/P). The rate per hour (R/H) is the number of episodes divided by the number of program hours in the sample. The latter measures the concentration or saturation of violence in time, and compensates for the difference in rates between a long program unit, such as a movie, and a short one, such as a 10-minute cartoon.

Role is defined as the portrayal of characters as violent (committing violence) or victims (subjected to violence), or both, and yields several measures. They are: percent of violent out of all characters in a sample; percent of victims out of all characters in a sample; all those involved as violent or as victims or both (%V); percent killers (those committing fatal violence); percent of killed (victims of lethal violence); and all those involved in killing, either as killers, killed, or both (%K).

Findings from these data are combined to form an Index. We have developed this Index because violence is a complex phenomenon -- and a sophisticated analysis involves paying attention not only to specific actions but also to who is hurt, who does the hurting, etc. Simple measures, such as the number of violent incidents can be used to reveal fluctuations in the basic level of violence, but this type of account alone does not yield very rich analytic information.

The Violence Index is the sum of five measures: the percent of programs containing any violence (%P), plus twice the rate of violent incidents per

program (2R/P), plus twice the rate of violent incidents per hour (2R/H),* plus the percent of characters involved in any violence (%V), plus the percent of characters involved in killing (%K). That is:

$$VI = (%P) + (2R/P) + (2R/H) + (%V) + (%K).$$

Prevalence, rate, and role are thus all reflected in the Index, giving it a sensitivity to various aspects of violence portrayals, and lending it a certain stability not easily altered or manipulated by superficial script changes. The Index itself is not, of course, a statistical finding, but serves to illustrate trends and to facilitate gross comparisons. The Index is calculated for many genres of programs. It is not, however, calculated for the individual programs within the yearly sample.

The components of the Violence Index achieve high inter-coder reliability; over the last eleven years, the coefficients for individual items range from .65 to .86 (see Table 1). We also have been able to establish that the Violence Index meets the critical statistical and empirical requirements of an index: undimensionality and internal homogeneity. A major criticism of the Violence Index has been that it may be combining "apples and oranges," that it mixes together disparate and unrelated dimensions.** If, indeed, the components of the Index are not measuring the same thing, then it is wrong to combine them; but if they are manifestations of the same underlying dimension, then the combined Index yields a measure of television violence far more reliable and valid than any individual item.

In short, we find that the Index provides a highly reliable measure of television violence, particularly in prime-time programs. Factor analysis reveals that there is only one factor underlying the five components of the Index for both early evening (8 - 9 p.m. EST) and late evening (9 - 11 p.m. EST) programs. In terms of internal homogeneity, Cronbach's alpha for all prime-time samples from 1967 to 1978 is a very high .89. Thus, the items are measuring a single dimension, and they are measuring it quite well (see Table 2).

Critics have also argued that the weights we use in creating the Index are arbitrary and unjustified. Yet, it turns out that the Violence Index produces lower reliability estimates when the rate of violent acts per program and per hour are not weighted by two. In each time period (and overall), as shown in Table 2, weighting these two components adds about .05 to the alpha.

Finally, in weekend-daytime programs the internal homogeneity is somewhat lower, but still acceptable (alpha = .66). This is due, primarily, to one item: the percent of characters involved in killing. In general,

* The rates are weighted by two in the Cultural Indicators Violence Index so as to increase their importance. That is, the rates are usually very small numbers (on the order of 4 to 9) and the weighting increases their contribution to the Index.

** Thomas E. Coffin and Sam Tuchman, "Rating Television Programs for Violence: A Comparison of Five Surveys," Journal of Broadcasting 1972-3, 17:1, 3-20; Bruce M. Owen, "Measuring Violence on Television: The Gerbner Index," Office of Telecommunications Policy, Staff Research Paper OTP-SP-7, June 1972.

Table 2

Reliability Coefficients for the Violence Index

	UNWEIGHTED INDEX			WEIGHTED INDEX		
	raw alpha	standardized alpha	theta	raw alpha	standardized alpha	theta
ALL PROGRAM DATA (N=162)	.70	.76	.82	.75	.78	.82
8 - 9 P.M. EST (N=60)	.69	.85	.86	.74	.85	.86
9 - 11 P.M. EST (N=60)	.74	.88	.88	.79	.88	.86
Weekend Day (N=42)	.69	.66	.71	.65	.66	.71
PRIME TIME TOTAL (N=120)	.75	.89	.89	.80	.89	.89

The UNIT OF OBSERVATION is the time period (8-9 p.m., 9-11 p.m., and weekend daytime), for each network. The reliability estimates are based on all fall samples (1967 - 1978), the two spring samples (1975 and 1976) and the six-week special sample (1976; for prime time only).

The UNWEIGHTED INDEX estimates represent reliability obtained by simply adding up the five components (percent of programs containing violence, rate of violent acts per hour, rate of violent acts per program, percent of characters involved in violence, and percent of characters involved in killing).

The WEIGHTED INDEX doubles the absolute value of two items: acts per hour, and rate of violent acts per program.

The RAW alpha indicates the reliability the index would have when its components are simply added up (in raw form).

The STANDARDIZED ALPHA indicates the reliability the index would have if the items were standardized before they are added up. That is, the index would have this reliability if the raw scores were subtracted from the mean and divided by the standard deviation.

The THETA indicates the reliability the index would have if the items were both standardized and weighted by their factor score coefficients before they were added up. This is generally the maximum reliability possible to achieve in a given index.

weekend-daytime programs have the highest rates of violent acts and the greatest number of programs containing violence -- but they also have the smallest proportion of characters involved in killing. In fact, within weekend programs, killing is negatively related to the rate of violent acts per hour! Evidently, there is a tremendous amount of non-lethal violence on children's shows; and when killing does appear it seems to be accented as a central action while other aspects of violence are downplayed.

Despite this qualification, these items clearly are providing a reliable, unidimensional, internally homogeneous and efficient measure of television violence. But we repeat that the indicators "should be used in light of the interpretive judgements and assumptions inherent in the formulas that generate them."*

* George Gerbner, "Violence and Television Drama: Trends and Symbolic Functions," in G.A. Comstock and E.A. Rubinstein (eds.), Television and Social Behavior, Vol. 1, Content and Control, Washington: GPO, 1972, pp. 33-34.

Findings of Message System Analysis

In many ways, the world of dramatic network television is remarkably stable. One of the most important findings of our continuing investigation of this world and the viewers who "live" in it is the stability of its images, characterizations, and themes -- as well as their consequences and impact. Yet, underlying the surface of stability and consistency are subtle shifts and fluctuations.

The overall amount of violence in the 1979 television season is quite similar to the level measured in the 1978 season: the Index (174) for the entire sample of prime-time and weekend-daytime programs is only 9 points below the Index for 1978 (183). There are, however, some rather striking and interesting differences when we compare the 1978 and 1979 Indices for three basic viewing times: weekend-daytime, early evening prime-time -- 8 to 9 p.m. EST (the former "family hour"), and late evening prime-time -- 9 to 11 p.m. EST. In fact, the 1979 patterns are almost the mirror image of the 1978 findings (see Table 3 and Figure 1).

Violence in weekend-daytime programs has dropped from the extremely high level (249) measured for the 1978 season. The current measure for weekend-daytime programs is slightly below the 13-year average of 222. In the 1979 sample four components of the Index are lower than they were in 1978. The percent of programs containing violence is 92 percent (as compared to 98 percent last year), the rate of violent actions per program is 4.6 (actually, the lowest rate we have ever measured for this period), the rate per hour is 17.2 acts, only 74.8 percent of the major characters are involved in violence, and, for the third year in a row, no major characters are involved in killing.

The amount of violence in early evening programs is now quite similar to that in late evening programs -- the Index and its individual components are nearly identical within both time periods. This pattern of homogenization in the amount of violence in these two time periods diverges from the overall stability of the trends we have observed since 1973. In the period from 1973 to 1978, early evening programming was considerably less violent than late evening programming: the Index for the 9 - 11 p.m. programs has averaged 60 points above that for the 8 - 9 p.m. programs over these five years. Possibly owing to the demise of the "family hour," however, the divergence has ended and, for 1979 at least, the amount of violence in early and late evening shows has become virtually the same.

In a nutshell, the current changes are as follows: overall, the Index is down from last season; weekend-daytime and late evening programs are less violent in 1979 than in 1978, but early evening programs are sharply more violent.

Since network competition is quite fierce in most aspects of programming, it is important to determine how the networks differ in regard to the amount of violence they exhibit (see Table 4 and Figure 2).

Overall, only ABC has considerably reduced violence from 1978 to 1979: their index score dropped from 186 to 145. The CBS index rose slightly

Table 3

Violence Index Components
(1967-1979)

	1		1		2		2		3			Total
	67,68	69,70	71,72	73,74	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	67-79		
All Programs N=	183	232	203	291	226	110	192	111	126	1674		
% Programs w/violence	81.4	80.6	79.8	78.0	77.4	89.1	75.5	84.7	81.0	80.0		
Rate per program	4.8	4.9	5.0	5.4	5.2	6.2	5.0	5.8	5.0	5.2		
Rate per hour	7.2	8.1	7.2	6.9	7.7	9.5	6.7	8.3	8.1	7.5		
% Characters involved in violence	69.5	65.1	59.8	61.4	64.2	74.8	60.9	64.8	62.7	63.9		
Violence Index	190	178	174	175	177	204	166	183	174	178		
Weekend-Daytime N=	62	107	81	114	92	49	53	48	62	668		
% Programs w/violence	93.5	97.2	88.9	93.9	90.2	100.0	90.6	97.9	91.9	93.6		
Rate per program	5.2	6.5	6.0	5.6	5.1	6.9	4.9	7.5	4.6	5.8		
Rate per hour	22.3	25.5	16.0	12.6	14.2	22.4	15.5	25.0	17.2	17.6		
% Characters involved in violence	84.3	89.7	73.5	73.8	81.1	85.6	77.2	86.0	74.8	79.7		
Violence Index	242	253	208	205	211	247	209	249	210	222		
Prime-Time N=	121	125	122	177	134	61	139	63	64	1006		
% Programs w/violence	75.2	66.4	73.8	67.3	68.7	80.3	69.8	74.6	70.3	71.0		
Rate per program	4.5	3.5	4.4	5.2	5.3	5.6	5.0	4.5	5.4	4.8		
Rate per hour	5.2	3.9	4.8	5.3	6.0	6.1	5.5	4.5	5.7	5.2		
% Characters involved in violence	64.4	49.4	53.9	53.7	55.0	67.4	55.5	52.9	53.7	55.5		
Violence Index	176	140	159	159	160	183	154	153	153	159		
8-9 P.M. EST N=	74	73	55	86	61	25	65	27	31	497		
% Programs w/violence	77.0	60.3	74.5	60.5	52.5	72.0	66.2	59.3	71.0	65.4		
Rate per program	4.9	2.8	4.2	4.0	2.7	3.8	4.2	3.0	5.6	3.9		
Rate per hour	6.4	3.9	4.8	4.3	4.1	4.7	5.3	4.0	6.3	4.9		
% Characters involved in violence	66.3	46.1	50.0	44.2	37.0	55.1	53.2	39.2	53.1	49.2		
Violence Index	186	127	150	134	104	145	140	116	156	140		
9-11 P.M. EST N=	47	52	67	91	73	36	74	36	33	509		
% Programs w/violence	72.3	75.0	73.1	74.7	82.2	86.1	73.0	86.1	69.7	76.4		
Rate per program	4.0	4.3	4.5	6.4	7.6	6.9	5.8	5.6	5.2	5.7		
Rate per hour	3.8	3.9	4.8	6.1	6.9	6.8	5.7	4.8	5.2	5.4		
% Characters involved in violence	61.5	54.2	57.1	62.5	68.4	75.7	57.1	62.5	54.1	61.3		
Violence Index	162	158	167	183	203	209	165	180	150	176		

1 These figures are based upon two samples collected in the fall of each of these years.

2 The figures for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

3 The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend-morning sample of network dramatic programs.

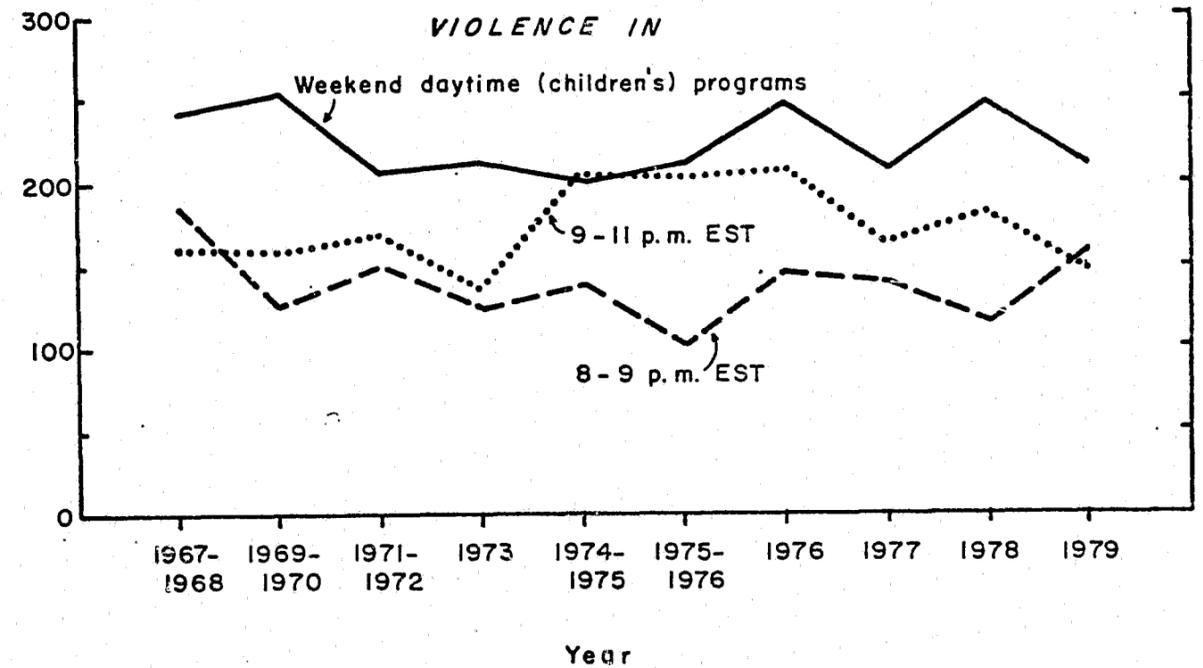


FIGURE 1: VIOLENCE INDEX IN CHILDREN'S AND PRIME TIME PROGRAMING, 1967-1979

Table 4

Violence Index Components for 1978 and 1979 by Network

	All Networks		ABC		CBS		NBC	
	1978	1979	1978	1979	1978	1979	1978	1979
All Programs N =	111	126	35	34	48	56	28	36
% Programs w/violence	84.7	81.0	88.6	70.6	85.4	87.5	78.6	80.6
Rate per program	5.8	5.0	5.7	4.4	5.5	5.1	6.5	5.4
Rate per hour	8.3	8.1	8.1	6.4	9.8	9.9	6.9	7.7
% Characters involved in violence	64.8	62.7	66.3	52.2	63.9	69.1	64.3	64.7
Violence Index	183	174	186	145	183	190	179	179
Weekend-Daytime N =	48	62	11	11	26	32	11	19
% Programs w/violence	97.9	91.9	100.0	90.9	100.0	93.8	90.9	89.5
Rate per program	7.5	4.6	9.5	6.5	6.7	4.8	7.2	3.1
Rate per hour	25.0	17.2	26.3	15.8	26.8	23.7	20.6	10.5
% Characters involved in violence	86.0	74.8	81.5	87.5	86.0	73.4	91.3	69.2
Violence Index	249	210	253	223	253	224	238	186
Prime-Time N =	63	64	24	23	22	24	17	17
% Programs w/violence	74.6	70.3	83.3	60.9	68.2	79.2	70.6	70.6
Rate per program	4.5	5.4	3.9	3.5	4.0	5.4	6.0	7.9
Rate per hour	4.5	5.7	4.6	4.2	4.4	5.9	4.6	6.9
% Characters involved in violence	52.9	53.7	60.0	38.3	44.6	64.4	54.1	60.9
Violence Index	153	153	165	116	136	173	159	175
8-9 P.M. EST N =	27	31	12	13	8	11	7	7
% Programs w/violence	59.3	71.0	83.3	61.5	50.0	81.8	28.6	71.4
Rate per program	3.0	5.6	2.3	3.5	2.0	5.5	5.6	9.6
Rate per hour	4.0	6.3	3.4	4.6	2.9	6.8	5.6	7.7
% Characters involved in violence	39.2	53.1	62.1	35.9	33.3	59.4	20.7	72.0
Violence Index	116	156	167	116	93	172	72	198
9-11 P.M. EST N =	36	33	12	10	14	13	10	10
% Programs w/violence	86.1	69.7	83.3	60.0	78.6	76.9	100.0	70.0
Rate per program	5.6	5.2	5.6	3.4	5.2	5.2	6.3	6.8
Rate per hour	4.8	5.2	5.4	3.8	4.9	5.2	4.1	6.2
% Characters involved in violence	62.5	54.1	58.3	40.5	50.0	68.3	84.4	53.8
Violence Index	180	150	164	115	158	174	230	160

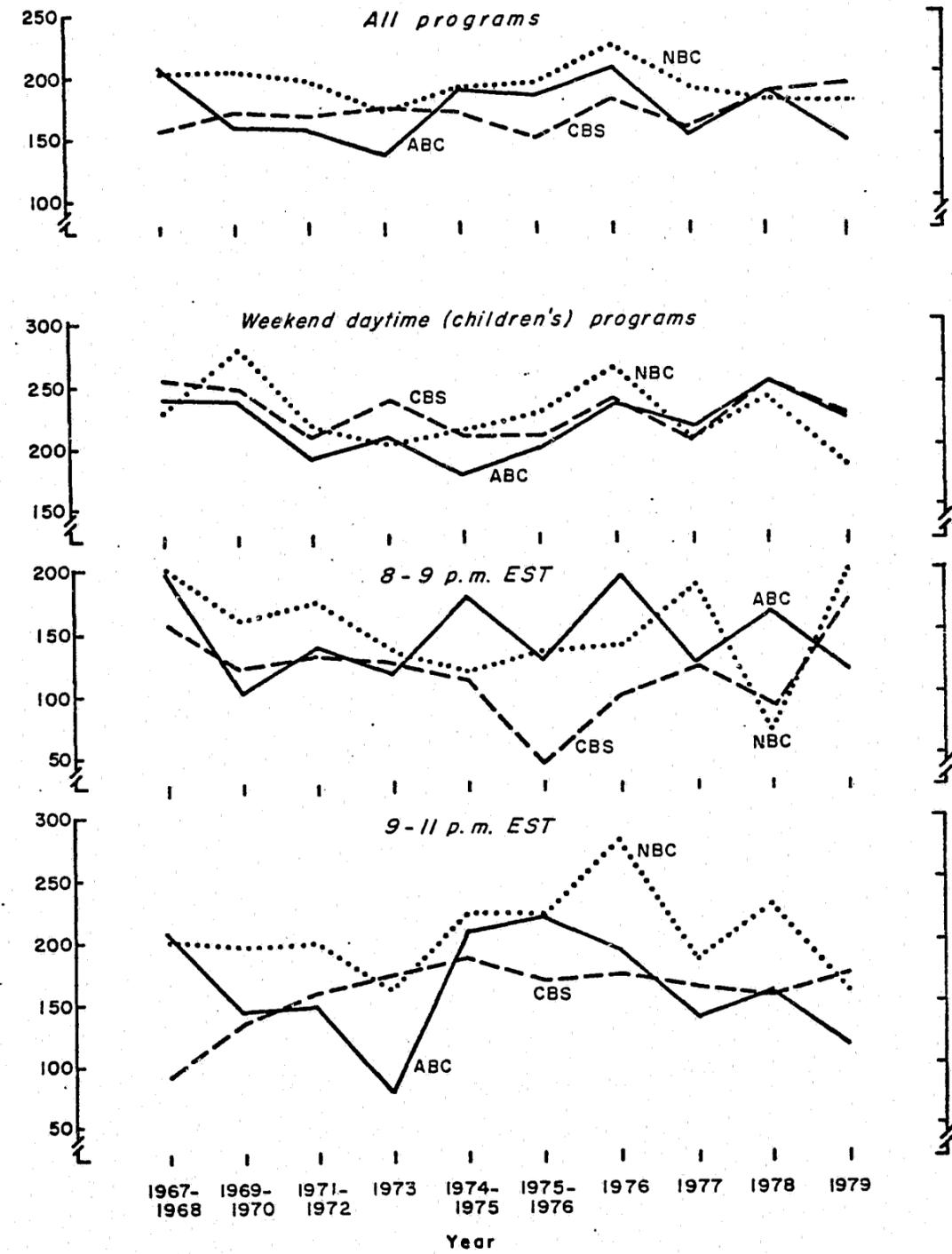


FIGURE 2: VIOLENCE INDEX BY NETWORK AND PROGRAM TIME 1967-1979

(183 to 190) while NBC remains at a steady 179 points. The indices for prime-time programs broadcast by each network, however, show considerable fluctuation. ABC reduced violence in both early and late evening programming: the index went from 165 to 116. CBS, on the other hand, shows an increase in both prime-time slots, especially in the early evening hours where their index jumped from 93 to an extremely high level of 172. Moreover, this is the highest level ever recorded for CBS in this time period. The CBS index in the late evening time period has increased only slightly -- from 158 to 174. Finally, NBC's index shows extreme variation between the two time periods -- the early evening index has increased considerably (from 72 to 198) while the late evening has dropped substantially (from 230 to 160). Thus, in 1979 CBS and NBC are just about equal in the amount of violence they present during all prime-time programming; but how each network got to this level of equality is very different. NBC reduced the number of violent programs and amount of violence in late evening shows but increased violence in the early evening, while CBS increased violence in all prime-time programming. Thus, while it ends up looking all the same, that is only part of the story; the apparent equilibrium is achieved through complex movement towards homogeneity.

In weekend-daytime programming, where violence is often cyclical, all three networks show declines in the overall amount of violence. NBC reveals the greatest change -- a drop of 62 points (238 to 186).

Table 5 presents the trends in network standings -- that is, a yearly ranking of the networks by violence index scores. Overall, NBC has been the most consistently violent network over the past 13 years. NBC is also usually ranked as the most violent network for early evening as well as late evening programming. But although NBC is ranked second in weekend-daytime programming, the index is only one point below that of CBS. We also find that CBS and ABC usually jockey for least violent network: their rankings see-saw back and forth. CBS, though, has been the least violent network more often than ABC.

As we have found every year, there is considerable variation in the amount of violence measured in different genres of programming. Table 6 presents trends in Violence Indices from 1967-68 to 1979 and also the amount of change -- increases or decreases -- from 1978 to 1979. On the surface, there is a lot of variation in the 1978 and 1979 Indices, with considerable reductions in many program genres. At the same time, however, there are many large increases. Overall, networks or genres or time periods that were unusually low last year are the ones which showed increases this year; the reductions tend to be found where last year's Index was unusually high.

The largest increase was a jump of 126 points for NBC's early evening programs (this follows a reduction of 116 points between the 1977 and 1978 seasons). The CBS early evening time slot has the next largest increase -- 79 points. New programs aired during prime time in 1979 also showed a very sizable jump of 76 points over last year's entries; but weekend-daytime programs decreased by 41 points. Both prime-time and weekend-daytime programs that were carried over from the previous season showed decreases in the amount of violence; movie and cartoon violence was also down considerably from 1978. Violence in prime-time comic-tone programs was up, but down

Table 5
 Network Ranking by Violence Index
 (1967-1979)

	¹ 67, 68			¹ 69, 70			¹ 71, 72			² 73, 74			² 1975			³ 1976			³ 1977			1978			1979			1967-1979					
<u>All Programs</u>	ABC	210		NBC	204		NBC	195		NBC	182		NBC	194		NBC	224		NBC	190		ABC	186		CBS	190		NBC	194		NBC	194	
	NBC	204		CBS	173		CBS	170		CBS	173		ABC	186		ABC	207		CBS	159		CBS	183		NBC	179		NBC	179		ABC	173	
	CBS	159		ABC	162		ABC	159		ABC	170		CBS	153		CBS	182		ABC	154		NBC	179		ABC	145		ABC	145		CBS	170	
<u>Prime-Time Programs</u>	ABC	203		NBC	176		NBC	187		NBC	168		NBC	182		NBC	212		NBC	188		NBC	159		NBC	175		NBC	175		NBC	182	
	NBC	201		CBS	129		CBS	150		ABC	160		ABC	180		ABC	196		CBS	146		ABC	165		CBS	173		CBS	173		ABC	156	
	CBS	128		ABC	119		ABC	146		CBS	152		CBS	122		CBS	150		ABC	136		CBS	136		ABC	116		ABC	116		CBS	142	
<u>8-9 P.M. EST Programs</u>	NBC	201		NBC	161		NBC	175		ABC	156		NBC	133		ABC	197		NBC	188		ABC	167		NBC	198		NBC	198		NBC	158	
	ABC	200		CBS	123		ABC	140		NBC	125		ABC	129		NBC	139		ABC	126		CBS	93		CBS	172		CBS	172		ABC	145	
	CBS	157		ABC	105		CBS	132		CBS	117		CBS	46		CBS	102		CBS	123		NBC	72		ABC	116		ABC	116		CBS	119	
<u>9-11 P.M. EST Programs</u>	ABC	209		NBC	196		NBC	200		NBC	207		ABC	222		NBC	282		NBC	188		NBC	230		CBS	174		NBC	206		NBC	206	
	NBC	201		ABC	146		CBS	161		CBS	181		NBC	222		ABC	196		CBS	166		ABC	184		NBC	160		ABC	168		ABC	168	
	CBS	92		CBS	137		ABC	150		ABC	164		CBS	171		CBS	175		ABC	143		CBS	158		ABC	115		ABC	115		CBS	160	
<u>Weekend-Daytime Programs</u>	CBS	257		NBC	278		NBC	220		CBS	219		NBC	227		NBC	264		ABC	216		ABC	253		CBS	224		CBS	226		CBS	226	
	ABC	242		CBS	250		CBS	210		NBC	208		CBS	210		CBS	239		CBS	206		CBS	253		ABC	223		ABC	225		NBC	225	
	NBC	229		ABC	239		ABC	192		ABC	190		ABC	200		ABC	237		NBC	206		NBC	238		NBC	186		ABC	214		ABC	214	

¹ These figures are based upon two samples collected in the fall of each of these years.
² The figures for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
³ The fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend-morning of network dramatic programs.

Table 6

Summary of Violence Index
(1967-1979)

	1		1		2		3		1979	Change 1978 to 1979
	67.68	69.70	71.72	73.74	1975	1976	1977	1978		
All Programs	190	178	174	175	177	204	166	183	174	-9
Prime-Time	176	140	159	159	160	183	154	153	153	0
Weekend-Morning	242	253	208	205	211	247	209	249	210	-39
8-9 P.M. EST Programs	186	127	150	134	104	145	140	116	156	+40
9-11 P.M. EST Programs	162	158	167	183	203	209	165	180	150	-30
Cartoons	246	254	224	211	228	273	228	252	226	-26
TV Plays	173	137	140	145	149	185	137	137	129	-8
Movies	211	198	226	229	252	220	265	248	207	-41
Comic Tone Programs	144	183	144	161	162	227	151	203	187	-16
Prime-Time	108	72	76	48	70	133	99	119	144	+25
Weekend A.M.	222	265	202	225	229	270	241	274	226	-48
Serious Tone Programs	-	187	208	206	206	216	203	192	189	-3
Prime-Time	-	187	210	212	211	214	209	183	187	+4
Weekend A.M.	-	207	167	171	183	228	181	230	200	-30
Continued Programs	182	173	175	176	181	197	174	190	153	-37
Prime-Time	171	149	155	158	168	180	166	169	136	-33
Weekend A.M.	231	251	217	212	207	244	215	246	203	-43
New Programs	201	188	172	173	168	216	154	165	200	+35
Prime-Time	184	119	166	165	145	192	134	112	188	+76
Weekend A.M.	253	256	192	189	221	250	203	255	214	-41
Actions Programs	236	226	220	220	213	231	214	207	207	0
Prime-Time	237	221	223	230	220	234	219	185	226	+41
Weekend A.M.	256	254	225	208	206	230	209	239	198	-41
ABC Programs	210	162	159	170	186	207	154	186	145	-41
CBS Programs	159	173	170	173	153	182	159	183	190	+7
NBC Programs	204	204	195	182	194	224	190	179	179	0
Prime-Time Programs										
ABC	203	119	146	160	180	196	136	165	116	-49
CBS	128	129	150	152	122	150	146	136	173	+37
NBC	201	176	187	168	182	212	188	159	175	+16
8-9 P.M. EST Programs										
ABC	200	105	140	156	129	197	126	167	116	-51
CBS	157	123	132	117	46	102	123	93	172	+79
NBC	201	161	175	125	133	139	188	72	198	+126
9-11 P.M. EST Programs										
ABC	209	146	150	164	222	196	143	164	115	-49
CBS	92	137	161	181	171	175	166	158	174	+16
NBC	201	196	200	207	222	282	188	230	160	-70
Action Programs										
ABC	241	223	225	218	211	251	208	230	213	-17
CBS	234	238	230	235	224	206	231	192	194	+2
NBC	235	221	209	209	207	234	204	202	214	+12
Weekend A.M. Programs										
ABC	242	239	192	190	200	237	216	253	223	-30
CBS	257	250	210	219	210	239	206	253	224	-29
NBC	229	278	220	208	227	264	206	238	186	-52
Cartoon Programs										
ABC	242	239	226	189	202	239	217	253	238	-15
CBS	257	252	219	225	240	263	243	260	238	-22
NBC	237	280	231	224	258	333	219	238	198	-40

1 These figures are based upon two samples collected in the fall of each of these years.

2 The figures for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

3 The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend-morning of network dramatic programs.

in weekend-daytime (children's) comic-tone shows. Similar patterns appeared for action programs -- prime-time action programs had more violence while weekend-daytime action programs had less violence.

One of the most interesting components of the violence index is the rate of violent actions per hour of programming. This measure is calculated by dividing the total number of violent actions within a particular program classification by the total number of hours of programming within that classification. This measure thus controls for the variability in program length and gives an idea of the hourly saturation of violence.

Overall, as seen in Table 7, the 1979 sample of dramatic programs exhibited a net loss of .2 acts per hour; but this is not the complete picture. Prime-time programs have increased slightly (1.2 acts of violence per hour) while weekend-daytime programs show a large decrease. Specifically, the number of violent actions per hour of weekend-daytime programming dropped 8.8 acts -- there were 25.0 acts per hour in 1978 and only 17.2 acts per hour in 1979. The rate of violence per hour of early evening programming increased by 2.3 acts, and the number of acts per hour of late evening programming increased marginally (.4 acts per hour).

Almost across the board, weekend-daytime (children's) programming shows the largest and most consistent decreases in this measure of saturation, especially for programs broadcast by ABC and NBC. (These networks had an average drop of about 10 acts per hour.)

The more things change...

One of the most intriguing characteristics of violence on television is its overall stability and regularity, despite fluctuations by network, genre and time period. For example, the percent of programs containing violence has been strikingly consistent since 1967. Table 8 shows that over the past 13 years there are no significant differences in the proportion of programs which include violence, whether we look at the entire sample, at prime-time or at weekend-daytime.

The number of violent actions per program tells a basically similar story, but here there are important exceptions by time period. For all programs, the yearly means show no significant differences. Yet for prime-time programs, there is a significant linear trend -- even though the means do not differ significantly, there is an overall pattern of increases in the number of violent actions per program. This is probably due to the relatively low frequencies of violent actions between 1968 and 1971 (the mean number of violent actions per program has not been less than 4.4 since 1973). Thus, if anything, the past decade has seen an increase in the number of violent acts on prime-time programs.

On weekend-daytime (children's) shows, on the other hand, there is a significant non-linear trend. The number of violent actions on weekend-daytime programs exhibits an almost cyclical regularity, down one year, up the next. And, the fluctuations seem to be getting more extreme; the 1978 figure (7.46 violent actions per program) was the highest in our series, and the 1979 figure (4.58) is the second lowest.

Table 7
Rate of Violent Actions per Hour of Programming
(1967-1979)

	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	1979	Change 1978 to 1979
	67,68	69,70	71,72	73,74	1975	1976	1977	1978		
All Programs	7.2	8.1	7.2	6.9	7.7	9.5	6.7	8.3	8.1	-.2
Prime-Time	5.2	3.9	4.8	5.3	6.0	6.1	5.5	4.5	5.7	+1.2
Weekend-Morning	22.3	25.5	16.0	12.6	14.2	22.4	15.6	25.0	17.2	-8.8
8-9 P.M. EST Programs	6.4	3.9	4.8	4.3	4.1	4.7	5.3	4.0	6.3	+2.3
9-11 P.M. EST Programs	3.8	3.9	4.8	6.1	6.9	6.4	5.7	4.8	5.2	+.4
Cartoons	22.5	26.3	18.2	14.6	18.7	34.0	19.8	26.2	18.6	-7.6
TV Plays	5.9	4.3	4.8	4.8	5.5	6.7	4.4	3.8	5.2	+1.4
Movies	3.4	3.4	5.0	6.1	7.3	6.2	8.3	6.5	4.9	-1.6
Comic-Tone Programs	6.3	13.5	9.7	10.4	11.0	20.3	9.1	17.9	14.1	-3.8
Prime-Time	3.2	2.0	2.1	2.2	3.1	4.0	4.3	6.3	8.9	+2.6
Weekend A.M.	19.9	28.4	17.1	17.0	19.4	31.8	25.1	35.7	23.5	-12.2
Serious-Tone Programs	-	5.4	5.4	6.4	7.1	7.3	6.9	5.3	6.4	+1.1
Prime-Time	-	4.7	5.4	6.4	6.9	6.8	6.7	4.2	5.8	+1.6
Weekend A.M.	-	17.4	4.5	6.0	8.6	12.2	9.2	14.4	12.0	-2.4
Continued Programs	6.8	6.6	8.1	6.8	8.1	9.1	6.9	8.5	6.5	-2.0
Prime-Time	5.3	4.1	4.9	5.1	6.3	6.3	6.0	5.2	4.8	-.4
Weekend A.M.	20.5	24.4	19.6	13.2	14.0	23.1	17.2	24.3	17.9	-6.4
New Programs	7.8	11.1	5.8	7.2	7.0	10.4	6.3	7.9	11.2	+3.3
Prime-Time	5.0	3.4	4.6	5.8	5.3	5.5	4.5	2.2	7.9	+5.7
Weekend A.M.	23.8	26.4	10.2	11.2	15.1	21.7	14.3	26.5	16.7	-9.8
Action Programs	9.1	11.1	8.7	8.0	8.2	9.2	8.4	9.5	9.0	-.5
Prime-Time	6.7	5.8	6.2	7.0	7.2	8.1	7.5	5.2	7.0	+1.8
Weekend A.M.	24.4	27.1	18.7	12.1	12.1	14.8	13.9	19.4	13.9	-5.5
ABC Programs	7.7	7.8	6.9	6.7	8.4	8.9	6.0	8.1	6.4	-1.7
CBS Programs	6.3	8.0	7.7	7.4	6.4	8.3	7.4	9.8	9.9	+.1
NBC Programs	7.7	8.5	7.0	6.7	8.4	11.1	6.4	6.9	7.7	+.8
Prime-Time Programs	6.0	3.7	4.8	5.3	7.2	6.5	4.5	6.6	4.2	-.4
ABC	3.7	3.4	4.7	5.7	4.5	4.7	6.4	4.4	5.9	+1.5
CBS	5.8	4.5	4.8	4.8	6.1	6.9	5.3	6.6	6.9	+2.3
NBC										
8-9 P.M. EST Programs	7.5	3.3	4.8	5.2	5.1	7.0	4.5	3.4	4.6	+1.2
ABC	5.3	3.9	4.7	4.6	2.1	2.2	5.9	2.9	6.8	+3.9
CBS	6.3	4.6	4.9	3.1	4.6	4.8	5.4	5.6	7.7	+2.1
NBC										
9-11 P.M. EST Programs	4.3	4.1	4.8	5.4	8.5	6.3	4.6	5.4	3.8	-1.6
ABC	2.1	3.0	4.7	6.3	5.5	5.6	6.8	4.9	5.2	+.3
CBS	5.2	4.5	4.8	6.3	6.8	8.7	5.3	4.1	6.2	+2.1
NBC										
Action Programs	8.7	11.8	8.7	7.9	9.4	11.7	9.0	11.8	9.3	-2.5
ABC	10.8	12.5	10.2	9.4	7.9	7.5	9.5	7.5	8.6	+1.1
CBS	8.5	9.7	7.5	6.9	7.3	8.7	7.1	10.2	9.1	-1.1
NBC										
Weekend A.M. Programs	21.3	24.6	14.7	11.4	13.0	19.0	16.0	26.3	15.8	-10.5
ABC	24.2	22.6	17.4	13.4	12.2	19.2	15.2	26.8	23.7	-3.1
CBS	21.2	31.6	15.6	12.9	18.0	29.4	15.7	20.6	10.5	-10.1
NBC										
Cartoon Programs	21.3	24.6	17.5	12.1	13.9	21.5	18.5	26.3	16.7	-9.6
ABC	25.2	24.0	19.6	15.3	19.9	29.7	21.5	30.2	24.2	-6.0
CBS	21.7	32.6	17.1	17.2	24.5	59.5	18.7	20.6	11.6	-9.0
NBC										

1 These figures are based upon two samples collected in the fall of each of these years.
 2 The figures for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 3 The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend-morning of network dramatic programs.

Table 8
Percent of Programs Containing Violence and
Number of Violent Acts per Hour (1967-1979)

Year	Percent of Programs Containing Violence			Number of Violent Acts per Program		
	All Programs	Prime Time	Weekend Daytime	All Programs	Prime Time	Weekend Daytime
1967	81.3	75.0	93.8	4.98	5.11	4.72
1968	81.6	75.4	93.3	4.53	3.89	5.73
1969	83.5	70.3	98.3	5.21	3.63	6.98
1970	77.5	62.3	96.0	4.49	3.31	5.92
1971	80.6	75.8	87.8	4.69	3.85	5.95
1972	79.0	71.7	90.0	5.39	4.90	6.13
1973	72.7	59.7	94.9	5.29	4.47	6.68
1974	83.3	77.6	92.1	5.44	5.66	5.11
1975 *	78.1	66.7	94.9	5.38	5.51	5.18
1975	78.4	69.7	91.1	5.64	5.47	5.89
1976 *	76.5	67.7	89.4	4.86	5.22	4.34
1976	89.1	80.3	100.0	6.18	5.61	6.90
1977 **	76.9	66.2	90.6	5.20	5.46	4.87
1978	84.7	74.6	97.9	5.79	4.52	7.46
1979	80.9	70.3	91.9	4.98	5.37	4.58
TOTAL	80.3	70.8	93.6	5.21	4.81	5.77
Significance of differences between means	.38	.47	.47	.61	.32	.001
Significance of linearity	.74	.92	.83	.09	.02	.29
Significance of deviations from linearity	.32	.40	.40	.77	.69	.000

* Spring sample; all others are fall sample
 ** Does not include second week of prime-time programming used in
 sampling experiment
 Total N = 1603 Programs (935 Prime-Time, 668 Weekend Daytime)

The Portrayal of Violence

The assessment of violence in television programming is much more than counting acts of violence. Violence generally serves several important functions in a program. It may be used to create attention as well as tension and/or excitement. Violence also illustrates who is strong and who is weak. The plot reveals who can use violence without repercussion, who is most severely punished for using violence as well as which types of characters are more or less likely to suffer consequences of violence. Thus, violence in dramatic programming serves primarily to create a scenario of social relationships and power.

We isolate violence in characterizations by two measures -- the percent of characters who are involved in violence and risk-ratios. A character who is involved in violence may commit and/or suffer violence. That is, the character may hurt someone, be hurt, or both. Characters may also be involved in killing -- that is, they may kill, be killed, or both. Hurting and killing represent different symbolic (as well as human) functions. Hurting controls behavior (usually against the injured party's will) while killing terminates the role.

Risk-ratios, on the other hand, reveal how a character usually fares once involved in violence -- whether this particular type of character is more likely to be victimized or to commit violence (violent-victim ratio) or to kill or be killed (killer-killed ratio). These ratios are calculated within a number of different dramatic and social groups of characters.

The measure of involvement in violence and/or killing may range from 0 to 100 percent of a particular group of characters. Risk-ratios are calculated by dividing the more numerous of these two violence roles by the less numerous within each group. A plus sign indicates that there are more violent and/or killers, a minus sign that there are more victims and/or killed. A ratio of 1.00 means that they are even; a ratio of 0.0 means that there are none. When there are only violent or only killers in a particular group, the ratio will read +0.00; and if there are only victims or only killed the ratio will read -0.00.

Tables 9, 10, and 11 present the number of major characters, the percent of major characters involved in violence, and the violent-victim and killer-killed ratios for several social and demographic groups. Table 9 presents the basic trends over the past 11 years (1969 - 1979)*, Table 10 presents these measures for prime-time programs and Table 11 for weekend-daytime programs.

In prime-time programs, the percent of characters involved in violence has remained fairly steady for the past 11 years. More males than females are so involved: the 11 year average is 60 percent for male characters and

* This part of the report uses data collected from 1969 because data on some characterization items were not collected in 1967-68.

Table 9
RISK RATIOS¹
 Trends of Risk Ratios for All Characters
 (1969-1979)

		All Characters			Male Characters			Female Characters					
		N	Involvement in Violence	Violent-Victim Ratio	Killer-Killed Ratio	N	Involvement in Violence	Violent-Victim Ratio	Killer-Killed Ratio	N	Involvement in Violence	Violent-Victim Ratio	Killer-Killed Ratio
All Programs	1969-1979	4330	.63.3	-1.19	+1.92	3222	68.3	-1.17	+2.04	1040	45.9	-1.32	+1.19
	1969-1970	573	65.1	-1.17	+1.59	441	70.5	-1.15	+2.00	123	43.9	-1.26	-4.00
	1971-1972	552	59.8	-1.18	+2.05	405	66.2	-1.13	+2.15	138	39.1	-1.56	-2.00
	1973-1974	987	61.4	-1.32	+1.83	741	66.4	-1.29	+1.92	240	45.4	-1.47	+1.29
	1975	664	64.2	-1.23	+1.72	522	68.6	-1.25	+1.70	129	43.4	-1.18	+2.00
	1976	290	74.8	-1.07	+2.11	218	79.8	-1.08	+2.50	67	56.7	-1.03	+1.33
	1977	585	60.9	-1.06	+3.00	413	66.3	-1.05	+2.80	168	47.0	-1.13	+0.00
	1978	298	64.8	-1.36	+1.50	198	67.2	-1.21	+1.50	91	56.0	-2.14	+1.50
	1979	381	62.7	-1.06	+2.40	284	67.6	-1.10	+2.75	84	42.9	-1.07	1.00
Prime-Time Programs	1969-1979	2797	54.5	-1.10	+2.00	1980	60.3	-1.07	+2.13	814	40.2	-1.25	+1.21
	1969-1970	350	49.4	-1.17	+1.71	249	55.8	-1.14	+2.30	101	33.7	-1.33	-4.00
	1971-1972	386	53.9	-1.11	+2.20	276	60.9	-1.06	+2.33	109	35.8	-1.45	-2.00
	1973-1974	609	53.7	-1.14	+1.84	441	60.5	-1.11	+1.95	168	35.7	-1.27	+1.29
	1975	431	55.0	-1.13	+1.87	324	61.4	-1.11	+1.77	107	35.5	-1.27	+4.00
	1976	172	67.4	+1.03	+2.13	119	72.3	+1.01	+2.50	53	56.6	+1.09	1.00
	1977	440	55.5	+1.01	+3.00	299	60.2	+1.05	+2.80	140	45.0	-1.13	+0.00
	1978	191	52.9	-1.33	+1.50	120	55.0	-1.13	+1.50	71	49.3	-1.94	+1.50
	1979	218	53.7	-1.03	+2.40	152	57.9	-1.03	+2.75	65	43.1	-1.09	1.00
Weekend-Daytime Programs	1969-1979	1533	79.4	-1.31	-1.11	1242	81.2	-1.31	-1.14	226	66.4	-1.43	1.00
	1969-1970	223	89.7	-1.17	1.00	192	89.6	-1.16	1.00	22	90.9	-1.14	0.00
	1971-1972	166	73.5	-1.31	-2.00	129	77.5	-1.27	-2.00	29	51.7	-1.86	0.00
	1973-1974	378	73.8	-1.63	+1.50	300	75.0	-1.59	+1.50	72	68.1	-1.82	0.00
	1975	233	81.1	-1.38	-0.00	198	80.3	-1.45	-0.00	22	81.8	1.00	-0.00
	1976	118	85.6	-1.19	+2.00	99	88.9	-1.17	0.00	14	57.1	-1.60	+2.00
	1977	145	77.2	-1.22	0.00	114	82.5	-1.26	0.00	28	57.1	-1.09	0.00
	1978	107	86.0	-1.39	0.00	78	85.9	-1.30	0.00	20	80.0	-2.80	0.00
	1979	163	74.8	-1.10	0.00	132	78.8	-1.17	0.00	19	42.1	1.00	0.00

¹ Risk Ratios are obtained by dividing the more numerous of these two roles by the less numerous within each group. A plus sign indicates that there are more violent or killers than victims or killed and a minus sign indicates that there are more victims or killed than violent or killers. A ratio of 0.00 means that there were no victims or killers or violent or killed. A +0.00 means that there were some violent or killers but no victims or killed; a -0.00 ratio means that there were victims or killed but no violent or killers.

only 40 percent for females. In the 1979 season there is a slight increase in involvement scores for males, and a reduction of about six percentage points for females.

The risk-ratios are also fairly stable for prime-time characters but we do see that in most years women are much more likely to be victimized than are males. Killer-killed ratios exhibit much more fluctuation than violent-victim ratios, especially for women. Among males, however, during each year included in the study, more males kill than are killed, usually at the rate of two to one. Killer-killed ratios for female characters jump around and the trends are certainly not stable. The 11 year average reveals that women are slightly more likely to kill than to be killed but there are wide differences from year to year. For example, in the very early years of the study, women were four times as likely to be killed as to kill, but in 1975 they were four times as likely to kill as to be killed. In the 1978 season there were 15 killers for every 10 who were killed, but in the present 1979 sample, the number of women who are killers is exactly the same as the number who are killed.

Involvement in violence is a much more prevalent aspect of both male and female characterizations in weekend-daytime programs -- the 11 year average reveals that more than 8 out of 10 males and two-thirds of the females are involved in violence. For the most part, these measures are fairly stable. We do find, however, that in the present season, the percent of women involved in violence has dropped considerably -- from 80 percent in 1978 to only 42.1 percent in 1979. This present level is considerably below the typical yearly figure and it will be interesting to see whether or not this continues as a trend. The percent of males involved in violence also decreased slightly in 1979.

Turning to Table 10, when we examine the percent of characters in each demographic and social group who are involved in violence, we find fairly stable levels. In prime-time programs, different social types of female characters show more fluctuation than corresponding male characters. Male characters, in all social groups except older men, "bad" men and non-American men, range between 50 and 60 percent. Older men are less likely to be involved in violence (only 44.8 percent) while "bad" men and non-American men are more likely to be so involved -- 86.6 percent of the "bad" men and 78.0 percent of the non-American men.

Female characters exhibit some of the same patterns. Older women are less likely to be involved in violence (only 26.1 percent), while "bad" women are much more likely to be so involved (73.5 percent). Women in minority racial groups are also very unlikely to be involved in violence -- only 22.2 percent.

In weekend-daytime programs (Table 11) there is generally less fluctuation but also some of the same patterns. An interesting difference is that older women in children's programs are about as likely as "bad" women to be involved in violence -- more than 8 out of 10 are involved. In general, most groups of weekend-daytime characters are involved in violence and at fairly high levels.

Our analysis of the 1979 sample of dramatic programs reveals that violence continues to demonstrate patterns of unequal relative risks among

Table 10

1
RISK RATIOS
Major Characters in Prime-Time Programs
(1969-1979)

	All Characters				Male Characters				Female Characters			
	N	Involved in Violence	Violent-Victim Ratio	Killer-Killed Ratio	N	Involved in Violence	Violent-Victim Ratio	Killer-Killed Ratio	N	Involved in Violence	Violent-Victim Ratio	Killer-Killed Ratio
All Characters	2797	54.5	-1.10	+2.00	1980	60.3	-1.07	+2.13	814	40.2	-1.25	+1.21
Social Age												
Children-Adolescents	187	45.5	-1.31	+4.00	125	51.2	-1.39	+4.00	62	33.9	-1.08	0.00
Young Adults	609	58.5	-1.20	+2.14	384	64.6	-1.09	+2.26	225	48.0	-1.52	+1.60
Settled Adults	1850	54.0	-1.05	+2.08	1361	60.1	-1.04	+2.16	489	37.0	-1.09	+1.50
Older Adults	90	40.0	-1.08	-1.40	67	44.8	+1.15	+1.25	23	26.1	-6.00	-0.00
Marital Status												
Not Married	1297	59.1	-1.11	+1.97	902	64.0	-1.06	+2.14	377	47.5	-1.31	+1.10
Married	953	43.9	-1.21	+1.63	591	51.3	-1.19	+1.76	362	31.8	-1.27	+1.11
Social Class												
Clearly Upper	232	57.3	-1.30	+1.56	156	66.7	-1.15	+1.64	76	38.2	-2.36	+1.25
Mixed	2459	53.8	-1.08	+2.19	1742	59.4	-1.05	+2.33	714	39.9	-1.17	+1.21
Clearly Lower	106	64.2	-1.24	-1.11	82	67.1	-1.16	-1.13	24	54.2	-1.71	1.00
Race												
White	2486	54.9	-1.10	+2.03	1742	60.6	-1.06	+2.19	744	41.5	-1.23	+1.26
Other	272	46.0	-1.13	+1.69	209	53.1	-1.07	+1.69	63	22.2	-1.86	0.00
Character Type												
"Good"	1614	50.2	-1.13	+2.67	1108	56.4	-1.07	+3.50	506	36.8	-1.40	-2.67
Mixed	850	50.7	-1.18	+1.54	589	54.8	-1.18	+1.47	258	40.7	-1.22	+1.80
"Bad"	332	84.6	+1.06	+1.97	283	86.6	+1.04	+1.98	49	73.5	+1.24	+1.83
Nationality												
U.S.	2567	53.1	-1.10	+2.13	1819	58.8	-1.06	+2.29	748	39.3	-1.27	+1.19
Other	142	68.3	-1.22	+1.40	160	78.0	-1.21	+1.36	42	45.2	-1.25	+2.00

1
Risk Ratios are obtained by dividing the more numerous of these two roles by the less numerous within each group. A plus sign indicates that there are more violent or killers than victims or killed and a minus sign indicates that there are more victims or killed than violent or killers. A ratio of 0.00 means that there were no victims or killers or violent or killed. A +0.00 ratio means that there were some violent or killers but no victims or killed; a -0.00 ratio means that there were victims or killed but no violent or killers.

Table 11
 1
 RISK RATIOS
 Major Characters in Weekend-Daytime Programs
 (1969-1979)

	All Characters			Male Characters			Female Characters					
	N	Involvement in Violence	Violent-Victim Ratio	Killer-Killed Ratio	N	Involvement in Violence	Violent-Victim Ratio	Killer-Killed Ratio	N	Involvement in Violence	Violent-Victim Ratio	Killer-Killed Ratio
All Characters	1533	79.4	-1.31	-1.11	1242	81.2	-1.31	-1.14	226	66.4	-1.48	1.00
Social Age												
Children-Adolescents	251	70.9	-1.73	0.00	189	74.1	-1.84	0.00	60	61.7	-1.44	0.00
Young Adults	278	75.5	-1.67	-0.00	203	78.3	-1.52	-0.00	71	66.2	-2.39	-0.00
Settled Adults	576	79.0	-1.29	+1.67	506	80.8	-1.28	+1.50	69	65.2	-1.33	+2.00
Older Adults	25	68.0	-1.23	0.00	19	63.2	-1.10	0.00	6	83.3	-1.67	0.00
Marital Status												
Not Married	772	76.4	-1.35	1.00	601	79.2	-1.33	-2.00	159	65.4	-1.55	+0.00
Married	102	61.8	-1.62	1.00	78	65.4	-1.70	+0.00	24	50.0	-1.29	-0.00
Social Class												
Clearly Upper	51	72.5	-1.52	0.00	38	73.7	-1.65	0.00	13	69.2	-1.17	0.00
Mixed	1453	79.4	-1.31	-1.11	1176	81.2	-1.31	-1.14	212	66.5	-1.51	1.00
Clearly Lower	29	89.7	-1.25	0.00	28	92.9	-1.25	0.00	1	0.0	0.00	0.00
Race												
White	888	73.8	-1.41	1.00	700	76.0	-1.40	-1.33	188	65.4	-1.43	+2.00
Other	110	80.9	-1.77	0.00	92	81.5	-1.76	0.00	15	73.3	-2.00	0.00
Character Type												
"Good"	887	73.7	-1.49	+0.00	690	76.1	-1.49	+0.00	167	62.3	-1.71	+0.00
Mixed	365	83.6	-1.27	-0.00	306	84.3	-1.28	-0.00	32	68.8	-1.45	-0.00
"Bad"	280	91.8	-1.05	-1.67	245	91.8	-1.06	-1.33	27	88.9	+1.05	-0.00
Nationality												
U.S.	807	73.0	-1.47	+1.33	646	75.1	-1.44	1.00	151	63.6	-1.68	+2.00
Other	130	80.0	-1.40	-0.00	109	84.4	-1.35	-0.00	21	57.1	-1.83	0.00

1
 Risk Ratios are obtained by dividing the more numerous of these two roles by the less numerous within each group. A plus sign indicates that there are more violent or killers than victims or killed and a minus sign indicates that there are more victims or killed than violent or killers. A ratio of 0.00 means that there were no victims or killers or violent or killed. A +0.00 ratio means that there were some violent or killers but no victims or killed; a -0.00 ratio means that there were victims or killed but no violent or killers.

major characters in different age, sex, and social groups. Since 1969, certain groups of major characters are more likely to be hurt than to do any hurting.

In prime-time programs (Table 10), women are more likely to be victimized than to inflict violence upon others. And, in fact, when we rank the violent-victim ratios for male and female characters, we find that there is only one group of male characters -- young boys -- among the ten groups who are most likely to be victimized. Older women are especially likely to suffer violent fates -- for every older woman who commits violence, 6 times as many are victimized.

Victimization is especially prevalent among women who portray various kinds of minority groups -- among upper class women 24 are victimized for every 10 who inflict violence; among "other" racial groups, there are 19 victims for every 10 who commit violence; and among lower class women, 17 are hurt for every 10 who hurt others. Young women also exhibit a high ratio -- for every 10 who inflict violence, 15 are victimized.

There are only three groups who are more likely to hurt others than to be hurt themselves. These are "bad" men, older men, and "bad" women. "Bad" women show the highest positive ratio -- in this case there are 12 women who commit violence for every 10 who are victimized.

In prime-time programs, in regard to victimization, there are also some very interesting differences among male-female portrayals. We have noted that older women are the most likely group to be victimized and that they have a very high ratio of victimization as compared to committing violence. Older men, on the other hand, are much more likely to commit violence than to be hurt. For every 10 older men who are hurt, 11.5 hurt others. But when we look at younger characters, an entirely different pattern emerges. In this case the young girls are about equally likely to commit as to suffer violence while young boys are more likely to be victimized. For every ten boys who commit violence, 14 are victimized; while for every ten girls who commit violence, only 10.8 are victimized.

The patterns of committing and suffering violence are somewhat similar in weekend-daytime programs (see Table 11), but they are not as extreme as those uncovered in the analysis of prime-time programs. While women still predominate in the "ten most likely to be victimized" group, there are three groups of males -- boys, other race males, and married men -- who are also included. Among the characters in this sample of children's programs, young women are the ones most likely to be victimized -- there are 24 young female victims for every 10 young women who commit violence. Older women are ranked 8th in victimization potential -- for every 10 older women who hurt other characters, 17 are hurt. Older men are slightly more likely to be victimized -- 11 are hurt for every 10 who hurt others.

In weekend-daytime programs, "bad" characters are also the last in line: "bad" men exhibit a negative ratio -- that is, they are slightly more likely to be victimized than to commit violence (for every 10 who hurt others, only 10.6 are hurt), while "bad" women are slightly more likely to commit violence than be hurt (for every 10 women who are victimized, 10.5 commit violence.) "Bad" women are also the only group of characters in children's programming who are more likely to commit violence than to be a victim.

Cultivation Analysis

Cultivation analysis is the study of what is usually called effects or impact. We consider the latter terms inappropriate to the study of broad cultural influences. The "effects" of a pervasive medium upon the composition and structure of the symbolic environment are subtle, complex and mingled with other influences. Also, the concept of causation, borrowed from simpler experimental studies in the physical and biological sciences, is not fully applicable to the steady flow of images and messages that make up much of contemporary popular culture.

Questions about the influence of a broad medium of enculturation are very different from the usual research questions about individual messages, campaigns, or programs. Thus, the traditional procedures used in media effects research are not always appropriate to the study of television.

First, we cannot presume consequences, as conventional research paradigms often do, without prior investigation of content. Nor can the study of content be limited to isolated elements (such as news, commercials, or particular programs) taken out of context, or to the selections made by individual viewers.

We have argued that the world of television is an aggregate system of stories and images. Only a system-wide analysis of these messages can lead to understanding the facts, lessons, and contours of the symbolic world which structures common assumptions and definitions for viewers and provides the basis for interaction (though not necessarily agreement) among large and heterogeneous communities. The system as a whole plays a major role in setting the agenda of issues that people will agree or disagree about; it may shape the most pervasive norms and cultivate the dominant perspectives of society.

Although a conventional research assumption is that the experiment is the most powerful method, and that change (in attitudes, opinions, likes-dislikes, etc., toward or conveyed by "variable X") is the most significant outcome to measure, experiments are not suited to study television's long range effects. In the ideal experiment, subjects are exposed to "X" and the researcher assesses salient aspects of these receivers both before and after exposure, and compares the change, if any, to data obtained from a control group (identical in all relevant ways to the experimental group) who have not received "X". No change or no difference means no effect.

When "X" is television, however, we must turn this paradigm around: stability (or even resistance to change) may be a significant outcome of viewing. Moreover, if nearly everyone "lives" to some extent in the world of television,* clearly we cannot find unexposed (control) groups who are identical in all important respects to viewers. Finally, experimental designs are not the most appropriate way to study the effects of television because they are not comparable to people's day-to-day viewing habits, either in content or in context.

* Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, "The Nonviewers: Who Are They?" Journal of Communication, 1977, 48, 65-72.

We cannot isolate television from the mainstream of modern culture because it is the mainstream. We cannot look for change as the most significant accomplishment of the chief arm of established culture if its main social function is to maintain, reinforce, and exploit rather than to undermine or subvert prevalent conceptions, beliefs, and behaviors. The observed relative ineffectiveness of many isolated campaigns may itself be testimony to the power of mainstream communications.

Cultivation analysis begins with the patterns found in the "world" of television drama. The message system composing that world presents coherent images of life and society. How are these images reflected in the assumptions and values held by audiences? How are the "lessons" of symbolic behavior which are presented in fictional forms applied to conceptions about real life?

Our approach reflects the hypothesis that the more time one spends "living" in the world of television, the more likely one is to report perceptions of social reality which can be traced to (or are congruent with) television's representations of life and society. Accordingly, we examine the difference amount of viewing makes in people's images, expectations, and assumptions, particularly how this difference is independent of other social and demographic factors.

At the same time, we must acknowledge that even those whom we designate as "light" viewers may be watching up to 14 hours of television each week! Further, few people -- even the "absolute" non-viewers -- may be able to avoid or escape the consequences of living in a television saturated society. But what differentiates heavy viewers from light is the way television monopolizes and subsumes other sources of information, ideas, and consciousness. Given our premise that television's images present and perpetuate the norms and agendas of our culture's beliefs, ideologies, and world views, the observable (and measurable) effects of mass communication will usually be relatively small.

Our instruments cannot fully measure the depth and pervasiveness of television's gradual, subtle, and cumulative impact; they can only provide empirical hints and subtle trends. Thus, finding relatively small relationships is to be expected and does not necessarily falsify cultivation theory.

A Theoretical Refinement

The cultivation potential of television is very complex as well as subtle. Consequently there are many factors that must be examined and taken into consideration in postulating how television viewing will influence people's conceptions of social reality.

Until recently we have largely focused upon uni-directional effects. That is, we have hypothesized that, across-the-board, light viewers of television are less likely to give the "television answers" than are heavy viewers. Thus, as the amount of television viewing increases, we have looked for increases in the percentage of respondents who give the "television answer," both overall and within important subgroups. While this

theoretical perspective still holds and very often provides the most compelling evidence for cultivation, we have found, in a number of analyses, that cultivation is not always uni-directional. New evidence suggests a refinement of our theory to state that television cultivates a "mainstream" conception of life and society. That is, within certain subgroups, and depending upon baselines, both positive and/or negative correlations or cultivation differentials can be taken as evidence of cultivation. Thus, in some cases and in some groups, contrary results (those in the "unexpected" direction) may actually provide powerful and pervasive support for the notion that television cultivates common norms and perspectives -- that is, a "mainstream" view of the world.

"Mainstreaming" is, however, only one way to explain variations in cultivation patterns among different groups. There may be other factors, influences, and processes which might mediate or enhance cultivation in different ways. A further important aspect of the refinement of our theoretical perspective argues that cultivation may be most pronounced when other aspects of one's social environment are most congruent with (and thereby reinforce) television's messages -- that is, specific real-world circumstances may "resonate" with television's imagery and enhance the cultivation process. The analyses in this report provide numerous examples of both "mainstreaming" and "resonance."

Dimensions of Analysis

To investigate these ideas, we conduct several different types of analyses, ranging from simple to complex. In our simplest type of analysis, we partition the population and our samples according to television exposure. By contrasting light and heavy viewers, some of the "difference" television makes in people's conception of social reality can be examined. Of course, factors other than television viewing account for some of these differences. We, and others, have found that both heavy television viewing and certain outlooks are part and parcel of a complex syndrome which also includes lower education, lower mobility, lower aspirations, higher anxieties, and other class-, age-, and sex-related characteristics. Accordingly, analyses are designed with statistical controls for these and other demographic and descriptive variables. These characteristics are held constant by comparing responses of heavy and light viewers within relatively homogeneous groups. For example, college-educated respondents may answer differently than non-college respondents. Therefore, we examine heavy and light viewing respondents within the college and non-college groups as well as between them.

This type of crosstabular within-groups analysis does not, however, fully guard against spuriousness. That is, each individual control might explain only part of the observed association between amount of television viewing and some attitude, outlook or behavior, and implementing simultaneous controls for all of these demographic factors might fully eliminate the apparent evidence for cultivation. We would also add that finding that a relationship holds within one subgroup or another clearly does not insure that another variable is not a source of spuriousness, even within the particular group under investigation. Our latest analyses are thus designed to focus upon specific subgroups while we control for other potential

sources of variation. These analyses consist of the calculation of partial correlations for respondents within specific demographic classifications while simultaneously controlling for all relevant demographics. For example, we will examine non-white respondents while simultaneously controlling for their social class, newspaper reading habits, sex, education, and so on.

Samples of Respondents

To test our hypotheses we continually gather data reflecting television viewers' beliefs and behaviors. These data have been collected from samples diverse in characteristics such as age, location, and institutional affiliation.* Within each sample, television viewers' responses are further analyzed in terms of age, education, sex, and other social and personal characteristics.

The present analyses focus on four cross-sectional adult samples and one longitudinal adolescent sample. The adult samples are national, and the adolescents come from a public school in rural/suburban New Jersey. The samples are described in Figure 3.

ORC data** were contracted for by the Cultural Indicators Project as part of the March 1979 Opinion Research Corporation General Public Caravan Survey. The survey consisted of face-to-face interviews of national probability samples of men and women 18 years of age or over living in private households in the continental United States. The primary sampling unit (PSU) was the community, defined as those people included in the largest telephone book containing a randomly selected "minor civil division" (MCD). The MCD's came from sixty U.S. counties chosen by systematic random methods (with probability proportional to size of population). Within the community (PSU), individuals to be interviewed were chosen on the basis of randomly determined starting points, which became the first of a household cluster. In effect, interviewing thus proceeded, by neighborhood, and included households with and without listed telephone numbers.

The NEW JERSEY SCHOOL CHILDREN sample represents the second and third waves of a longitudinal panel study, which administered two questionnaires each year for a period of three years, personal interviews with the students, and questionnaires completed by their parents. The 349 respondents were students in a public school situated in rural/suburban New Jersey. These students were in the sixth through ninth grades in the second year of the study (1975-76). Data are presented here for all students who took part in the second and third years of the study. Questionnaires were completed at the school under group administration conditions supervised by Cultural Indicators staff members. The New Jersey sample is mostly white, and, like the adult samples, includes more females than males. Over half of the

* A full description of a number of earlier samples not analyzed in this report may be found in the Technical Report of Violence Profile No. 9.

** These data were collected as part of AoA grant No. 90-A-1299, "Aging with Television," George Gerbner, Larry Gross, and Nancy Signorielli, co-principal investigators.

<u>ORC</u>		<u>New Jersey School Children*</u>	
<u>Date</u>	March 1979	Dec. 1975; May 1976 Dec. 1976; May 1977	
<u>Location</u>	National	Rural/Suburban New Jersey	
<u>Sampling</u>	Probability, stratified by geographic area and cluster at neighborhood level	students in the second and third waves of a three-year study, from a population of a public middle school	
<u>Number of Respondents</u>	2060, unweighted 5762, weighted	349	
<u>Collection Organization</u>	Opinion Research Corporation	Cultural Indicators	
<u>Method of Collection</u>	Personal Interview	Self-Administered Questionnaire	
<u>Demographic</u>			
		%	%
<u>Sex</u>	male female	47.2 52.8	male female 44.4 55.6
<u>Age</u>	under 29 30-54 55 and over \bar{x} = 43.1	30.2 46.9 28.9	11-13 14 15-16 \bar{x} = 13.9 36.7 38.4 24.9
<u>Race</u>	white non-white	87.9 12.1	<u>Perceived Ethnicity</u> American Italian Black, Afro Jewish Other 77.4 6.1 1.6 4.2 10.7
<u>Education</u>	no college some college	70.4 29.6	<u>Parents' Education</u> neither parent went to college either parent or both went to college 44.3 55.7
<u>TV Viewing</u>			
<u>light</u>	under 2 hrs/day	30.9	under 3 hrs/day 26.9
<u>medium</u>	2 - 4 hrs/day	42.6	3 - 6 hrs/day 49.1
<u>heavy</u>	over 4 hrs/day	26.5	6 hrs/day and up \bar{x} = 4.41 24.0
<u>Newspaper Reading</u>			
<u>light</u>	less than daily	36.7	less than daily 54.3
<u>heavy</u>	daily	63.3	almost every day 45.7

*third wave data

Figure 3

Data Bases Used in Cultivation Analyses

<u>NORC 1975</u>		<u>NORC 1977</u>		<u>NORC 1978</u>	
<u>Date</u>	Mar.-Apr. 1975	Feb.-Mar. 1977	Feb.-Apr. 1978		
<u>Location</u>	National	National	National		
<u>Sampling</u>	Modified Probability, half block quota, half full probability	Full Probability, Household-based	Full Probability, Household-based		
<u>Number of Respondents</u>	1490	1530	1532		
<u>Collecting Organization</u>	National Opinion Research Center	National Opinion Research Center	National Opinion Research Center		
<u>Method of Collection</u>	Personal Interview	Personal Interview	Personal Interview		
<u>Demographic</u>					
		%	%	%	%
<u>Sex</u>	male female	45.0 55.0	male female 45.3 54.7	male female 42.0 58.0	
<u>Age</u>	under 29 30-54 over 55 \bar{x} = 44.3	27.3 42.6 30.1	under 29 30-54 over 55 \bar{x} = 44.6 24.2 45.0 30.0	under 29 30-54 over 55 \bar{x} = 44.0 26.7 43.5 29.8	
<u>Race</u>	white non-white	88.8 11.2	white non-white 81.3 12.5	white non-white 88.6 11.4	
<u>Education</u>	no college some college	69.7 30.3	no college some college 70.0 30.0	no college some college 67.2 32.8	
<u>TV Viewing</u>					
<u>light</u>	under 2 hrs/day	21.1	under 2 hrs/day 25.0	under 2 hrs/day 26.6	
<u>medium</u>	2 - 4 hrs/day	46.3	2 - 4 hrs/day 45.6	2 - 4 hrs/day 46.1	
<u>heavy</u>	over 4 hrs/day \bar{x} = 3.05	32.6	over 4 hrs/day \bar{x} = 2.93 29.4	over 4 hrs/day \bar{x} = 2.79 27.2	
<u>Newspaper Reading</u>					
<u>light</u>	less than daily	34.1	less than daily 37.7	less than daily 42.8	
<u>heavy</u>	daily	65.9	daily 62.3	daily 57.2	

Figure 3

Data Bases Used in Cultivation Analyses

continued

sample has at least one parent who attended college, but there is a high degree of socio-economic heterogeneity within the sample. In fact, the entire range of the Hollingshead SES index ($\bar{x} = 39.6$, s.d. = 17.3) is covered. IQ scores were available and range from 60 to 147 ($\bar{x} = 103.7$, s.d. = 13.3). Reported amount of daily viewing for all six administrations of the questionnaires is highly reliable, in terms of consistency, internal homogeneity, and unidimensionality; only one factor underlies the six measures, and Cronbach's alpha = .83.

NORC data come from the General Social Surveys. These surveys are conducted under the National Data Program for the Social Sciences, as part of its data diffusion project and continuing program of social indicators research. This report presents data from the 1975, 1977, and 1978 surveys. The 1975 study is mixed with respect to sampling technique: because of a transition to full probability sampling, it is one-half full-probability and one-half block-quota. The quota sample is a multi-stage area probability sample to the block or segment level. At the block level, however, quota sampling was used (interviewing occurred only after 3 p.m. on weekdays or during the weekend or holidays). Interviewers at the block or segment level traveled from the first dwelling unit of the northwest corner of the block and proceeded as specified until age, sex, and employment quotas were filled (based on the exact proportions in each segment determined by the 1970 Census tract data). The full probability samples in 1975, 1977, and 1978 are stratified, multi-stage, area probability samples of clusters of households in the continental United States. Households at which interviews took place were probabilistically selected from available lists of addresses for blocks and enumeration districts within Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas or counties.

Despite the four-year time span and varying sampling techniques, the four adult samples show very similar demographic profiles, particularly in regard to age, racial composition, and education. About 30% of each sample attended college, and about 88% of each sample is white. All contain more females than males, particularly the 1978 NORC General Social Survey (which is 58.0% female). The percentage of respondents watching over four hours of television a day shows a gradual but steady decline, from 32.6 in 1975 (NORC) to 26.5 in 1979 (ORC). Newspaper reading also declines with time among the NORC samples, but is a little higher in the ORC sample.

Development of Questions

The investigation of television's effects upon conceptions of social reality begins with systematic analysis of the world of television drama. Message system analysis reveals how certain "facts" and aspects of social reality are presented in television drama; these "facts" are then compared with other conceptions of the same "facts" and aspects derived from direct and independent observations, such as U.S. Census figures. For example, in prime-time television drama aired from 1969-76, 64 percent of major characters and 30 percent of all characters (major and minor*) were involved

* This report presents findings for major characters only.

in violence as either perpetrators or victims or both. According to the 1970 Census, there were only .32 violent crimes per 100 persons.* In the world of television, therefore, one has between a 30 and 64 percent chance of being involved in violence, but, in the real world, only a one-third of one percent chance.**

Once the "television view" and the "real world" or some other view of selected facts and aspects of social reality have been determined, we construct questions dealing with these facts and aspects of life. Each question has an inferred or objectively determined "television response" reflecting the "television view" of the fact as well as a "non-television answer." For example, one cultivation question asks: "During any given week, what are your chances of being involved in some kind of violence? About one in ten? About one in a hundred?" The first answer -- "about one in ten" -- more closely reflects the world of television and is used as the "television answer," while the "one in a hundred" more closely matches the U.S. Census data and reflects the real-life circumstances of most Americans.

Question Wordings

In this report we focus on a number of questions which seek to measure images of violence, attitudes of interpersonal mistrust, and alienation. This section presents the wordings of the specific items used, with the "television answer" underscored.

Three of Srole's "anomie"*** items were included in the 1977 NORC General Social Survey; here they are combined into an index. The items are:

In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better. (Agree, Disagree)

It's hardly fair to bring a child into the world with the way things look for the future. (Agree, Disagree)

* Additional data on personal violent crime victimization range from .41 per 100 (based on 1973 Police reported figures which include homicide) to 3.3 per 100 persons over 12 (based on 1974 probability sample which doesn't include homicide).

** Although there are regional variations in real-world victimization, the television rates are certainly greater than one finds in any reasonably large geographic area.

*** Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Correlaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, 1956, 21, 709-712. These items are analyzed separately in Violence Profile No. 9.

Most public officials are not really interested in the problems of the average man. (Agree, Disagree)

We combined three of Rosenberg's "faith in people"* items to form what we call the "Mean World Index" of interpersonal mistrust:

Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair?

Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?

This index is analyzed in the New Jersey School sample and in the 1975 and 1978 NORC samples.

Six questions relating to images of violence and fear of victimization were asked of ORC respondents. Five of these are analyzed both separately and in index form:

During any given week about how many people out of 100 are involved in some kind of violence in the U.S.? Would you say it is closer to about one person in 100 or about ten people in 100?

How safe do you feel walking around in your own neighborhood alone, at night -- very safe, somewhat safe, or not safe at all?

How serious would you say the fear of crime is for you personally? Would you say it is a very serious problem, a somewhat serious problem, or hardly a problem at all for you personally?

Women are more likely than men to be victims of violent crimes. (Agree, Disagree)

Crime in the nation is rising. (Agree, Disagree)

The sixth question touches upon perceptions of the elderly's likelihood of victimization:

Elderly persons are more likely to be victims of violent crimes than any other age group. (Agree, Disagree)

In the second and third years of the New Jersey panel study, the students were asked several other questions relating to images of violence:

Think about the number of people who are involved in some kind of violence each week. Do you think that 1 person out of every 100 is

* Morris Rosenberg, Occupations and Values, Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1957, 25-35. These items are also analyzed separately in Violence Profiles No. 9 and No. 10.

involved in some kind of violence in any given week, or is it closer to 10 people out of every 100?

Which crime has gone up more in the last few years -- robbery or murder?

Does most killing take place between people who know each other well, or between strangers?

How important do you think it is to learn to defend yourself? (Very important, Not very important)

Reading the Tables

Most of the cultivation analysis tables in this report are of two kinds: (1) contingency tables (cross-tabulations) comparing responses of light, medium, and heavy viewers in various control conditions, and (2) within-group partial correlations.

In the former, the proportions of respondents who give the television answer to cultivation questions are tabulated on the basis of reported daily television exposure, controlling for numerous personal and social characteristics. The comparison is made in terms of gamma and what we call the "Cultivation Differential" (CD). The "Cultivation Differential" is the difference between the percent of heavy viewers who give "television answers" and the percent of light viewers who give these answers. The CD represents the difference heavy viewing makes with respect to a particular concept.

These tables include the following information. The first two columns report the percentage of respondents who gave the "television answer" (the answer reflecting the television view of the world), overall and within each demographic subgroup, and (in parentheses) the number of respondents in that cell. The next six columns present the percentages (and cell N's) of those who gave "television answers," divided into groups of light, medium, and heavy viewers. The next column provides the Cultivation Differential (CD). Following that is a column of gammas, which measure the strength of the association between amount of viewing and the tendency to give the television answer. The significance of the relationship (based on Kendall's tau) is denoted with asterisks; the first-order partial gamma (controlling for the demographic factor) is denoted with a "#".

These tables are useful for evaluating the general differences between light and heavy viewers and for determining baseline patterns. As noted, they do not fully guard against the possibility of spuriousness within any given demographic group. Accordingly, we also include tables of within-group partial correlations in which the association found in important subgroups is further controlled for other variables.

In these tables, each column includes data for a specified subgroup. The first row of coefficients contains the simple correlation between amount of viewing (in continuous form) and the dependent variable. Subsequent rows

contain partial correlations controlling for the specified "third variables," one at a time. The final row of coefficients represents the partial correlation obtained by controlling for these other variables all at once. The last row presents the appropriate degrees of freedom; as on other tables, significance is denoted by asterisks.

Findings of Cultivation Analysis

Our research on sexist views offers a clear example of how television may cultivate "mainstream" perspectives. In one analysis* we constructed a sexism index made up of four items from the 1975, 1977 and 1978 NORC General Social Survey (see Table 12). We found that, among adults, there is a positive relationship between amount of television viewing and responding that women should stay home, that a woman should not work if her husband can support her, that men are better suited emotionally for politics, and that one would not vote for a qualified woman nominated for President. This relationship is positive and statistically significant for most groups of viewers except non-whites. Among non-whites, who as a group score vastly higher on the sexism index, heavy viewing goes with lesser sexism. This finding also holds when controlling simultaneously (among non-whites) for sex, education, income, prestige, age, and newspaper reading ($r = -.09, p < .05$).

Television viewing thus seems to cultivate homogeneous and normative outlooks and orientations. For those groups who are generally less sexist (such as most young respondents, and especially those respondents who have been to college) television viewing cultivates a more sexist view of the world. But, for the groups who are otherwise more sexist, television viewing may be somewhat enlightening. Heavy television viewing goes with a "mainstream" view of woman's role in society -- it brings different groups either "up" or "down" to that view.

Similar specification effects can be found in a reanalysis of three of Srole's** anomie items.*** We previously reported that the relationship between amount of viewing and the tendency to endorse statements of alienation holds up in most groups. The overall association, however, seems to disappear when a number of controls are implemented all at once.**** But this does not mean that the relationship is zero in all groups. When these items are combined into an index ($\alpha = .61$) we find that the relationship between television viewing and endorsing statements of alienation is strongest for those

* Nancy Signorielli, "Television's Contribution to Sex Role Socialization," paper presented at Seventh Annual Tele-Communication Policy Research Conference, Sky Top, Pa., April 1979.

** Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study." American Sociological Review, 1956, 21, 709-712.

*** Our original analysis can be found in: George Gerbner, Larry Gross, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Suzanne Jeffries-Fox and Nancy Signorielli "Violence Profile No. 9: Trends in Network Television Drama and Viewer Conceptions of Social Reality, 1967-1977" Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, March 1978, Tables 108-110.

**** Michael Hughes, "The Fruits of Cultivation Analysis: A Re-examination of the Effects of Television Watching on Fear of Victimization, Alienation, and the Approval of Violence," Public Opinion Quarterly, in press.

Table 12

Percent who are High Scorers on an Index of Sexism¹

	Total		Television Viewing ²				CD (% Heavy- % Light)	gamma	Total N		
	%	N	Light	Medium	Heavy						
Overall	41	(1838)	37	(403)	41	(846)	45	(589)	+ 8	.09**	4470
controlling for:											
Age										.09#	
18 - 29	25	(293)	21	(52)	24	(119)	29	(122)	+ 8	.15**	1163
30 - 54	37	(726)	34	(183)	38	(366)	40	(177)	+ 6	.09**	1945
55 and over	60	(809)	58	(163)	60	(359)	62	(287)	+ 4	.05	1343
Sex										.09#	
Male	40	(792)	36	(191)	42	(391)	43	(210)	+ 7	.10**	1965
Female	42	(1046)	39	(212)	41	(455)	45	(379)	+ 6	.09**	2505
Race										.13#	
White	40	(1587)	35	(342)	40	(744)	45	(501)	+10	.14**	3950
Other	48	(251)	62	(61)	50	(102)	40	(88)	-22	-.27**	520
Education										-.02#	
No College	49	(1515)	52	(311)	49	(684)	48	(520)	- 4	-.04	3068
Some College	23	(314)	19	(89)	24	(159)	28	(66)	+ 9	.16**	1386
Newspaper Reading										.11#	
Everyday	41	(1137)	34	(219)	41	(547)	47	(371)	+13	.17**	2772
Sometimes	41	(700)	42	(184)	41	(299)	40	(217)	- 2	-.07	1695
Income										.04#	
less than \$10,000	51	(832)	52	(171)	52	(347)	50	(314)	- 2	-.03	1626
\$10,000 - \$24,999	36	(715)	31	(157)	37	(362)	38	(196)	+ 7	.08*	1995
\$25,000 and more	24	(132)	21	(39)	24	(69)	32	(24)	+11	.16*	544

¹ Among all major and minor characters coded between 1969 and 1977, only 19.4 percent of female characters portrayed as married were also employed; 80.6 percent of married female characters were not employed (comparable figures for male characters: 58.8 percent of married male characters were also working). In real life, 42.1 percent of the women in the U.S. population who were married and living with their husbands were also in the civilian labor force; 52.9 percent were not in the labor force (U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Report No. 545, Spring 1976).

² "On the average day, about how many hours do you personally watch television?"
 Light: one hour or less
 Medium: two to three hours
 Heavy: four hours or more

First-order partial gamma

* $p \leq .05$ (tau)

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

Data Source: NORC 1975, 1977 and 1978 General Social Surveys
 Interview Date: February, March, April 1975, 1977 and 1978
 Method: Personal Interview
 Question (MCP3YEAR): An index calculated from responses to four sexism-related items including FEMALE and FEWORK.

respondents who, as a group, are far less likely to express alienation -- in this case, those with more education (the correlation between education and anomie is $-.31$, $p < .001$). For respondents with less education (who are relatively alienated to begin with), television viewing has no apparent relationship with anomie. Thus, we again see that cultivation may imply a homogenization of outlooks, rather than absolute across-the-board increments. Most importantly, as seen on Table 13, the positive association between viewing and alienation among college-educated respondents withstands the implementation of a large number of controls, either singly or simultaneously.

Other indications of "mainstreaming" can be found in analyses of questions relating to what we have called the "Mean World syndrome."* Three items from the 1975 and 1978 NORC General Social Surveys were combined to form an index of interpersonal mistrust ($\alpha = .68$). Table 14 shows within-group partial correlations between amount of viewing and this index. Overall, heavy viewing is significantly associated with the tendency to believe 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 ($r = .12$, $p < .001$). This relationship is not fully accounted for by any individual control; and, with all controls simultaneously held constant, the small correlation still remains statistically significant. Nevertheless, the "main effect" may be less important than the clear specifications.

Once again, the relationship is strongest for respondents who have had some college education -- those who are also least likely to express interpersonal mistrust (the correlation between education and the Mean World Index is $-.28$, $p < .001$). We also find that the association is greatest for those in the middle income category (\$10,000 to \$25,000 a year).

The most striking specification differences emerge for whites and non-whites. As a group, non-whites score higher on the Mean World Index ($r = .23$, $p < .001$). Yet, as with sexism, there is a significant negative association for non-whites ($r = -.10$, $p < .05$) between television viewing and this index. The relationship for whites, however, remains positive. Thus, mainstreaming implies two processes: not only are those who are least likely to share a given attitude brought "up" into the mainstream, but those most likely to hold an extreme view may even be brought "down."

New data from a nationality probability sample of adults** provide numerous examples of this "mainstreaming" phenomenon in regard to images about crime and violence. Table 15 summarizes these findings and the individual analyses are presented in Tables 16-20.

* The "Mean World" index is based upon three items from Rosenberg's "faith in people scale." (Morris Rosenberg, Occupations and Values, Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1957, pp. 25-35.)

** These data were collected as part of AoA grant No. 90-A-1299, "Aging with Television," George Gerbner, Larry Gross and Nancy Signorielli, co-principal investigators.

Table 13

Partial Correlations between Amount of
Viewing and Anomie by Educational Level

	Education		
	Less than High School	High School	Some College
<u>Simple r</u>	.01	.06*	.14**
controlling for:			
<u>Sex</u>	-.00	.06*	.15**
<u>Age</u>	.01	.06*	.14*
<u>Newspaper Reading</u>	.01	.06*	.15**
<u>Urban Proximity</u>	.01	.06*	.14*
<u>Subjective Social Class</u>	.01	.05	.14*
<u>Education</u>	.01	.06	.14*
<u>Income</u>	-.01	.03	.15**
<u>Race</u>	.01	.05	.13*
<u>All Controls</u>	-.03	.01	.14*
Final d.f. (8th order)	(455)	(686)	(229)

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

Data Source: 1977 NORC General Social Survey

Table 14

Within-Group Partial Correlations between Amount of Television Viewing
and an Index of Interpersonal Mistrust

	Overall	Education		Income			Race	
		No College	Some College	Low	Medium	High	White	Non-White
<u>Simple r</u>	.12***	.06**	.14***	.03	.16***	.08	.12***	-.08
controlling for:								
<u>Sex</u>	.12***	.06**	.15***	.03	.17***	.09*	.12***	-.07
<u>Age</u>	.12***	.06**	.14***	.02	.16***	.08	.12***	-.08
<u>Newspaper Reading</u>	.11***	.06**	.14***	.03	.16***	.08	.12***	-.08
<u>Subjective Social Class</u>	.10***	.05**	.13***	.02	.15***	.07	.10***	-.07
<u>Education</u>	.07***	.06**	.12***	.01	.12***	.04	.07***	-.08
<u>Income</u>	.09***	.04*	.12**	-	-	-	.09***	-.11*
<u>Race</u>	.09***	.04	.10**	-.01	.15***	.08	-	-
<u>Occupational Prestige</u>	.08***	.04*	.13***	.01	.13***	.04	.08***	-.08
<u>All Controls</u>	.04*	.02	.08**	-.02	.11***	.04	.06**	-.10*
Final d.f. (8th order)	(2727)	(1853)	(861)	(1090)	(1290)	(317)	(2431)	(288)

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

*** $p \leq .001$

Data Source: 1975 and 1978 NORC General Social Surveys

Using a question that replicates some of our earlier work, we asked, "In any given week, what are your chances of being involved in an act of violence -- about one in ten or about one in a hundred?" Our basic expectation is that heavy viewers will tend to answer that their chances of encountering violence are higher.

We find that heavy viewers are indeed significantly more likely to give this response, overall, and within most subgroups. Yet, there are important specifications. For example, a large majority (84 percent) of both light and heavy viewers with low incomes give this response. Thus, among respondents with low incomes, there is no relationship between amount of viewing and responses to these questions. When we examine the middle and upper income groups, however, we find that the proportion of light viewers giving the "television answer" drops markedly; "only" 62 percent of light viewers with higher income overestimate their chances of being involved in violence. And, as a result, the difference between lighter and heavier viewers rises sharply. Light viewers with middle or upper incomes are considerably less likely to manifest fear while heavy viewers with middle or high incomes exhibit almost the same level of perceived danger as the low income group.

While this could be explained in terms of a ceiling effect, we think that it is indicative of television's cultivation of common perspectives. Heavy viewing tends to bring into the mainstream of beliefs those disparate and divergent groups who would otherwise be apart from it.

"Mainstreaming" is only one way to explain variations in cultivation patterns among different groups. There may be other factors, influences, and processes which might mediate or enhance cultivation in different ways. For example, related analyses of children and adolescents show that cultivation is stronger when parents are not involved in their children's viewing*, or when children are less integrated into cohesive peer groups**.

A further important aspect of the refinement of our theory concerns the notion that cultivation will be most pronounced when other aspects of one's social environment are most congruent with (and thereby "resonate with") television's messages. Among Canadians, Doob and MacDonald*** found the strongest positive associations between viewing and fear of crime among those who live in high crime centers.

Although these researchers interpreted this finding as evidence of spuriousness, clearly, neighborhood does not "explain" the observed relationship. Rather, it points to an important specification. Given the high levels of violence in programming as well as the fact that many cities have high crime rates, television's imagery may be very congruent with the real-life experiences of urban dwellers in high crime areas. Accordingly, these people receive a "double-dose" of messages that the world is violent, and consequently show the strongest associations between viewing and fear.

* Larry Gross and Michael Morgan, "Television and Enculturation," in J.R. and J. Fletcher, eds., Broadcasting Research Methods: A Reader. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, in press.

** Nancy F. Rothschild, "Group as a Mediating Factor in the Cultivation Process among Young Children." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, The Annenberg School of Communications, 1979.

*** Anthony N. Doob and Glenn E. Macdonald, "Television Viewing and Fear of Victimization: Is the Relationship Causal?" Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1979, 37(2), 170-179.

Table 15
Summary of Analyses of Questions Relating to Fear and Violence in the 1979 ORC Survey

	Percent Overestimating Chances of Involvement in Violence	Percent Agreeing that Women are More likely to Be Victims Of Crime	Percent Saying Their Neighborhoods are Only Somewhat Safe or not Safe at all	Percent Saying that Fear of Crime Is a very Serious Problem	Percent Agreeing that Crime is Rising
	Percent Light Viewers ² CD ³ gamma	Percent Light Viewers ² CD ³ gamma	Percent Light Viewers ² CD ³ gamma	Percent Light Viewers ² CD ³ gamma	Percent Light Viewers ² CD ³ gamma
Overall	71 +10 .14***	72 +10 .18***	55 +11 .10***	20 +9 .12***	94 +4 .30***
controlling for:					
Age					
18-29	76 +14 .28***	73 +6 .11**	49 +11 .09**	16 +11 .21***	93 +4 .27***
30-54	68 +9 .11**	70 +10 .18***	53 +12 .09***	17 +11 .12***	96 +3 .27**
over 55	71 +4 .07*	77 +10 .22***	65 +9 .06*	31 +1 -.01	94 +4 .38***
Education					
No College	76 +7 .13***	70 +12 .20***	58 +10 .07***	24 +8 .11***	96 +3 .28***
Some College	63 +9 .10*	76 +7 .06	49 +9 .07*	13 +5 .09*	91 +5 .22**
Newspaper Reading					
Sometimes	75 +14 .25***	70 +15 .26***	58 +17 .10***	23 +11 .14***	94 +4 .27***
Everyday	69 +7 .10***	74 +17 .13***	53 +8 .09***	18 +8 .11***	95 +4 .36***
Race					
White	69 +10 .13***	73 +9 .17***	53 +10 .09***	17 +10 .14***	94 +4 .29***
Non-White	86 +7 .25**	70 +12 .21**	72 +16 .09*	46 +6 -.07	95 +4 .37**
Urban Proximity					
City over 250,000	69 +10 .13**	77 0 -.00	71 +14 .19***	26 +20 .19***	88 +10 .52***
City under 250,000	74 +3 .05	64 +24 .42***	59 +8 .04	22 +5 .09*	89 .11 .57***
Suburban	67 +13 .18***	75 .10 .19***	50 +13 .13***	19 +10 .12***	96 +2 .13
Non-Metropolitan	77 +8 .13**	70 +9 .17***	51 +7 .01	18 +2 .08**	98 0 .10
Income					
under \$10,000	84 0 .04	67 +18 .32***	61 +14 .10***	35 +2 -.00***	96 +4 .51***
\$10,000 - \$25,000	68 +8 .12***	74 +6 .12***	55 +6 .04	16 +9 .16***	93 +5 .35***
over \$25,000	62 +18 .13**	76 0 -.03	49 +1 -.01	10 +16 .11**	96 -1 -.13
Sex					
Male	68 +8 .09**	68 +10 .20***	38 +16 .16***	21 +4 .07**	95 +2 .07
Female	76 +8 .15***	78 +6 .14***	73 +1 -.01	20 +12 .14***	94 +5 .55***

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

2 Percent Light Viewers = percent of light viewers giving the "Television Answer"

3 CD = Cultivation Differential; percent of heavy viewers minus the percent of light viewers giving the "Television Answer"

* p ≤ .05 (tau)

** p ≤ .01 (tau)

*** p ≤ .001 (tau)

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation

Table 16

Percent Saying Their Chances of Being Involved in Violence are "10 in 100"

	Giving Television Answer						CD (% Heavy- % Light)	gamma	Total N
	Television Viewing ¹								
	Total % N	Light % N	Medium % N	Heavy % 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	.14#	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	.12#	3844
Some College	65 (1067)	63 (393)	65 (467)	72 (207)			+9	.13***	1630
Newspaper Reading									
Sometimes	80 (1566)	75 (490)	76 (599)	89 (478)			+14	.10**	1971
Everyday	69 (2421)	69 (714)	65 (1004)	76 (702)			+7	.25***	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	.13***	636
Urban Proximity									
City over 250,000	70 (680)	69 (200)	64 (267)	79 (213)			+10	.15#	974
City under 250,000	73 (448)	74 (125)	70 (182)	76 (141)			+3	.13**	614
Suburban	70 (1496)	67 (456)	68 (614)	80 (426)			+13	.05	2122
Non-Metropolitan	77 (1369)	77 (426)	72 (540)	85 (402)			+8	.18***	1780
Family Income									
under \$10,000	81 (1567)	84 (431)	75 (539)	84 (597)			0	.13**	1937
\$10,000 - \$25,000	71 (1703)	68 (483)	70 (777)	76 (443)			+8	.04	2402
over \$25,000	63 (723)	62 (293)	57 (287)	80 (143)			+18	.12***	1152
Sex									
Male	66 (1719)	67 (581)	61 (698)	76 (439)			+8	.12#	2589
Female	78 (2274)	76 (625)	76 (905)	84 (743)			+8	.09**	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 ≤ .05 (tau)

** p ≤ .01 (tau)

*** p ≤ .001 (tau)

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation

Table 17

Percent Saying They "Agree" that Women are More Likely to be Victims of Crimes

	Giving Television Answer						CD (% Heavy- % Light)	gamma	Total N
	Television Viewing ¹								
	Total % N	Light % N	Medium % N	Heavy % N					
Overall	78 (4192)	72 (1183)	79 (1822)	82 (1187)			+10	.18***	5376
controlling for:									
Age									
18-29	77 (1286)	73 (369)	78 (542)	79 (376)			+6	.17#	1668
30-54	75 (1660)	70 (493)	76 (749)	80 (418)			+10	.11**	2208
over 55	83 (1246)	77 (321)	84 (531)	87 (393)			+10	.18***	1500
Education									
No College	79 (2957)	70 (715)	82 (1297)	82 (945)			+12	.22***	3753
Some College	76 (1223)	76 (462)	73 (522)	83 (239)			+7	.20***	1605
Newspaper Reading									
Sometimes	77 (1477)	70 (428)	76 (597)	85 (451)			+15	.16#	1923
Everyday	79 (2713)	74 (753)	81 (1224)	80 (736)			+17	.26***	3450
Race									
White	78 (3713)	73 (1055)	80 (1633)	82 (1025)			+9	.13***	4747
Non-White	76 (479)	70 (129)	76 (188)	82 (162)			+12	.17***	629
Urban Proximity									
City over 250,000	79 (776)	77 (213)	82 (355)	77 (209)			0	.21**	981
City under 250,000	78 (1834)	64 (110)	80 (207)	88 (152)			+24	-.00	603
Suburban	79 (1633)	75 (498)	78 (688)	85 (447)			+10	.42***	2066
Non-Metropolitan	76 (1314)	70 (363)	79 (572)	79 (379)			+9	.19***	1726
Family Income									
under \$10,000	80 (1508)	67 (321)	84 (588)	85 (599)			+18	.17#	1885
\$10,000 - \$25,000	78 (849)	74 (516)	79 (864)	80 (454)			+6	.32***	2362
over \$25,000	75 (849)	76 (346)	74 (369)	76 (134)			0	.12***	1129
Sex									
Male	75 (1903)	68 (560)	80 (899)	78 (443)			+10	.17#	2524
Female	80 (2289)	78 (623)	79 (922)	84 (744)			+6	.20***	2853

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 ≤ .05 (tau)

** p ≤ .01 (tau)

*** p ≤ .001 (tau)

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation

Table 18

Percent Saying Their Neighborhoods are Only Somewhat Safe or not Safe at All

	Giving Television Answer						CD (% Heavy- % Light)	gamma	Total N
	Television Viewing ¹								
	Total % N	Light % N	Medium % N	Heavy % N					
Overall	59 (3354)	55 (974)	57 (1385)	66 (995)			+11	.10***	5701
controlling for:									
Age								.08#	
18-29	53 (905)	49 (267)	50 (344)	60 (294)			+11	.09**	1719
20-54	53 (1251)	53 (406)	47 (503)	65 (342)			+12	.09***	2352
over 55	74 (1200)	65 (302)	79 (538)	74 (259)			+9	.06*	1630
Education								.07#	
No College	62 (2477)	58 (641)	60 (1010)	68 (825)			+10	.07***	3995
Some College	51 (862)	49 (325)	50 (371)	58 (166)			+9	.07*	1683
Newspaper Reading								.09#	
Sometimes	65 (1356)	58 (397)	64 (535)	75 (424)			+17	.10***	2088
Everyday	55 (1993)	53 (575)	53 (851)	61 (566)			+8	.09***	3608
Race								.09#	
White	56 (2828)	53 (824)	55 (1199)	63 (804)			+10	.09***	5014
Non-White	77 (526)	72 (150)	71 (186)	88 (191)			+16	.09*	3608
Urban Proximity								.09#	
City over 250,000	75 (770)	71 (215)	71 (318)	85 (236)			+14	.19***	1026
City under 250,000	64 (404)	59 (108)	64 (167)	67 (129)			+8	.04	635
Suburban	54 (1187)	50 (356)	52 (488)	63 (343)			+13	.13***	2194
Non-Metropolitan	54 (993)	51 (296)	53 (412)	58 (285)			+7	.01	1846
Family Income								.06#	
under \$10,000	69 (1397)	61 (330)	68 (515)	75 (552)			+14	.10***	2037
\$10,000 - \$25,000	55 (1364)	55 (403)	53 (609)	61 (352)			+6	.04	2469
over \$25,000	50 (593)	49 (242)	50 (262)	50 (90)			+1	-.01	1195
Sex								.06#	
Male	43 (1168)	38 (352)	41 (493)	54 (323)			+16	.16***	2699
Female	73 (2186)	73 (622)	72 (893)	74 (671)			+1	-.01	3002

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 ≤ .05 (tau)

** p ≤ .01 (tau)

*** p ≤ .001 (tau)

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation

Table 19

Percent Saying Fear of Crime is a "Very Serious" Problem

	Giving Television Answer						CD (% Heavy- % Light)	gamma	Total N
	Television Viewing ¹								
	Total % N	Light % N	Medium % N	Heavy % N					
Overall	24 (1382)	20 (357)	24 (585)	29 (440)			+9	.12	5708
controlling for:									
Age								.11#	
18-29	21 (362)	16 (85)	20 (142)	27 (135)			+11	.21***	1736
30-54	21 (498)	17 (130)	21 (222)	28 (145)			+11	.12***	2331
over 55	32 (522)	31 (142)	32 (221)	32 (160)			+1	-.01	1640
Education								.11#	
No College	29 (1142)	24 (260)	29 (495)	32 (387)			+8	.11***	3993
Some College	13 (227)	13 (86)	12 (89)	18 (53)			+5	.09**	1693
Newspaper Reading								.12#	
Sometimes	27 (565)	23 (155)	26 (217)	34 (193)			+11	.14***	2086
Everyday	22 (813)	18 (199)	23 (368)	26 (245)			+8	.11***	3617
Race								.14#	
White	21 (1073)	17 (263)	21 (459)	27 (352)			+10	.14***	5017
Non-White	45 (309)	46 (94)	48 (126)	40 (88)			-6	-.07	691
Urban Proximity								.12#	
City over 250,000	39 (403)	26 (78)	42 (193)	46 (132)			+20	.19***	1044
City under 250,000	26 (165)	22 (41)	28 (72)	27 (52)			+5	.09*	638
Suburban	22 (490)	19 (138)	21 (194)	29 (158)			+10	.12***	2183
Non-Metropolitan	18 (325)	18 (100)	16 (127)	20 (97)			+2	.08**	1843
Family Income								.09#	
under \$10,000	33 (679)	35 (191)	32 (241)	33 (246)			-2	-.00	2034
\$10,000 - \$25,000	21 (530)	16 (116)	23 (268)	25 (146)			+9	.16***	2473
over \$25,000	14 (174)	10 (50)	14 (76)	26 (48)			+16	.11**	1200
Sex								.11#	
Male	22 (583)	21 (191)	21 (243)	25 (149)			+4	.07**	2687
Female	26 (799)	20 (166)	27 (342)	32 (290)			+12	.14***	3021

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 ≤ .05 (tau)

** p ≤ .01 (tau)

*** p ≤ .001 (tau)

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation

Table 20

Percent Agreeing that "Crime is Rising"

	Giving Television Answer								(% Heavy- % Light)	gamma	Total N
	Television Viewing ¹										
	Total		Light		Medium		Heavy				
Z	N	Z	N	Z	N	Z	N				
Overall	96	(5448)	94	(1661)	95	(2305)	98	(1482)	+4	-.30***	5681
controlling for:											
Age											
18-29	95	(1635)	93	(498)	95	(654)	97	(484)	+4	.29#	1726
30-54	96	(2242)	96	(725)	96	(993)	99	(524)	+3	-.27***	2325
over 55	96	(1571)	94	(438)	96	(658)	98	(475)	+4	-.27**	1631
Education											
No College	97	(3873)	96	(1058)	96	(1619)	99	(1197)	+3	.26#	3988
Some College	93	(1552)	91	(589)	93	(681)	96	(283)	+5	-.28***	1671
Newspaper Reading											
Sometimes	96	(1994)	95	(652)	96	(785)	99	(557)	+4	.29#	2067
Everyday	96	(3448)	94	(1007)	95	(1519)	98	(922)	+4	-.35***	3609
Race											
White	96	(4790)	94	(1467)	96	(2060)	98	(1263)	+4	-.29***	4992
Non-White	96	(658)	95	(194)	93	(245)	99	(219)	+4	-.37**	689
Urban Proximity											
City over 250,000	94	(977)	88	(264)	96	(435)	98	(279)	+10	.22#	1037
City under 250,000	94	(593)	89	(160)	93	(244)	100	(190)	+11	-.52***	631
Suburban	95	(2079)	96	(678)	94	(872)	98	(529)	+2	-.57***	2179
Non-Metropolitan	98	(1798)	98	(560)	98	(754)	98	(484)	0	-.13	1834
Family Income											
under \$10,000	97	(1964)	96	(517)	96	(711)	100	(735)	+4	.30#	2018
\$10,000 - \$25,000	96	(2355)	93	(677)	96	(1102)	98	(576)	+5	-.51***	2462
over \$25,000	94	(1129)	96	(467)	92	(491)	95	(171)	-1	-.35***	1200
Sex											
Male	95	(2535)	95	(865)	93	(1099)	97	(570)	+2	.28#	2677
Female	97	(2913)	94	(796)	97	(1205)	99	(912)	+5	-.07	3004

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

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

*** $p \leq .001$

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation

We have found parallel results in an analysis of data from our most recently conducted survey of adults across the country. We asked people about how safe they felt walking around alone, at night, in their own neighborhoods, and found (see Table 18) that even light viewers who live in larger cities are much more likely to be afraid in their own neighborhoods at night. But, city dwellers show the strongest association between amount of viewing and expressing this fear. And while urban dwellers are most likely to say that "crime is a very serious personal problem," they also show the largest association between viewing and giving this response.

To provide further evidence, using an index composed of the five questions in Table 15*, we tried to approximate Doob and MacDonald's high crime/low crime distinction for respondents who live in cities. Basically, we are assuming that respondents who live in larger cities and have lower incomes are likely to live in areas with relatively high crime rates. High income urban residents arguably live in less dangerous areas. The data on Table 21 support the notion that viewing may have a reinforcing influence when messages are congruent with other environmental factors. The correlation between amount of television viewing and violence index scores is .26 ($p < .001$) for low income (presumably high crime) urban residents; but, it is only .05 for high income (presumably low crime) city dwellers.

When within-group controls for demographic factors are implemented simultaneously, the correlation remains positive and significant ($r = .13$, $p < .001$) for urban dwellers with low incomes, and falls to zero for high income urban residents. While the correspondence between income and neighborhood crime is ambiguous in suburban and non-metropolitan areas, it is worth noting that the association between amount of viewing and these images of crime and violence remains significant despite controls. Comparable patterns are found for education and income -- those with less education and lower incomes are more susceptible to the cultivation of these images. The differences are particularly striking, though, when we compare respondents in the residence/income groups.

Thus, cultivation may be most pronounced when the issue at hand has direct relevance to the respondent's life. For another example, there is one question to which older respondents are particularly sensitive. That question suggests, contrary to fact, that "elderly persons are more likely to be the victims of violence than any other age group" (see Table 22). In Table 23 we see that the relationship between amount of viewing and the tendency to think that the elderly are most likely to be victimized is quite small for young and middle-aged respondents. Yet, among older respondents, there is a dramatic positive association between television viewing and expressing this belief.

Thus, older people may be vulnerable to the cultivation process when television's messages are most salient to their lives. In this case, older people may be most "receptive" to images concerning their personal safety. The associations between amount of viewing and responding that older people are more likely to be victimized, for those over 55, are some of the strongest cultivation relationships we have ever found.

* These items essentially tap discrete dimensions; their conceptual link however, is that they examine various aspects of television's portrayal of violence. Thus, it is not surprising that while these questions are all positively and significantly related to each other, their additive index has relatively low internal homogeneity ($\alpha = .34$). At the same time, there is only one factor underlying the five items, indicating a high degree of unidimensionality.

Table 21

Within-Group Partial Correlations between Amount of Viewing and an Index of Images of Violence

	Overall	Education		Income			Race		Residence and Income			
		No College	Some College	Low	Medium	High	White	Non-White	City		Suburban, Non-Metropolitan	
									Low Income	High Income	Low Income	High Income
Simple r	.16***	.15***	.10***	.17***	.11***	.11***	.15***	.12***	.26***	.05	.10***	.20***
controlling for:												
Sex	.15***	.15***	.10***	.16***	.10***	.10***	.14***	.12***	.27***	.05	.01***	.16***
Age	.16***	.15***	.10***	.16***	.11***	.12***	.15***	.13***	.24***	.05	.09***	.20***
Income	.13***	.13***	.08***	.17***	.10***	.11***	.13***	.07*	.26***	.02	.10***	.18***
Newspaper Reading	.16***	.16***	.11***	.17***	.11***	.12***	.16***	.13***	.26***	.04	.10***	.20***
Education	.13***	.16***	.08***	.15***	.08***	.09***	.12***	.11***	.14***	.02	.11***	.15***
Race	.15***	.14***	.10***	.15***	.10***	.12***	-	-	.21***	.03	.11***	.20***
Urban Proximity	.16***	.14***	.11***	.16***	.12***	.11***	.16***	.08*	-	--	-	-
All Controls	.10***	.12***	.06**	.13***	.08***	.07*	.11***	.03	.13***	.00	.10***	.12***
Final d.f. (7th order)	(3555)	(3879)	(1648)	(2018)	(2475)	(1024)	(4887)	(661)	(969)	(656)	(2017)	(1866)

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

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation, March 1979

Table 22

Percent Saying They "Agree" that the Elderly are
More Likely to be Victims of Crimes

	Giving Television Answer						CD (% Heavy- % Light)	gamma	Total N		
	Television Viewing ¹										
	Total		Light		Medium					Heavy	
%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N				
Overall	76	(4127)	73	(1246)	76	(1749)	78	(1132)	+5	.08**	5454
controlling for:											
Age											
18-29	70	(1152)	71	(360)	72	(471)	68	(315)	-3	-.07#	1643
30-54	76	(1715)	74	(549)	76	(765)	78	(402)	+6	.06	2265
over 55	82	(1259)	75	(331)	81	(513)	88	(416)	+13	.27***	1546
Education											
No College	76	(2881)	75	(795)	74	(1175)	79	(911)	+4	.07#	3803
Some College	76	(1236)	72	(449)	80	(569)	75	(218)	+3	.09*	1631
Newspaper Reading											
Sometimes	73	(1409)	67	(431)	71	(544)	82	(433)	+15	.04#	1941
Everyday	77	(2714)	77	(812)	79	(1204)	75	(699)	-2	-.03	3508
Race											
White	75	(3615)	72	(1094)	75	(1536)	79	(985)	+7	.10**	4815
Non-White	80	(511)	81	(152)	85	(212)	73	(147)	-8	.17*	639
Urban Proximity											
City over 250,000	84	(838)	82	(233)	83	(368)	86	(236)	+4	.08#	1002
City under 250,000	74	(449)	72	(121)	78	(200)	70	(128)	-2	-.04	608
Suburban	76	(1592)	76	(517)	74	(663)	78	(412)	+2	.03	2101
Non-Metropolitan	72	(1248)	67	(375)	73	(517)	76	(355)	+9	.14***	1743
Family Income											
under \$10,000	78	(1489)	74	(373)	78	(541)	81	(574)	+7	.05#	1910
\$10,000 - \$25,000	75	(1789)	74	(525)	76	(848)	74	(416)	0	.01	2392
over \$25,000	74	(849)	73	(347)	72	(360)	80	(142)	+7	.08	1152
Sex											
Male	74	(1915)	71	(634)	76	(856)	77	(425)	+6	.07#	2578
Female	77	(2212)	76	(612)	76	(893)	78	(707)	+2	.05	2876

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 23

Percent Agreeing that the Elderly are More Likely to be Victims of Violent Crimes, within Age-Groups

56

	YOUNGER (18-29)			MIDDLE (30-54)			OLDER (Over 55)		
	<u>XL</u> ¹	<u>CD</u> ²	<u>Gamma</u>	<u>XL</u>	<u>CD</u>	<u>Gamma</u>	<u>X</u>	<u>CD</u>	<u>Gamma</u>
OVERALL	71	-3	-.04	74	+4	.06	75	+13	.27***
<u>Controlling for:</u>									
SEX									
Male	75	-5	-.08	73	+1	.03	64	+24	.41***
Female	66	0	-.01	75	+5	.08	91	-2	-.01
EDUCATION									
No College	74	-8	-.11*	75	+2	.04	74	+14	.31***
Some College	67	+4	.14*	73	+5	.06	81	-4	.06
NEWSPAPER READING									
High	73	-12	-.17**	78	-1	-.01	81	+5	.10
Low	68	+7	.09	67	+24	.16*	64	+29	.56***
RACE									
White	69	-2	-.02	73	+7	.10**	76	+13	.27***
Non-White	89	-20	-.36**	85	-17	-.34**	71	+14	.34**
URBAN PROXIMITY									
City over 250,000	82	-5	-.11	79	+8	.16	84	+8	.21
City under 250,000	55	+8	.08	77	-23	-.33***	80	+18	.51**
Suburban	65	+12	.17**	78	-2	-.02	84	-2	-.03
Non-metropolitan	70	-14	-.21**	66	+19	.26***	65	+24	.41***
INCOME									
Low	71	-4	-.07	86	-4	-.08	69	+19	.34***
Medium	69	-5	-.07	74	+2	.06	83	+9	.21*
High	75	+10	.22*	70	+3	.02	78	+12	.08

*p \leq .05 **p \leq .01 ***p \leq .001 (tau)¹XL = percent of light viewers giving "television answer"²CD = Cultivation Differential; percent heavy viewers minus percent light viewers giving television answer

We must stress, however, that these specifications do not "explain" apparent cultivation patterns. In our recent national adult survey, amount of viewing remains significantly related to scores on this index over and above the effects of education, income, sex, race, age, and newspaper reading (6th order partial, $r = .11$, $p < .001$). Although viewing in and of itself explains a small amount of the variance in index scores, with other things held constant, its predictive power is equal to or greater than that of age, race, urban proximity, income, or newspaper reading. Moreover, even with all those controls included in a hierarchical regression equation, viewing produces a significant increase in the equation's R^2 ($F = 68.28$, $p < .001$).

Thus, we have seen two distinct processes which help explain differential susceptibility to cultivation: "mainstreaming" and "resonance." Resonance happens when a given feature of the television world has special salience for a given group; e.g., neighborhood fear among city dwellers, or perceived over-victimization by the elderly. In these cases, the implications of heavy viewing are most apparent among those for whom the topic holds considerable personal relevance. Mainstreaming, on the other hand, is more general and less issue-specific. It is a more diffuse process, related more to images and norms of social reality than to personal concerns.

Data from our longitudinal study of adolescents also provide strong evidence for both an overall effect and important specification/interaction effects. In this case, the evidence for an overall effect is particularly striking. The data for amount of viewing and two dependent measures -- an images of violence index and a "Mean World" (interpersonal mistrust) index -- were analyzed in the form of structural equation models, using Joreskog's LISREL program.* This technique, a more sophisticated form of path analysis, performs a maximum likelihood estimation of parameters in causal models. It also takes measurement error into account, and reveals how well the hypothesized model fits the observed data.

This procedure can simultaneously evaluate a "measurement model," (that is, how well the observed indicators relate to the "true," underlying concepts) and a "causal model" (that is, the patterns of association among the "true" unobserved constructs). The results of the measurement model are shown in Figure 4. All of the observed indicators show reasonably strong links with the "true" variables; and, as with adults, the images of violence index measures are essentially discrete concepts, so the links are slightly weaker.

* K.G. Joreskog, "Structural Analysis of Covariance and Correlation Matrices," *Psychometrika*, 1978, 43, 443-477; "Structural Equation Models in the Social Sciences: Specification, Estimation, and Testing," in P.R. Krishnaiah, ed., *Applications of Statistics*, Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 1977; "A General Method for Estimating a Linear Structural Equation System," in A.S. Goldberger and O.D. Duncan eds., *Structural Equation Models in the Social Sciences*, New York: Seminar Press, 1973, 85-112; K.G. Joreskog and D. Sorbom, "Statistical Models and Methods for Analysis of Longitudinal Data," in D.J. Aigner and A.S. Goldberger, eds., *Latent Variables in Socioeconomic Models*, Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 1976; K.G. Joreskog and M. van Thillo, "LISREL: A General Computer Program for Estimating a Linear Structural Equation System Involving Multiple Indicators of Unmeasured Variables," Princeton: ETS Research Bulletin RB-72-56, 1972.

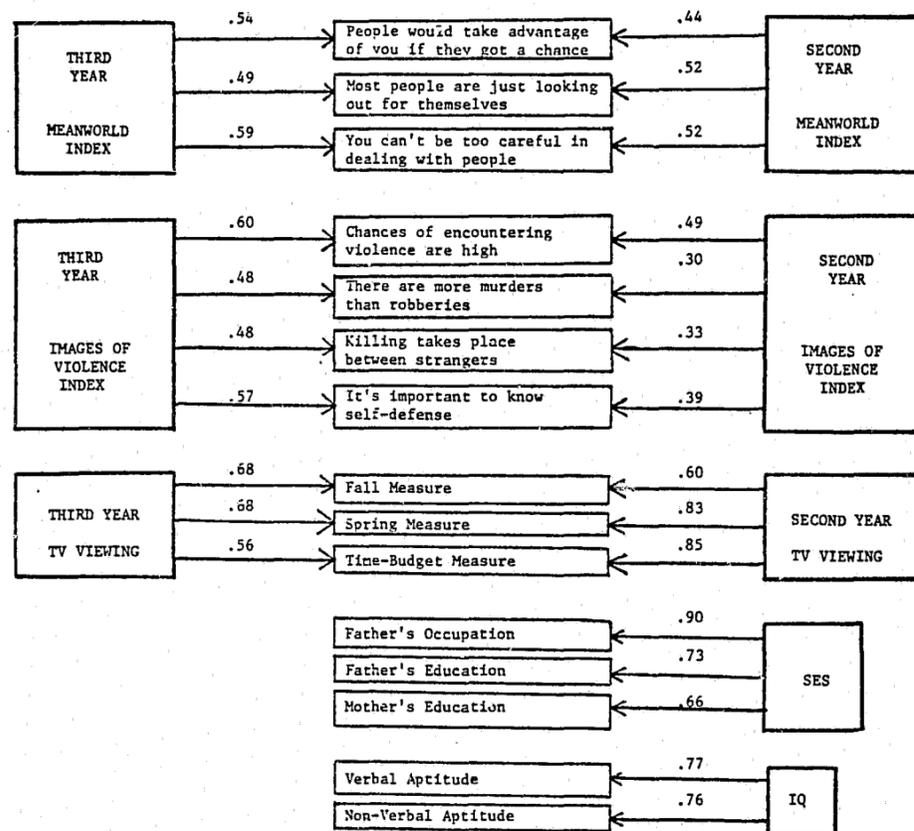


Figure 4

Coefficients Linking Concepts to Observed Indicators
in Structural Equation Model

Figure 5 presents the maximum likelihood solution of this model, which includes IQ and SES as controls. Most importantly, we see that previous level of viewing has a positive impact on subsequent levels of mistrust and conceptions of fear and violence. The third year dependent variables (the Mean World and Images of Violence Indices) are controlled for their second year scores, SES, and IQ. Thus, they represent "new information" or "change" in attitudes that is not attributable to previous levels or demographics. We see that the amount of viewing has a positive impact on subsequent Mean World and Images of Violence Index scores. Those who were heavy viewers in the second year will score higher on both fear and mistrust in the third year even controlling for demographics and second year index scores.*

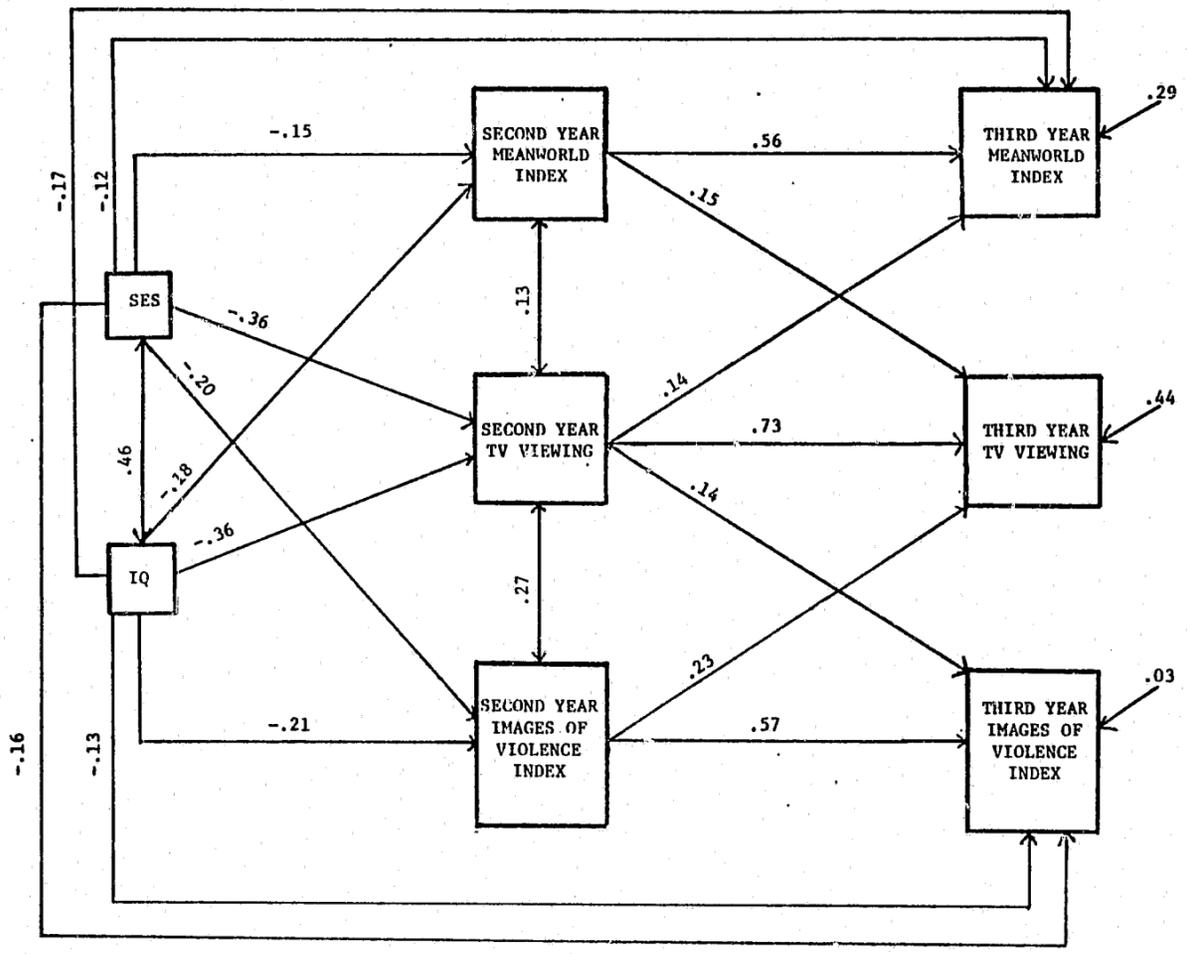
Most important, the model provides an excellent fit to the observed data. With 246 degrees of freedom, the chi-square value is 456.43 which yields a likelihood ratio of only 1.86.** Thus, when measurement error is removed (that is, the coefficients are disattenuated) and even when IQ and SES are held constant, television viewing, over time, increases perceptions of fear, danger, and mistrust among adolescents.

Finally, the longitudinal data provide striking evidence of yet another important specification. Among boys, there is a dramatic interaction between second year viewing and second year violence index scores upon third year violence index scores. Even with IQ, SES, grade, early viewing and early violence index scores already in a regression equation, the interaction term (viewing by violence index) is negative and significant (partial = .30, $F = 6.26$, $d.f. = 1/64$, $p < .05$).

As can be seen on Figure 6, this means that as those boys who had low violence index scores watch more television in the second year, their third year violence scores increase. But, among those who were initially more afraid, heavy viewing leads to less fear. This is a dramatic and significant demonstration of the power of television to cultivate mainstream outlooks. There are, to be sure, significant "main effects" in a generally positive direction. But perhaps the more fundamental, underlying process is that of centralization into the mainstream regardless of starting points. The homogenization of initially different perspectives may be the critical consequence of living with television.

* The conclusion is not challenged by the finding that it seems to also run the other way. In this case the "effects" of different variables cannot be "compared" because they are measured in different units. The finding that television viewing exerts a longitudinal causal influence on attitudes of fear and mistrust is not negated by the finding that these variables also affect viewing. The two causal processes are by no means mutually exclusive. The important thing, from our perspective, is that television demonstrably affects attitudes towards violence and mistrust among adolescents.

** The lower the ratio, the better the fit.



$\chi^2 = 456.43$
d.f. = 246
Ratio = 1.86

Figure 5

Structural Equation Model of the Longitudinal Relationship between Viewing, Fear, and Mistrust

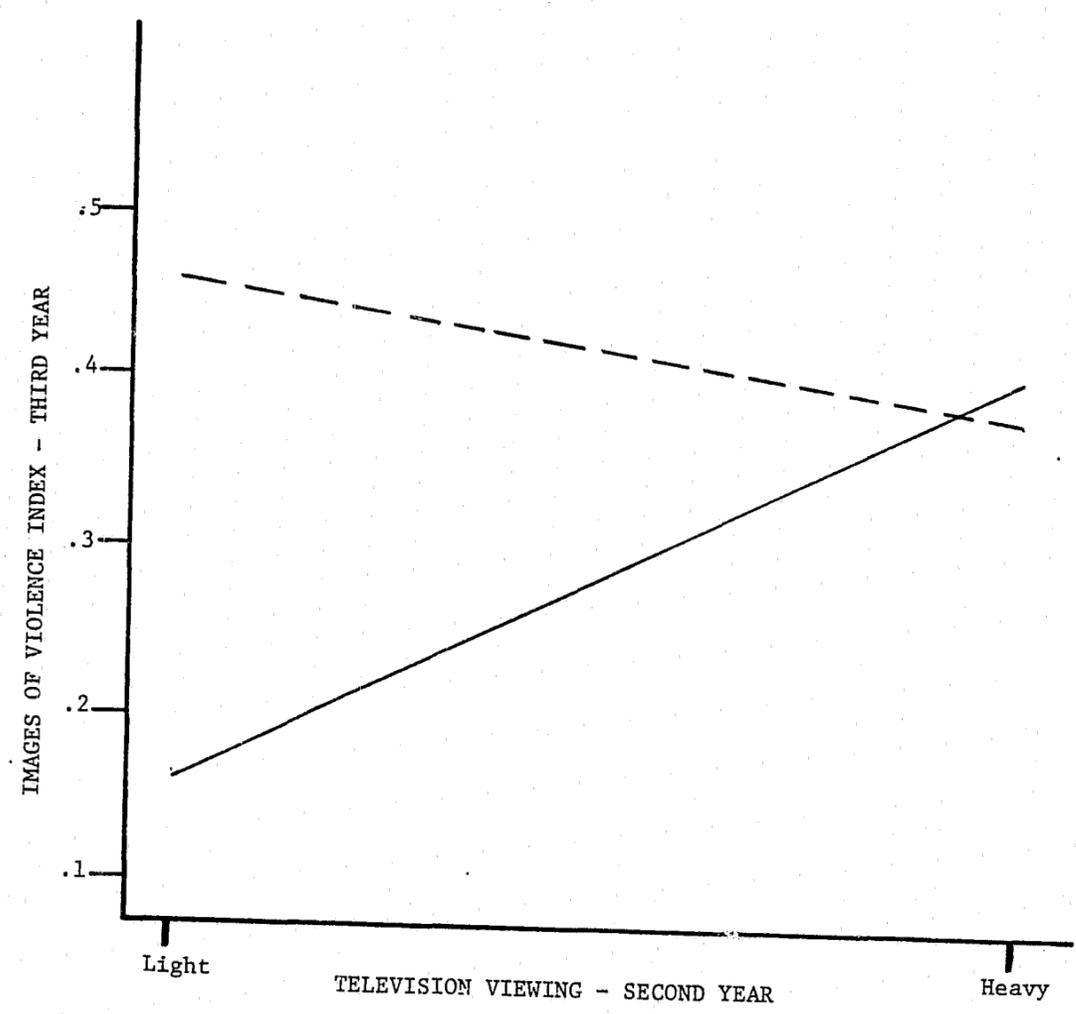


Figure 6
Graph of Interaction between Second Year Television Viewing and Scores on Second Year Images of Violence Index on Third Year Images of Violence Index Scores, among Boys in the New Jersey School Panel

———— = Low on Images of Violence Index, Second Year
----- = High on Images of Violence Index, Second Year

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

34 CBS Programs Aired 9-11 p.m. E.S.T.
35 CBS Weekend Morning Programs
36 CBS Cartoon Programs
37 CBS Action Programs
38 All NBC Programs
39 NBC Prime-Time Programs
40 NBC Programs Aired 8-9 p.m. E.S.T.
41 NBC Programs Aired 9-11 p.m. E.S.T.
42 NBC Weekend Morning Programs
43 NBC Cartoon Programs
44 NBC Action Programs

45 Risk Ratios - Characters in All Programs
46 Risk Ratios - Characters in Prime-Time Programs
47 Risk Ratios - Characters in Weekend Morning Programs
48 Risk Ratios - Social Age - Characters in All Programs
49 Risk Ratios - Social Age - Men in All Programs
50 Risk Ratios - Social Age - Women in All Programs
51 Risk Ratios - Marital Status - All Characters in All Programs
52 Risk Ratios - Marital Status - Men in All Programs
53 Risk Ratios - Marital Status - Women in All Programs
54 Risk Ratios - Social Class - All Characters in All Programs
55 Risk Ratios - Social Class - Men in All Programs
56 Risk Ratios - Social Class - Women in All Programs
57 Risk Ratios - Race - All Characters in All Programs
58 Risk Ratios - Race - Men in All Programs
59 Risk Ratios - Race - Women in All Programs
60 Risk Ratios - Type - All Characters in All Programs
61 Risk Ratios - Type - Men in All Programs
62 Risk Ratios - Type - Women in All Programs
63 Risk Ratios - Nationality - All Characters in All Programs
64 Risk Ratios - Nationality - Men in All Programs
65 Risk Ratios - Nationality - Women in All Programs

TABLE A: NETWORK OF PROGRAM

NETWORK	COUNT COL PCT	YEAR									ROW TOTAL
		167-68	69-70	71-72	73-74	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
ABC	1	57 31.1	80 34.5	64 31.5	100 34.4	77 34.1	32 29.1	59 30.7	35 31.5	34 27.0	538 32.1
CBS	2	67 36.6	85 36.6	78 38.4	95 32.6	80 35.4	41 37.3	80 41.7	48 43.2	56 44.4	630 37.6
NBC	3	59 32.2	67 28.9	61 30.0	96 33.0	69 30.5	37 33.6	53 27.6	28 25.2	36 28.6	506 30.2
	COLUMN TOTAL	183 10.9	232 13.9	203 12.1	291 17.4	226 13.5	110 6.6	192 11.5	111 6.6	126 7.5	1674 100.0

TABLE B: TIME OF BROADCAST

TIME	COUNT COL PCT	YEAR									ROW TOTAL
		167-68	69-70	71-72	73-74	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
WEEKEND DAYTIME	0	62 33.9	107 46.1	81 39.9	114 39.2	92 40.7	49 44.5	53 27.6	48 43.2	62 49.2	668 39.9
8-9 PM EST	1	74 40.4	73 31.5	55 27.1	86 29.6	61 27.0	25 22.7	65 33.9	27 24.3	31 24.6	497 29.7
9-11 PM EST	2	47 25.7	52 22.4	67 33.0	91 31.3	73 32.3	36 32.7	74 38.5	36 32.4	33 26.2	509 30.4
	COLUMN TOTAL	183 10.9	232 13.9	203 12.1	291 17.4	226 13.5	110 6.6	192 11.5	111 6.6	126 7.5	1674 100.0

TABLE C: NEW OR OLD PROGRAM

	COUNT COL PCT	YEAR									ROW TOTAL
		167-68	69-70	71-72	73-74	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
NEWOLD											
NEW PROGRAM	0	80	100	72	81	70	41	80	34	61	619
		43.7	43.1	35.5	27.8	31.0	37.3	41.7	30.6	48.4	37.0
CONTINUE PROGRAM	1	103	132	131	210	156	69	112	77	65	1055
		56.3	56.9	64.5	72.2	69.0	62.7	58.3	69.4	51.6	63.0
COLUMN TOTAL		183	232	203	291	226	110	192	111	126	1674
		10.9	13.9	12.1	17.4	13.5	6.6	11.5	6.6	7.5	100.0

TABLE D: FORMAT OF PROGRAM

	COUNT COL PCT	YEAR									ROW TOTAL
		167-68	69-70	71-72	73-74	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
FORMAT											
CARTOON	1	57	103	70	96	77	34	48	45	63	593
		31.1	44.4	34.5	33.0	34.1	30.9	25.0	40.5	50.0	35.4
TV PLAY	2	113	115	110	161	135	67	131	56	55	943
		61.7	49.6	54.2	55.3	59.7	60.9	68.2	50.5	43.7	56.3
MOVIE	3	13	14	23	34	14	9	13	10	8	138
		7.1	6.0	11.3	11.7	6.2	8.2	6.8	9.0	6.3	8.2
COLUMN TOTAL		183	232	203	291	226	110	192	111	126	1674
		10.9	13.9	12.1	17.4	13.5	6.6	11.5	6.6	7.5	100.0

TABLE E: TONE OF PROGRAM

TONE	COUNT COL PCT	YEAR									ROW TOTAL
		167-68	69-70	71-72	73-74	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
COMIC	1	86 47.0	120 51.7	88 43.3	107 36.8	94 41.6	43 39.1	68 35.4	46 41.4	57 45.2	709 42.4
MIXED	2	97 53.0	37 15.9	38 18.7	56 19.2	34 15.0	21 19.1	56 29.2	22 19.8	28 22.2	389 23.2
SERIOUS	3	0 0.0	75 32.3	77 37.9	128 44.0	98 43.4	46 41.8	68 35.4	43 38.7	41 32.5	576 34.4
COLUMN TOTAL		183 10.9	232 13.9	203 12.1	291 17.4	226 13.5	110 6.6	192 11.5	111 6.6	126 7.5	1674 100.0

TABLE F: TYPE OF PROGRAM

PGM TYPE	COUNT COL PCT	YEAR									ROW TOTAL
		167-68	69-70	71-72	73-74	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
CRIME	1	18 9.8	28 12.1	41 20.2	74 25.4	51 22.6	19 17.3	43 22.4	14 12.6	14 11.1	302 18.0
WESTERN	2	20 10.9	12 5.2	8 3.9	12 4.1	6 2.7	3 2.7	6 3.1	1 0.9	1 0.8	69 4.1
ACTION-ADV	3	80 43.7	85 36.6	56 27.6	76 26.1	65 28.8	20 18.2	35 18.2	29 26.1	37 29.4	483 28.9
OTHER	4	65 35.5	107 46.1	98 48.3	129 44.3	104 46.0	68 61.8	108 56.3	67 60.4	74 58.7	820 49.0
COLUMN TOTAL		183 10.9	232 13.9	203 12.1	291 17.4	226 13.5	110 6.6	192 11.5	111 6.6	126 7.5	1674 100.0

TABLE G: DATE OF PROGRAM

DATE	COUNT COL PCT	YEAR									ROW TOTAL
		167-68	69-70	71-72	73-74	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	
PAST	1	38 20.8	34 14.7	33 16.3	40 13.7	36 15.9	15 13.6	27 14.1	13 11.7	11 8.7	247 14.8
PRESENT	2	113 61.7	170 73.3	152 74.9	228 78.4	172 76.1	84 76.4	156 81.3	92 82.9	99 78.6	1266 75.6
FUTURE	3	13 7.1	6 2.6	5 2.5	13 4.5	4 1.8	2 1.8	6 3.1	5 4.5	9 7.1	63 3.8
OTHER	4	19 10.4	22 9.5	13 6.4	10 3.4	14 6.2	9 8.2	3 1.6	1 0.9	7 5.6	98 5.9
COLUMN TOTAL		183 10.9	232 13.9	203 12.1	291 17.4	226 13.5	110 6.6	192 11.5	111 6.6	126 7.5	1674 100.0

TABLE H: PLACE OF PROGRAM

PLACE	COUNT COL PCT	YEAR									ROW TOTAL
		167-68	69-70	71-72	73-74	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	
CANNOT	0	0	17	12	6	4	10	5	4	13	71
		0.0	7.3	5.9	2.1	1.8	9.1	2.6	3.6	10.3	4.2
U.S.	1	121	157	149	230	183	82	160	86	90	1258
		66.1	67.7	73.4	79.0	81.0	74.5	83.3	77.5	71.4	75.1
U.S. AND	2	0	12	15	19	6	4	8	5	4	73
OTHER		0.0	5.2	7.4	6.5	2.7	3.6	4.2	4.5	3.2	4.4
ONLY	3	62	46	27	36	33	14	19	16	19	272
OTHER		33.9	19.8	13.3	12.4	14.6	12.7	9.9	14.4	15.1	16.2
COLUMN		183	232	203	291	226	110	192	111	126	1674
TOTAL		10.9	13.9	12.1	17.4	13.5	6.6	11.5	6.6	7.5	100.0

TABLE I: SETTING OF PROGRAM

SETTING	COUNT COL PCT	YEAR									ROW TOTAL
		167-68	69-70	71-72	73-74	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	
CANNOT	0	0	3	4	2	3	1	2	1	3	19
URBAN	1	61	80	91	127	115	53	104	50	62	743
SUBURBAN	1	33.3	34.5	44.8	43.6	50.9	48.2	54.2	45.0	49.2	44.4
SMALL TOWN	2	50	46	34	55	32	27	40	33	30	347
UNINHAB-MOBILE	3	27.3	19.8	16.7	18.9	14.2	24.5	20.8	29.7	23.8	20.7
MIXED	4	33	18	16	29	35	15	26	10	12	194
	4	18.0	7.8	7.9	10.0	15.5	13.6	13.5	9.0	9.5	11.6
COLUMN TOTAL		183	232	203	291	226	110	192	111	126	1674
		10.9	13.9	12.1	17.4	13.5	6.6	11.5	6.6	7.5	100.0

TABLE 1: ALL PROGRAMS, ALL NETWORKS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	183	232	203	291	226	110	192	111	126	1674
Program Hours Analyzed	120.5	138.9	142.3	225.7	153.0	71.6	143.7	77.3	77.2	1150.2
Leading characters analyzed	455	573	552	987	664	290	585	298	381	4785
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	81.4	80.6	79.8	78.0	77.4	89.1	75.5	84.7	81.0	80.0
Program hours containing violence	85.1	80.8	85.7	82.8	81.8	89.5	79.7	85.6	78.0	82.9
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	872	1128	1022	1562	1185	680	959	643	628	8679
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.8	4.9	5.0	5.4	5.2	6.2	5.0	5.8	5.0	5.2
(R/H) Rate per all hours	7.2	8.1	7.2	6.9	7.7	9.5	6.7	8.3	8.1	7.5
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	10.8	6.8	4.4	5.6	2.8	3.6	34.0
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	52.7	49.7	42.4	40.1	43.8	60.7	47.2	42.3	49.3	46.2
Victims (subjected to violence)	60.4	58.1	50.2	53.0	54.1	64.8	49.9	57.4	52.5	54.7
(%V) Any involvement in violence	69.5	65.1	59.8	61.4	64.2	74.8	60.9	64.8	62.7	63.9
Killers (committing fatal violence)	11.6	4.7	8.2	8.5	6.5	6.6	5.1	3.0	3.1	6.7
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	5.5	3.0	4.0	4.7	3.9	3.1	1.7	2.0	1.3	3.4
(%K) Any involvement in killing	15.4	6.6	9.8	10.9	9.2	8.3	5.8	5.0	3.9	8.8
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.15	- 1.17	- 1.18	- 1.32	- 1.23	- 1.07	- 1.06	- 1.36	- 1.06	- 1.18
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.12	+ 1.59	+ 2.05	+ 1.83	+ 1.72	+ 2.11	+ 3.00	+ 1.50	+ 2.40	+ 1.95
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	105.4	106.6	104.2	102.6	103.4	120.5	98.9	112.9	107.2	105.4
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	84.8	71.7	69.6	72.3	73.3	83.1	66.7	69.8	66.7	72.6
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	190.3	178.3	173.8	174.9	176.8	203.6	165.5	182.7	173.9	178.1

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 2: PRIME-TIME PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	121	125	122	177	134	61	139	63	64	1006
Program Hours Analyzed	106.0	111.8	111.8	174.5	120.1	56.5	127.2	63.0	60.7	931.4
Leading characters analyzed	340	350	386	609	431	172	440	191	218	3137
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	75.2	66.4	73.8	67.8	68.7	80.3	69.8	74.6	70.3	71.0
Program hours containing violence	84.0	77.0	84.4	79.8	80.0	86.7	78.4	82.5	75.3	80.6
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	549	434	533	919	716	342	701	285	344	4823
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.5	3.5	4.4	5.2	5.3	5.6	5.0	4.5	5.4	4.8
(R/H) Rate per all hours	5.2	3.9	4.8	5.3	6.0	6.1	5.5	4.5	5.7	5.2
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	8.0	4.8	3.2	4.5	1.5	2.6	24.7
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	47.6	36.6	39.1	40.7	40.1	56.4	44.8	33.5	45.0	42.0
(%V) Victims (subjected to violence)	53.8	42.9	43.5	46.3	45.5	54.7	44.5	44.5	46.3	46.4
Any involvement in violence	64.4	49.4	53.9	53.7	55.0	67.4	55.5	52.9	53.7	55.5
Killers (committing fatal violence)	14.1	6.9	11.4	13.3	10.0	9.9	6.8	4.7	5.5	9.8
(%K) Killed (victims of lethal violence)	5.6	4.0	5.2	7.2	5.3	4.7	2.3	3.1	2.3	4.7
Any involvement in killing	17.4	9.4	13.5	16.9	13.7	12.2	7.7	7.9	6.9	12.5
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.13	- 1.17	- 1.11	- 1.14	- 1.13	+ 1.03	+ 1.01	- 1.33	- 1.03	- 1.10
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.53	+ 1.71	+ 2.20	+ 1.84	+ 1.87	+ 2.13	+ 3.00	+ 1.50	+ 2.40	+ 2.07
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: $PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)$	94.6	81.1	92.0	88.7	91.3	103.6	90.9	92.7	92.4	90.9
Character V-Score: $CS = (%V) + (%K)$	81.8	58.9	67.4	70.6	68.7	79.7	63.2	60.7	60.6	68.0
Violence Index: $VI = PS + CS$	176.4	140.0	159.4	159.3	159.9	183.3	154.1	153.4	153.0	158.9

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 3: PROGRAMS AIRED 8-9 P.M. EST

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	74	73	55	86	61	25	65	27	31	497
Program Hours Analyzed	57.0	53.3	48.5	79.0	40.3	20.0	51.5	20.5	27.7	397.8
Leading characters analyzed	205	206	176	292	184	69	186	79	96	1493
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	77.0	60.3	74.5	60.5	52.5	72.0	66.2	59.3	71.0	65.4
Program hours containing violence	85.1	70.9	85.6	72.2	60.3	77.5	74.8	63.4	74.7	74.6
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	363	208	232	340	164	94	273	82	174	1930
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.9	2.8	4.2	4.0	2.7	3.8	4.2	3.0	5.6	3.9
(R/H) Rate per all hours	6.4	3.9	4.8	4.3	4.1	4.7	5.3	4.0	6.3	4.9
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	2.6	1.1	0.7	1.9	0.3	0.8	7.5
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	48.8	35.0	37.5	30.8	21.2	42.0	39.8	22.8	41.7	35.4
Victims (subjected to violence)	57.6	40.3	39.8	37.0	27.2	43.5	44.1	34.2	43.7	40.9
(%V) Any involvement in violence	66.3	46.1	50.0	44.2	37.0	55.1	53.2	39.2	53.1	49.2
Killers (committing fatal violence)	16.6	5.3	6.2	9.2	1.1	1.4	2.2	3.8	5.2	6.6
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	6.3	2.4	2.8	5.1	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	5.2	2.9
(%K) Any involvement in killing	20.5	7.3	7.4	12.3	1.1	1.4	2.2	3.8	8.3	8.3
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.18	- 1.15	- 1.06	- 1.20	- 1.28	- 1.03	- 1.11	- 1.50	- 1.05	- 1.16
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.62	+ 2.20	+ 2.20	+ 1.80	+ 0.00	+ 0.00	+ 4.00	+ 0.00	1.00	+ 2.23
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	99.6	73.8	92.5	77.0	66.0	88.9	85.2	73.3	94.8	82.9
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	86.8	53.4	57.4	56.5	38.0	56.5	55.4	43.0	61.5	57.5
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	186.4	127.2	149.9	133.5	104.0	145.4	140.5	116.4	156.2	140.4

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 4: PROGRAMS AIRED 9-11 P.M. EST

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	47	52	67	91	73	36	74	36	33	509
Program Hours Analyzed	49.0	58.5	63.3	95.5	79.8	36.5	75.7	42.5	33.0	533.7
Leading characters analyzed	135	144	210	317	247	103	254	112	122	1644
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	72.3	75.0	73.1	74.7	82.2	86.1	73.0	86.1	69.7	76.4
Program hours containing violence	82.7	82.5	83.5	86.1	90.0	91.8	80.8	91.8	75.8	85.1
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	186	226	301	579	552	248	428	203	170	2893
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.0	4.3	4.5	6.4	7.6	6.9	5.8	5.6	5.2	5.7
(R/H) Rate per all hours	3.8	3.9	4.8	6.1	6.9	6.8	5.7	4.8	5.2	5.4
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	5.4	3.7	2.5	2.6	1.2	1.8	17.2
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	45.9	38.9	40.5	49.8	54.3	66.0	48.4	41.1	47.5	48.1
Victims (subjected to violence)	48.1	46.5	46.7	54.9	59.1	62.1	44.9	51.8	48.4	51.4
(%V) Any involvement in violence	61.5	54.2	57.1	62.5	68.4	75.7	57.1	62.5	54.1	61.3
Killers (committing fatal violence)	10.4	9.0	15.7	17.0	16.6	15.5	10.2	5.4	5.7	12.8
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	4.4	6.2	7.1	9.1	9.3	7.8	3.5	5.4	0.0	6.4
(%K) Any involvement in killing	12.6	12.5	18.6	21.1	23.1	19.4	11.8	10.7	5.7	16.2
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.05	- 1.20	- 1.15	- 1.10	- 1.09	+ 1.06	+ 1.08	- 1.26	- 1.02	- 1.07
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.33	+ 1.44	+ 2.20	+ 1.86	+ 1.78	+ 2.00	+ 2.89	1.00	+ 0.00	+ 2.00
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	87.8	91.4	91.6	99.6	111.2	113.5	95.9	106.9	90.3	98.6
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	74.1	66.7	75.7	83.6	91.5	95.1	68.9	73.2	59.8	77.5
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	161.9	158.1	167.4	183.2	202.7	208.6	164.8	180.2	150.1	176.1

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 5: WEEKEND MORNING PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	62	107	81	114	92	49	53	48	62	668
Program Hours Analyzed	14.5	27.2	30.5	51.2	32.9	15.1	16.5	14.3	16.5	218.8
Leading characters analyzed	115	223	166	378	233	118	145	107	163	1648
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	93.5	97.2	88.9	93.9	90.2	100.0	90.6	97.9	91.9	93.6
Program hours containing violence	93.1	96.6	90.4	93.2	88.4	100.0	89.9	98.8	87.9	92.7
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	323	694	489	643	469	338	258	358	284	3856
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.2	6.5	6.0	5.6	5.1	6.9	4.9	7.5	4.6	5.8
(R/H) Rate per all hours	22.3	25.5	16.0	12.6	14.2	22.4	15.6	25.0	17.2	17.6
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	2.8	1.9	1.2	1.1	1.3	0.9	9.3
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	67.8	70.4	50.0	39.2	50.6	66.9	54.5	57.9	55.2	54.2
Victims (subjected to violence)	80.0	82.1	65.7	63.8	70.0	79.7	66.2	80.4	60.7	70.6
(%V) Any involvement in violence	84.3	89.7	73.5	73.8	81.1	85.6	77.2	86.0	74.8	79.7
Killers (committing fatal violence)	4.3	1.3	0.6	0.8	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	5.2	1.3	1.2	0.5	0.9	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
(%K) Any involvement in killing	9.6	2.2	1.2	1.3	0.9	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.18	- 1.17	- 1.31	- 1.63	- 1.38	- 1.19	- 1.22	- 1.39	- 1.10	- 1.30
Killers : Killed Ratio	- 1.20	1.00	- 2.00	+ 1.50	- 0.00	+ 2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	- 1.14
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	148.5	161.3	133.0	130.3	128.9	158.7	131.5	162.8	135.4	140.4
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	93.9	91.9	74.7	75.1	82.0	88.1	77.2	86.0	74.8	81.4
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	242.4	253.2	207.7	205.4	210.9	246.8	208.8	248.8	210.3	221.8

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 6: TELEVISION PLAYS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	113	115	110	161	135	67	131	56	55	943
Program Hours Analyzed	79.1	84.6	79.0	124.5	103.5	46.8	102.7	44.2	42.3	706.6
Leading characters analyzed	304	321	328	530	430	181	397	164	180	2835
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	73.5	64.3	68.2	65.2	65.9	82.1	66.4	71.4	50.0	68.0
Program hours containing violence	80.9	72.2	78.0	73.7	74.9	84.0	72.6	75.1	65.1	75.1
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	466	363	380	603	566	312	455	168	219	3532
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.1	3.2	3.5	3.7	4.2	4.7	3.5	3.0	4.0	3.7
(R/H) Rate per all hours	5.9	4.3	4.8	4.8	5.5	6.7	4.4	3.8	5.2	5.0
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	4.7	3.8	2.3	3.0	1.1	1.7	16.5
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	45.4	35.8	34.8	36.6	36.5	54.7	39.0	29.9	38.9	38.5
Victims (subjected to violence)	53.3	42.7	37.5	41.7	43.5	58.0	38.3	37.2	41.1	43.1
(%V) Any involvement in violence	62.5	48.9	47.0	51.3	52.8	71.3	50.4	46.3	46.7	52.5
Killers (committing fatal violence)	13.5	6.2	7.9	9.1	7.4	7.2	3.5	4.3	2.8	7.3
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	5.3	3.4	2.4	4.0	4.2	2.8	1.0	1.2	1.1	3.1
(%K) Any involvement in killing	16.8	8.4	8.5	11.3	10.7	8.8	4.0	5.5	3.9	9.2
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.17	- 1.19	- 1.08	- 1.14	- 1.19	- 1.06	+ 1.02	- 1.24	- 1.06	- 1.12
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.56	+ 1.82	+ 3.25	+ 2.29	+ 1.78	+ 2.60	+ 3.50	+ 3.50	+ 2.50	+ 2.37
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	93.5	79.2	84.7	82.4	85.2	104.7	82.2	85.0	79.3	85.5
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	79.3	57.3	55.5	62.6	63.5	80.1	54.4	51.8	50.6	61.7
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	172.8	136.6	140.2	145.0	148.7	184.8	136.6	136.9	128.9	147.2

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 7: MOVIES (FEATURE AND FOR-TV)

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	13	14	23	34	14	9	13	10	8	138
Program Hours Analyzed	27.5	29.0	38.8	60.5	26.8	17.0	26.8	20.0	17.7	263.9
Leading characters analyzed	42	43	85	137	52	32	57	34	34	516
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	92.3	92.9	95.7	94.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	87.5	95.7
Program hours containing violence	92.7	92.2	94.8	95.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	88.7	95.7
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	93	99	195	367	194	105	221	131	87	1492
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	7.2	7.1	8.5	10.8	13.9	11.7	17.0	13.1	10.9	10.8
(R/H) Rate per all hours	3.4	3.4	5.0	6.1	7.3	6.2	8.3	6.5	4.9	5.7
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	3.7	1.3	1.3	1.5	0.5	0.8	9.1
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	61.9	51.2	51.8	54.7	73.1	53.1	71.9	55.9	58.8	58.5
Victims (subjected to violence)	59.5	62.8	64.7	63.5	65.4	59.4	75.4	85.3	55.9	65.5
(%V) Any involvement in violence	78.6	69.8	75.3	70.1	84.6	59.4	82.5	91.2	64.7	74.8
Killers (committing fatal violence)	16.7	9.3	21.2	24.1	21.2	18.8	28.1	5.9	20.6	20.2
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	7.1	7.0	14.1	16.8	9.6	12.5	10.5	11.8	8.8	12.2
(%K) Any involvement in killing	19.0	14.0	28.2	31.4	25.0	25.0	31.6	17.6	23.5	26.0
Violents : Victims Ratio	+ 1.04	- 1.23	- 1.25	- 1.16	+ 1.12	- 1.12	- 1.05	- 1.53	+ 1.05	- 1.12
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.33	+ 1.33	+ 1.50	+ 1.43	+ 2.20	+ 1.50	+ 2.67	- 2.00	+ 2.33	+ 1.65
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	113.4	113.8	122.7	127.8	142.2	135.7	150.5	139.3	119.1	128.6
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	97.6	83.7	103.5	101.5	109.6	84.4	114.0	108.8	88.2	100.8
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	211.0	197.5	226.2	229.3	251.8	220.1	264.6	248.1	207.3	229.4

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 8: CARTOONS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	57	103	70	96	77	34	48	45	63	593
Program Hours Analyzed	13.9	25.3	24.5	40.7	22.8	7.7	14.3	13.1	17.3	179.7
Leading characters analyzed	109	209	139	320	182	77	131	100	167	1434
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	94.7	97.1	92.9	93.8	93.5	100.0	93.8	97.8	98.4	95.4
Program hours containing violence	93.4	96.4	96.2	92.6	91.9	100.0	93.0	98.7	98.6	95.0
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	313	666	447	592	425	263	283	344	322	3655
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.5	6.5	6.4	6.2	5.5	7.7	5.9	7.6	5.1	6.2
(R/H) Rate per all hours	22.5	26.3	18.2	14.6	18.7	34.0	19.8	26.2	18.6	20.3
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	2.4	1.6	0.9	1.2	1.3	1.0	8.4
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	69.7	70.8	54.7	39.7	52.7	77.9	61.1	58.0	58.7	57.1
Victims (subjected to violence)	80.7	80.9	71.2	67.2	75.8	83.1	74.0	81.0	64.1	73.8
(%V) Any involvement in violence	85.3	89.0	80.6	74.4	85.2	89.6	83.2	86.0	79.6	82.4
Killers (committing fatal violence)	4.6	1.4	0.7	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	5.5	1.4	1.4	0.6	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
(%K) Any involvement in killing	10.1	2.4	1.4	1.6	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.16	- 1.14	- 1.30	- 1.69	- 1.44	- 1.07	- 1.21	- 1.40	- 1.09	- 1.29
Killers : Killed Ratio	- 1.20	1.00	- 2.00	+ 1.50	- 0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	- 1.25
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	150.7	162.6	142.1	135.2	141.9	183.5	145.2	165.5	145.9	148.5
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	95.4	91.4	82.0	75.9	86.3	89.6	83.2	86.0	79.6	84.1
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	246.1	254.0	224.1	211.1	228.1	273.1	228.4	251.5	225.5	232.6

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 9: ALL ACTION PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	118	125	105	162	122	42	84	44	52	854
Program Hours Analyzed	83.4	73.5	86.6	151.6	101.7	37.7	75.3	32.0	36.4	678.1
Leading characters analyzed	299	328	296	596	375	133	282	133	166	2608
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	96.6	96.8	95.2	95.1	92.6	95.2	91.7	95.5	94.2	94.8
Program hours containing violence	96.5	97.2	98.0	95.1	94.1	94.7	93.8	93.8	97.3	95.6
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	760	819	757	1208	831	347	633	305	327	5987
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	6.4	6.6	7.2	7.5	6.8	8.3	7.5	6.9	6.3	7.0
(R/H) Rate per all hours	9.1	11.1	8.7	8.0	8.2	9.2	8.4	9.5	9.0	8.8
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	9.4	5.4	3.0	4.4	1.8	2.6	26.7
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	69.6	65.5	59.1	52.3	56.0	71.4	65.2	48.1	62.7	60.1
Victims (subjected to violence)	77.3	76.8	66.9	66.8	63.5	72.2	67.4	64.7	65.1	68.9
(%V) Any involvement in violence	86.0	84.8	77.7	76.3	75.2	85.0	78.0	72.2	75.3	78.8
Killers (committing fatal violence)	17.4	6.7	13.2	13.8	11.2	12.8	10.6	6.0	5.4	11.5
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	7.7	3.7	5.4	7.4	5.9	5.3	3.5	0.0	1.8	5.3
(%K) Any involvement in killing	22.7	9.5	15.2	17.4	15.2	15.8	12.1	6.0	6.6	14.5
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.11	- 1.17	- 1.13	- 1.28	- 1.13	- 1.01	- 1.03	- 1.34	- 1.04	- 1.15
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.26	+ 1.83	+ 2.44	+ 1.86	+ 1.91	+ 2.43	+ 3.00	+ 0.00	+ 3.00	+ 2.20
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	127.7	132.2	127.1	125.9	122.6	130.2	123.6	128.4	124.8	126.5
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	108.7	94.2	92.9	93.8	90.4	100.8	90.1	78.2	81.9	93.4
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	236.4	226.4	220.0	219.7	213.0	230.9	213.6	206.6	206.7	219.9

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 10: PRIME-TIME ACTION PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	69	49	59	100	74	28	54	20	22	475
Program Hours Analyzed	72.0	55.3	68.8	122.5	82.0	31.5	64.7	22.3	26.0	544.9
Leading characters analyzed	206	142	200	369	254	92	195	70	75	1603
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	97.1	95.9	98.3	94.0	94.6	92.9	90.7	90.0	100.0	94.9
Program hours containing violence	96.5	97.3	99.3	94.7	95.7	93.7	93.8	91.0	100.0	95.9
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	481	323	424	857	593	256	486	116	182	3718
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	7.0	6.6	7.2	8.6	8.0	9.1	9.0	5.8	8.3	7.8
(R/H) Rate per all hours	6.7	5.8	6.2	7.0	7.2	8.1	7.5	5.2	7.0	6.8
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	7.7	4.2	2.6	3.6	0.9	1.9	21.0
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	67.0	64.1	59.5	61.0	57.5	78.3	69.2	44.3	76.0	63.3
Victims (subjected to violence)	73.8	70.4	62.5	67.8	59.8	70.7	67.2	52.9	72.0	66.5
(%V) Any involvement in violence	85.0	80.3	76.0	77.5	72.4	87.0	77.9	61.4	81.3	77.8
Killers (committing fatal violence)	22.8	14.8	19.0	21.7	16.5	16.3	15.4	11.4	12.0	18.1
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	8.3	7.0	7.5	11.9	8.3	6.5	5.1	0.0	4.0	7.9
(%K) Any involvement in killing	27.7	19.7	22.0	27.6	22.0	19.6	17.4	11.4	14.7	22.3
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.10	- 1.10	- 1.05	- 1.11	- 1.04	+ 1.11	+ 1.03	- 1.19	+ 1.06	- 1.05
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.76	+ 2.10	+ 2.53	+ 1.82	+ 2.00	+ 2.50	+ 3.00	+ 0.00	+ 3.00	+ 2.30
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	124.4	120.8	125.0	125.1	125.1	127.4	123.8	112.0	130.5	124.2
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	112.6	100.0	98.0	105.1	94.5	106.5	95.4	72.9	96.0	100.1
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	237.0	220.8	223.0	230.3	219.6	233.9	219.2	184.9	226.5	224.4

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 11: WEEKEND MORNING ACTION PROGRAMS

	67-68	63-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	49	76	46	62	48	14	30	24	30	379
Program Hours Analyzed	11.4	18.3	17.8	29.1	19.7	6.2	10.6	9.8	10.4	133.2
Leading characters analyzed	93	186	96	227	121	41	87	63	91	1005
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	95.9	97.4	91.3	96.8	89.6	100.0	93.3	100.0	90.0	94.7
Program hours containing violence	96.4	96.8	93.2	96.6	87.3	100.0	93.7	100.0	90.4	94.5
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	279	496	333	351	238	91	147	189	145	2269
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.7	6.5	7.2	5.7	5.0	6.5	4.9	7.9	4.8	6.0
(R/H) Rate per all hours	24.4	27.1	18.7	12.1	12.1	14.8	13.9	19.4	13.9	17.0
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	1.7	1.2	0.4	0.8	0.9	0.7	5.7
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	75.3	66.7	58.3	38.3	52.9	56.1	56.3	52.4	51.6	55.0
Victims (subjected to violence)	84.9	81.7	76.0	65.2	71.1	75.6	67.8	77.8	59.3	72.7
(%V) Any involvement in violence	88.2	88.2	81.2	74.4	81.0	80.5	78.2	84.1	70.3	80.5
Killers (committing fatal violence)	5.4	0.5	1.0	0.9	0.0	4.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	6.5	1.1	1.0	0.0	0.8	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
(%K) Any involvement in killing	11.8	1.6	1.0	0.9	0.8	7.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.13	- 1.23	- 1.30	- 1.70	- 1.34	- 1.35	- 1.20	- 1.48	- 1.15	- 1.32
Killers : Killed Ratio	- 1.20	- 2.00	1.00	+ 0.00	- 0.00	+ 2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: $PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)$	156.2	164.6	143.1	132.2	123.7	142.5	130.9	154.5	127.5	140.8
Character V-Score: $CS = (%V) + (%K)$	100.0	89.8	82.3	75.3	81.8	87.8	78.2	84.1	70.3	82.6
Violence Index: $VI = PS + CS$	256.2	254.4	225.4	207.6	205.5	230.3	209.0	238.6	197.8	223.3

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 12: ALL COMIC TONE PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	86	120	88	107	94	43	68	46	57	709
Program Hours Analyzed	40.5	43.1	34.2	45.5	33.9	13.2	28.2	16.5	18.5	273.8
Leading characters analyzed	189	258	196	324	247	96	173	98	158	1739
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	66.3	79.2	69.3	70.1	69.1	90.7	70.6	82.6	86.0	74.3
Program hours containing violence	61.1	67.7	67.1	65.9	58.3	84.9	62.7	74.7	79.8	66.8
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	255	584	333	475	374	268	257	295	261	3102
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	3.0	4.9	3.8	4.4	4.0	6.2	3.8	6.4	4.6	4.4
(R/H) Rate per all hours	6.3	13.5	9.7	10.4	11.0	20.3	9.1	17.9	14.1	11.3
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	2.2	1.4	0.8	1.0	1.0	0.6	6.9
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	37.6	52.7	31.1	34.6	39.3	68.7	38.2	50.0	46.8	42.1
Victims (subjected to violence)	45.0	59.7	38.3	50.0	52.2	72.9	42.8	65.3	52.5	51.5
(%V) Any involvement in violence	54.0	65.5	46.4	59.6	61.9	83.3	54.9	71.4	63.3	60.6
Killers (committing fatal violence)	4.2	0.8	0.5	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	0.5	0.8	1.0	0.6	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
(%K) Any involvement in killing	4.8	1.2	1.0	1.5	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.20	- 1.13	- 1.23	- 1.45	- 1.33	- 1.06	- 1.12	- 1.31	- 1.12	- 1.22
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 8.00	1.00	- 2.00	+ 1.50	- 0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	+ 1.56
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	84.8	116.0	96.3	99.8	99.1	143.7	96.4	131.2	123.3	105.7
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	58.7	66.7	47.4	61.1	62.8	83.3	54.9	71.4	63.3	61.8
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	143.5	182.7	143.8	161.0	161.9	227.0	151.3	202.6	186.6	167.5

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 13: PRIME-TIME COMIC TONE PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	51	41	35	39	37	11	39	16	21	290
Program Hours Analyzed	33.0	24.3	16.9	20.3	17.5	5.5	21.7	10.0	12.0	161.1
Leading characters analyzed	131	104	100	106	100	21	100	38	67	767
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	49.0	43.9	45.7	25.6	32.4	63.6	53.8	56.3	66.7	45.5
Program hours containing violence	54.5	45.4	47.8	30.9	28.6	63.6	53.8	60.0	70.8	48.4
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	106	48	35	45	55	22	94	63	107	575
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	2.1	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.5	2.0	2.4	3.9	5.1	2.0
(R/H) Rate per all hours	3.2	2.0	2.1	2.2	3.1	4.0	4.3	6.3	8.9	3.6
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.3	1.9
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	29.8	12.5	11.0	11.3	11.0	47.6	21.0	26.3	38.8	19.9
Victims (subjected to violence)	32.8	18.3	15.0	11.3	24.0	42.9	21.0	34.2	47.8	24.5
(%V) Any involvement in violence	42.7	22.1	23.0	16.0	28.0	57.1	32.0	42.1	49.3	31.3
Killers (committing fatal violence)	4.6	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	0.8	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
(%K) Any involvement in killing	5.3	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.10	- 1.46	- 1.36	1.00	- 2.18	+ 1.11	1.00	- 1.30	- 1.23	- 1.23
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 6.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	+ 3.50
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	59.6	50.2	51.9	32.4	41.7	75.6	67.3	76.7	94.7	56.6
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	48.1	22.1	24.0	16.0	28.0	57.1	32.0	42.1	49.3	32.3
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	107.7	72.3	75.9	48.4	69.7	132.8	99.3	118.8	143.9	89.0

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 14: WEEKEND MORNING COMIC TONE PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	35	79	53	68	57	32	29	30	36	419
Program Hours Analyzed	7.5	18.9	17.3	25.3	16.4	7.7	6.5	6.5	6.5	112.7
Leading characters analyzed	58	154	96	218	147	75	73	60	91	972
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	91.4	97.5	84.9	95.6	93.0	100.0	93.1	96.7	97.2	94.3
Program hours containing violence	90.0	96.5	85.9	94.1	89.9	100.0	92.3	97.4	96.2	93.0
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	149	536	298	430	319	246	163	232	154	2527
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.3	6.8	5.6	6.3	5.6	7.7	5.6	7.7	4.3	6.0
(R/H) Rate per all hours	19.9	28.4	17.2	17.0	19.4	31.8	25.1	35.7	23.5	22.4
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	1.8	1.1	0.8	0.5	0.7	0.2	5.1
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	55.2	79.9	52.1	45.9	58.5	74.7	61.6	65.0	52.7	59.6
Victims (subjected to violence)	72.4	87.7	62.5	68.8	71.4	81.3	72.6	85.0	56.0	72.8
(%V) Any involvement in violence	79.3	94.8	70.8	80.7	85.0	90.7	86.3	90.0	73.6	83.6
Killers (committing fatal violence)	3.4	1.3	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	0.0	1.3	1.0	0.9	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
(%K) Any involvement in killing	3.4	1.9	1.0	2.3	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.31	- 1.10	- 1.20	- 1.50	- 1.22	- 1.09	- 1.18	- 1.31	- 1.06	- 1.22
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 0.00	1.00	- 0.00	+ 1.50	- 0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	139.7	167.9	130.6	142.3	143.0	179.0	154.5	183.5	152.8	151.2
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	82.8	96.8	71.9	83.0	86.4	90.7	86.3	90.0	73.6	85.0
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	222.4	264.6	202.4	225.3	229.4	269.7	240.8	273.5	226.4	236.2

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 15 ALL SERIOUS PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	0	75	77	128	98	46	68	43	41	576
Program Hours Analyzed	0.0	74.2	88.3	141.5	99.0	48.2	73.9	45.0	42.1	612.2
Leading characters analyzed	0	214	260	467	320	141	234	131	130	1897
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	0.0	84.0	96.1	89.8	89.8	93.5	88.2	90.7	82.9	89.6
Program hours containing violence	0.0	88.2	95.5	91.2	92.4	93.8	91.0	92.2	84.6	91.4
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	0	399	474	900	703	351	511	239	270	3847
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	0.0	5.3	6.2	7.0	7.2	7.6	7.5	5.6	6.6	6.7
(R/H) Rate per all hours	0.0	5.4	5.4	6.4	7.1	7.3	6.9	5.3	6.4	6.8
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	7.9	5.1	3.4	3.2	1.4	2.5	23.4
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	0.0	50.5	51.9	49.9	51.6	63.1	60.3	45.0	57.7	53.0
Victims (subjected to violence)	0.0	56.5	57.7	60.8	60.3	66.7	62.0	59.5	58.5	60.1
(%V) Any involvement in violence	0.0	66.4	69.6	69.0	70.0	75.9	72.6	67.9	68.5	69.8
Killers (committing fatal violence)	0.0	11.2	15.8	16.3	13.1	13.5	12.0	6.9	9.2	13.2
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	0.0	6.5	7.7	9.0	7.2	6.4	4.3	4.6	3.8	6.8
(%K) Any involvement in killing	0.0	15.4	18.8	20.8	18.1	17.0	13.7	11.5	11.5	17.0
Violents : Victims Ratio	0.00	- 1.12	- 1.11	- 1.22	- 1.17	- 1.06	- 1.03	- 1.32	- 1.01	- 1.14
Killers : Killed Ratio	0.00	+ 1.71	+ 2.05	+ 1.81	+ 1.83	+ 2.11	+ 2.80	+ 1.50	+ 2.40	+ 1.95
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	0.0	105.4	119.1	116.6	118.3	123.3	117.1	112.4	108.9	115.5
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	0.0	81.8	88.5	89.7	88.1	92.9	86.3	79.4	80.0	86.8
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	0.0	187.2	207.6	206.3	206.5	216.2	203.4	191.8	188.9	202.3

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 16: PRIME-TIME SERIOUS TONE PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	0	61	71	109	79	36	54	31	30	471
Program Hours Analyzed	0.0	70.3	85.3	131.0	89.0	43.5	68.2	40.0	37.7	564.8
Leading characters analyzed	0	174	245	410	272	114	195	104	102	1616
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	0.0	82.0	95.8	90.8	91.1	91.7	88.9	87.1	80.0	89.4
Program hours containing violence	0.0	87.9	95.3	91.6	93.3	93.1	91.2	91.2	84.1	91.5
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	0	331	460	837	617	294	458	167	217	3381
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	0.0	5.4	6.5	7.7	7.8	8.2	8.5	5.4	7.2	7.2
(R/H) Rate per all hours	0.0	4.7	5.4	6.4	6.9	6.8	6.7	4.2	5.8	6.0
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	7.3	4.4	3.1	2.9	1.1	2.2	21.0
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	0.0	51.7	53.5	53.2	54.4	64.9	62.6	42.3	58.8	54.9
Victims (subjected to violence)	0.0	57.5	58.4	61.2	58.8	63.2	62.1	53.8	55.9	59.4
(%V) Any involvement in violence	0.0	66.7	71.0	69.0	69.5	74.6	73.3	62.5	66.7	69.5
Killers (committing fatal violence)	0.0	13.2	16.3	18.5	15.4	14.9	14.4	8.7	11.8	15.3
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	0.0	7.5	7.8	10.2	8.5	7.0	5.1	5.8	4.9	7.8
(%K) Any involvement in killing	0.0	17.8	19.6	23.7	21.3	18.4	16.4	14.4	14.7	19.6
Violents : Victims Ratio	0.00	- 1.11	- 1.09	- 1.15	- 1.08	+ 1.03	+ 1.01	- 1.27	+ 1.05	- 1.08
Killers : Killed Ratio	0.00	+ 1.77	+ 2.11	+ 1.81	+ 1.83	+ 2.13	+ 2.80	+ 1.50	+ 2.40	+ 1.96
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	0.0	102.2	119.5	119.0	120.6	121.5	119.3	106.2	106.0	115.7
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	0.0	84.5	90.6	92.7	90.8	93.0	89.7	76.9	81.4	89.1
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	0.0	186.7	210.1	211.6	211.4	214.5	209.0	183.1	187.4	204.8

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 17: WEEKEND MORNING SERIOUS TONE PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	0	14	6	19	19	10	14	12	11	105
Program Hours Analyzed	0.0	3.9	3.1	10.5	10.0	4.7	5.8	5.0	4.4	47.4
Leading characters analyzed	0	40	15	57	48	27	39	27	28	281
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	0.0	92.9	100.0	84.2	84.2	100.0	85.7	100.0	90.9	90.5
Program hours containing violence	0.0	93.6	100.0	85.7	85.0	100.0	88.5	100.0	88.7	90.7
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	0	68	14	63	86	57	53	72	53	466
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	0.0	4.9	2.3	3.3	4.5	5.7	3.8	6.0	4.8	4.4
(R/H) Rate per all hours	0.0	17.4	4.5	6.0	8.6	12.2	9.2	14.4	12.0	9.8
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.5	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	2.5
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	0.0	45.0	26.7	26.3	35.4	55.6	48.7	55.6	53.6	42.0
Victims (subjected to violence)	0.0	52.5	46.7	57.9	68.8	81.5	61.5	81.5	67.9	64.4
(%V) Any involvement in violence	0.0	65.0	46.7	68.4	72.9	81.5	69.2	88.9	75.0	71.5
Killers (committing fatal violence)	0.0	2.5	6.7	0.0	0.0	7.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	0.0	2.5	6.7	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
(%K) Any involvement in killing	0.0	5.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1
Violents : Victims Ratio	0.00	- 1.17	- 1.75	- 2.20	- 1.94	- 1.47	- 1.26	- 1.47	- 1.27	- 1.53
Killers : Killed Ratio	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	+ 2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	+ 1.33
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	0.0	137.3	113.7	102.8	110.5	135.8	111.6	140.8	124.5	119.0
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	0.0	70.0	53.3	68.4	72.9	92.6	69.2	88.9	75.0	73.7
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	0.0	207.3	167.0	171.3	183.4	228.4	180.8	229.7	199.5	192.7

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 18: ALL PROGRAMS CONTINUED FROM THE PREVIOUS YEAR

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	103	132	131	210	156	69	112	77	65	1055
Program Hours Analyzed	66.5	92.7	87.7	167.2	105.6	48.0	92.5	58.4	50.7	769.3
Leading characters analyzed	261	326	349	708	448	185	342	214	203	3036
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	77.7	78.8	76.3	79.0	77.6	87.0	76.8	89.6	70.8	78.9
Program hours containing violence	80.2	82.4	82.5	83.7	81.4	89.6	83.5	89.7	72.9	82.9
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	450	614	708	1138	854	436	637	494	331	5662
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.4	4.7	5.4	5.4	5.5	6.3	5.7	6.4	5.1	5.4
(R/H) Rate per all hours	6.8	6.6	8.1	6.8	8.1	9.1	6.9	8.5	6.5	7.4
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	8.2	4.9	2.8	4.0	2.2	2.3	24.4
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	50.6	48.5	45.6	41.4	45.3	55.7	51.5	43.9	44.8	46.4
Victims (subjected to violence)	58.2	55.8	53.0	52.8	58.7	62.2	52.9	58.4	46.8	55.1
(%V) Any involvement in violence	67.4	62.6	61.6	61.6	65.8	71.4	62.9	65.9	54.2	63.4
Killers (committing fatal violence)	11.9	6.1	8.0	7.8	7.4	5.4	7.9	2.3	3.9	7.1
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	3.8	3.7	4.6	4.9	4.2	3.8	2.6	2.8	1.5	3.9
(%K) Any involvement in killing	14.6	8.9	10.0	10.6	10.5	7.6	8.8	5.1	4.4	9.5
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.15	- 1.15	- 1.16	- 1.28	- 1.30	- 1.12	- 1.03	- 1.33	- 1.04	- 1.19
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 3.10	+ 1.67	+ 1.75	+ 1.57	+ 1.74	+ 1.43	+ 3.00	- 1.20	+ 2.67	+ 1.85
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: $PS = (\%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)$	99.9	101.3	103.3	103.5	104.7	117.8	101.9	119.4	94.0	104.3
Character V-Score: $CS = (\%V) + (\%K)$	82.0	71.5	71.6	72.2	76.3	78.9	71.6	71.0	58.6	72.9
Violence Index: $VI = PS + CS$	181.9	172.8	174.9	175.7	181.0	196.7	173.6	190.4	152.6	177.2

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 19: ALL NEW PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	80	100	72	81	70	41	80	34	61	619
Program Hours Analyzed	54.0	46.3	54.6	58.5	47.4	23.6	51.1	18.9	26.5	380.9
Leading characters analyzed	194	247	203	279	216	105	243	84	178	1749
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	86.2	83.0	86.1	75.3	77.1	92.7	73.7	73.5	91.8	81.9
Program hours containing violence	91.0	77.7	90.8	80.3	82.8	89.4	72.8	72.7	87.7	83.0
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	422	514	314	424	331	244	322	149	297	3017
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.3	5.1	4.4	5.2	4.7	6.0	4.0	4.4	4.9	4.9
(R/H) Rate per all hours	7.8	11.1	5.8	7.2	7.0	10.4	6.3	7.9	11.2	7.9
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	2.6	1.8	1.6	1.6	0.7	1.3	9.6
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	55.7	51.4	36.9	36.9	40.7	69.5	41.2	38.1	54.5	45.9
Victims (subjected to violence)	63.4	61.1	45.3	53.4	44.4	69.5	45.7	54.8	59.0	54.1
(%V) Any involvement in violence	72.2	68.4	56.7	60.9	60.6	81.0	58.0	61.9	72.5	64.7
Killers (committing fatal violence)	11.3	2.8	8.4	10.4	4.6	8.6	1.2	4.8	2.2	6.0
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	7.7	2.0	3.0	3.9	2.8	1.9	0.4	0.0	1.1	2.7
(%K) Any involvement in killing	16.5	3.6	9.4	11.8	6.5	9.5	1.6	4.8	3.4	7.5
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.14	- 1.19	- 1.23	- 1.45	- 1.09	1.00	- 1.11	- 1.44	- 1.08	- 1.18
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 1.47	+ 1.40	+ 2.83	+ 2.64	+ 1.67	+ 4.50	+ 3.00	+ 0.00	+ 2.00	+ 2.19
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	112.4	115.5	106.3	100.3	100.6	125.3	94.4	98.0	124.0	107.5
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	88.7	72.1	66.0	72.8	67.1	90.5	59.7	66.7	75.8	72.2
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	201.1	187.6	172.4	173.0	167.7	215.8	154.1	164.7	199.8	179.7

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 20: PRIME-TIME PROGRAMS CONTINUED FROM THE PREVIOUS YEAR

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	74	85	73	129	90	43	87	45	42	668
Program Hours Analyzed	60.0	81.0	68.8	131.5	80.8	40.0	85.2	48.5	44.2	639.9
Leading characters analyzed	205	244	236	451	286	123	276	140	152	2113
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	71.6	69.4	67.1	68.2	68.9	79.1	72.4	82.2	61.9	70.5
Program hours containing violence	79.2	80.6	80.5	80.4	79.6	87.5	83.0	87.6	71.7	80.9
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	317	329	337	668	508	251	510	253	214	3387
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.3	3.9	4.6	5.2	5.6	5.8	5.9	5.6	5.1	5.1
(R/H) Rate per all hours	5.3	4.1	4.9	5.1	6.3	6.3	6.0	5.2	4.8	5.3
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	6.2	3.6	2.2	3.3	1.3	1.9	18.5
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	46.8	40.6	39.4	40.8	43.0	52.8	48.6	35.7	42.1	43.0
Victims (subjected to violence)	53.2	45.1	45.8	45.7	51.4	53.7	48.6	48.6	42.1	47.9
(%V) Any involvement in violence	62.9	52.9	54.7	53.2	58.7	65.0	59.1	57.1	48.7	56.4
Killers (committing fatal violence)	14.1	7.8	11.9	11.5	11.5	8.1	9.8	3.6	5.3	10.0
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	4.9	4.5	6.4	7.3	6.3	5.7	3.3	4.3	2.0	5.3
(%K) Any involvement in killing	17.6	11.1	14.4	15.5	16.1	11.4	10.9	7.9	5.9	13.1
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.14	- 1.11	- 1.16	- 1.12	- 1.20	- 1.02	1.00	- 1.36	1.00	- 1.11
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.90	+ 1.73	+ 1.87	+ 1.58	+ 1.83	+ 1.43	+ 3.00	- 1.20	+ 2.67	+ 1.88
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	90.8	85.3	86.2	88.7	92.7	103.3	96.1	103.9	81.8	91.2
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	80.5	63.9	69.1	68.7	74.8	76.4	69.9	65.0	54.6	69.5
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	171.2	149.2	155.2	157.5	167.6	179.7	166.0	168.9	136.4	160.8

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 21: NEW PRIME-TIME PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	47	40	49	48	44	18	52	18	22	338
Program Hours Analyzed	46.0	30.8	43.0	43.0	39.3	16.5	42.0	14.5	16.5	291.5
Leading characters analyzed	135	106	150	158	145	49	164	51	66	1024
PREVALENCE										
(%P) Programs containing violence	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Program hours containing violence	80.9	60.0	83.7	66.7	68.2	83.3	65.4	55.6	86.4	71.9
RATE										
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
(R/H) Rate per all hours	232	105	196	251	208	91	191	32	130	1436
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	4.9	2.6	4.0	5.2	4.7	5.1	3.7	1.8	5.9	4.2
	5.0	3.4	4.6	5.8	5.3	5.5	4.5	2.2	7.9	4.9
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
(%V) Victims (committing violence)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Victims (subjected to violence)	48.9	27.4	38.7	40.5	34.5	65.3	38.4	27.5	51.5	40.0
Any involvement in violence	54.8	37.7	40.0	48.1	33.8	57.1	37.8	33.3	56.1	43.3
(%K) Killers (committing fatal violence)	66.7	41.5	52.7	55.1	47.6	73.5	49.4	41.2	65.2	53.7
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	14.1	4.7	10.7	18.4	6.9	14.3	1.8	7.8	6.1	9.5
Any involvement in killing	6.7	2.8	3.3	7.0	3.4	2.0	0.6	0.0	3.0	3.6
Violents : Victims Ratio	17.0	5.7	12.0	20.9	9.0	14.3	2.4	7.8	9.1	11.1
Killers : Killed Ratio	- 1.12	- 1.38	- 1.03	- 1.19	+ 1.02	+ 1.14	+ 1.02	- 1.21	- 1.09	- 1.08
	+ 2.11	+ 1.67	+ 3.20	+ 2.64	+ 2.00	+ 7.00	+ 3.00	+ 0.00	+ 2.00	+ 2.62
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	100.8	72.1	100.8	88.8	88.2	104.5	81.8	63.5	113.9	90.2
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	83.7	47.2	64.7	75.9	56.6	87.8	51.8	49.0	74.2	64.8
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	184.5	119.2	165.5	164.7	144.8	192.2	133.7	112.5	188.2	155.1

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 22: WEEKEND MORNING PROGRAMS CONTINUED FROM THE PREVIOUS YEAR

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	29	47	58	81	66	26	25	32	23	387
Program Hours Analyzed	6.5	11.7	19.0	35.7	24.8	8.0	7.4	9.9	6.5	129.4
Leading characters analyzed	56	82	113	257	162	62	66	74	51	923
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	93.1	95.7	87.9	96.3	89.4	100.0	92.0	100.0	87.0	93.3
Program hours containing violence	89.7	95.0	89.8	95.8	87.2	100.0	89.8	100.0	80.9	92.4
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	133	285	371	470	346	185	127	241	117	2275
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.6	6.1	6.4	5.8	5.2	7.1	5.1	7.5	5.1	5.9
(R/H) Rate per all hours	20.5	24.4	19.6	13.2	14.0	23.1	17.2	24.3	17.9	17.6
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	2.0	1.4	0.6	0.6	0.9	0.4	5.9
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	64.3	72.0	58.4	42.4	49.4	61.3	63.6	59.5	52.9	54.3
Victims (subjected to violence)	76.8	87.8	68.1	65.4	71.6	79.0	71.2	77.0	60.8	71.5
(%V) Any involvement in violence	83.9	91.5	76.1	76.3	78.4	83.9	78.8	82.4	70.6	79.3
Killers (committing fatal violence)	3.6	1.2	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	0.0	1.2	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
(%K) Any involvement in killing	3.6	2.4	0.9	1.9	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.19	- 1.22	- 1.17	- 1.54	- 1.45	- 1.29	- 1.12	- 1.30	- 1.15	- 1.32
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 0.00	1.00	- 0.00	+ 1.50	- 0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	+ 1.20
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: $PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)$	143.2	156.7	139.8	134.2	127.8	160.5	136.6	163.7	132.9	140.2
Character V-Score: $CS = (%V) + (%K)$	87.5	93.9	77.0	78.2	79.0	83.9	78.8	82.4	70.6	80.5
Violence Index: $VI = PS + CS$	230.7	250.6	216.8	212.5	206.8	244.4	215.3	246.1	203.4	220.7

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 23: NEW WEEKEND MORNING PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	33	60	23	33	26	23	28	16	39	281
Program Hours Analyzed	8.0	15.5	11.6	15.5	8.2	7.1	9.1	4.4	10.0	89.4
Leading characters analyzed	59	141	53	121	71	56	79	33	112	725
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	93.9	95.3	91.3	87.9	92.3	100.0	89.3	93.8	94.9	94.0
Program hours containing violence	95.8	97.8	91.4	87.1	91.8	100.0	90.0	96.2	92.5	93.1
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	190	409	118	173	123	153	131	117	167	1581
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.8	6.8	5.1	5.2	4.7	6.7	4.7	7.3	4.3	5.6
(R/H) Rate per all hours	23.8	26.4	10.2	11.2	15.1	21.7	14.3	26.5	16.7	17.7
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	3.5
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	71.2	69.5	32.1	32.2	53.5	73.2	46.8	54.5	56.2	54.2
Victims (subjected to violence)	83.1	78.7	60.4	60.3	66.2	80.4	62.0	87.9	60.7	69.4
(%V) Any involvement in violence	84.7	88.7	67.9	68.6	87.3	87.5	75.9	93.9	76.8	80.3
Killers (committing fatal violence)	5.1	1.4	1.9	0.0	0.0	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	10.2	1.4	1.9	0.0	1.4	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5
(%K) Any involvement in killing	15.3	2.1	1.9	0.0	1.4	5.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.17	- 1.13	- 1.88	- 1.87	- 1.24	- 1.10	- 1.32	- 1.61	- 1.08	- 1.28
Killers : Killed Ratio	- 2.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	- 0.00	+ 2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	- 1.38
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: $PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)$	153.0	164.7	122.0	120.7	131.9	156.6	127.3	161.4	136.8	140.6
Character V-Score: $CS = (%V) + (%K)$	100.0	90.8	69.8	68.6	88.7	92.9	75.9	93.9	76.8	82.6
Violence Index: $VI = PS + CS$	253.0	255.5	191.8	189.3	220.6	249.5	203.2	255.3	213.6	223.2

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 24: ALL ABC PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	57	80	64	100	77	32	59	35	34	538
Program Hours Analyzed	39.5	43.7	46.4	77.3	50.5	21.2	42.1	24.5	23.5	368.7
Leading characters analyzed	149	203	192	326	225	97	197	92	113	1594
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	89.5	75.0	73.4	76.0	79.2	93.8	74.6	88.6	70.6	78.8
Program hours containing violence	92.4	69.1	84.0	80.9	82.5	92.9	78.0	89.8	74.5	81.9
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	306	341	318	521	426	189	253	199	151	2704
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.4	4.3	5.0	5.2	5.5	5.9	4.3	5.7	4.4	5.0
(R/H) Rate per all hours	7.7	7.8	6.9	6.7	8.4	8.9	6.0	8.1	6.4	7.3
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	3.6	2.3	1.4	1.7	1.1	1.1	11.2
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	59.7	43.8	34.4	40.8	47.1	61.9	41.1	43.5	44.2	44.8
Victims (subjected to violence)	65.8	50.2	42.7	54.0	59.1	64.9	45.2	59.8	46.0	53.3
(%V) Any involvement in violence	75.8	58.1	51.0	58.6	71.1	76.3	55.8	66.3	52.2	61.7
Killers (committing fatal violence)	13.4	3.4	8.9	8.9	4.4	4.1	2.0	3.3	0.9	6.0
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	5.4	2.0	5.7	4.3	3.6	3.1	1.5	0.0	0.0	3.2
(%K) Any involvement in killing	18.1	4.9	10.9	11.0	7.6	7.2	2.5	3.3	0.9	8.0
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.10	- 1.15	- 1.24	- 1.32	- 1.25	- 1.05	- 1.10	- 1.38	- 1.04	- 1.19
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.50	+ 1.75	+ 1.55	+ 2.07	+ 1.25	+ 1.33	+ 1.33	+ 0.00	+ 0.00	+ 1.86
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: $PS=(\%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)$	115.7	99.1	97.1	99.9	107.2	123.4	95.2	116.2	92.3	103.5
Character V-Score: $CS = (\%V) + (\%K)$	94.0	63.1	62.0	69.6	78.7	83.5	58.4	69.6	53.1	69.7
Violence Index: $VI = PS + CS$	209.7	162.2	159.1	169.5	185.8	206.9	153.5	185.8	145.4	173.2

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 25: ABC PRIME-TIME PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	40	42	43	61	41	19	43	24	23	336
Program Hours Analyzed	35.0	35.0	36.8	59.5	40.0	17.0	36.8	20.5	19.0	299.5
Leading characters analyzed	115	123	148	207	136	60	149	65	81	1084
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	85.0	54.8	65.1	67.2	73.2	89.5	67.4	83.3	60.9	70.2
Program hours containing violence	91.4	62.1	82.5	78.6	82.5	91.2	75.5	87.8	71.1	79.7
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	210	128	176	317	289	110	167	94	80	1571
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.3	3.0	4.1	5.2	7.0	5.8	3.9	3.9	3.5	4.7
(R/H) Rate per all hours	6.0	3.7	4.8	5.3	7.2	6.5	4.5	4.6	4.2	5.2
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	2.7	1.9	1.1	1.3	0.6	0.7	8.4
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	60.0	32.5	33.8	43.5	49.3	63.3	36.9	32.3	30.9	42.0
Victims (subjected to violence)	62.6	37.4	39.9	51.2	54.4	61.7	36.9	50.8	33.3	47.0
(%V) Any involvement in violence	73.9	43.1	49.3	55.6	66.2	75.0	48.3	60.0	38.3	55.6
Killers (committing fatal violence)	16.5	5.7	10.8	13.0	7.4	3.3	2.7	4.6	1.2	8.2
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	6.1	3.3	6.8	6.3	5.1	3.3	2.0	0.0	0.0	4.2
(%K) Any involvement in killing	21.7	8.1	13.5	15.9	11.8	6.7	3.4	4.6	1.2	10.8
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.04	- 1.15	- 1.18	- 1.18	- 1.10	+ 1.03	1.00	- 1.57	- 1.08	- 1.12
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.71	+ 1.75	+ 1.60	+ 2.08	+ 1.43	1.00	+ 1.33	+ 0.00	+ 0.00	+ 1.93
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	107.5	68.2	82.9	88.3	101.7	114.0	84.3	100.3	76.2	90.1
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	95.7	51.2	62.8	71.5	77.9	81.7	51.7	64.6	39.5	66.4
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	203.2	119.4	145.7	159.8	179.7	195.7	136.0	165.0	115.8	156.5

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 26: ABC PROGRAMS AIRED 8-9 P.M. EST

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	24	27	19	31	20	8	21	12	13	175
Program Hours Analyzed	18.5	19.3	17.0	30.5	15.0	5.0	14.5	8.0	10.0	137.8
Leading characters analyzed	67	82	68	108	60	22	61	29	39	536
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	79.2	44.4	63.2	67.7	60.0	87.5	66.7	83.3	61.5	65.7
Program hours containing violence	86.5	55.8	79.4	77.0	73.3	90.0	75.9	87.5	70.0	75.7
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	139	64	81	159	76	35	65	27	46	692
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.8	2.4	4.3	5.1	3.8	4.4	3.1	2.3	3.5	4.0
(R/H) Rate per all hours	7.5	3.3	4.8	5.2	5.1	7.0	4.5	3.4	4.6	5.0
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	1.4	0.7	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	3.1
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	58.2	31.7	36.8	38.9	33.3	68.2	29.5	34.5	30.8	38.6
Victims (subjected to violence)	65.7	34.1	42.6	48.1	38.3	72.7	36.1	51.7	28.2	44.8
(%V) Any involvement in violence	70.1	40.2	50.0	51.9	51.7	86.4	44.3	62.1	35.9	52.1
Killers (committing fatal violence)	17.9	6.1	5.9	13.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.3	2.6	7.3
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	6.0	2.4	5.9	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0
(%K) Any involvement in killing	23.9	8.5	8.8	15.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.3	2.6	9.3
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.13	- 1.08	- 1.16	- 1.24	- 1.15	- 1.07	- 1.22	- 1.50	+ 1.09	- 1.16
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 3.00	+ 2.50	1.00	+ 2.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	+ 0.00	+ 0.00	+ 2.44
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	105.8	55.8	81.2	88.4	77.7	110.3	81.8	94.6	77.8	83.7
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	94.0	48.8	58.8	67.6	51.7	86.4	44.3	72.4	38.5	61.4
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	199.8	104.6	140.0	156.0	129.4	196.6	126.1	167.0	116.3	145.1

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 27: ABC PROGRAMS AIRED 9-11 P.M. EST

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	16	15	24	30	21	11	22	12	10	161
Program Hours Analyzed	16.5	15.8	19.8	29.0	25.0	12.0	22.3	12.5	9.0	161.8
Leading characters analyzed	48	41	80	99	76	38	88	36	42	548
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	93.8	73.3	66.7	66.7	85.7	90.9	68.2	83.3	60.0	75.2
Program hours containing violence	97.0	69.8	85.2	80.2	88.0	91.7	75.3	88.0	72.2	83.0
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	71	64	95	158	213	75	102	67	34	879
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.4	4.3	4.0	5.3	10.1	6.8	4.6	5.6	3.4	5.5
(R/H) Rate per all hours	4.3	4.1	4.8	5.4	8.5	6.3	4.6	5.4	3.8	5.4
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	1.3	1.2	0.9	1.0	0.3	0.5	5.3
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	62.5	34.1	31.2	48.5	61.8	60.5	42.0	30.6	31.0	45.3
Victims (subjected to violence)	58.3	43.9	37.5	54.5	67.1	55.3	37.5	50.0	38.1	49.1
(%V) Any involvement in violence	79.2	48.8	48.7	59.6	77.6	68.4	51.1	58.3	40.5	59.1
Killers (committing fatal violence)	14.6	4.9	15.0	13.1	13.2	5.3	4.5	0.0	0.0	9.1
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	6.2	4.9	7.5	7.1	9.2	5.3	3.4	0.0	0.0	5.5
(%K) Any involvement in killing	18.7	7.3	17.5	16.2	21.1	10.5	5.7	0.0	0.0	12.2
Violents : Victims Ratio	+ 1.07	- 1.29	- 1.20	- 1.13	- 1.09	+ 1.10	+ 1.12	- 1.64	- 1.23	- 1.08
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.33	1.00	+ 2.00	+ 1.86	+ 1.43	1.00	+ 1.33	0.00	0.00	+ 1.67
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	111.2	90.0	84.2	88.1	123.0	117.0	86.6	105.2	74.4	96.9
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	97.9	56.1	66.2	75.8	98.7	78.9	56.8	58.3	40.5	71.4
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	209.1	146.1	150.5	163.9	221.7	196.0	143.4	163.6	114.8	168.3

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 28: ABC WEEKEND MORNING PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	17	38	21	39	36	13	16	11	11	202
Program Hours Analyzed	4.5	8.7	9.7	17.8	10.5	4.2	5.4	4.0	4.5	69.2
Leading characters analyzed	34	80	44	119	89	37	48	27	32	510
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	100.0	97.4	90.5	89.7	86.1	100.0	93.8	100.0	90.9	93.1
Program hours containing violence	100.0	97.1	89.7	88.8	82.5	100.0	95.3	100.0	88.9	91.6
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	96	213	142	204	137	79	86	105	71	1133
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.6	5.6	6.8	5.2	3.8	6.1	5.4	9.5	6.5	5.6
(R/H) Rate per all hours	21.3	24.6	14.7	11.4	13.0	19.0	16.0	26.3	15.8	16.4
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.9	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.3	2.8
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	58.8	61.2	36.4	36.1	43.8	59.5	54.2	70.4	78.1	50.8
Victims (subjected to violence)	76.5	70.0	52.3	58.8	66.3	70.3	70.8	81.5	78.1	66.9
(%V) Any involvement in violence	82.4	81.2	56.8	63.9	78.7	78.4	79.2	81.5	87.5	74.7
Killers (committing fatal violence)	2.9	0.0	2.3	1.7	0.0	5.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	2.9	0.0	2.3	0.8	1.1	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
(%K) Any involvement in killing	5.9	0.0	2.3	2.5	1.1	8.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.30	- 1.14	- 1.44	- 1.63	- 1.51	- 1.18	- 1.31	- 1.16	1.00	- 1.32
Killers : Killed Ratio	1.00	0.00	1.00	+ 2.00	- 0.00	+ 2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	+ 1.20
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: $PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)$	154.0	157.7	133.4	123.1	119.8	150.1	136.5	171.6	135.4	137.0
Character V-Score: $CS = (%V) + (%K)$	88.2	81.2	59.1	66.4	79.8	86.5	79.2	81.5	87.5	76.7
Violence Index: $VI = PS + CS$	242.2	239.0	192.5	189.5	199.6	236.6	215.7	253.1	222.9	213.7

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 29: ABC CARTOON PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	17	38	15	36	34	9	13	11	11	184
Program Hours Analyzed	4.5	8.7	6.7	16.3	9.5	2.8	4.1	4.0	4.5	61.1
Leading characters analyzed	34	80	24	112	83	23	38	27	33	454
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	100.0	97.4	100.0	88.9	85.3	100.0	92.3	100.0	100.0	94.0
Program hours containing violence	100.0	97.1	100.0	87.8	80.7	100.0	93.9	100.0	100.0	92.9
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	96	213	117	198	132	61	76	105	75	1073
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.6	5.6	7.8	5.5	3.9	6.8	5.8	9.5	6.8	5.8
(R/H) Rate per all hours	21.3	24.6	17.5	12.1	13.9	21.5	18.5	26.3	16.7	17.6
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.7	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.3	2.5
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	58.8	61.2	37.5	36.6	44.6	65.2	55.3	70.4	78.8	52.2
Victims (subjected to violence)	76.5	70.0	66.7	58.0	68.7	73.9	76.3	81.5	81.8	69.4
(%V) Any involvement in violence	82.4	81.2	70.8	62.5	79.5	82.6	76.3	81.5	90.9	76.2
Killers (committing fatal violence)	2.9	0.0	4.2	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	2.9	0.0	4.2	0.9	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9
(%K) Any involvement in killing	5.9	0.0	4.2	2.7	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.30	- 1.14	- 1.78	- 1.59	- 1.54	- 1.13	- 1.38	- 1.16	- 1.04	- 1.33
Killers : Killed Ratio	1.00	0.00	1.00	+ 2.00	- 0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	154.0	157.7	150.7	124.1	120.8	156.6	140.9	171.6	147.0	140.8
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	88.2	81.2	75.0	65.2	80.7	82.6	76.3	81.5	90.9	77.8
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	242.2	239.0	225.7	189.3	201.6	239.2	217.2	253.1	237.9	218.6

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 30: ABC ACTION PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	41	47	28	55	45	14	27	14	15	286
Program Hours Analyzed	30.8	23.5	26.4	52.8	35.2	11.5	19.4	9.5	10.0	219.1
Leading characters analyzed	110	124	91	187	140	49	94	41	49	885
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	100.0	97.9	96.4	92.7	88.9	100.0	92.6	100.0	100.0	95.5
Program hours containing violence	100.0	98.9	98.1	93.4	90.0	100.0	94.8	100.0	100.0	96.0
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	269	277	230	418	330	134	175	112	93	2038
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	6.6	5.9	8.2	7.6	7.3	9.6	6.5	8.0	6.2	7.1
(R/H) Rate per all hours	8.7	11.8	8.7	7.9	9.4	11.7	9.0	11.8	9.3	9.3
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	3.2	2.0	1.3	1.5	0.7	0.7	9.4
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	70.0	82.9	56.0	59.4	60.7	81.6	62.8	56.1	73.5	63.3
Victims (subjected to violence)	78.2	72.6	62.6	70.6	62.9	83.7	67.0	80.5	73.5	70.7
(%V) Any involvement in violence	86.4	81.5	74.7	76.5	77.9	93.9	78.7	82.9	81.6	80.2
Killers (committing fatal violence)	17.3	5.6	17.6	15.0	7.1	8.2	4.3	7.3	0.0	10.3
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	6.4	3.2	8.8	7.0	4.3	6.1	3.2	0.0	0.0	5.0
(%K) Any involvement in killing	23.6	8.1	19.8	18.2	10.7	14.3	5.3	7.3	0.0	13.3
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.12	- 1.15	- 1.12	- 1.19	- 1.04	- 1.02	- 1.07	- 1.43	1.00	- 1.12
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.71	+ 1.75	+ 2.00	+ 2.15	+ 1.67	+ 1.33	+ 1.33	+ 0.00	0.00	+ 2.07
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	130.6	133.2	130.3	123.8	122.3	142.4	123.6	139.6	131.0	128.3
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	110.0	89.5	94.5	94.7	88.6	108.2	84.0	90.2	81.6	93.6
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	240.6	222.7	224.8	218.4	210.9	250.6	207.7	229.8	212.6	221.9

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 31: ALL CBS PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	67	85	78	95	80	41	80	48	56	630
Program Hours Analyzed	39.5	48.0	49.0	73.1	50.2	24.0	54.2	26.8	28.5	393.2
Leading characters analyzed	152	198	189	336	232	101	224	122	152	1706
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	71.6	77.6	74.4	74.7	67.5	82.9	70.0	85.4	87.5	75.7
Program hours containing violence	75.3	79.9	79.7	80.9	72.1	83.3	75.2	83.2	81.6	78.5
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	248	384	376	539	320	199	403	263	284	3016
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	3.7	4.5	4.8	5.7	4.0	4.9	5.0	5.5	5.1	4.8
(R/H) Rate per all hours	6.3	8.0	7.7	7.4	6.4	8.3	7.4	9.8	9.9	7.7
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	3.5	1.9	1.0	1.7	1.1	1.5	10.6
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	40.1	51.0	42.9	39.0	39.2	50.5	48.7	41.8	53.9	44.4
(%V) Victims (subjected to violence)	49.3	56.6	51.9	50.9	47.8	56.4	47.3	56.6	57.9	52.0
Any involvement in violence	56.6	63.6	60.3	60.1	55.6	67.3	58.0	63.9	69.1	60.8
Killers (committing fatal violence)	7.9	4.0	9.5	8.6	6.0	5.0	5.4	2.5	3.3	6.2
(%K) Killed (victims of lethal violence)	5.3	3.0	2.6	6.0	4.3	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.7	3.2
Any involvement in killing	11.2	6.6	10.1	12.2	9.1	5.0	5.8	3.3	3.3	8.1
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.23	- 1.11	- 1.21	- 1.31	- 1.22	- 1.12	+ 1.03	- 1.35	- 1.07	- 1.17
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 1.50	+ 1.33	+ 3.60	+ 1.45	+ 1.40	+ 5.00	+ 6.00	+ 3.00	+ 5.00	+ 1.96
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: $PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)$	91.6	102.7	99.4	100.8	88.3	109.2	95.0	116.0	117.5	100.6
Character V-Score: $CS = (%V) + (%K)$	67.8	70.2	70.4	72.3	64.7	72.3	63.8	67.2	72.4	68.9
Violence Index: $VI = PS + CS$	159.4	172.9	169.7	173.1	152.9	181.5	158.8	183.3	189.9	169.6

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 32: CBS PRIME-TIME PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	44	46	42	63	48	24	59	22	24	372
Program Hours Analyzed	34.5	36.5	37.5	57.0	37.8	18.0	47.9	20.3	22.0	311.4
Leading characters analyzed	113	122	123	219	153	61	172	65	73	1101
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	59.1	63.0	66.7	63.5	50.0	70.8	64.4	68.2	79.2	63.4
Program hours containing violence	72.5	75.3	77.3	76.3	65.6	77.8	73.9	77.8	79.5	74.6
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	127	124	176	323	168	84	308	89	129	1528
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	2.9	2.7	4.2	5.1	3.5	3.5	5.2	4.0	5.4	4.1
(R/H) Rate per all hours	3.7	3.4	4.7	5.7	4.5	4.7	6.4	4.4	5.9	4.9
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	2.6	1.1	0.4	1.4	0.5	1.1	7.3
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	27.4	33.6	37.4	35.6	30.7	42.6	44.2	33.8	50.7	36.7
Victims (subjected to violence)	36.3	38.5	42.3	42.9	36.6	37.7	41.3	36.9	53.4	40.6
(%V) Any involvement in violence	45.1	45.1	49.6	48.9	42.5	54.1	51.2	44.6	64.4	48.7
Killers (committing fatal violence)	8.8	5.7	14.6	12.8	9.2	8.2	7.0	4.6	6.8	9.3
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	4.4	4.1	4.1	9.1	5.9	1.6	1.2	1.5	1.4	4.5
(%K) Any involvement in killing	10.6	9.0	15.4	18.3	13.1	8.2	7.6	6.2	6.8	11.7
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.32	- 1.15	- 1.13	- 1.21	- 1.19	+ 1.13	+ 1.07	- 1.09	- 1.05	- 1.11
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.00	+ 1.40	+ 3.60	+ 1.40	+ 1.56	+ 5.00	+ 6.00	+ 3.00	+ 5.00	+ 2.08
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	72.2	75.2	84.4	85.1	65.9	87.2	87.7	85.1	101.6	81.5
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	55.8	54.1	65.0	67.1	55.6	62.3	58.7	50.8	71.2	60.4
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	128.0	129.3	149.5	152.2	121.5	149.5	146.4	135.8	172.9	141.9

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 33: CBS PROGRAMS AIRED 8-9 P.M. EST

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	24	25	17	28	19	8	27	8	11	167
Program Hours Analyzed	17.5	16.0	13.5	21.5	11.5	5.0	18.5	5.5	9.0	118.0
Leading characters analyzed	64	64	49	100	62	22	78	21	32	492
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	66.7	60.0	64.7	53.6	21.1	62.5	55.6	50.0	81.8	56.3
Program hours containing violence	77.1	68.8	77.8	62.8	26.1	60.0	59.5	54.5	77.8	64.0
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	92	62	63	98	24	11	109	16	61	536
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	3.8	2.5	3.7	3.5	1.3	1.4	4.0	2.0	5.5	3.2
(R/H) Rate per all hours	5.3	3.9	4.7	4.6	2.1	2.2	5.9	2.9	6.8	4.5
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.0	0.3	1.4
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	35.9	31.3	30.6	21.0	4.8	18.2	42.3	23.8	34.4	27.4
Victims (subjected to violence)	46.9	40.6	34.7	31.0	16.1	27.3	37.2	28.6	46.9	34.6
(%V) Any involvement in violence	54.7	43.8	40.8	38.0	17.7	31.8	46.2	33.3	59.4	40.9
Killers (committing fatal violence)	15.6	3.1	10.2	5.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	6.3	5.1
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	6.3	3.1	2.0	6.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	2.8
(%K) Any involvement in killing	17.2	6.3	10.2	9.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	6.3	6.5
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.30	- 1.30	- 1.13	- 1.48	- 3.33	- 1.50	+ 1.14	- 1.20	- 1.36	- 1.26
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.50	1.00	+ 5.00	- 1.20	0.00	0.00	+ 0.00	0.00	+ 2.00	+ 1.79
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	84.8	72.7	81.5	69.7	27.8	69.6	75.4	59.8	106.5	71.8
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	71.9	50.0	51.0	47.0	17.7	31.8	47.4	33.3	65.6	47.4
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	156.7	122.7	132.5	116.7	45.5	101.5	122.8	93.2	172.1	119.1

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 34: CBS PROGRAMS AIRED 9-11 P.M. EST

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	20	21	25	35	29	16	32	14	13	205
Program Hours Analyzed	17.0	20.5	24.0	35.5	26.3	13.0	29.4	14.8	13.0	193.4
Leading characters analyzed	49	58	74	119	91	39	94	44	41	609
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	50.0	66.7	68.0	71.4	69.0	75.0	71.9	78.6	76.9	69.3
Program hours containing violence	67.6	80.5	77.1	84.5	82.9	84.6	83.0	86.4	80.8	81.1
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	35	62	113	225	144	73	199	73	68	992
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	1.8	3.0	4.5	6.4	5.0	4.6	6.2	5.2	5.2	4.8
(R/H) Rate per all hours	2.1	3.0	4.7	6.3	5.5	5.6	6.8	4.9	5.2	5.1
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	2.2	0.9	0.4	1.0	0.5	0.9	5.8
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	16.3	36.2	41.9	47.9	48.4	56.4	45.7	38.6	63.4	44.2
Victims (subjected to violence)	22.4	36.2	47.3	52.9	50.5	43.6	44.7	40.9	58.5	45.5
(%V) Any involvement in violence	32.7	46.6	55.4	58.0	59.3	66.7	55.3	50.0	68.3	55.0
Killers (committing fatal violence)	0.0	8.6	17.6	19.3	15.4	12.8	11.7	6.8	7.3	12.6
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	2.0	5.2	5.4	11.8	9.9	2.6	2.1	2.3	0.0	5.7
(%K) Any involvement in killing	2.0	12.1	18.9	26.1	22.0	12.8	12.8	9.1	7.3	15.9
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.38	1.00	- 1.13	- 1.11	- 1.05	+ 1.29	+ 1.02	- 1.06	+ 1.08	- 1.03
Killers : Killed Ratio	- 0.00	+ 1.67	+ 3.25	+ 1.64	+ 1.56	+ 5.00	+ 5.50	+ 3.00	+ 0.00	+ 2.20
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	57.6	78.6	86.5	97.0	89.9	95.4	97.8	98.9	97.8	89.2
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	34.7	58.6	74.3	84.0	81.3	79.5	68.1	59.1	75.6	70.9
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	92.3	137.2	160.8	181.0	171.2	174.8	165.9	158.0	173.5	160.1

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 35: CBS WEEKEND MORNING PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	23	39	36	32	32	17	21	26	32	258
Program Hours Analyzed	5.0	11.5	11.5	16.1	12.4	6.0	6.3	6.5	6.5	81.8
Leading characters analyzed	39	76	66	117	79	40	52	57	79	605
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	95.7	94.9	83.3	96.9	93.8	100.0	85.7	100.0	93.8	93.4
Program hours containing violence	95.0	94.2	87.5	96.9	92.0	100.0	85.4	100.0	88.5	93.3
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	121	260	200	216	152	115	95	174	155	1488
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.3	6.7	5.6	6.8	4.8	6.8	4.5	6.7	4.8	5.8
(R/H) Rate per all hours	24.2	22.6	17.4	13.4	12.2	19.2	15.2	26.8	23.7	18.2
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.4	3.3
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	76.9	78.9	53.0	45.3	55.7	62.5	63.5	50.9	57.0	58.5
Victims (subjected to violence)	87.2	85.5	69.7	65.8	65.6	85.0	67.3	78.9	62.0	72.7
(%V) Any involvement in violence	89.7	93.4	80.3	81.2	81.0	87.5	80.8	86.0	73.4	83.0
Killers (committing fatal violence)	5.1	1.3	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	7.7	1.3	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
(%K) Any involvement in killing	12.8	2.6	0.0	0.9	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.13	- 1.08	- 1.31	- 1.45	- 1.25	- 1.36	- 1.06	- 1.55	- 1.09	- 1.24
Killers : Killed Ratio	- 1.50	1.00	0.00	+ 0.00	- 0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	- 1.25
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	154.6	153.4	129.3	137.2	127.7	151.9	125.1	166.9	150.8	141.3
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	102.6	96.1	80.3	82.1	82.3	87.5	80.8	86.0	73.4	84.5
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	257.1	249.5	209.6	219.2	210.0	239.4	205.9	252.9	224.2	225.8

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 36: CBS CARTOON PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	23	37	33	28	23	12	20	23	34	233
Program Hours Analyzed	5.0	10.5	9.5	13.1	6.9	3.0	6.1	5.3	7.8	67.2
Leading characters analyzed	39	70	61	101	53	26	51	50	85	536
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	95.7	94.6	84.8	96.4	100.0	100.0	95.0	100.0	100.0	95.7
Program hours containing violence	95.0	93.7	90.1	96.2	100.0	100.0	95.9	100.0	100.0	96.1
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	121	252	186	201	138	89	131	160	189	1467
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.3	6.8	5.6	7.2	6.0	7.4	6.5	7.0	5.6	6.3
(R/H) Rate per all hours	24.2	24.0	19.6	15.3	19.9	29.7	21.5	30.2	24.2	21.8
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.8	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	3.2
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	76.9	77.1	54.1	42.6	64.2	76.9	76.5	50.0	61.2	61.6
Victims (subjected to violence)	87.2	84.3	72.1	70.3	77.4	84.6	78.4	80.0	64.7	75.7
(%V) Any involvement in violence	89.7	92.9	83.6	82.2	86.8	88.5	92.2	86.0	78.8	85.8
Killers (committing fatal violence)	5.1	1.4	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	7.7	1.4	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9
(%K) Any involvement in killing	12.8	2.9	0.0	1.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.13	- 1.09	- 1.33	- 1.65	- 1.21	- 1.10	- 1.03	- 1.60	- 1.06	- 1.23
Killers : Killed Ratio	- 1.50	1.00	0.00	+ 0.00	- 0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	- 1.25
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	154.6	156.2	135.4	141.4	151.8	174.2	151.1	174.3	159.6	152.0
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	102.6	95.7	83.6	83.2	88.7	88.5	92.2	86.0	78.8	87.5
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	257.1	251.9	219.0	224.6	240.5	262.6	243.2	260.3	238.4	239.5

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 37: CBS ACTION PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	36	36	37	46	38	13	27	16	19	268
Program Hours Analyzed	19.0	20.2	27.5	43.5	28.0	11.5	25.3	13.3	12.9	201.1
Leading characters analyzed	75	96	88	183	105	40	88	52	54	781
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	94.4	97.2	89.2	97.8	97.4	92.3	96.3	93.8	89.5	94.8
Program hours containing violence	96.1	98.3	95.6	97.7	98.2	91.3	99.3	92.5	94.2	96.7
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	206	253	281	408	220	86	240	99	111	1904
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.7	7.0	7.6	8.9	5.8	6.6	8.9	6.2	5.8	7.1
(R/H) Rate per all hours	10.8	12.5	10.2	9.4	7.9	7.5	9.5	7.5	8.6	9.5
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	3.0	1.5	0.5	1.4	0.6	1.0	8.1
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	66.7	72.9	67.0	53.0	59.0	60.0	72.7	46.2	57.4	61.6
Victims (subjected to violence)	80.0	82.3	79.5	69.4	69.5	55.0	72.7	55.8	59.3	71.2
(%V) Any involvement in violence	85.3	89.6	86.4	78.7	79.0	72.5	83.0	65.4	66.7	80.0
Killers (committing fatal violence)	16.0	8.3	18.2	15.8	13.3	12.5	13.6	5.8	9.3	13.3
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	9.3	5.2	5.7	10.9	9.5	2.5	2.3	0.0	1.9	6.5
(%K) Any involvement in killing	21.3	12.5	19.3	22.4	20.0	12.5	14.8	5.8	9.3	17.0
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.20	- 1.13	- 1.19	- 1.31	- 1.18	+ 1.09	1.00	- 1.21	- 1.03	- 1.16
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 1.71	+ 1.60	+ 3.20	+ 1.45	+ 1.40	+ 5.00	+ 6.00	+ 0.00	+ 5.00	+ 2.04
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	127.6	136.4	124.8	134.3	124.7	120.5	133.1	121.1	118.3	127.9
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	106.7	102.1	105.7	101.1	99.0	85.0	97.7	71.2	75.9	97.1
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	234.2	238.5	230.5	235.4	223.7	205.5	230.8	192.2	194.3	225.0

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 38: ALL NBC PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	59	67	61	96	69	37	53	28	36	506
Program Hours Analyzed	41.5	47.3	46.9	75.2	52.3	26.4	47.4	26.1	25.2	388.3
Leading characters analyzed	154	172	171	325	207	92	164	84	116	1485
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	84.7	91.0	93.4	83.3	87.0	91.9	84.9	78.6	80.6	86.6
Program hours containing violence	87.3	92.6	93.6	86.7	90.4	92.4	86.3	84.0	77.2	88.4
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	318	403	328	502	439	292	303	181	193	2959
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.4	6.0	5.4	5.2	6.4	7.9	5.7	6.5	5.4	5.8
(R/H) Rate per all hours	7.7	8.5	7.0	6.7	8.4	11.1	6.4	6.9	7.7	7.6
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	3.8	2.6	2.1	2.1	0.7	1.0	12.2
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	58.4	55.2	50.9	40.6	45.4	70.7	52.4	41.7	48.3	49.8
Victims (subjected to violence)	66.2	69.2	56.7	54.2	55.6	73.9	59.1	56.0	51.7	59.3
(%V) Any involvement in violence	76.0	75.0	69.0	65.5	66.2	81.5	70.7	64.3	64.7	69.6
Killers (committing fatal violence)	13.6	7.0	5.8	8.0	9.2	10.9	8.5	3.6	5.2	8.1
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	5.8	4.1	3.5	3.7	3.4	5.4	3.0	6.0	3.4	4.0
(%K) Any involvement in killing	16.9	8.7	8.2	9.5	11.1	13.0	9.8	9.5	7.8	10.4
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.13	- 1.25	- 1.11	- 1.33	- 1.22	- 1.05	- 1.13	- 1.34	- 1.07	- 1.19
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.33	+ 1.71	+ 1.67	+ 2.17	+ 2.71	+ 2.00	+ 2.80	- 1.67	+ 1.50	+ 2.02
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: $PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)$	110.9	120.1	118.2	107.1	116.5	129.8	109.1	105.4	106.6	113.5
Character V-Score: $CS = (%V) + (%K)$	92.9	83.7	77.2	75.1	77.3	94.6	80.5	73.8	72.4	80.0
Violence Index: $VI = PS + CS$	203.7	203.9	195.4	182.2	193.8	224.4	189.6	179.2	179.0	193.5

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 39: NBC PRIME-TIME PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	37	37	37	53	45	18	37	17	17	298
Program Hours Analyzed	36.5	40.3	37.5	58.0	42.3	21.5	42.5	22.3	19.7	320.5
Leading characters analyzed	112	105	115	183	142	51	119	61	64	952
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	83.8	83.8	91.9	73.6	84.4	83.3	81.1	70.6	70.6	81.2
Program hours containing violence	87.7	91.3	93.3	84.5	90.6	90.7	85.9	82.0	74.6	87.4
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	212	182	181	279	259	148	226	102	135	1724
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.7	4.9	4.9	5.3	5.8	8.2	6.1	6.0	7.9	5.8
(R/H) Rate per all hours	5.8	4.5	4.8	4.8	6.1	6.9	5.3	4.6	6.9	5.4
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	2.7	1.8	1.6	1.8	0.4	0.8	9.0
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	55.4	44.8	47.8	43.7	41.5	64.7	55.5	34.4	56.3	48.2
Victims (subjected to violence)	62.5	54.3	49.6	44.8	46.5	66.7	58.8	45.9	54.7	52.4
(%V) Any involvement in violence	74.1	61.9	64.3	57.4	57.7	74.5	70.6	54.1	60.9	63.3
Killers (committing fatal violence)	17.0	9.5	8.7	14.2	13.4	19.6	11.8	4.9	9.4	12.3
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	6.2	4.8	4.3	6.0	4.9	9.8	4.2	8.2	6.3	5.7
(%K) Any involvement in killing	19.6	11.4	11.3	16.4	16.2	23.5	13.4	13.1	14.1	15.2
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.13	- 1.21	- 1.04	- 1.02	- 1.12	- 1.03	- 1.06	- 1.33	+ 1.03	- 1.09
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.71	+ 2.00	+ 2.00	+ 2.36	+ 2.71	+ 2.00	+ 2.80	- 1.67	+ 1.50	+ 2.17
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	106.9	102.7	111.3	93.7	108.2	113.5	103.9	91.8	100.2	103.5
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	93.7	73.3	75.7	73.8	73.9	98.0	84.0	67.2	75.0	78.6
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	200.6	176.0	187.0	167.5	182.1	211.6	188.0	159.0	175.2	182.1

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 40: NBC PROGRAMS AIRED 8-9 P.M. EST

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	26	21	19	27	22	9	17	7	7	155
Program Hours Analyzed	21.0	18.0	18.0	27.0	13.8	10.0	18.5	7.0	8.7	142.0
Leading characters analyzed	74	60	59	84	62	25	47	29	25	465
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	84.6	81.0	94.7	59.3	72.7	66.7	82.4	28.6	71.4	74.8
Program hours containing violence	90.5	88.9	97.2	74.1	74.7	80.0	89.2	42.9	76.9	82.4
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	132	82	88	83	64	48	99	39	67	702
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.1	3.9	4.6	3.1	2.9	5.3	5.8	5.6	9.6	4.5
(R/H) Rate per all hours	6.3	4.6	4.9	3.1	4.6	4.8	5.4	5.6	7.7	4.9
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.7	0.3	0.4	1.1	0.0	0.3	2.9
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	51.4	43.3	44.1	32.1	25.8	40.0	48.9	10.3	68.0	40.0
Victims (subjected to violence)	59.5	48.3	40.7	29.8	27.4	32.0	66.0	20.7	64.0	43.0
(%V) Any involvement in violence	73.0	56.7	57.6	41.7	41.9	48.0	76.6	20.7	72.0	54.8
Killers (committing fatal violence)	16.2	6.7	3.4	9.5	3.2	4.0	6.4	0.0	8.0	7.3
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	6.8	1.7	0.0	3.6	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.0	16.0	3.0
(%K) Any involvement in killing	20.3	6.7	3.4	11.9	3.2	4.0	6.4	0.0	20.0	9.0
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.16	- 1.12	+ 1.08	+ 1.08	- 1.06	+ 1.25	- 1.35	- 2.00	+ 1.06	- 1.08
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.40	+ 4.00	+ 0.00	+ 2.67	+ 0.00	+ 0.00	+ 3.00	0.00	- 2.00	+ 2.43
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	107.3	97.9	113.8	71.6	87.8	86.9	104.7	50.9	106.0	93.8
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	93.2	63.3	61.0	53.6	45.2	52.0	83.0	20.7	92.0	63.9
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	200.6	161.2	174.8	125.1	133.0	138.9	187.7	71.5	198.0	157.7

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 41: NBC PROGRAMS AIRED 9-11 P.M. EST

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	11	16	18	26	23	9	20	10	10	143
Program Hours Analyzed	15.5	22.3	19.5	31.0	28.5	11.5	24.0	15.3	11.0	178.5
Leading characters analyzed	38	45	56	99	80	26	72	32	39	487
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	81.8	87.5	88.9	88.5	95.7	100.0	80.0	100.0	70.0	88.1
Program hours containing violence	83.9	93.3	89.7	93.5	98.2	100.0	83.3	100.0	72.7	91.3
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	80	100	93	196	195	100	127	63	68	1022
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	7.3	6.3	5.2	7.5	8.5	11.1	6.3	6.3	6.8	7.1
(R/H) Rate per all hours	5.2	4.5	4.8	6.3	6.8	8.7	5.3	4.1	6.2	5.7
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	1.9	1.5	1.2	0.6	0.4	0.4	6.1
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	63.2	46.7	51.8	53.5	53.7	88.5	59.7	56.3	48.7	56.1
Victims (subjected to violence)	68.4	62.2	58.9	57.6	61.2	100.0	54.2	68.8	48.7	61.4
(%V) Any involvement in violence	76.3	68.9	71.4	70.7	70.0	100.0	66.7	84.4	53.8	71.5
Killers (committing fatal violence)	18.4	13.3	14.3	18.2	21.2	34.6	15.3	9.4	10.3	17.0
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	5.3	8.9	8.9	8.1	8.7	19.2	5.6	15.6	0.0	8.2
(%K) Any involvement in killing	18.4	17.8	19.6	20.2	26.2	42.3	18.1	25.0	10.3	21.1
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.08	- 1.33	- 1.14	- 1.08	- 1.14	- 1.13	+ 1.10	- 1.22	1.00	- 1.10
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 3.50	+ 1.50	+ 1.60	+ 2.25	+ 2.43	+ 1.80	+ 2.75	- 1.67	+ 0.00	+ 2.07
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	106.7	109.0	108.8	116.2	126.3	139.6	103.3	120.9	96.0	113.9
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	94.7	86.7	91.1	90.9	96.2	142.3	84.7	109.4	64.1	92.6
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	201.4	195.7	199.8	207.1	222.5	281.9	188.0	230.2	160.1	206.5

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

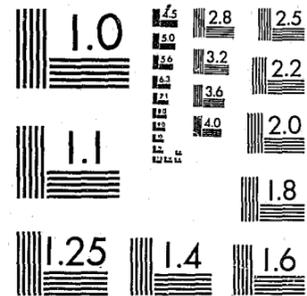
CONTINUED

2 OF 3

National Criminal Justice Reference Service

ncjrs

This microfiche was produced from documents received for inclusion in the NCJRS data base. Since NCJRS cannot exercise control over the physical condition of the documents submitted, the individual frame quality will vary. The resolution chart on this frame may be used to evaluate the document quality.



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

Microfilming procedures used to create this fiche comply with the standards set forth in 41CFR 101-11.504.

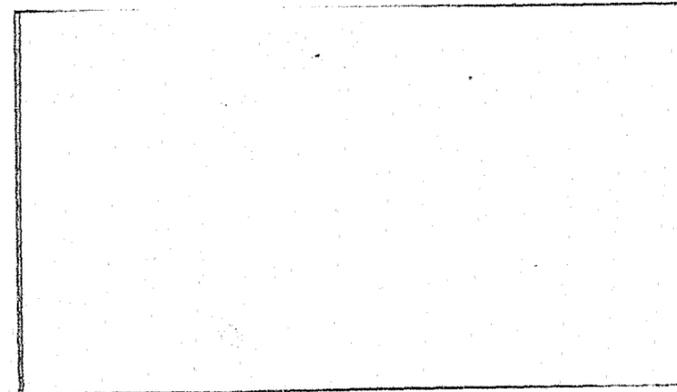
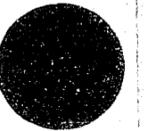
Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the author(s) and do not represent the official position or policies of the U. S. Department of Justice.

National Institute of Justice
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20531

DATE FILMED

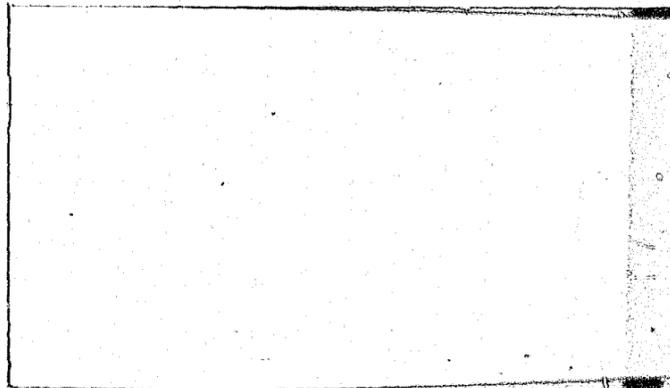
1/22/82

Mf-1



UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA
E ANNENBERG SCHOOL of COMMUNICATIONS
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19104

19871



VIOLENCE PROFILE NO. 11

Trends in network television drama and
viewer conceptions of social reality
1967-1979

by

George Gerbner, Larry Gross,
Michael Morgan and Nancy Signorielli

The Annenberg School of Communications
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia 19104

April 1980

Copies of this report including all Tables
are available for \$17.50 each (checks to be
made payable to the Trustees of the Univer-
sity of Pennsylvania).

This research is a part of the Cultural Indicators
study of trends in television content and effects
conducted under grants from the American Medical
Association and the National Institute of Mental
Health. George Gerbner and Larry Gross, Co-
Principal Investigators, Nancy Signorielli, Research
Coordinator.

U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice

This document has been reproduced exactly as received from the
person or organization originating it. Points of view or opinions stated
in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily
represent the official position or policies of the National Institute of
Justice.

Permission to reproduce this copyrighted material has been
granted by

George Gerbner

University of Pennsylvania

to the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS).

Further reproduction outside of the NCJRS system requires permis-
sion of the copyright owner.

AUG 1

ACQU... 16

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to express our thanks to

Debra Giffen, Heather Harr-Mazer and Kendall Whitehouse for their assistance in data collection, preparation and processing;

Maxine Beiderman, Margot Hillman and Erin Jantomaso for report preparation; and

Susanne Katz for dissemination.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
LIST OF TABLES	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	v
INTRODUCTION AND HIGHLIGHTS	vi
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLICATIONS ON CULTURAL INDICATORS	x
METHODS AND FINDINGS	1
The World of Television Drama	1
Message System Analysis	2
Definition of Violence	2
Units of Analysis	3
Samples of Programming	4
Coding and Training Procedures	6
Assessment of Reliability	6
Violence Indicators	9
Findings of Message System Analysis	13
The More Things Change...	21
Portrayal of Violence	24
Cultivation Analysis	30
A Theoretical Refinement	31
Dimensions of Analysis	32
Samples of Respondents	33
Development of Questions	36
Question Wordings	37
Reading the Tables	39
Findings of Cultivation Analysis	41
APPENDIX: MESSAGE SYSTEM ANALYSIS TABLES	63

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
1	Reliability Coefficients	8
2	Reliability Coefficients for the Violence Index	11
3	Violence Index Components (1967-1979)	14
4	Violence Index Components for 1978 and 1979 by Network	16
5	Network Ranking by Violence Index (1967-1979)	19
6	Summary of Violence Index (1967-1979)	20
7	Rate of Violent Actions per Hour of Programming (1967-1979)	22
8	Percent of Programs Containing Violence and Number of Violent Acts per Hour (1967-1979)	23
9	RISK RATIOS: Trends of Risk Ratios for All Characters (1969-1979)	25
10	RISK RATIOS: Major Characters in Prime-Time Programs (1969-1979)	27
11	RISK RATIOS: Major Characters in Weekend-Daytime Programs (1969-1979)	28
12	Percent who are High Scorers on an Index of Sexism	42
13	Partial Correlations between Amount of Viewing and Anomie by Educational Level	44
14	Within-Group Partial Correlations between Amount of Television Viewing and an Index of Interpersonal Mistrust	45
15	Summary of Analyses of Questions Relating to Fear and Violence in the 1979 ORC Survey	47
16	Percent Saying Their Chances of Being Involved in Violence are "10 in 100"	48

LIST OF TABLES CONTINUED

<u>Table</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
17	Percent Saying They "Agree" that Women are More Likely to be Victims of Crimes	49
18	Percent Saying Their Neighborhoods are Only Somewhat Safe or Not Safe at All	50
19	Percent Saying that Fear of Crime is a "Very Serious" Problem	51
20	Percent Agreeing that "Crime is Rising"	52
21	Within-Group Correlations between Amount of Viewing and an Index of Images of Violence	54
22	Percent Saying They "Agree" that the Elderly are More Likely to be Victims of Crime	55
23	Percent Agreeing that the Elderly are More Likely to be Victims of Violent Crimes, within Age-Groups	56

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
1	Violence Index in Children's and Prime-Time Programming, 1967-1979	15
2	Violence Index by Network and Program Time, 1967-1979	17
3	Data Bases Used in Cultivation Analysis	34
4	Coefficients Linking Concepts to Observed Indicators in Structural Equation Model	58
5	Structural Equation Model of the Longitudinal Relationship between Viewing, Fear, and Mistrust	60
6	Graph of Interaction between Second Year Television Viewing and Scores on Second Year Images of Violence Index on Third Year Images of Violence Index Scores, among Boys in the New Jersey School Panel	61

INTRODUCTION AND HIGHLIGHTS

Americans live much of their lives in the world of television drama. Children and adults alike are exposed to vivid patterns of the facts of life in that world. What are those facts, especially with regard to the structure and function of violence, and what lessons do children and adults derive from their exposure to those facts?

These are the basic questions addressed in the long-term research called Cultural Indicators that yields the Violence Profile.

This report updates our continuing effort to monitor and assess important aspects of the world of dramatic television. It focuses on findings of our analysis of a sample of the most recent television season as well as upon long-term trends. Although we find a number of changes and fluctuations, the overall picture is one of consistency and stability.

We also present empirical findings that have led us to refine our theory of the contribution television makes to viewers' conceptions of social reality. Our central argument is that the direction of television's contribution is not necessarily the same for all groups of viewers. Rather, in many cases, television viewing cultivates "mainstream" conceptions of life and society. That is, groups who may differ (either positively or negatively) in their perceptions of social reality, may, as their television viewing increases, come to share a more homogeneous view of the world.

At the same time, we find strong evidence that television may serve to reinforce real-life perceptions and/or expectations of certain groups of viewers. The presence or absence of specific real-world circumstances may "resonate" with relevant aspects of the television world and significantly enhance cultivation. Taken together, these two processes -- "mainstreaming" and "resonance" -- offer considerable theoretical promise for understanding who is likely to be susceptible to television.

Cultural Indicators is a long-term research project that has been in progress since 1967-68. It is a data bank, research project, and service that relates televised images and messages to conceptions of social reality and to actions based on those conceptions. Cultural Indicators is designed to investigate television's contribution (by itself as well as in combination with other demographic and media use characteristics) to viewers' assumptions about and responses to a large number of issues and topics.

Violence Profile No. 11 reports trends in network television drama from 1967 through 1979. The content data are drawn from the Cultural Indicators archive of observations based on the analysis of 1674 programs and 4785 major dramatic characters. The viewer response data come from surveys conducted expressly for Cultural Indicators and surveys conducted for other primary purposes (for example, the NORC General Social Survey).

Violence Profiles are cumulative. Each report summarizes the methodology and significant findings of previous reports and presents trends in dramatic content for all samples included in the analysis. The most recent report supersedes previous Violence Profiles.

Each report in this series extends and refines selected aspects of our research, often in response to discussions and critiques of our work. Each such extension and amplification has helped to advance, refine and confirm our theory.

This 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, and other agencies. Although violence-related findings and indicators have been published most widely, the approach was broadly based from the beginning to collect observations on the role and functions of many aspects of life presented in television drama.

The research consists of two interrelated parts: (1) message system analysis -- monitoring the world of prime-time and weekend-daytime network television drama and (2) cultivation analysis -- determining conceptions of social reality that television tends to cultivate in different groups of viewers. The analyses provide information about the geography, demography, character profiles, and action structure of the world of television, and focus these images and lessons upon specific issues, policies, and topics.

The annual Violence Index and Profile (9, 13, 20, 23) has made an impact upon national policy in television programming. But the Cultural Indicators project is also generating an increasing variety of studies in other areas. Theoretical papers have presented and discussed methodological issues (4, 5, 6, 9, 30, 32, 34). Others examined the importance of applying the Cultural Indicators paradigm to the study of television news (21) and to the assessment of television's impact upon children and adolescents (16, 17). One study examined personal and social characteristics of the non-viewers of television (18). Message analysis data have been used to isolate the image of the elderly (22, 28), as well as women and minorities (24). Several analyses of cultivation data have revealed that heavy television viewing by school children is consistently and negatively related to IQ and school achievement scores, especially reading comprehension (27, 29, 31). Cultural Indicators researchers have also investigated how children's conceptions of occupations are related to television portrayals of occupations (26) and how television viewing is related to educational aspirations (35) and sexist attitudes among adolescents (17, 30).

We are currently extending the research in the areas of aging, health, family life, and education, and incorporating the analysis of commercials; our plans also call for conducting the research cross-culturally, and for applying the method to other issues of governmental and corporate interest. In each case, the focus of the investigation is the contribution of television programming to viewer conceptions and actions.

The following section presents the highlights of the most recent findings. We then present the methodologies and results of the message system and cultivation analyses. An appendix contains detailed tabulations of the message analysis findings.

Highlights

Television's relatively violence-free "family hour" is dead. Violence rose sharply in a sample of fall 1979 early evening network television while declining after 9 p.m. Both early and late evening programs in the sample contained equal amounts of violence. In contrast, all three networks reduced violence in their weekend-daytime children's programs with NBC leading the way. Our findings also support the theory that viewer conceptions of social reality tend toward a conventional "mainstream" view of life and that the presence or absence of specific real-world circumstances may "resonate" with relevant aspects of the television world and significantly enhance cultivation.

The eleventh annual Violence Profile focuses upon a sample of fall 1979 network dramatic prime-time and weekend-daytime (children's) programming. It isolates only clear, unambiguous, overt physical violence -- hurting or killing a person or the credible threat of hurting and/or killing in any context.

This update, incorporating the analysis of network dramatic programming from 1967 through 1979, reveals that the basic structure of themes, characterizations, action and fate in the world of dramatic television is remarkably stable from year to year. The overall prevalence, rates, and roles represented in our 1979 Violence Index (174) show some decline over 1978 (183) and the 13-year average (178). However, violence rose in the 1979 "family viewing" time (8:00 to 9:00 p.m. EST) from 116 to 156 and dropped in late evening prime-time (9:00 to 11:00 p.m. EST) from 180 to 150. Also declining, although still way above the level of prime-time, was violence in weekend-daytime children's programming -- from 249 in 1978 to 210 in 1979.

The biggest increase in violence in our 1979 sample was in new prime-time programs, especially in the former "family hour," and particularly on NBC. The largest reductions in violence were achieved in the late evening by ABC and NBC and on weekend-daytime programs by all networks but especially NBC. Overall, including both prime-time and weekend-daytime, CBS leads the violence score with NBC close behind and ABC a fairly distant third.

The assessment of violence involves much more than counting violent outbursts. Violence is written into a plot for reasons -- to attract attention, create tension and excitement, and to eliminate or otherwise incapacitate characters. Thus, it illustrates who is strong and who is weak and creates a scenario of power and social relationships.

Violence in the portrayal of characters is isolated by two measures -- the percent of characters who are involved in violence and risk-ratios. Characters who are involved in violence may commit and/or suffer violence and our measure notes the percent of a particular group of characters. Risk-ratios, on the other hand, reveal how different types of characters fare once involved in violence -- whether certain groups are more likely

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLICATIONS ON CULTURAL INDICATORS

to be victimized or to commit violence.*

Overall, the percent of characters involved in violence has remained fairly steady for the past 11 years. We find that more males than females are involved: about two-thirds of the men and less than half of the women. Moreover, female characters are much more likely than male characters to be the victims of violence. When we rank the violent-victim ratios, we find that there is only one group of male characters -- young boys -- among the ten groups who are most likely to be victimized. Women cast in minority roles (old women, upper class women, other race women, young women, and lower class women) are especially prone to victimization. Finally, only two groups of characters -- old men and "bad" women -- are more likely to hurt others than to be hurt themselves.

Findings of cultivation analysis reveal that television viewing seems to cultivate homogeneous outlooks and orientations -- especially in regard to expressions of interpersonal mistrust and alienation. Heavy viewing may serve to bring into the mainstream of beliefs those disparate and divergent groups who would otherwise be apart from it. For example, as a group, non-whites are more likely to be mistrustful but we have found that those who watch more television express less mistrust. Whites, on the other hand, are less mistrustful, but whites who watch more television express more mistrust.

We also found that cultivation will often be pronounced when other aspects of one's social environment are congruent with (and thereby "resonate" with) television's messages. For example, we have found that those who live in relatively high crime areas are even more susceptible to television's message of a mean and a dangerous world than are other viewers in the same demographic categories. And, the elderly, although generally less susceptible to the effects of television, may be more influenced by images concerning their own personal safety and vulnerability. The more television they watch the more they feel, contrary to fact, that older people are most likely to be victims of crime.

Finally, new analyses have revealed that television heightens apprehension in adolescents. Students who watch a lot of television will, when asked similar questions a year later, show a marked rise in their beliefs about the amount of violence in the world and the importance of knowing self defense.

* Risk-ratios are calculated by dividing the more numerous of the violence roles by the less numerous within each group of characters.

1. Gerbner, George, "Toward 'Cultural Indicators'; The Analysis of Mass Mediated Message Systems." AV Communication Review, 1969. Also in George Gerbner, Ole R. Holsti, Klaus Krippendorff, William J. Paisley, and Philip J. Stone, (eds.), The Analysis of Communication Content; Developments in Scientific Theories and Computer Techniques. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1969.
2. Gerbner, George, "Dimensions of Violence in Television Drama." In Robert K. Baker and Sandra J. Ball (eds.), Violence in the Media, staff report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969.
3. Gerbner, George, "Cultural Indicators: The Case of Violence in Television Drama." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1970.
4. Gerbner, George, "Violence and Television Drama: Trends and Symbolic Functions." In G. A. Comstock and E. A. Rubinstein (eds.), Television and Social Behavior, Vol. 1 Content and Control. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1972.
5. Gerbner, George, "Communication and Social Environment." Scientific American, September 1972. Reprinted in Communication: A Scientific American Book. San Francisco, CA.: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1972.
6. Gerbner, George, "Cultural Indicators: The Third Voice." In George Gerbner, Larry P. Gross, and William H. Melody (eds.), Communications Technology and Social Policy. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973.
7. Gross, Larry "The Real World of Television." Today's Education (the Journal of the National Education Association), January-February 1974.
8. Gerbner, George and Larry Gross, "The World of Television: Towards Cultural Indicators." Intermedia (Journal of International Broadcast Institute), December 1975.
9. Gerbner, George and Larry Gross, "Living with Television: The Violence Profile." Journal of Communication, Spring 1976.
10. Gerbner, George and Larry Gross, "The Scary World of TV's Heavy Viewer." Psychology Today, April 1976.
11. Gerbner, George, "Television: The New State Religion?" Et Cetera, June 1977.
12. Gerbner, George, "Comparative Cultural Indicators." In George Gerbner (ed.), Mass Media Policies in Changing Cultures. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977.
13. Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, Michael F. Eleey, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Suzanne Jeffries-Fox, and Nancy Signorielli, "TV Violence Profile No. 8: The Highlights." Journal of Communication, Spring 1977.

Bibliography of Publications on Cultural Indicators

14. Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, Michael Eieey, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Suzanne Jeffries-Fox and Nancy Signorielli. "The Gerbner Violence Profile -- An Analysis of the CBS Report." Journal of Broadcasting, Summer 1977.
15. Gross, Larry, "How True is Television's Image?" Getting the Message Across, Paris, France: The UNESCO Press, 1977.
16. Gross, Larry, "Television as a Trojan Horse." School Media Quarterly, Spring 1977.
17. Gross, Larry and Suzanne Jeffries-Fox, "What Do You Want To Be When You Grow Up, Little Girl?" In Gaye Tuchman, et al (eds.), Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media, New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
18. Jackson-Beeck, Marilyn, "The Non-Viewers: Who are They?" Journal of Communication, Summer 1977.
19. Jeffries-Fox, Suzanne and George Gerbner, "Television and the Family." (Fernsehen und Familie). In Fernsehen und Bildung, 1977, 11(3).
20. Gerbner, George and Larry Gross, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Suzanne Jeffries-Fox, and Nancy Signorielli, "Cultural Indicators: Violence Profile No.9." Journal of Communication, Summer 1978.
21. Gerbner, George and Nancy Signorielli, "The World of Television News." In William Adams and Fay Scriebman (eds.) Television News Archives: A Guide to Research. Washington D.C.: George Washington University, 1978.
22. Signorielli, Nancy and George Gerbner, "The Image of the Elderly in Prime-Time Television Drama." Generations, Fall 1978.
23. Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, Nancy Signorielli, Michael Morgan and Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, "The Demonstration of Power: Violence Profile No. 10." Journal of Communication, Summer 1979.
24. Gerbner, George and Nancy Signorielli, "Women and Minorities in Television Drama, 1969-1978." Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, October 1979.
25. Gross, Larry. "Television and Violence." In Ben Logan and Kate Moody (eds.), Television Awareness Training, New York: Media Action Research Center, 1979.
26. Jeffries-Fox, Suzanne and Nancy Signorielli, "Television and Children's Conceptions about Occupations." In Herb S. Dordick (ed.) Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Telecommunications Policy Research Conference, Lexington MA.: Lexington Books, 1979.
27. Morgan, Michael and Larry Gross, "Television, IQ, and School Achievement." In S. Scheuyer (ed.), The TV Annual 1978-1979, New York: Macmillan, 1979.

Bibliography of Publications on Cultural Indicators

28. Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, Nancy Signorielli and Michael Morgan, "Aging with Television: Images on Television Drama and Conceptions of Social Reality." Journal of Communication, Winter 1980.
29. Morgan, Michael, "Television and Reading: Does More Equal Better?" Journal of Communication, Winter 1980.
30. Gross, Larry and Michael Morgan, "Television and Enculturation." In J. R. Dominick and J. Fletcher (eds.), Broadcasting Research Methods: A Reader. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, in press.
31. Morgan, Michael and Larry Gross, "Reading, Writing and Watching: Television Viewing, IQ, and Academic Achievement." Journal of Broadcasting, in press.
32. Signorielli, Nancy, "The Measurement of Violence in Television Programming: Violence Indices." In J. R. Dominick and J. Fletcher (eds.), Broadcasting Research Methods: A Reader. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, in press.
33. Gerbner, George and Larry Gross, "The Violent Face of Television and Its Lessons." In Edward L. Palmer and Aimee Dorr (eds.), Three Faces of Children's Television. Academic Press, in press.
34. Gross, Larry, Michael Morgan and Nancy Signorielli, "Violence in Television Programs: Ten Years Later." In National Institute of Mental Health, Television and Behavior: Ten Years of Scientific Progress and Implications for the 80's, in press.
35. Morgan, Michael and Larry Gross, "Television and Educational Achievement and Aspirations." In National Institute of Mental Health, Television and Behavior: Ten Years of Scientific Progress and Implications for the 80's, in press.
36. Gerbner, George, "Death in Prime-Time: Notes on the Symbolic Functions of Dying in the Mass Media." The Annals, January 1980.
37. Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, Michael Morgan and Nancy Signorielli, "Media and the Family: Images and Impact." Paper for the National Research Forum on Family Issues, White House Conference on Families, April 1980.

METHODS AND FINDINGS

The Violence Profile consists of indicators of (1) the program context in which dramatic violence occurs, (2) the prevalence, rate, and roles of violence that make up the Violence Index, (3) the structure of power in the world of television drama as indicated by the risks of violence and victimization for different groups of characters in the fictional population, and (4) the extent to which (and ways in which) television cultivates its own view of facts and aspects of social reality in the conceptions of its audiences.

The first three measures of the Violence Profile reflect trends in the content of network television drama. They come from message system analysis, our comprehensive and periodic study of that content. The fourth measure comes from cultivation analysis -- our study of viewer conceptions cultivated by that content. The methods and results of our message system and cultivation analyses are summarized in this section. The detailed tabulations presenting the relevant findings of message system analysis appear in the appendix.

The World of Television Drama

Television is the chief creator of synthetic cultural patterns (entertainment and information) for the most heterogeneous mass publics in history, including large groups that have never before shared in any common public message systems. The repetitive pattern of television's mass-produced messages and images forms the mainstream of the common symbolic environment that cultivates the most widely shared conceptions of reality. We live in terms of the stories we tell -- stories about what things exist, stories about how things work, and stories about what to do -- and television tells them all through news, drama, and advertising to almost everybody most of the time.

Information conveyed by drama and fiction differs from information conveyed by bits of fact, but plays an equally significant function. Factual description such as news constructs a selective image of what things are. Drama and fiction demonstrate the invisible connections that show how things work and why.

That story-telling process is essential to human socialization, the introduction to and cultivation of concepts of roles and values. Television is the central and universal story-teller in our society. Its dramatic programming presents a translucent and compelling world of times, places, social types, strivings, powers, and fate. Television offers the most diverse audience of viewers a common and stable pattern of "facts" about life and the world. No member of society escapes the lessons of almost universally enjoyed entertainment, and many millions of viewers seek little other information.

Message System Analysis

The world of television drama is a highly structured, relatively stable, and compelling ritual, used nonselectively by most viewers. The world of television drama is also a highly controlled assembly-line product governed by a relatively few formulas. The message of all stories emerges from aggregate patterns of casting, characterization, and fate.

Cultural Indicators research begins with message system analysis, a flexible tool for making orderly, reliable, and cumulative observations of programming content. The technique allows us to identify almost any aspect of the television world, so that we can then test its contribution to viewers' conceptions of the real world.

Large and representative aggregates of television output (rather than individual selections from it) are the system of messages to which the total communities are exposed. Message system analysis focuses on the gross, unambiguous, and commonly understood patterns of portrayal. The data do not reflect what any particular individual viewer might see but rather what large communities absorb over long periods of time. Thus, our research does not attempt to describe or analyze specific programs, or to draw conclusions about artistic merit. The analysis isolates the patterns and symbolic structures that appear in the yearly samples. The purpose of this content analysis is to provide systematic, cumulative, and objective observations of many important aspects of the world of television.

Definition of Violence

The findings reported here focus primarily upon the portrayal of violence defined as the overt expression of physical force (with or without a weapon, against self or other), compelling action against one's will on pain of being hurt or killed, or actually killing or hurting.**

A rigorous three- to four-week training period assures that coders isolate only clear, unambiguous, overt physical violence. To be recorded at all, a violent incident must be plausible and credible. It must be directed against human or human-like beings, and it must hurt or kill, or threaten to do so, as part of the script's plot. No idle threats, verbal abuse, or gestures without credible violent consequences are included. However, once an unmistakably violent incident is observed, it is recorded whether the script calls for murder, "natural" catastrophes, or "accidents." (Although accidents are very rare in fiction, they are neither "natural" nor "accidental." "Accidents" written into scripts victimize characters who fall prey to them, and the message of victimization is one significant aspect of exposure to violence.)

** For a comparison of definitions of violence see, Larry Gross, Michael Morgan, Nancy Signorielli, "Violence in Television Programs: Ten Years Later," National Institute of Mental Health, Television and Behavior: Ten Years of Scientific Progress and Implications for the Eighties, in press.

** The parentheses represent a recent refinement in order to add clarity; before now, they have been commas.

Violence in a realistic or "serious" context is recorded along with violence in a fantasy or "humorous" context (the tone of each incident is also coded so that trends can be examined both separately and together). Clear-cut violence in any context is coded because the social lessons of such violence can be demonstrated -- and learned -- in any context. There is evidence* to suggest, for example, that exposure to fantasy or "humorous" violence is effective in conveying some lessons of violence. Therefore, its exculsion, or that of "accidents" and "catastrophes" would be analytically unacceptable.**

Of course, we recognize that not all violence is alike. Striking out against brutality and injustice is not the same as perpetrating them. But, this study deals with violence mostly as an industrial ingredient injected wholesale into formula plays. The overall patterns of violence as demonstrations of social power are little affected by exceptions to the rule and by subtle differences in "meaning." Victimization denotes vulnerability whether desired or not. Plots may add different "meanings" to standard fates assigned to different social types, but these do not change the calculus of risks implicit in these fates.

At the same time, we feel that our task is more to diagnose than to judge its content, but we report our findings in terms of general standards of equity, fairness, and justice. We do not feel that television programming should be totally devoid of violence. Violence, as most symbols and story-telling devices, can serve many purposes. What we are concerned about, however, is what kinds of violence exist, in what types of programs, as well as who commits violence and who is victimized -- that is, who is powerful and who is powerless. We need to know the lessons that television conveys about risks and fates because our research (and that of many others) has suggested that fear, alienation, and mistrust may be powerfully and pervasively cultivated by television.

Units of Analysis

Observations are recorded for three types of units: the program as a whole, each specific violent action (if any) in the program, and each dramatic character appearing in the program.

*See, for example, Albert Bandura, Dorothea Ross and Sheila Ross, "Transmission of Aggression through Imitation of Aggressive Models," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1967, 63, pp. 575-582; Albert Bandura, Dorothea Ross and Sheila Ross, "Imitation of Film-Mediated Aggression Models," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1963, 66, pp. 3-11; Glenn Thomas Ellis and Francis Sekura III, "The Effect of Aggressive Cartoons on the Behavior of First Grade Children," Journal of Psychology, 1972, 81, pp. 7-43; O.I. Lovas, "Effect of Exposure to Symbolic Aggression on Aggressive Behavior," Child Development, 1961, 32, pp. 37-44.

**George Gerbner, Larry Gross, Michael Eleey, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Suzanne Jeffries-Fox, and Nancy Signorielli, "The Gerbner Violence Profile -- An Analysis of the CBS Report," Journal of Broadcasting, Summer 1977, pp. 280-286.

Program means a single fictional story presented in dramatic form. This may be a play or series produced for television, a feature film telecast during the sample period, or a cartoon story (of which there may be one or more in a single program). Each of these is analyzed separately and recorded as a "program." All such programs telecast during the study periods were analyzed whether or not they contained violence.

A violent episode as a unit of analysis means a scene of some violence confined to the same participants. If a scene is interrupted by flashback or shifts to another scene, but continues in "real time," it is still the same episode. Any change in the cast of characters -- such as a new agent of violence entering the scene -- starts another episode.

Characters analyzed in all programs are of two types -- major characters are the principal roles essential to the story; minor characters include all other speaking roles and are subject to less detailed analysis. The findings summarized in this report include the analysis of major characters only and include data collected from 1969 through 1979. The character portion of the recording instrument underwent extensive changes and additions prior to collection of 1969 data. Therefore, when focusing upon attributes of characterization, it is more parsimonious to exclude data collected in 1967 and 1968.

Samples of programming

Because nationally distributed programs provide the most broadly shared television fare, network dramatic programs transmitted in evening prime-time (8 p.m. to 11 p.m. each day), and network children's dramatic programs transmitted weekend mornings (Saturday and Sunday between 8 a.m. and 2 p.m.) comprise the analytical source material.*

Our sample of programs is videotaped and consists of all dramatic programs broadcast during one week, usually in the fall, of each year.** When an episode of a regularly scheduled program is pre-empted by a non-dramatic special during the selected week, the next available episode of that series is videotaped. If the special is dramatic, it is included in the sample. This replacement procedure is also used for those rare occasions when video-recorder failure results in the loss of a program during the scheduled sample week.

* In 1967 and 1968, the hours included were 7:30 to 10 p.m. Monday through Saturday, 7 to 10 p.m. Sunday, and children's programs 8 a.m. to noon Saturday. Beginning in 1969, these hours were expanded to 11 p.m. each evening and from 8 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. Saturday and Sunday. As of 1971, however, network evening programming has been reduced by the FCC's prime-time access rule. The effective evening parameters since 1971 are therefore 8 to 11 p.m. Monday through Saturday and 7 to 11 p.m. Sunday.

** Programs broadcast during one week in the spring of 1975 and 1976 were videotaped and analyzed as part of our on-going research on sampling.

Although the sheer numbers involved prohibit estimation of sampling error for all of the dimensions in the recording instrument, the solid-week sample is at least as generalizable to a year's programming as larger randomly drawn samples for the four basic sample dimensions -- network, program format (TV play, cartoon, feature film), type (action, etc.), and tone (humorous, serious). In a sampling experiment executed in connection with the 1967-68 study, a sample of 365 programs was constructed according to the parameters of the 1967-68 project's sample, except that it was drawn according to a one-program-per-day random selection procedure, for a calendar year that approximately bridged the interval between the 1967 and 1968 one-week samples.* There was no significant difference between the experimental and solid-week samples in the distribution of programs by network, format, type and tone (as defined for the 1967-68 project).

Two further sampling experiments were conducted in the spring of 1975 and 1976. First, a week's sample from each spring's programming was analyzed and compared with the fall samples for differences in the violence measures and indices. Few differences were found and these did not seem to warrant continuing the spring sampling. Another test of our sample, using a seven-week period as its base, was conducted in 1977. The test focused only upon violence-related content items and found no significant differences for the items that are used to calculate the measures included in the Violence Profile.**

The 1977 sample included an additional week of prime-time programs so as to continue our sampling study. Thus, it consisted of two weeks of network dramatic programs broadcast during prime-time (8-11 p.m. EST, Monday - Saturday and 7-11 p.m. EST, Sunday) and one weekend morning (8 a.m. - 2 p.m. EST Saturday and Sunday) of network dramatic children's programs. The present sample, 1979, reverts back to a one week sample defined by the time parameters described above.

The analysis conducted for this report combines some of the yearly samples to simplify the presentation of a large amount of information. Data from the 1967 and 1968 fall seasons are combined, as are data from the fall of 1969 and 1970, and the fall of 1971 and 1972. Data from the fall of 1973 are reported with data from the 1974-75 season (i.e., the combination of samples). Data from fall 1975 and spring 1976 are presented together and represent the 1975-76 season. Data from the fall of 1976, 1977, 1978, and 1979 are reported separately.

* Michael F. Eleey, "Variations in Generalizability Resulting from Sampling Characteristics of Content Analysis Data: A Case Study," The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, 1969.

** George Gerbner, Larry Gross, Michael F. Eleey, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Suzanne Jeffries-Fox, and Nancy Signorielli, "The Gerbner Violence Profile -- An Analysis of the CBS Report," Journal of Broadcasting, Fall 1977, 21:3, pp. 280-286.

Coding and training procedures

For the analysis of a full week sample of programs, a staff of between 12 and 16 coders is recruited. The entire training period requires about four weeks of instruction and testing. Several introductory sessions are devoted to item-by-item discussion of the recording instrument. The trainee group is subsequently split into randomly assigned coding teams of two each, and all pairs then view and code ten selected programs that have previously been coded by the entire message system analysis staff. Each coder-pair works independently of all other pairs, and returns one joint coding for each program. After each pair completes each training program they meet with a staff member to discuss difficulties encountered in the exercise. When these problems have been resolved, the coder-pairs code the remaining programs (previously coded by the staff) selected from the video-tape archive for training.

The data generated by the coder-pairs on the ten training programs are keypunched and subjected to computerized agreement analysis. On the basis of these results, instructions are further discussed and perhaps revised, and idiosyncratic coder pairs are dismissed. Coder-pairs who survive this testing process proceed to analyze the season's videotaped program sample.

During both the training and data-collection phases, coder pairs monitor their assigned videotaped programs as often as necessary, re-screening portions as needed. All programs in the sample are coded independently by two separate coder-pairs to provide double-coded reliability comparisons. (For budgetary reasons, only 30 percent of the programs in the 1967-1968 analysis were coded a second time.)

A final data set for subsequent analysis is compiled from the full data base by randomly selecting one of the two codings for each program. As a last check against deviant coding, reliability measures are computed for each pair before the final selection. This procedure identifies problem coders who may not have been screened out in the training and pre-test phase. In such an instance, the data recorded by the questionable pair would be excluded from the selection, and the alternative coding used. (Over the course of this study, only two such cases have been encountered.)

Assessment of reliability

The purpose of reliability measures in content analysis is to ascertain the degree to which the recorded data are consistently representative of the material being studied, rather than a reflection of observer bias or instrument ambiguity. Theoretically both types of contamination can be corrected by refining the instrument and/or by intensifying coder training, or, as a last resort, by eliminating the unsalvageable variable or dismissing the incorrigible coders. Thus, measures of reliability may serve two functions: (1) as diagnostic tools in the confirmation of the recording instrument, and (2) as arbiters of the replicability of the procedure, assuring confidence in the final data. In this project, they serve both: during the preliminary period of instrument revision and coder training, they identify problem areas

in the recording process; the final measures computed on the study's entire corpus of double-coded data determine the acceptability of information for analysis, and provide guidelines for its interpretation.

Agreement due merely to chance gives no indication that the data truly reflect the phenomena under observation. Simple percent-agreement measures are, therefore, inadequate indicators of reliability, since they fail to account for the amount of agreement expected by chance. Reliability measures in the form of agreement coefficients, however, indicate the degree to which agreement among independent observers is above chance. In general then,

$$\text{Coefficient of Agreement} = 1 - \frac{\text{observed disagreement}}{\text{expected disagreement}}$$

Values for coefficients of this form will range from +1.00 when agreement is perfect, to .00 when agreement is purely accidental (or perfectly random), to negative values when agreement is less than that expected due to chance. A coefficient of .50 indicates that performance is 50% above the level expected by chance. These coefficients will generally give more conservative estimates of reliability than will simple percent-agreement measures.

Five computational formulas are available for calculating the agreement coefficient.* The variations are distinguished by a difference function -- the form of which depends on whether the variable is considered to constitute a nominal, ordinal, interval, bipolar or ratio scale. Except for their respective scale-appropriate sensitivity to deviations from perfect agreement, the coefficients make the same basic assumptions as the prototype for nominal scales devised by Scott.** Thus in the case of the binary variable, all formulae yield identical results.

The project's double-coded sample of data is analyzed for agreement via these coefficients, with the aid of a computer program.*** The results of the reliability analyses govern the reporting of the findings. Table 1 presents reliability coefficients for the content items included in this report for 1969-76, 1977, 1978, and 1979 samples. Items such as network, program, format, duration, time of broadcast, etc. are administratively coded and are not subjected to reliability analysis.

* For a formal discussion of part of this family of coefficients, see Klaus Krippendorff, "Bivariate Agreement Coefficients for the Reliability of Data," in E.F. Borgatta and G.W. Bohrnstedt (eds.), Sociological Methodology, 1970, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc.).

** William A. Scott, "Reliability of Content Analysis: The Case of Nominal Scale Coding," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1955, 17:3, 321-325.

*** Klaus Krippendorff, "A Computer Program for Agreement Analysis of Reliability Data, Version 4," Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, July 1973 (mimeo).

Table 1
Reliability Coefficients

<u>Program Items</u>	<u>1969 - 1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>
Number of Violent Actions	.746 (I)	.860 (I)	.857 (I)	.862 (I)
Program Tone (comic-serious)	.831 (O)	.876 (O)	.840 (O)	.820 (O)
Place of Major Action	.717 (N)	.638 (N)	.796 (N)	.665 (N)
Date of Major Action	.686 (N)	.659 (N)	.785 (N)	.672 (N)
Setting of Major Action	.574 (N)	.658 (N)	.656 (N)	.568 (N)
Violence-Significance	.781 (O)	.740 (O)	.813 (O)	.765 (O)
Violence-Seriousness	.798 (O)	.784 (O)	.803 (O)	.661 (O)
<u>Characterization Items</u>				
Sex	.930 (N)	.912 (N)	.922 (N)	.920 (N)
Social Age	.640 (N)	.720 (N)	.612 (N)	.540 (N)
Race	.888 (N)	.936 (N)	.965 (N)	.910 (N)
Nationality	.728 (N)	.737 (N)	.734 (N)	.769 (N)
Socio-Economic Status	.567 (O)	.525 (O)	.651 (O)	
Marital Status	.694 (N)	.712 (N)	.716 (N)	.573 (N)
Type of character ("good" - "bad")	.773 (O)	.791 (O)	.688 (O)	.702 (O)
Committing Violence	.704 (N)	.734 (N)	.657 (N)	.717 (N)
Victimization	.673 (N)	.691 (N)	.767 (N)	.668 (N)

Note: (I) Interval Scale Variable
(O) Ordinal Scale Variable
(N) Nominal Scale Variable

Violence Indicators

Message system analysis contributes three types of information to the Violence Profile. The first is the program context of which any dramatic element, such as violence, is an integral part. The second consists of the specific indicators of violence in various program categories, and the composite Violence Index. The third type of information is in the form of risk ratios and scores which show how the pattern of violence and victimization works for different kinds of people that populate the world of television drama.

The Violence Index is composed of three sets of direct observational data. They show the extent to which violence occurs at all in the program samples, the frequency and rate of violent episodes, and the number of roles calling for characterization as violent, victims, or both. These data sets are called prevalence, rate, and role, respectively.

Prevalence is the percent of programs containing any violence in a particular program sample. Prevalence is calculated both as percent of programs (%P) and as percent of program hours containing violence. Only %P is part of the Index.

Rate expresses the frequency of these acts in units of programming and in units of time. The acts themselves are called "violent episodes." The number of such episodes divided by the total number of programs (violent or not) yields the rate per program (R/P). The rate per hour (R/H) is the number of episodes divided by the number of program hours in the sample. The latter measures the concentration or saturation of violence in time, and compensates for the difference in rates between a long program unit, such as a movie, and a short one, such as a 10-minute cartoon.

Role is defined as the portrayal of characters as violent (committing violence) or victims (subjected to violence), or both, and yields several measures. They are: percent of violent out of all characters in a sample; percent of victims out of all characters in a sample; all those involved as violent or as victims or both (%V); percent killers (those committing fatal violence); percent of killed (victims of lethal violence); and all those involved in killing, either as killers, killed, or both (%K).

Findings from these data are combined to form an Index. We have developed this Index because violence is a complex phenomenon -- and a sophisticated analysis involves paying attention not only to specific actions but also to who is hurt, who does the hurting, etc. Simple measures, such as the number of violent incidents can be used to reveal fluctuations in the basic level of violence, but this type of account alone does not yield very rich analytic information.

The Violence Index is the sum of five measures: the percent of programs containing any violence (%P), plus twice the rate of violent incidents per

program (2R/P), plus twice the rate of violent incidents per hour (2R/H),* plus the percent of characters involved in any violence (%V), plus the percent of characters involved in killing (%K). That is:

$$VI = (%P) + (2R/P) + (2R/H) + (%V) + (%K).$$

Prevalence, rate, and role are thus all reflected in the Index, giving it a sensitivity to various aspects of violence portrayals, and lending it a certain stability not easily altered or manipulated by superficial script changes. The Index itself is not, of course, a statistical finding, but serves to illustrate trends and to facilitate gross comparisons. The Index is calculated for many genres of programs. It is not, however, calculated for the individual programs within the yearly sample.

The components of the Violence Index achieve high inter-coder reliability; over the last eleven years, the coefficients for individual items range from .65 to .86 (see Table 1). We also have been able to establish that the Violence Index meets the critical statistical and empirical requirements of an index: undimensionality and internal homogeneity. A major criticism of the Violence Index has been that it may be combining "apples and oranges," that it mixes together disparate and unrelated dimensions.** If, indeed, the components of the Index are not measuring the same thing, then it is wrong to combine them; but if they are manifestations of the same underlying dimension, then the combined Index yields a measure of television violence far more reliable and valid than any individual item.

In short, we find that the Index provides a highly reliable measure of television violence, particularly in prime-time programs. Factor analysis reveals that there is only one factor underlying the five components of the Index for both early evening (8 - 9 p.m. EST) and late evening (9 - 11 p.m. EST) programs. In terms of internal homogeneity, Cronbach's alpha for all prime-time samples from 1967 to 1978 is a very high .89. Thus, the items are measuring a single dimension, and they are measuring it quite well (see Table 2).

Critics have also argued that the weights we use in creating the Index are arbitrary and unjustified. Yet, it turns out that the Violence Index produces lower reliability estimates when the rate of violent acts per program and per hour are not weighted by two. In each time period (and overall), as shown in Table 2, weighting these two components adds about .05 to the alpha.

Finally, in weekend-daytime programs the internal homogeneity is somewhat lower, but still acceptable (alpha = .66). This is due, primarily, to one item: the percent of characters involved in killing. In general,

* The rates are weighted by two in the Cultural Indicators Violence Index so as to increase their importance. That is, the rates are usually very small numbers (on the order of 4 to 9) and the weighting increases their contribution to the Index.

** Thomas E. Coffin and Sam Tuchman, "Rating Television Programs for Violence: A Comparison of Five Surveys," Journal of Broadcasting 1972-3, 17:1, 3-20; Bruce M. Owen, "Measuring Violence on Television: The Gerbner Index," Office of Telecommunications Policy, Staff Research Paper OTP-SP-7, June 1972.

Table 2

Reliability Coefficients for the Violence Index

	UNWEIGHTED INDEX			WEIGHTED INDEX		
	raw alpha	standardized alpha	theta	raw alpha	standardized alpha	theta
ALL PROGRAM DATA (N=162)	.70	.76	.82	.75	.78	.82
8 - 9 P.M. EST (N=60)	.69	.85	.86	.74	.85	.86
9 - 11 P.M. EST (N=60)	.74	.88	.86	.79	.88	.86
Weekend Day (N=42)	.69	.66	.71	.65	.66	.71
PRIME TIME TOTAL (N=120)	.75	.89	.89	.80	.89	.89

The UNIT OF OBSERVATION is the time period (8-9 p.m., 9-11 p.m., and weekend daytime), for each network. The reliability estimates are based on all fall samples (1967 - 1978), the two spring samples (1975 and 1976) and the six-week special sample (1976; for prime time only).

The UNWEIGHTED INDEX estimates represent reliability obtained by simply adding up the five components (percent of programs containing violence, rate of violent acts per hour, rate of violent acts per program, percent of characters involved in violence, and percent of characters involved in killing).

The WEIGHTED INDEX doubles the absolute value of two items: acts per hour, and rate of violent acts per program.

The RAW alpha indicates the reliability the index would have when its components are simply added up (in raw form).

The STANDARDIZED ALPHA indicates the reliability the index would have if the items were standardized before they are added up. That is, the index would have this reliability if the raw scores were subtracted from the mean and divided by the standard deviation.

The THETA indicates the reliability the index would have if the items were both standardized and weighted by their factor score coefficients before they were added up. This is generally the maximum reliability possible to achieve in a given index.

weekend-daytime programs have the highest rates of violent acts and the greatest number of programs containing violence -- but they also have the smallest proportion of characters involved in killing. In fact, within weekend programs, killing is negatively related to the rate of violent acts per hour! Evidently, there is a tremendous amount of non-lethal violence on children's shows; and when killing does appear it seems to be accented as a central action while other aspects of violence are downplayed.

Despite this qualification, these items clearly are providing a reliable, unidimensional, internally homogeneous and efficient measure of television violence. But we repeat that the indicators "should be used in light of the interpretive judgements and assumptions inherent in the formulas that generate them."*

* George Gerbner, "Violence and Television Drama: Trends and Symbolic Functions," in G.A. Comstock and E.A. Rubinstein (eds.), Television and Social Behavior, Vol. 1, Content and Control, Washington: GPO, 1972, pp. 33-34.

Findings of Message System Analysis

In many ways, the world of dramatic network television is remarkably stable. One of the most important findings of our continuing investigation of this world and the viewers who "live" in it is the stability of its images, characterizations, and themes -- as well as their consequences and impact. Yet, underlying the surface of stability and consistency are subtle shifts and fluctuations.

The overall amount of violence in the 1979 television season is quite similar to the level measured in the 1978 season: the Index (174) for the entire sample of prime-time and weekend-daytime programs is only 9 points below the Index for 1978 (183). There are, however, some rather striking and interesting differences when we compare the 1978 and 1979 Indices for three basic viewing times: weekend-daytime, early evening prime-time -- 8 to 9 p.m. EST (the former "family hour"), and late evening prime-time -- 9 to 11 p.m. EST. In fact, the 1979 patterns are almost the mirror image of the 1978 findings (see Table 3 and Figure 1).

Violence in weekend-daytime programs has dropped from the extremely high level (249) measured for the 1978 season. The current measure for weekend-daytime programs is slightly below the 13-year average of 222. In the 1979 sample four components of the Index are lower than they were in 1978. The percent of programs containing violence is 92 percent (as compared to 98 percent last year), the rate of violent actions per program is 4.6 (actually, the lowest rate we have ever measured for this period), the rate per hour is 17.2 acts, only 74.8 percent of the major characters are involved in violence, and, for the third year in a row, no major characters are involved in killing.

The amount of violence in early evening programs is now quite similar to that in late evening programs -- the Index and its individual components are nearly identical within both time periods. This pattern of homogenization in the amount of violence in these two time periods diverges from the overall stability of the trends we have observed since 1973. In the period from 1973 to 1978, early evening programming was considerably less violent than late evening programming: the Index for the 9 - 11 p.m. programs has averaged 60 points above that for the 8 - 9 p.m. programs over these five years. Possibly owing to the demise of the "family hour," however, the divergence has ended and, for 1979 at least, the amount of violence in early and late evening shows has become virtually the same.

In a nutshell, the current changes are as follows: overall, the Index is down from last season; weekend-daytime and late evening programs are less violent in 1979 than in 1978, but early evening programs are sharply more violent.

Since network competition is quite fierce in most aspects of programming, it is important to determine how the networks differ in regard to the amount of violence they exhibit (see Table 4 and Figure 2).

Overall, only ABC has considerably reduced violence from 1978 to 1979: their index score dropped from 186 to 145. The CBS index rose slightly

Table 3
Violence Index Components
(1967-1979)

	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	3	Total
	67,68	69,70	71,72	73,74	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	67-79
All Programs N=	183	232	203	291	226	110	192	111	126	1674
% Programs w/violence	81.4	80.6	79.8	78.0	77.4	89.1	75.5	84.7	81.0	80.0
Rate per program	4.8	4.9	5.0	5.4	5.2	6.2	5.0	5.8	5.0	5.2
Rate per hour	7.2	8.1	7.2	6.9	7.7	9.5	6.7	8.3	8.1	7.5
% Characters involved in violence	69.5	65.1	59.8	61.4	64.2	74.8	60.9	64.8	62.7	63.9
Violence Index	190	178	174	175	177	204	166	183	174	178
Weekend-Daytime N=	62	107	81	114	92	49	53	48	62	668
% Programs w/violence	93.5	97.2	88.9	93.9	90.2	100.0	90.6	97.9	91.9	93.6
Rate per program	5.2	6.5	6.0	5.6	5.1	6.9	4.9	7.5	4.6	5.8
Rate per hour	22.3	25.5	16.0	12.6	14.2	22.4	15.6	25.0	17.2	17.6
% Characters involved in violence	84.3	89.7	73.5	73.8	81.1	85.6	77.2	86.0	74.8	79.7
Violence Index	242	253	208	205	211	247	209	249	210	222
Prime-Time N=	121	125	122	177	134	61	139	63	64	1006
% Programs w/violence	75.2	66.4	73.8	67.8	68.7	80.3	69.8	74.6	70.3	71.0
Rate per program	4.5	3.5	4.4	5.2	5.3	5.6	5.0	4.5	5.4	4.8
Rate per hour	5.2	3.9	4.8	5.3	6.0	6.1	5.5	4.5	5.7	5.2
% Characters involved in violence	64.4	49.4	53.9	53.7	55.0	67.4	55.5	52.9	53.7	55.5
Violence Index	176	140	159	159	160	183	154	153	153	159
8-9 P.M. EST N=	74	73	55	86	61	25	65	27	31	497
% Programs w/violence	77.0	60.3	74.5	60.5	52.5	72.0	66.2	59.3	71.0	65.4
Rate per program	4.9	2.8	4.2	4.0	2.7	3.8	4.2	3.0	5.6	3.9
Rate per hour	6.4	3.9	4.8	4.3	4.1	4.7	5.3	4.0	6.3	4.9
% Characters involved in violence	66.3	46.1	50.0	44.2	37.0	55.1	53.2	39.2	53.1	49.2
Violence Index	186	127	150	134	104	145	140	116	156	140
9-11 P.M. EST N=	47	52	67	91	73	36	74	36	33	509
% Programs w/violence	72.3	75.0	73.1	74.7	82.2	86.1	73.0	86.1	69.7	76.4
Rate per program	4.0	4.3	4.5	6.4	7.6	6.9	5.8	5.6	5.2	5.7
Rate per hour	3.8	3.9	4.8	6.1	6.9	6.8	5.7	4.8	5.2	5.4
% Characters involved in violence	61.5	54.2	57.1	62.5	68.4	75.7	57.1	62.5	54.1	61.3
Violence Index	162	158	167	183	203	209	165	180	150	176

1 These figures are based upon two samples collected in the fall of each of these years.
 2 The figures for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 3 The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend-morning sample of network dramatic programs.

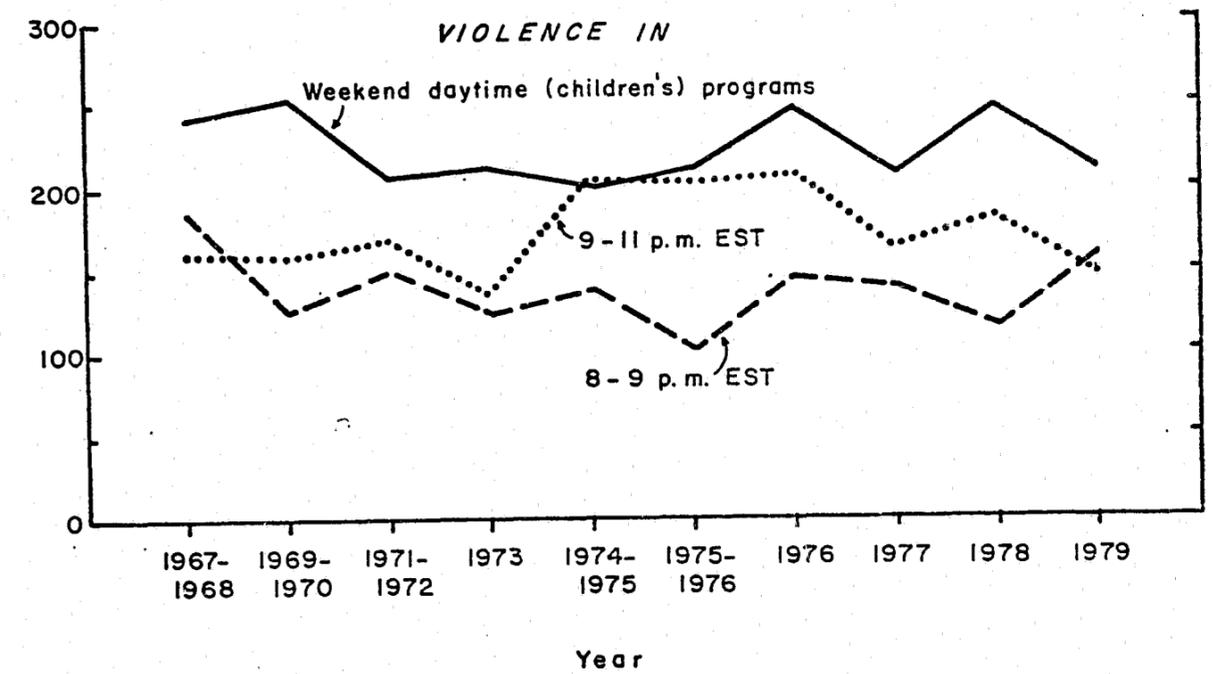


FIGURE 1: VIOLENCE INDEX IN CHILDREN'S AND PRIME TIME PROGRAMING, 1967-1979

Table 4

Violence Index Components for 1978 and 1979 by Network

	All Networks		ABC		CBS		NBC	
	1978	1979	1978	1979	1978	1979	1978	1979
All Programs N =	111	126	35	34	48	56	28	36
% Programs w/violence	84.7	81.0	88.6	70.6	85.4	87.5	78.6	80.6
Rate per program	5.8	5.0	5.7	4.4	5.5	5.1	6.5	5.4
Rate per hour	8.3	8.1	8.1	6.4	9.8	9.9	6.9	7.7
% Characters involved in violence	64.8	62.7	66.3	52.2	63.9	69.1	64.3	64.7
Violence Index	183	174	186	145	183	190	179	179
Weekend-Daytime N =	48	62	11	11	26	32	11	19
% Programs w/violence	97.9	91.9	100.0	90.9	100.0	93.8	90.9	89.5
Rate per program	7.5	4.6	9.5	6.5	6.7	4.8	7.2	3.1
Rate per hour	25.0	17.2	26.3	15.8	26.8	23.7	20.6	10.5
% Characters involved in violence	86.0	74.8	81.5	87.5	86.0	73.4	91.3	69.2
Violence Index	249	210	253	223	253	224	238	186
Prime-Time N =	63	64	24	23	22	24	17	17
% Programs w/violence	74.6	70.3	83.3	60.9	68.2	79.2	70.6	70.6
Rate per program	4.5	5.4	3.9	3.5	4.0	5.4	6.0	7.9
Rate per hour	4.5	5.7	4.6	4.2	4.4	5.9	4.6	6.9
% Characters involved in violence	52.9	53.7	60.0	38.3	44.6	64.4	54.1	60.9
Violence Index	153	153	165	116	136	173	159	175
8-9 P.M. EST N =	27	31	12	13	8	11	7	7
% Programs w/violence	59.3	71.0	83.3	61.5	50.0	81.8	28.6	71.4
Rate per program	3.0	5.6	2.3	3.5	2.0	5.5	5.6	9.6
Rate per hour	4.0	6.3	3.4	4.6	2.9	6.8	5.6	7.7
% Characters involved in violence	39.2	53.1	62.1	35.9	33.3	59.4	20.7	72.0
Violence Index	116	156	167	116	93	172	72	198
9-11 P.M. EST N =	36	33	12	10	14	13	10	10
% Programs w/violence	86.1	69.7	83.3	60.0	78.6	76.9	100.0	70.0
Rate per program	5.6	5.2	5.6	3.4	5.2	5.2	6.3	6.8
Rate per hour	4.8	5.2	5.4	3.8	4.9	5.2	4.1	6.2
% Characters involved in violence	62.5	54.1	58.3	40.5	50.0	68.3	84.4	53.8
Violence Index	180	150	164	115	158	174	230	160

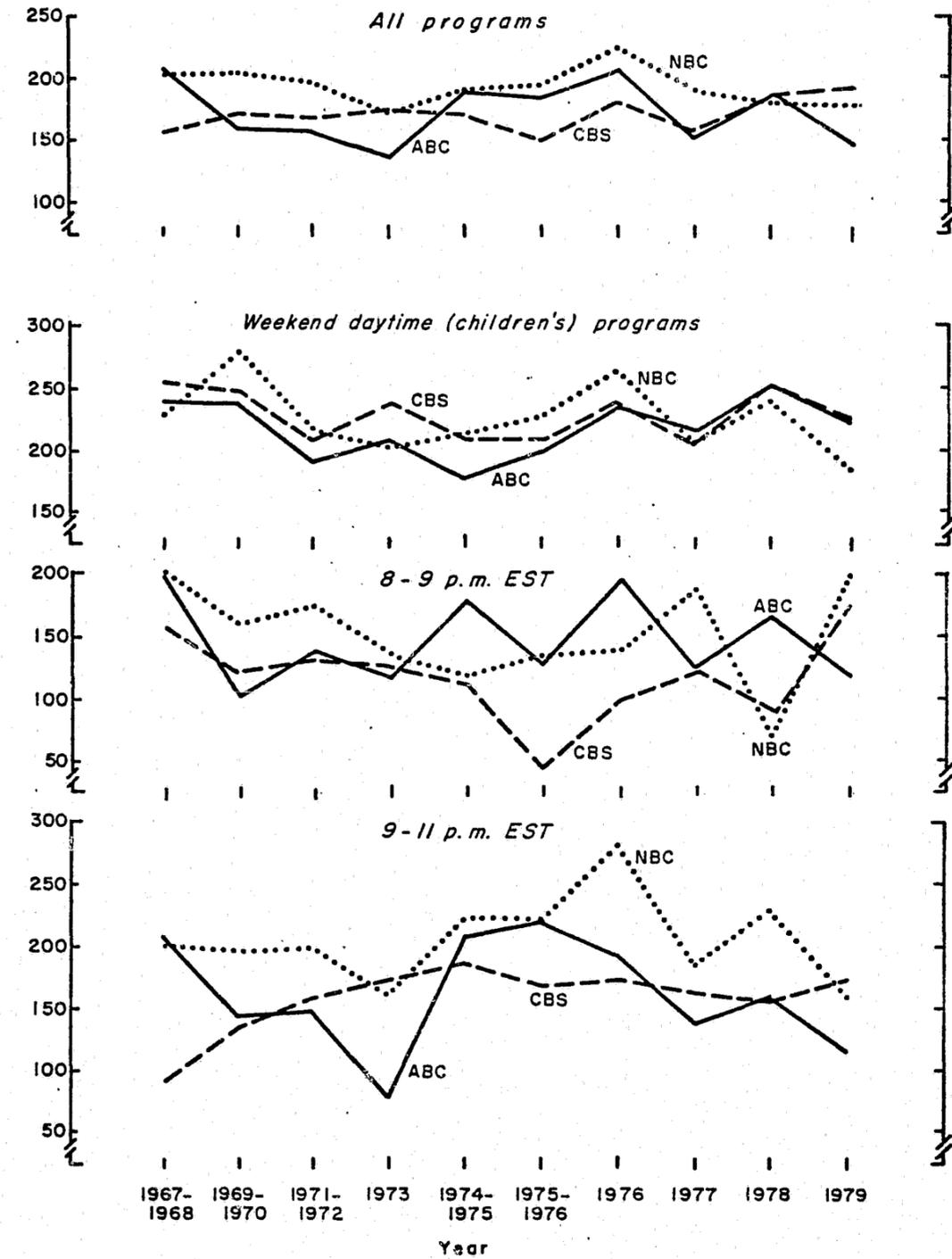


FIGURE 2: VIOLENCE INDEX BY NETWORK AND PROGRAM TIME 1967-1979

(183 to 190) while NBC remains at a steady 179 points. The indices for prime-time programs broadcast by each network, however, show considerable fluctuation. ABC reduced violence in both early and late evening programming: the index went from 165 to 116. CBS, on the other hand, shows an increase in both prime-time slots, especially in the early evening hours where their index jumped from 93 to an extremely high level of 172. Moreover, this is the highest level ever recorded for CBS in this time period. The CBS index in the late evening time period has increased only slightly -- from 158 to 174. Finally, NBC's index shows extreme variation between the two time periods -- the early evening index has increased considerably (from 72 to 198) while the late evening has dropped substantially (from 230 to 160). Thus, in 1979 CBS and NBC are just about equal in the amount of violence they present during all prime-time programming; but how each network got to this level of equality is very different. NBC reduced the number of violent programs and amount of violence in late evening shows but increased violence in the early evening, while CBS increased violence in all prime-time programming. Thus, while it ends up looking all the same, that is only part of the story; the apparent equilibrium is achieved through complex movement towards homogeneity.

In weekend-daytime programming, where violence is often cyclical, all three networks show declines in the overall amount of violence. NBC reveals the greatest change -- a drop of 62 points (238 to 186).

Table 5 presents the trends in network standings -- that is, a yearly ranking of the networks by violence index scores. Overall, NBC has been the most consistently violent network over the past 13 years. NBC is also usually ranked as the most violent network for early evening as well as late evening programming. But although NBC is ranked second in weekend-daytime programming, the index is only one point below that of CBS. We also find that CBS and ABC usually jockey for least violent network: their rankings see-saw back and forth. CBS, though, has been the least violent network more often than ABC.

As we have found every year, there is considerable variation in the amount of violence measured in different genres of programming. Table 6 presents trends in Violence Indices from 1967-68 to 1979 and also the amount of change -- increases or decreases -- from 1978 to 1979. On the surface, there is a lot of variation in the 1978 and 1979 Indices, with considerable reductions in many program genres. At the same time, however, there are many large increases. Overall, networks or genres or time periods that were unusually low last year are the ones which showed increases this year; the reductions tend to be found where last year's Index was unusually high.

The largest increase was a jump of 126 points for NBC's early evening programs (this follows a reduction of 116 points between the 1977 and 1978 seasons). The CBS early evening time slot has the next largest increase -- 79 points. New programs aired during prime time in 1979 also showed a very sizable jump of 76 points over last year's entries; but weekend-daytime programs decreased by 41 points. Both prime-time and weekend-daytime programs that were carried over from the previous season showed decreases in the amount of violence; movie and cartoon violence was also down considerably from 1978. Violence in prime-time comic-tone programs was up, but down

Table 5
 Network Ranking by Violence Index
 (1967-1979)

	¹ 67, 68	¹ 69, 70	¹ 71, 72	² 73, 74	² 1975	1976	³ 1977	1978	1979	1967-1979
<u>All Programs</u>	ABC 210 NBC 204 CBS 159	NBC 204 CBS 173 ABC 162	NBC 195 CBS 170 ABC 159	NBC 182 CBS 173 ABC 170	NBC 194 ABC 186 CBS 153	NBC 224 ABC 207 CBS 182	NBC 190 CBS 159 ABC 154	ABC 186 CBS 183 NBC 179	CBS 190 NBC 179 ABC 145	NBC 194 ABC 173 CBS 170
<u>Prime-Time Programs</u>	ABC 203 NBC 201 CBS 128	NBC 176 CBS 129 ABC 119	NBC 187 CBS 150 ABC 146	NBC 168 ABC 160 CBS 152	NBC 182 ABC 180 CBS 122	NBC 212 ABC 196 CBS 150	NBC 188 CBS 146 ABC 136	NBC 159 ABC 165 CBS 136	NBC 175 CBS 173 ABC 116	NBC 182 ABC 156 CBS 142
<u>8-9 P.M. EST Programs</u>	NBC 201 ABC 200 CBS 157	NBC 161 CBS 123 ABC 105	NBC 175 ABC 140 CBS 132	ABC 156 NBC 125 CBS 117	NBC 133 ABC 129 CBS 46	ABC 197 NBC 139 CBS 102	NBC 188 ABC 126 CBS 123	ABC 167 CBS 93 NBC 72	NBC 198 CBS 172 ABC 116	NBC 158 ABC 145 CBS 119
<u>9-11 P.M. EST Programs</u>	ABC 209 NBC 201 CBS 92	NBC 196 ABC 146 CBS 137	NBC 200 CBS 161 ABC 150	NBC 207 CBS 181 ABC 164	ABC 222 NBC 222 CBS 171	NBC 282 ABC 196 CBS 175	NBC 188 CBS 166 ABC 143	NBC 230 ABC 184 CBS 158	CBS 174 NBC 160 ABC 115	NBC 206 ABC 168 CBS 160
<u>Weekend-Daytime Programs</u>	CBS 257 ABC 242 NBC 229	NBC 278 CBS 250 ABC 239	NBC 220 CBS 210 ABC 192	CBS 219 NBC 208 ABC 190	NBC 227 CBS 210 ABC 200	NBC 264 CBS 239 ABC 237	ABC 216 CBS 206 NBC 206	ABC 253 CBS 253 NBC 238	CBS 224 ABC 223 NBC 186	CBS 226 NBC 225 ABC 214

¹ These figures are based upon two samples collected in the fall of each of these years.

² The figures for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

³ The fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend-morning of network dramatic programs.

Table 6

Summary of Violence Index
(1967-1979)

	1	1	1	2	2	3			Change	
	67,68	69,70	71,72	73,74	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1978 to 1979
All Programs	190	178	174	175	177	204	166	183	174	-9
Prime-Time	176	140	159	159	160	183	154	153	153	0
Weekend-Morning	242	253	208	205	211	247	209	249	210	-39
8-9 P.M. EST Programs	186	127	150	134	104	145	140	116	156	+40
9-11 P.M. EST Programs	162	158	167	183	203	209	165	180	150	-30
Cartoons	246	254	224	211	228	273	228	252	226	-26
TV Plays	173	137	140	145	149	185	137	137	129	-8
Movies	211	198	226	229	252	220	265	248	207	-41
Comic Tone Programs	144	183	144	161	162	227	151	203	187	-16
Prime-Time	108	72	76	48	70	133	99	119	144	+25
Weekend A.M.	222	265	202	225	229	270	241	274	226	-48
Serious Tone Programs	-	187	208	206	206	216	203	192	189	-3
Prime-Time	-	187	210	212	211	214	209	183	187	+4
Weekend A.M.	-	207	167	171	183	228	181	230	200	-30
Continued Programs	182	173	175	176	181	197	174	190	153	-37
Prime-Time	171	149	155	158	168	180	166	169	136	-33
Weekend A.M.	231	251	217	212	207	244	215	246	203	-43
New Programs	201	188	172	173	168	216	154	165	200	+35
Prime-Time	184	119	166	165	145	192	134	112	188	+76
Weekend A.M.	253	256	192	189	221	250	203	255	214	-41
Actions Programs	236	226	220	220	213	231	214	207	207	0
Prime-Time	237	221	223	230	220	234	219	185	226	+41
Weekend A.M.	256	254	225	208	206	230	209	239	198	-41
ABC Programs	210	162	159	170	186	207	154	186	145	-41
CBS Programs	159	173	170	173	153	182	159	183	190	+7
NBC Programs	204	204	195	182	194	224	190	179	179	0
Prime-Time Programs										
ABC	203	119	146	160	180	196	136	165	116	-49
CBS	128	129	150	152	122	150	146	136	173	+37
NBC	201	176	187	168	182	212	188	159	175	+16
8-9 P.M. EST Programs										
ABC	200	105	140	156	129	197	126	167	116	-51
CBS	157	123	132	117	46	102	123	93	172	+79
NBC	201	161	175	125	133	139	188	72	198	+126
9-11 P.M. EST Programs										
ABC	209	146	150	164	222	196	143	164	115	-49
CBS	92	137	161	181	171	175	166	158	174	+16
NBC	201	196	200	207	222	282	188	230	160	-70
Action Programs										
ABC	241	223	225	218	211	251	208	230	213	-17
CBS	234	238	230	235	224	206	231	192	194	+2
NBC	235	221	209	209	207	234	204	202	214	+12
Weekend A.M. Programs										
ABC	242	239	192	190	200	237	216	253	223	-30
CBS	257	250	210	219	210	239	206	253	224	-29
NBC	229	278	220	208	227	264	206	238	186	-52
Cartoon Programs										
ABC	242	239	226	189	202	239	217	253	238	-15
CBS	257	252	219	225	240	263	243	260	238	-22
NBC	237	280	231	224	258	333	219	238	198	-40

1 These figures are based upon two samples collected in the fall of each of these years.

2 The figures for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

3 The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend-morning of network dramatic programs.

in weekend-daytime (children's) comic-tone shows. Similar patterns appeared for action programs -- prime-time action programs had more violence while weekend-daytime action programs had less violence.

One of the most interesting components of the violence index is the rate of violent actions per hour of programming. This measure is calculated by dividing the total number of violent actions within a particular program classification by the total number of hours of programming within that classification. This measure thus controls for the variability in program length and gives an idea of the hourly saturation of violence.

Overall, as seen in Table 7, the 1979 sample of dramatic programs exhibited a net loss of .2 acts per hour; but this is not the complete picture. Prime-time programs have increased slightly (1.2 acts of violence per hour) while weekend-daytime programs show a large decrease. Specifically, the number of violent actions per hour of weekend-daytime programming dropped 8.8 acts -- there were 25.0 acts per hour in 1978 and only 17.2 acts per hour in 1979. The rate of violence per hour of early evening programming increased by 2.3 acts, and the number of acts per hour of late evening programming increased marginally (.4 acts per hour).

Almost across the board, weekend-daytime (children's) programming shows the largest and most consistent decreases in this measure of saturation, especially for programs broadcast by ABC and NBC. (These networks had an average drop of about 10 acts per hour.)

The more things change...

One of the most intriguing characteristics of violence on television is its overall stability and regularity, despite fluctuations by network, genre and time period. For example, the percent of programs containing violence has been strikingly consistent since 1967. Table 8 shows that over the past 13 years there are no significant differences in the proportion of programs which include violence, whether we look at the entire sample, at prime-time or at weekend-daytime.

The number of violent actions per program tells a basically similar story, but here there are important exceptions by time period. For all programs, the yearly means show no significant differences. Yet for prime-time programs, there is a significant linear trend -- even though the means do not differ significantly, there is an overall pattern of increases in the number of violent actions per program. This is probably due to the relatively low frequencies of violent actions between 1968 and 1971 (the mean number of violent actions per program has not been less than 4.4 since 1973). Thus, if anything, the past decade has seen an increase in the number of violent acts on prime-time programs.

On weekend-daytime (children's) shows, on the other hand, there is a significant non-linear trend. The number of violent actions on weekend-daytime programs exhibits an almost cyclical regularity, down one year, up the next. And, the fluctuations seem to be getting more extreme; the 1978 figure (7.46 violent actions per program) was the highest in our series, and the 1979 figure (4.58) is the second lowest.

Table 7

Rate of Violent Actions per Hour of Programming (1967-1979)

	1	1	1	2	2	3	2	2	1979	Change 1978 to 1979
	67, 68	69, 70	71, 72	73, 74	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	
All Programs	7.2	8.1	7.2	6.9	7.7	9.5	6.7	8.3	8.1	-.2
Prime-Time	5.2	3.9	4.8	5.3	6.0	6.1	5.5	4.5	5.7	+1.2
Weekend-Morning	22.3	25.5	16.0	12.6	14.2	22.4	15.6	25.0	17.2	-8.8
8-9 P.M. EST Programs	6.4	3.9	4.8	4.3	4.1	4.7	5.3	4.0	6.3	+2.3
9-11 P.M. EST Programs	3.8	3.9	4.8	6.1	6.9	6.8	5.7	4.8	5.2	+4
Cartoons	22.5	26.3	18.2	14.6	18.7	34.0	19.8	26.2	18.6	-7.6
TV Plays	5.9	4.3	4.8	4.8	5.5	6.7	4.4	3.8	5.2	+1.4
Movies	3.4	3.4	5.0	6.1	7.3	6.2	8.3	6.5	4.9	-1.6
Comic-Tone Programs	6.3	13.5	9.7	10.4	11.0	20.3	9.1	17.9	14.1	-3.8
Prime-Time	3.2	2.0	2.1	2.2	3.1	4.0	4.3	6.3	8.9	+2.6
Weekend A.M.	19.9	28.4	17.1	17.0	19.4	31.8	25.1	35.7	23.5	-12.2
Serious-Tone Programs	-	5.4	5.4	6.4	7.1	7.3	6.9	5.3	6.4	+1.1
Prime-Time	-	4.7	5.4	6.4	6.9	6.8	6.7	4.2	5.8	+1.6
Weekend A.M.	-	17.4	4.5	6.0	8.6	12.2	9.2	14.4	12.0	-2.4
Continued Programs	6.8	6.6	8.1	6.8	8.1	9.1	6.9	8.5	6.5	-2.0
Prime-Time	5.3	4.1	4.9	5.1	6.3	6.3	6.0	5.2	4.8	-.4
Weekend A.M.	20.5	24.4	19.6	13.2	14.0	23.1	17.2	24.3	17.9	-6.4
New Programs	7.8	11.1	5.8	7.2	7.0	10.4	6.3	7.9	11.2	+3.3
Prime-Time	5.0	3.4	4.6	5.8	5.3	5.5	4.5	2.2	7.9	+5.7
Weekend A.M.	23.8	26.4	10.2	11.2	15.1	21.7	14.3	26.5	16.7	-9.8
Action Programs	9.1	11.1	8.7	8.0	8.2	9.2	8.4	9.5	9.0	-.5
Prime-Time	6.7	5.8	6.2	7.0	7.2	8.1	7.5	5.2	7.0	+1.8
Weekend A.M.	24.4	27.1	18.7	12.1	12.1	14.8	13.9	19.4	13.9	-5.5
ABC Programs	7.7	7.8	6.9	6.7	8.4	8.9	6.0	8.1	6.4	-1.7
CBS Programs	6.3	8.0	7.7	7.4	6.4	8.3	7.4	9.8	9.9	+1
NBC Programs	7.7	8.5	7.0	6.7	8.4	11.1	6.4	6.9	7.7	+8
Prime-Time Programs										
ABC	6.0	3.7	4.8	5.3	7.2	6.5	4.3	4.6	4.2	-.4
CBS	3.7	3.4	4.7	5.7	4.5	4.7	6.4	4.4	5.7	+1.5
NBC	5.8	4.5	4.8	4.8	6.1	6.9	5.3	4.6	5.9	+2.3
8-9 P.M. EST Programs										
ABC	7.5	3.3	4.8	5.2	5.1	7.0	4.5	3.4	4.6	+1.2
CBS	5.3	3.9	4.7	4.6	2.1	2.2	5.9	2.9	6.8	+3.9
NBC	6.3	4.6	4.9	3.1	4.6	4.8	5.4	5.6	7.7	+2.1
9-11 P.M. EST Programs										
ABC	4.3	4.1	4.8	5.4	8.5	6.3	4.6	5.4	3.8	-1.6
CBS	2.1	3.0	4.7	6.3	5.5	5.6	6.8	4.9	5.2	+3
NBC	5.2	4.5	4.8	6.3	6.8	8.7	5.3	4.1	6.2	+2.1
Action Programs										
ABC	8.7	11.8	8.7	7.9	9.4	11.7	9.0	11.8	9.3	-2.5
CBS	10.8	12.5	10.2	9.4	7.9	7.5	9.5	7.5	8.6	+1.1
NBC	8.5	9.7	7.5	6.9	7.3	8.7	7.1	10.2	9.1	-1.1
Weekend A.M. Programs										
ABC	21.3	24.6	14.7	11.4	13.0	19.0	16.0	26.3	15.8	-10.5
CBS	24.2	22.6	17.4	13.4	12.2	19.2	15.2	26.8	23.7	-3.1
NBC	21.2	31.6	15.6	12.9	18.0	29.4	15.7	20.6	10.5	-10.1
Cartoon Programs										
ABC	21.3	24.6	17.5	12.1	13.9	21.5	18.5	26.3	16.7	-9.6
CBS	24.2	24.0	19.6	15.3	19.9	29.7	21.5	30.2	24.2	-6.0
NBC	21.7	32.6	17.1	17.2	24.5	59.5	18.7	20.6	11.6	-9.0

1 These figures are based upon two samples collected in the fall of each of these years.
 2 The figures for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 3 The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend-morning of network dramatic programs.

Table 8

Percent of Programs Containing Violence and Number of Violent Acts per Hour (1967-1979)

Year	Percent of Programs Containing Violence			Number of Violent Acts per Program		
	All Programs	Prime Time	Weekend Daytime	All Programs	Prime Time	Weekend Daytime
1967	81.3	75.0	93.8	4.98	5.11	4.72
1968	81.6	75.4	93.3	4.53	3.89	5.73
1969	83.5	70.3	98.3	5.21	3.63	6.98
1970	77.5	62.3	96.0	4.49	3.31	5.92
1971	80.6	75.8	87.8	4.69	3.85	5.95
1972	79.0	71.7	90.0	5.39	4.90	6.13
1973	72.7	59.7	94.9	5.39	4.47	6.68
1974	83.3	77.6	92.1	5.44	5.66	5.11
1975 *	78.1	66.7	94.9	5.38	5.51	5.18
1975	78.4	69.7	91.1	5.64	5.47	5.89
1976 *	76.5	67.7	89.4	4.86	5.22	4.34
1976	89.1	80.3	100.0	6.18	5.61	6.90
1977 **	76.9	66.2	90.6	5.20	5.46	4.87
1978	84.7	74.6	97.9	5.79	4.52	7.46
1979	80.9	70.3	91.9	4.98	5.37	4.58
TOTAL	80.3	70.8	93.6	5.21	4.81	5.77
Significance of differences between means	.38	.47	.47	.61	.32	.001
Significance of linearity	.74	.92	.83	.09	.02	.29
Significance of deviations from linearity	.32	.40	.40	.77	.69	.000

* Spring sample; all others are fall sample
 ** Does not include second week of prime-time programming used in sampling experiment
 Total N = 1603 Programs (935 Prime-Time, 668 Weekend Daytime)

The Portrayal of Violence

The assessment of violence in television programming is much more than counting acts of violence. Violence generally serves several important functions in a program. It may be used to create attention as well as tension and/or excitement. Violence also illustrates who is strong and who is weak. The plot reveals who can use violence without repercussion, who is most severely punished for using violence as well as which types of characters are more or less likely to suffer consequences of violence. Thus, violence in dramatic programming serves primarily to create a scenario of social relationships and power.

We isolate violence in characterizations by two measures -- the percent of characters who are involved in violence and risk-ratios. A character who is involved in violence may commit and/or suffer violence. That is, the character may hurt someone, be hurt, or both. Characters may also be involved in killing -- that is, they may kill, be killed, or both. Hurting and killing represent different symbolic (as well as human) functions. Hurting controls behavior (usually against the injured party's will) while killing terminates the role.

Risk-ratios, on the other hand, reveal how a character usually fares once involved in violence -- whether this particular type of character is more likely to be victimized or to commit violence (violent-victim ratio) or to kill or be killed (killer-killed ratio). These ratios are calculated within a number of different dramatic and social groups of characters.

The measure of involvement in violence and/or killing may range from 0 to 100 percent of a particular group of characters. Risk-ratios are calculated by dividing the more numerous of these two violence roles by the less numerous within each group. A plus sign indicates that there are more violent and/or killers, a minus sign that there are more victims and/or killed. A ratio of 1.00 means that they are even; a ratio of 0.0 means that there are none. When there are only violent or only killers in a particular group, the ratio will read +0.00; and if there are only victims or only killed the ratio will read -0.00.

Tables 9, 10, and 11 present the number of major characters, the percent of major characters involved in violence, and the violent-victim and killer-killed ratios for several social and demographic groups. Table 9 presents the basic trends over the past 11 years (1969 - 1979)*, Table 10 presents these measures for prime-time programs and Table 11 for weekend-daytime programs.

In prime-time programs, the percent of characters involved in violence has remained fairly steady for the past 11 years. More males than females are so involved: the 11 year average is 60 percent for male characters and

* This part of the report uses data collected from 1969 because data on some characterization items were not collected in 1967-68.

Table 9
RISK RATIOS¹
Trends of Risk Ratios for All Characters
(1969-1979)

		All Characters				Male Characters				Female Characters			
		Involved	Violent-	Killer-		Involved	Violent-	Killer-		Involved	Violent-	Killer-	
		N	in	Victim	Killed	N	in	Victim	Killed	N	in	Victim	Killed
		Ratio	Ratio		Violence	Ratio	Ratio		Violence	Ratio	Ratio		
All Programs	1969-1979	4330	63.3	-1.19	+1.92	3222	68.3	-1.17	+2.04	1040	45.9	-1.32	+1.19
	1969-1970	573	65.1	-1.17	+1.59	441	70.5	-1.15	+2.00	123	43.9	-1.26	-4.00
	1971-1972	552	59.8	-1.18	+2.05	405	66.2	-1.13	+2.15	138	39.1	-1.56	-2.00
	1973-1974	987	61.4	-1.32	+1.83	741	66.4	-1.29	+1.92	240	45.4	-1.47	+1.29
	1975	664	64.2	-1.23	+1.72	522	68.6	-1.25	+1.70	129	43.4	-1.18	+2.00
	1976	290	74.8	-1.07	+2.11	218	79.8	-1.08	+2.50	67	56.7	-1.03	+1.33
	1977	585	60.9	-1.06	+3.00	413	66.3	-1.05	+2.80	168	47.0	-1.13	+0.00
	1978	298	64.8	-1.36	+1.50	198	67.2	-1.21	+1.50	91	56.0	-2.14	+1.50
	1979	381	62.7	-1.06	+2.40	284	67.6	-1.10	+2.75	84	42.9	-1.07	1.00
Prime-Time Programs	1969-1979	2797	54.5	-1.10	+2.00	1980	60.3	-1.07	+2.13	814	40.2	-1.25	+1.21
	1969-1970	350	49.4	-1.17	+1.71	249	55.8	-1.14	+2.30	101	33.7	-1.33	-4.00
	1971-1972	386	53.9	-1.11	+2.20	276	60.9	-1.06	+2.33	109	35.8	-1.45	-2.00
	1973-1974	609	53.7	-1.14	+1.84	441	60.5	-1.11	+1.95	168	35.7	-1.27	+1.29
	1975	431	55.0	-1.13	+1.87	324	61.4	-1.11	+1.77	107	35.5	-1.27	+4.00
	1976	172	67.4	+1.03	+2.13	119	72.3	+1.01	+2.50	53	56.6	+1.09	1.00
	1977	440	55.5	+1.01	+3.00	299	60.2	+1.05	+2.80	140	45.0	-1.13	+0.00
	1978	191	52.9	-1.33	+1.50	120	55.0	-1.13	+1.50	71	49.3	-1.94	+1.50
	1979	218	53.7	-1.03	+2.40	152	57.9	-1.03	+2.75	65	43.1	-1.09	1.00
Weekend-Daytime Programs	1969-1979	1533	79.4	-1.31	-1.11	1242	81.2	-1.31	-1.14	226	66.4	-1.48	1.00
	1969-1970	223	89.7	-1.17	1.00	192	89.6	-1.16	1.00	22	90.9	-1.14	0.00
	1971-1972	166	73.5	-1.31	-2.00	129	77.5	-1.27	-2.00	29	51.7	-1.86	0.00
	1973-1974	378	73.8	-1.63	+1.50	300	75.0	-1.59	+1.50	72	68.1	-1.82	0.00
	1975	233	81.1	-1.38	-0.00	198	80.3	-1.45	-0.00	22	81.8	1.00	-0.00
	1976	118	85.6	-1.19	+2.00	99	88.9	-1.17	0.00	14	57.1	-1.60	+2.00
	1977	145	77.2	-1.22	0.00	114	82.5	-1.26	0.00	28	57.1	-1.09	0.00
	1978	107	86.0	-1.39	0.00	78	85.9	-1.30	0.00	20	80.0	-2.80	0.00
	1979	163	74.8	-1.10	0.00	132	78.8	-1.17	0.00	19	42.1	1.00	0.00

¹ Risk Ratios are obtained by dividing the more numerous of these two roles by the less numerous within each group. A plus sign indicates that there are more violent or killers than victims or killed and a minus sign indicates that there are more victims or killed than violent or killers. A ratio of 0.00 means that there were no victims or killers or violent or killed. A +0.00 means that there were some violent or killers but no victims or killed; a -0.00 ratio means that there were victims or killed but no violent or killers.

only 40 percent for females. In the 1979 season there is a slight increase in involvement scores for males, and a reduction of about six percentage points for females.

The risk-ratios are also fairly stable for prime-time characters but we do see that in most years women are much more likely to be victimized than are males. Killer-killed ratios exhibit much more fluctuation than violent-victim ratios, especially for women. Among males, however, during each year included in the study, more males kill than are killed, usually at the rate of two to one. Killer-killed ratios for female characters jump around and the trends are certainly not stable. The 11 year average reveals that women are slightly more likely to kill than to be killed but there are wide differences from year to year. For example, in the very early years of the study, women were four times as likely to be killed as to kill, but in 1975 they were four times as likely to kill as to be killed. In the 1978 season there were 15 killers for every 10 who were killed, but in the present 1979 sample, the number of women who are killers is exactly the same as the number who are killed.

Involvement in violence is a much more prevalent aspect of both male and female characterizations in weekend-daytime programs -- the 11 year average reveals that more than 8 out of 10 males and two-thirds of the females are involved in violence. For the most part, these measures are fairly stable. We do find, however, that in the present season, the percent of women involved in violence has dropped considerably -- from 80 percent in 1978 to only 42.1 percent in 1979. This present level is considerably below the typical yearly figure and it will be interesting to see whether or not this continues as a trend. The percent of males involved in violence also decreased slightly in 1979.

Turning to Table 10, when we examine the percent of characters in each demographic and social group who are involved in violence, we find fairly stable levels. In prime-time programs, different social types of female characters show more fluctuation than corresponding male characters. Male characters, in all social groups except older men, "bad" men and non-American men, range between 50 and 60 percent. Older men are less likely to be involved in violence (only 44.8 percent) while "bad" men and non-American men are more likely to be so involved -- 86.6 percent of the "bad" men and 78.0 percent of the non-American men.

Female characters exhibit some of the same patterns. Older women are less likely to be involved in violence (only 26.1 percent), while "bad" women are much more likely to be so involved (73.5 percent). Women in minority racial groups are also very unlikely to be involved in violence -- only 22.2 percent.

In weekend-daytime programs (Table 11) there is generally less fluctuation but also some of the same patterns. An interesting difference is that older women in children's programs are about as likely as "bad" women to be involved in violence -- more than 8 out of 10 are involved. In general, most groups of weekend-daytime characters are involved in violence and at fairly high levels.

Our analysis of the 1979 sample of dramatic programs reveals that violence continues to demonstrate patterns of unequal relative risks among

Table 10

1
RISK RATIOS
Major Characters in Prime-Time Programs
(1969-1979)

	All Characters				Male Characters				Female Characters			
	N	Involved in Violence	Violent- Victim Ratio	Killer- Killed Ratio	N	Involved in Violence	Violent- Victim Ratio	Killer- Killed Ratio	N	Involved in Violence	Violent- Victim Ratio	Killer- Killed Ratio
<u>All Characters</u>	2797	54.5	-1.10	+2.00	1980	60.3	-1.07	+2.13	814	40.2	-1.25	+1.21
<u>Social Age</u>												
Children-Adolescents	187	45.5	-1.31	+4.00	125	51.2	-1.39	+4.00	62	33.9	-1.08	0.00
Young Adults	609	58.5	-1.20	+2.14	384	64.6	-1.09	+2.26	225	48.0	-1.52	+1.60
Settled Adults	1850	54.0	-1.05	+2.08	1361	60.1	-1.04	+2.16	489	37.0	-1.09	+1.50
Older Adults	90	40.0	-1.08	-1.40	67	44.8	+1.15	+1.25	23	26.1	-6.00	-0.00
<u>Marital Status</u>												
Not Married	1297	59.1	-1.11	+1.97	902	64.0	-1.06	+2.14	377	47.5	-1.31	+1.10
Married	953	43.9	-1.21	+1.63	591	51.3	-1.19	+1.76	362	31.8	-1.27	+1.11
<u>Social Class</u>												
Clearly Upper	232	57.3	-1.30	+1.56	156	66.7	-1.15	+1.64	76	38.2	-2.36	+1.25
Mixed	2459	53.8	-1.08	+2.19	1742	59.4	-1.05	+2.33	714	39.9	-1.17	+1.21
Clearly Lower	106	64.2	-1.24	-1.11	82	67.1	-1.16	-1.13	24	54.2	-1.71	1.00
<u>Race</u>												
White	2486	54.9	-1.10	+2.03	1742	60.6	-1.06	+2.19	744	41.5	-1.23	+1.26
Other	272	46.0	-1.13	+1.69	209	53.1	-1.07	+1.69	63	22.2	-1.86	0.00
<u>Character Type</u>												
"Good"	1614	50.2	-1.13	+2.67	1108	56.4	-1.07	+3.50	506	36.8	-1.40	-2.67
Mixed	850	50.7	-1.18	+1.54	589	54.8	-1.18	+1.47	258	40.7	-1.22	+1.80
"Bad"	332	84.6	+1.06	+1.97	283	86.6	+1.04	+1.98	49	73.5	+1.24	+1.83
<u>Nationality</u>												
U.S.	2567	53.1	-1.10	+2.13	1819	58.8	-1.06	+2.29	748	39.3	-1.27	+1.19
Other	142	68.3	-1.22	+1.40	100	78.0	-1.21	+1.36	42	45.2	-1.25	+2.00

1

Risk Ratios are obtained by dividing the more numerous of these two roles by the less numerous within each group. A plus sign indicates that there are more violent or killers than victims or killed and a minus sign indicates that there are more victims or killed than violent or killers. A ratio of 0.00 means that there were no victims or killers or violent or killed. A +0.00 ratio means that there were some violent or killers but no victims or killed; a -0.00 ratio means that there were victims or killed but no violent or killers.

Table 11
 1
 RISK RATIOS
 Major Characters in Weekend-Daytime Programs
 (1969-1979)

	All Characters			Male Characters			Female Characters					
	N	Involvement in Violence	Violent-Victim Ratio	Killer-Killed Ratio	N	Involvement in Violence	Violent-Victim Ratio	Killer-Killed Ratio	N	Involvement in Violence	Violent-Victim Ratio	Killer-Killed Ratio
All Characters	1533	79.4	-1.31	-1.11	1242	81.2	-1.31	-1.14	226	66.4	-1.48	1.00
Social Age												
Children-Adolescents	251	70.9	-1.73	0.00	189	74.1	-1.84	0.00	60	61.7	-1.44	0.00
Young Adults	278	75.5	-1.67	-0.00	203	78.3	-1.52	-0.00	71	66.2	-2.39	-0.00
Settled Adults	576	79.0	-1.29	+1.67	506	80.8	-1.28	+1.50	69	65.2	-1.33	+2.00
Older Adults	25	68.0	-1.23	0.00	19	63.2	-1.10	0.00	6	83.3	-1.67	0.00
Marital Status												
Not Married	772	76.4	-1.35	1.00	601	79.2	-1.33	-2.00	159	65.4	-1.55	+0.00
Married	102	61.8	-1.62	1.00	78	65.4	-1.70	+0.00	24	50.0	-1.29	-0.00
Social Class												
Clearly Upper	51	72.5	-1.52	0.00	38	73.7	-1.65	0.00	13	69.2	-1.17	0.00
Mixed	1453	79.4	-1.31	-1.11	1176	81.2	-1.31	-1.14	212	66.5	-1.51	1.00
Clearly Lower	29	89.7	-1.25	0.00	28	92.9	-1.25	0.00	1	0.0	0.00	0.00
Race												
White	888	73.8	-1.41	1.00	700	76.0	-1.40	-1.33	188	65.4	-1.43	+2.00
Other	110	80.9	-1.77	0.00	92	81.5	-1.76	0.00	15	73.3	-2.00	0.00
Character Type												
"Good"	887	73.7	-1.49	+0.00	690	76.1	-1.49	+0.00	167	62.3	-1.71	+0.00
Mixed	365	83.6	-1.27	-0.00	306	84.3	-1.28	-0.00	32	68.8	-1.45	-0.00
"Bad"	280	91.8	-1.05	-1.67	245	91.8	-1.06	-1.33	27	88.9	+1.05	-0.00
Nationality												
U.S.	807	73.0	-1.47	+1.33	646	75.1	-1.44	1.00	151	63.6	-1.68	+2.00
Other	130	80.0	-1.40	-0.00	109	84.4	-1.35	-0.00	21	57.1	-1.83	0.00

1
 Risk Ratios are obtained by dividing the more numerous of these two roles by the less numerous within each group. A plus sign indicates that there are more violent or killers than victims or killed and a minus sign indicates that there are more victims or killed than violent or killers. A ratio of 0.00 means that there were no victims or killers or violent or killed. A +0.00 ratio means that there were some violent or killers but no victims or killed; a -0.00 ratio means that there were victims or killed but no violent or killers.

major characters in different age, sex, and social groups. Since 1969, certain groups of major characters are more likely to be hurt than to do any hurting.

In prime-time programs (Table 10), women are more likely to be victimized than to inflict violence upon others. And, in fact, when we rank the violent-victim ratios for male and female characters, we find that there is only one group of male characters -- young boys -- among the ten groups who are most likely to be victimized. Older women are especially likely to suffer violent fates -- for every older woman who commits violence, 6 times as many are victimized.

Victimization is especially prevalent among women who portray various kinds of minority groups -- among upper class women 24 are victimized for every 10 who inflict violence; among "other" racial groups, there are 19 victims for every 10 who commit violence; and among lower class women, 17 are hurt for every 10 who hurt others. Young women also exhibit a high ratio -- for every 10 who inflict violence, 15 are victimized.

There are only three groups who are more likely to hurt others than to be hurt themselves. These are "bad" men, older men, and "bad" women. "Bad" women show the highest positive ratio -- in this case there are 12 women who commit violence for every 10 who are victimized.

In prime-time programs, in regard to victimization, there are also some very interesting differences among male-female portrayals. We have noted that older women are the most likely group to be victimized and that they have a very high ratio of victimization as compared to committing violence. Older men, on the other hand, are much more likely to commit violence than to be hurt. For every 10 older men who are hurt, 11.5 hurt others. But when we look at younger characters, an entirely different pattern emerges. In this case the young girls are about equally likely to commit as to suffer violence while young boys are more likely to be victimized. For every ten boys who commit violence, 14 are victimized; while for every ten girls who commit violence, only 10.8 are victimized.

The patterns of committing and suffering violence are somewhat similar in weekend-daytime programs (see Table 11), but they are not as extreme as those uncovered in the analysis of prime-time programs. While women still predominate in the "ten most likely to be victimized" group, there are three groups of males -- boys, other race males, and married men -- who are also included. Among the characters in this sample of children's programs, young women are the ones most likely to be victimized -- there are 24 young female victims for every 10 young women who commit violence. Older women are ranked 8th in victimization potential -- for every 10 older women who hurt other characters, 17 are hurt. Older men are slightly more likely to be victimized -- 11 are hurt for every 10 who hurt others.

In weekend-daytime programs, "bad" characters are also the last in line: "bad" men exhibit a negative ratio -- that is, they are slightly more likely to be victimized than to commit violence (for every 10 who hurt others, only 10.6 are hurt), while "bad" women are slightly more likely to commit violence than be hurt (for every 10 women who are victimized, 10.5 commit violence.) "Bad" women are also the only group of characters in children's programming who are more likely to commit violence than to be a victim.

Cultivation Analysis

Cultivation analysis is the study of what is usually called effects or impact. We consider the latter terms inappropriate to the study of broad cultural influences. The "effects" of a pervasive medium upon the composition and structure of the symbolic environment are subtle, complex and mingled with other influences. Also, the concept of causation, borrowed from simpler experimental studies in the physical and biological sciences, is not fully applicable to the steady flow of images and messages that make up much of contemporary popular culture.

Questions about the influence of a broad medium of enculturation are very different from the usual research questions about individual messages, campaigns, or programs. Thus, the traditional procedures used in media effects research are not always appropriate to the study of television.

First, we cannot presume consequences, as conventional research paradigms often do, without prior investigation of content. Nor can the study of content be limited to isolated elements (such as news, commercials, or particular programs) taken out of context, or to the selections made by individual viewers.

We have argued that the world of television is an aggregate system of stories and images. Only a system-wide analysis of these messages can lead to understanding the facts, lessons, and contours of the symbolic world which structures common assumptions and definitions for viewers and provides the basis for interaction (though not necessarily agreement) among large and heterogeneous communities. The system as a whole plays a major role in setting the agenda of issues that people will agree or disagree about; it may shape the most pervasive norms and cultivate the dominant perspectives of society.

Although a conventional research assumption is that the experiment is the most powerful method, and that change (in attitudes, opinions, likes-dislikes, etc., toward or conveyed by "variable X") is the most significant outcome to measure, experiments are not suited to study television's long range effects. In the ideal experiment, subjects are exposed to "X" and the researcher assesses salient aspects of these receivers both before and after exposure, and compares the change, if any, to data obtained from a control group (identical in all relevant ways to the experimental group) who have not received "X". No change or no difference means no effect.

When "X" is television, however, we must turn this paradigm around: stability (or even resistance to change) may be a significant outcome of viewing. Moreover, if nearly everyone "lives" to some extent in the world of television,* clearly we cannot find unexposed (control) groups who are identical in all important respects to viewers. Finally, experimental designs are not the most appropriate way to study the effects of television because they are not comparable to people's day-to-day viewing habits, either in content or in context.

* Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, "The Nonviewers: Who Are They?" Journal of Communication, 1977, 48, 65-72.

We cannot isolate television from the mainstream of modern culture because it is the mainstream. We cannot look for change as the most significant accomplishment of the chief arm of established culture if its main social function is to maintain, reinforce, and exploit rather than to undermine or subvert prevalent conceptions, beliefs, and behaviors. The observed relative ineffectiveness of many isolated campaigns may itself be testimony to the power of mainstream communications.

Cultivation analysis begins with the patterns found in the "world" of television drama. The message system composing that world presents coherent images of life and society. How are these images reflected in the assumptions and values held by audiences? How are the "lessons" of symbolic behavior which are presented in fictional forms applied to conceptions about real life?

Our approach reflects the hypothesis that the more time one spends "living" in the world of television, the more likely one is to report perceptions of social reality which can be traced to (or are congruent with) television's representations of life and society. Accordingly, we examine the difference amount of viewing makes in people's images, expectations, and assumptions, particularly how this difference is independent of other social and demographic factors.

At the same time, we must acknowledge that even those whom we designate as "light" viewers may be watching up to 14 hours of television each week! Further, few people -- even the "absolute" non-viewers -- may be able to avoid or escape the consequences of living in a television saturated society. But what differentiates heavy viewers from light is the way television monopolizes and subsumes other sources of information, ideas, and consciousness. Given our premise that television's images present and perpetuate the norms and agendas of our culture's beliefs, ideologies, and world views, the observable (and measurable) effects of mass communication will usually be relatively small.

Our instruments cannot fully measure the depth and pervasiveness of television's gradual, subtle, and cumulative impact; they can only provide empirical hints and subtle trends. Thus, finding relatively small relationships is to be expected and does not necessarily falsify cultivation theory.

A Theoretical Refinement

The cultivation potential of television is very complex as well as subtle. Consequently there are many factors that must be examined and taken into consideration in postulating how television viewing will influence people's conceptions of social reality.

Until recently we have largely focused upon uni-directional effects. That is, we have hypothesized that, across-the-board, light viewers of television are less likely to give the "television answers" than are heavy viewers. Thus, as the amount of television viewing increases, we have looked for increases in the percentage of respondents who give the "television answer," both overall and within important subgroups. While this

theoretical perspective still holds and very often provides the most compelling evidence for cultivation, we have found, in a number of analyses, that cultivation is not always uni-directional. New evidence suggests a refinement of our theory to state that television cultivates a "mainstream" conception of life and society. That is, within certain subgroups, and depending upon baselines, both positive and/or negative correlations or cultivation differentials can be taken as evidence of cultivation. Thus, in some cases and in some groups, contrary results (those in the "unexpected" direction) may actually provide powerful and pervasive support for the notion that television cultivates common norms and perspectives -- that is, a "mainstream" view of the world.

"Mainstreaming" is, however, only one way to explain variations in cultivation patterns among different groups. There may be other factors, influences, and processes which might mediate or enhance cultivation in different ways. A further important aspect of the refinement of our theoretical perspective argues that cultivation may be most pronounced when other aspects of one's social environment are most congruent with (and thereby reinforce) television's messages -- that is, specific real-world circumstances may "resonate" with television's imagery and enhance the cultivation process. The analyses in this report provide numerous examples of both "mainstreaming" and "resonance."

Dimensions of Analysis

To investigate these ideas, we conduct several different types of analyses, ranging from simple to complex. In our simplest type of analysis, we partition the population and our samples according to television exposure. By contrasting light and heavy viewers, some of the "difference" television makes in people's conception of social reality can be examined. Of course, factors other than television viewing account for some of these differences. We, and others, have found that both heavy television viewing and certain outlooks are part and parcel of a complex syndrome which also includes lower education, lower mobility, lower aspirations, higher anxieties, and other class-, age-, and sex- related characteristics. Accordingly, analyses are designed with statistical controls for these and other demographic and descriptive variables. These characteristics are held constant by comparing responses of heavy and light viewers within relatively homogeneous groups. For example, college-educated respondents may answer differently than non-college respondents. Therefore, we examine heavy and light viewing respondents within the college and non-college groups as well as between them.

This type of crosstabular within-groups analysis does not, however, fully guard against spuriousness. That is, each individual control might explain only part of the observed association between amount of television viewing and some attitude, outlook or behavior, and implementing simultaneous controls for all of these demographic factors might fully eliminate the apparent evidence for cultivation. We would also add that finding that a relationship holds within one subgroup or another clearly does not insure that another variable is not a source of spuriousness, even within the particular group under investigation. Our latest analyses are thus designed to focus upon specific subgroups while we control for other potential

sources of variation. These analyses consist of the calculation of partial correlations for respondents within specific demographic classifications while simultaneously controlling for all relevant demographics. For example, we will examine non-white respondents while simultaneously controlling for their social class, newspaper reading habits, sex, education, and so on.

Samples of Respondents

To test our hypotheses we continually gather data reflecting television viewers' beliefs and behaviors. These data have been collected from samples diverse in characteristics such as age, location, and institutional affiliation.* Within each sample, television viewers' responses are further analyzed in terms of age, education, sex, and other social and personal characteristics.

The present analyses focus on four cross-sectional adult samples and one longitudinal adolescent sample. The adult samples are national, and the adolescents come from a public school in rural/suburban New Jersey. The samples are described in Figure 3.

ORC data** were contracted for by the Cultural Indicators Project as part of the March 1979 Opinion Research Corporation General Public Caravan Survey. The survey consisted of face-to-face interviews of national probability samples of men and women 18 years of age or over living in private households in the continental United States. The primary sampling unit (PSU) was the community, defined as those people included in the largest telephone book containing a randomly selected "minor civil division" (MCD). The MCD's came from sixty U.S. counties chosen by systematic random methods (with probability proportional to size of population). Within the community (PSU), individuals to be interviewed were chosen on the basis of randomly determined starting points, which became the first of a household cluster. In effect, interviewing thus proceeded, by neighborhood, and included households with and without listed telephone numbers.

The NEW JERSEY SCHOOL CHILDREN sample represents the second and third waves of a longitudinal panel study, which administered two questionnaires each year for a period of three years, personal interviews with the students, and questionnaires completed by their parents. The 349 respondents were students in a public school situated in rural/suburban New Jersey. These students were in the sixth through ninth grades in the second year of the study (1975-76). Data are presented here for all students who took part in the second and third years of the study. Questionnaires were completed at the school under group administration conditions supervised by Cultural Indicators staff members. The New Jersey sample is mostly white, and, like the adult samples, includes more females than males. Over half of the

* A full description of a number of earlier samples not analyzed in this report may be found in the Technical Report of Violence Profile No. 9.

** These data were collected as part of AoA grant No. 90-A-1299, "Aging with Television," George Gerbner, Larry Gross, and Nancy Signorielli, co-principal investigators.

	ORC		New Jersey School Children*	
<u>Date</u>	March 1979		Dec. 1975; May 1976 Dec. 1976; May 1977	
<u>Location</u>	National		Rural/Suburban New Jersey	
<u>Sampling</u>	Probability, stratified by geographic area and cluster at neighborhood level		students in the second and third waves of a three-year study, from a population of a public middle school	
<u>Number of Respondents</u>	2060, unweighted 5762, weighted		349	
<u>Collection Organization</u>	Opinion Research Corporation		Cultural Indicators	
<u>Method of Collection</u>	Personal Interview		Self-Administered Questionnaire	
<u>Demographic</u>		%		%
Sex	male	47.2	male	44.4
	female	52.8	female	55.6
Age	under 29	30.2	11-13	36.7
	30-54	40.9	14	38.4
	55 and over	28.9	15-16	24.9
	\bar{x} = 43.1		\bar{x} = 13.9	
Race	white	87.9	<u>Perceived Ethnicity</u>	
	non-white	12.1	American	77.4
			Italian	6.1
			Black, Afro	1.6
			Jewish	4.2
			Other	10.7
Education	no college	70.4	<u>Parents' Education</u>	
	some college	29.6	neither parent went to college	44.3
			either parent or both went to college	55.7
<u>TV Viewing</u>				
light	under 2 hrs/day	30.9	under 3 hrs/day	26.9
medium	2 - 4 hrs/day	42.6	3 - 6 hrs/day	49.1
heavy	over 4 hrs/day	26.5	6 hrs/day and up	24.0
			\bar{x} = 4.41	
<u>Newspaper Reading</u>				
light	less than daily	36.7	less than daily	54.3
heavy	daily	63.3	almost every day	45.7

*third wave data

Figure 3

Data Bases Used in Cultivation Analyses

	NORC 1975		NORC 1977		NORC 1978	
<u>Date</u>	Mar.-Apr. 1975		Feb.-Mar. 1977		Feb.-Apr. 1978	
<u>Location</u>	National		National		National	
<u>Sampling</u>	Modified Probability, half block quota, half full probability		Full Probability, Household-based		Full Probability, Household-based	
<u>Number of Respondents</u>	1490		1530		1532	
<u>Collecting Organization</u>	National Opinion Research Center		National Opinion Research Center		National Opinion Research Center	
<u>Method of Collection</u>	Personal Interview		Personal Interview		Personal Interview	
<u>Demographic</u>		%		%		%
Sex	male	45.0	male	45.3	male	42.0
	female	55.0	female	54.7	female	58.0
Age	under 29	27.3	under 29	24.2	under 29	26.7
	30-54	42.6	30-54	45.0	30-54	43.5
	over 55	30.1	over 55	30.0	over 55	29.8
	\bar{x} = 44.3		\bar{x} = 44.6		\bar{x} = 44.0	
Race	white	88.8	white	87.5	white	88.6
	non-white	11.2	non-white	12.5	non-white	11.4
Education	no college	69.7	no college	70.0	no college	67.2
	some college	30.3	some college	30.0	some college	32.8
<u>TV Viewing</u>						
light	under 2 hrs/day	21.1	under 2 hrs/day	25.0	under 2 hrs/day	26.6
medium	2 - 4 hrs/day	46.3	2 - 4 hrs/day	45.6	2 - 4 hrs/day	46.1
heavy	over 4 hrs/day	32.6	over 4 hrs/day	29.4	over 4 hrs/day	27.2
	\bar{x} = 3.05		\bar{x} = 2.93		\bar{x} = 2.79	
<u>Newspaper Reading</u>						
light	less than daily	34.1	less than daily	37.7	less than daily	42.8
heavy	daily	65.9	daily	62.3	daily	57.2

Figure 3

Data Bases Used in Cultivation Analyses

continued

sample has at least one parent who attended college, but there is a high degree of socio-economic heterogeneity within the sample. In fact, the entire range of the Hollingshead SES index ($\bar{x} = 39.6$, s.d. = 17.3) is covered. IQ scores were available and range from 60 to 147 ($\bar{x} = 103.7$, s.d. = 13.3). Reported amount of daily viewing for all six administrations of the questionnaires is highly reliable, in terms of consistency, internal homogeneity, and unidimensionality; only one factor underlies the six measures, and Cronbach's alpha = .83.

NORC data come from the General Social Surveys. These surveys are conducted under the National Data Program for the Social Sciences, as part of its data diffusion project and continuing program of social indicators research. This report presents data from the 1975, 1977, and 1978 surveys. The 1975 study is mixed with respect to sampling technique: because of a transition to full probability sampling, it is one-half full-probability and one-half block-quota. The quota sample is a multi-stage area probability sample to the block or segment level. At the block level, however, quota sampling was used (interviewing occurred only after 3 p.m. on weekdays or during the weekend or holidays). Interviewers at the block or segment level traveled from the first dwelling unit of the northwest corner of the block and proceeded as specified until age, sex, and employment quotas were filled (based on the exact proportions in each segment determined by the 1970 Census tract data). The full probability samples in 1975, 1977, and 1978 are stratified, multi-stage, area probability samples of clusters of households in the continental United States. Households at which interviews took place were probabilistically selected from available lists of addresses for blocks and enumeration districts within Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas or counties.

Despite the four-year time span and varying sampling techniques, the four adult samples show very similar demographic profiles, particularly in regard to age, racial composition, and education. About 30% of each sample attended college, and about 88% of each sample is white. All contain more females than males, particularly the 1978 NORC General Social Survey (which is 58.0% female). The percentage of respondents watching over four hours of television a day shows a gradual but steady decline, from 32.6 in 1975 (NORC) to 26.5 in 1979 (ORC). Newspaper reading also declines with time among the NORC samples, but is a little higher in the ORC sample.

Development of Questions

The investigation of television's effects upon conceptions of social reality begins with systematic analysis of the world of television drama. Message system analysis reveals how certain "facts" and aspects of social reality are presented in television drama; these "facts" are then compared with other conceptions of the same "facts" and aspects derived from direct and independent observations, such as U.S. Census figures. For example, in prime-time television drama aired from 1969-76, 64 percent of major characters and 30 percent of all characters (major and minor*) were involved

* This report presents findings for major characters only.

in violence as either perpetrators or victims or both. According to the 1970 Census, there were only .32 violent crimes per 100 persons.* In the world of television, therefore, one has between a 30 and 64 percent chance of being involved in violence, but, in the real world, only a one-third of one percent chance.**

Once the "television view" and the "real world" or some other view of selected facts and aspects of social reality have been determined, we construct questions dealing with these facts and aspects of life. Each question has an inferred or objectively determined "television response" reflecting the "television view" of the fact as well as a "non-television answer." For example, one cultivation question asks: "During any given week, what are your chances of being involved in some kind of violence? About one in ten? About one in a hundred?" The first answer -- "about one in ten" -- more closely reflects the world of television and is used as the "television answer," while the "one in a hundred" more closely matches the U.S. Census data and reflects the real-life circumstances of most Americans.

Question Wordings

In this report we focus on a number of questions which seek to measure images of violence, attitudes of interpersonal mistrust, and alienation. This section presents the wordings of the specific items used, with the "television answer" underscored.

Three of Srole's "anomie"*** items were included in the 1977 NORC General Social Survey; here they are combined into an index. The items are:

In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better. (Agree, Disagree)

It's hardly fair to bring a child into the world with the way things look for the future. (Agree, Disagree)

* Additional data on personal violent crime victimization range from .41 per 100 (based on 1973 Police reported figures which include homicide) to 3.3 per 100 persons over 12 (based on 1974 probability sample which doesn't include homicide).

** Although there are regional variations in real-world victimization, the television rates are certainly greater than one finds in any reasonably large geographic area.

*** Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Correlaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, 1956, 21, 709-712. These items are analyzed separately in Violence Profile No. 9. -

Most public officials are not really interested in the problems of the average man. (Agree, Disagree)

We combined three of Rosenberg's "faith in people"* items to form what we call the "Mean World Index" of interpersonal mistrust:

Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair?

Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?

This index is analyzed in the New Jersey School sample and in the 1975 and 1978 NORC samples.

Six questions relating to images of violence and fear of victimization were asked of ORC respondents. Five of these are analyzed both separately and in index form:

During any given week about how many people out of 100 are involved in some kind of violence in the U.S.? Would you say it is closer to about one person in 100 or about ten people in 100?

How safe do you feel walking around in your own neighborhood alone, at night -- very safe, somewhat safe, or not safe at all?

How serious would you say the fear of crime is for you personally? Would you say it is a very serious problem, a somewhat serious problem, or hardly a problem at all for you personally?

Women are more likely than men to be victims of violent crimes. (Agree, Disagree)

Crime in the nation is rising. (Agree, Disagree)

The sixth question touches upon perceptions of the elderly's likelihood of victimization:

Elderly persons are more likely to be victims of violent crimes than any other age group. (Agree, Disagree)

In the second and third years of the New Jersey panel study, the students were asked several other questions relating to images of violence:

Think about the number of people who are involved in some kind of violence each week. Do you think that 1 person out of every 100 is

* Morris Rosenberg, Occupations and Values, Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1957, 25-35. These items are also analyzed separately in Violence Profiles No. 9 and No. 10.

involved in some kind of violence in any given week, or is it closer to 10 people out of every 100?

Which crime has gone up more in the last few years -- robbery or murder?

Does most killing take place between people who know each other well, or between strangers?

How important do you think it is to learn to defend yourself? (Very important, Not very important)

Reading the Tables

Most of the cultivation analysis tables in this report are of two kinds: (1) contingency tables (cross-tabulations) comparing responses of light, medium, and heavy viewers in various control conditions, and (2) within-group partial correlations.

In the former, the proportions of respondents who give the television answer to cultivation questions are tabulated on the basis of reported daily television exposure, controlling for numerous personal and social characteristics. The comparison is made in terms of gamma and what we call the "Cultivation Differential" (CD). The "Cultivation Differential" is the difference between the percent of heavy viewers who give "television answers" and the percent of light viewers who give these answers. The CD represents the difference heavy viewing makes with respect to a particular concept.

These tables include the following information. The first two columns report the percentage of respondents who gave the "television answer" (the answer reflecting the television view of the world), overall and within each demographic subgroup, and (in parentheses) the number of respondents in that cell. The next six columns present the percentages (and cell N's) of those who gave "television answers," divided into groups of light, medium, and heavy viewers. The next column provides the Cultivation Differential (CD). Following that is a column of gammas, which measure the strength of the association between amount of viewing and the tendency to give the television answer. The significance of the relationship (based on Kendall's τ) is denoted with asterisks; the first-order partial gamma (controlling for the demographic factor) is denoted with a "#".

These tables are useful for evaluating the general differences between light and heavy viewers and for determining baseline patterns. As noted, they do not fully guard against the possibility of spuriousness within any given demographic group. Accordingly, we also include tables of within-group partial correlations in which the association found in important subgroups is further controlled for other variables.

In these tables, each column includes data for a specified subgroup. The first row of coefficients contains the simple correlation between amount of viewing (in continuous form) and the dependent variable. Subsequent rows

contain partial correlations controlling for the specified "third variables," one at a time. The final row of coefficients represents the partial correlation obtained by controlling for these other variables all at once. The last row presents the appropriate degrees of freedom; as on other tables, significance is denoted by asterisks.

Findings of Cultivation Analysis

Our research on sexist views offers a clear example of how television may cultivate "mainstream" perspectives. In one analysis* we constructed a sexism index made up of four items from the 1975, 1977 and 1978 NORC General Social Survey (see Table 12). We found that, among adults, there is a positive relationship between amount of television viewing and responding that women should stay home, that a woman should not work if her husband can support her, that men are better suited emotionally for politics, and that one would not vote for a qualified woman nominated for President. This relationship is positive and statistically significant for most groups of viewers except non-whites. Among non-whites, who as a group score vastly higher on the sexism index, heavy viewing goes with lesser sexism. This finding also holds when controlling simultaneously (among non-whites) for sex, education, income, prestige, age, and newspaper reading ($r = -.09$, $p < .05$).

Television viewing thus seems to cultivate homogeneous and normative outlooks and orientations. For those groups who are generally less sexist (such as most young respondents, and especially those respondents who have been to college) television viewing cultivates a more sexist view of the world. But, for the groups who are otherwise more sexist, television viewing may be somewhat enlightening. Heavy television viewing goes with a "mainstream" view of woman's role in society -- it brings different groups either "up" or "down" to that view.

Similar specification effects can be found in a reanalysis of three of Srole's** anomie items.*** We previously reported that the relationship between amount of viewing and the tendency to endorse statements of alienation holds up in most groups. The overall association, however, seems to disappear when a number of controls are implemented all at once.**** But this does not mean that the relationship is zero in all groups. When these items are combined into an index ($\alpha = .61$) we find that the relationship between television viewing and endorsing statements of alienation is strongest for those

* Nancy Signorielli, "Television's Contribution to Sex Role Socialization," paper presented at Seventh Annual Tele-Communication Policy Research Conference, Sky Top, Pa., April 1979.

** Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study." American Sociological Review, 1956, 21, 709-712.

*** Our original analysis can be found in: George Gerbner, Larry Gross, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Suzanne Jeffries-Fox and Nancy Signorielli "Violence Profile No. 9: Trends in Network Television Drama and Viewer Conceptions of Social Reality, 1967-1977" Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, March 1978, Tables 108-110.

**** Michael Hughes, "The Fruits of Cultivation Analysis: A Re-examination of the Effects of Television Watching on Fear of Victimization, Alienation, and the Approval of Violence," Public Opinion Quarterly, in press.

Table 12

Percent who are High Scorers on an Index of Sexism¹

	Total		Television Viewing ²				CD (% Heavy- % Light)	gamma	Total N		
	%	N	Light	Medium	Heavy	N					
Overall	41	(1838)	37	(403)	41	(846)	45	(589)	+ 8	.09**	4470
controlling for:											
Age										.09#	
18 - 29	25	(293)	21	(52)	24	(119)	29	(122)	+ 8	.15**	1163
30 - 54	37	(726)	34	(183)	38	(566)	40	(177)	+ 6	.09**	1945
55 and over	40	(809)	58	(163)	60	(359)	62	(287)	+ 4	.05	1343
Sex										.09#	
Male	40	(792)	36	(191)	42	(391)	43	(210)	+ 7	.10**	1965
Female	42	(1046)	39	(212)	41	(455)	45	(379)	+ 6	.09**	2505
Race										.13#	
White	40	(1587)	35	(342)	40	(744)	45	(501)	+10	.14**	3950
Other	48	(251)	62	(61)	50	(102)	40	(88)	-22	-.27**	520
Education										-.02#	
No College	49	(1515)	52	(311)	49	(684)	48	(520)	- 4	-.04	3068
Some College	23	(314)	19	(89)	24	(159)	28	(66)	+ 9	.16**	1386
Newspaper Reading										.11#	
Everyday	41	(1137)	34	(219)	41	(547)	47	(371)	+13	.17**	2772
Sometimes	41	(700)	42	(184)	41	(299)	40	(217)	- 2	-.07	1695
Income										.04#	
less than \$10,000	51	(832)	52	(171)	52	(347)	50	(314)	- 2	-.03	1626
\$10,000 - \$24,999	36	(715)	31	(157)	37	(362)	38	(196)	+ 7	.08*	1995
\$25,000 and more	24	(132)	21	(39)	24	(69)	32	(24)	+11	.16*	544

¹ Among all major and minor characters coded between 1969 and 1977, only 19.4 percent of female characters portrayed as married were also employed; 80.6 percent of married female characters were not employed (comparable figures for male characters: 58.8 percent of married male characters were also working). In real life, 42.1 percent of the women in the U.S. population who were married and living with their husbands were also in the civilian labor force; 52.9 percent were not in the labor force (U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Report No. 545, Spring 1976).

² "On the average day, about how many hours do you personally watch television?"
 Light: one hour or less
 Medium: two to three hours
 Heavy: four hours or more

First-order partial gamma

* $p \leq .05$ (tau)

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

Data Source: NORC 1975, 1977 and 1978 General Social Surveys
 Interview Date: February, March, April 1975, 1977 and 1978
 Method: Personal Interview
 Question (MCP3YEAR): An index calculated from responses to four sexism-related items including FEHOME and FEWORK.

respondents who, as a group, are far less likely to express alienation -- in this case, those with more education (the correlation between education and anomie is $-.31$, $p < .001$). For respondents with less education (who are relatively alienated to begin with), television viewing has no apparent relationship with anomie. Thus, we again see that cultivation may imply a homogenization of outlooks, rather than absolute across-the-board increments. Most importantly, as seen on Table 13, the positive association between viewing and alienation among college-educated respondents withstands the implementation of a large number of controls, either singly or simultaneously.

Other indications of "mainstreaming" can be found in analyses of questions relating to what we have called the "Mean World syndrome."^{*} Three items from the 1975 and 1978 NORC General Social Surveys were combined to form an index of interpersonal mistrust ($\alpha = .68$). Table 14 shows within-group partial correlations between amount of viewing and this index. Overall, heavy viewing is significantly associated with the tendency to believe 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 ($r = .12$, $p < .001$). This relationship is not fully accounted for by any individual control; and, with all controls simultaneously held constant, the small correlation still remains statistically significant. Nevertheless, the "main effect" may be less important than the clear specifications.

Once again, the relationship is strongest for respondents who have had some college education -- those who are also least likely to express interpersonal mistrust (the correlation between education and the Mean World Index is $-.28$, $p < .001$). We also find that the association is greatest for those in the middle income category (\$10,000 to \$25,000 a year).

The most striking specification differences emerge for whites and non-whites. As a group, non-whites score higher on the Mean World Index ($r = .23$, $p < .001$). Yet, as with sexism, there is a significant negative association for non-whites ($r = -.10$, $p < .05$) between television viewing and this index. The relationship for whites, however, remains positive. Thus, mainstreaming implies two processes: not only are those who are least likely to share a given attitude brought "up" into the mainstream, but those most likely to hold an extreme view may even be brought "down."

New data from a nationality probability sample of adults^{**} provide numerous examples of this "mainstreaming" phenomenon in regard to images about crime and violence. Table 15 summarizes these findings and the individual analyses are presented in Tables 16-20.

* The "Mean World" index is based upon three items from Rosenberg's "faith in people scale." (Morris Rosenberg, Occupations and Values, Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1957, pp. 25-35.)

** These data were collected as part of AOA grant No. 90-A-1299, "Aging with Television," George Gerbner, Larry Gross and Nancy Signorielli, co-principal investigators.

Table 13

Partial Correlations between Amount of
Viewing and Anomie by Educational Level

	Education		
	Less than High School	High School	Some College
<u>Simple r</u>	.01	.06*	.14**
controlling for:			
<u>Sex</u>	-.00	.06*	.15**
<u>Age</u>	.01	.06*	.14*
<u>Newspaper Reading</u>	.01	.06*	.15**
<u>Urban Proximity</u>	.01	.06*	.14*
<u>Subjective Social Class</u>	.01	.05	.14*
<u>Education</u>	.01	.06	.14*
<u>Income</u>	-.01	.03	.15**
<u>Race</u>	.01	.05	.13*
<u>All Controls</u>	-.03	.01	.14*
Final d.f. (8th order)	(455)	(686)	(229)

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

Data Source: 1977 NORC General Social Survey

Table 14

Within-Group Partial Correlations between Amount of Television Viewing
and an Index of Interpersonal Mistrust

Simple r controlling for:	Overall	Education		Income			Race	
		No College	Some College	Low	Medium	High	White	Non-White
Sex	.12***	.06**	.14***	.03	.16***	.08	.12***	-.08
Age	.12***	.06**	.15***	.03	.17***	.09*	.12***	-.07
Newspaper Reading	.11***	.06**	.14***	.02	.16***	.08	.12***	-.08
Subjective Social Class	.10***	.05**	.13***	.03	.16***	.08	.12***	-.08
Education	.07***	.06**	.12***	.02	.15***	.07	.10***	-.07
Income	.09***	.04*	.12**	.01	.12***	.04	.07***	-.08
Race	.09***	.04	.10**	-	-	-	.09***	-.11*
Occupational Prestige	.08***	.04*	.13***	-.01	.15***	.08	-	-
All Controls	.04*	.02	.08**	.01	.13***	.04	.08***	-.08
Final d.f. (8th order)	(2727)	(1853)	(861)	(1090)	(1290)	(317)	(2431)	(288)

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

*** $p \leq .001$

Data Source: 1975 and 1978 NORC General Social Surveys

Using a question that replicates some of our earlier work, we asked, "In any given week, what are your chances of being involved in an act of violence -- about one in ten or about one in a hundred?" Our basic expectation is that heavy viewers will tend to answer that their chances of encountering violence are higher.

We find that heavy viewers are indeed significantly more likely to give this response, overall, and within most subgroups. Yet, there are important specifications. For example, a large majority (84 percent) of both light and heavy viewers with low incomes give this response. Thus, among respondents with low incomes, there is no relationship between amount of viewing and responses to these questions. When we examine the middle and upper income groups, however, we find that the proportion of light viewers giving the "television answer" drops markedly; "only" 62 percent of light viewers with higher income overestimate their chances of being involved in violence. And, as a result, the difference between lighter and heavier viewers rises sharply. Light viewers with middle or upper incomes are considerably less likely to manifest fear while heavy viewers with middle or high incomes exhibit almost the same level of perceived danger as the low income group.

While this could be explained in terms of a ceiling effect, we think that it is indicative of television's cultivation of common perspectives. Heavy viewing tends to bring into the mainstream of beliefs those disparate and divergent groups who would otherwise be apart from it.

"Mainstreaming" is only one way to explain variations in cultivation patterns among different groups. There may be other factors, influences, and processes which might mediate or enhance cultivation in different ways. For example, related analyses of children and adolescents show that cultivation is stronger when parents are not involved in their children's viewing*, or when children are less integrated into cohesive peer groups**.

A further important aspect of the refinement of our theory concerns the notion that cultivation will be most pronounced when other aspects of one's social environment are most congruent with (and thereby "resonate with") television's messages. Among Canadians, Doob and MacDonald*** found the strongest positive associations between viewing and fear of crime among those who live in high crime centers.

Although these researchers interpreted this finding as evidence of spuriousness, clearly, neighborhood does not "explain" the observed relationship. Rather, it points to an important specification. Given the high levels of violence in programming as well as the fact that many cities have high crime rates, television's imagery may be very congruent with the real-life experiences of urban dwellers in high crime areas. Accordingly, these people receive a "double-dose" of messages that the world is violent, and consequently show the strongest associations between viewing and fear.

* Larry Gross and Michael Morgan, "Television and Enculturation," in J.R. and J. Fletcher, eds., Broadcasting Research Methods: A Reader. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, in press.

** Nancy F. Rothschild, "Group as a Mediating Factor in the Cultivation Process among Young Children." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, The Annenberg School of Communications, 1979.

*** Anthony N. Doob and Glenn E. Macdonald, "Television Viewing and Fear of Victimization: Is There a Relationship? Causal?" Journal of Personality and Social

Table 15

Summary of Analyses of Questions Relating to Fear and Violence in the 1979 ORC Survey

	Percent Overestimating Chances of Involvement in Violence	Percent Agreeing that Women are More Likely to Be Victims Of Crime	Percent Saying Their Neighborhoods are Only Somewhat Safe or not Safe at all	Percent Saying that Fear of Crime Is a very Serious Problem	Percent Agreeing that Crime is Rising										
	Percent Light Viewers ²	CD ³	gamma	Percent Light Viewers ²	CD ³	gamma	Percent Light Viewers ²	CD ³	gamma	Percent Light Viewers ²	CD ³	gamma			
Overall	71	+10	.14***	72	+10	.18***	55	+11	.10***	20	+9	.12***	94	+4	.30***
controlling for:															
Age															
18-29	76	+14	.28***	73	+6	.11**	49	+11	.09**	16	+11	.21***	93	+4	.27***
30-54	68	+9	.11**	70	+10	.18***	53	+12	.09***	17	+11	.12***	96	+3	.27**
over 55	71	+4	.07*	77	+10	.22***	65	+9	.06*	31	+1	-.01	94	+4	.38***
Education															
No College	76	+7	.13***	70	+12	.20***	58	+10	.07***	24	+8	.11***	96	+3	.28***
Some College	63	+9	.10*	76	+7	.06	49	+9	.07*	13	+5	.09*	91	+5	.22**
Newspaper Reading															
Sometimes	75	+14	.25***	70	+15	.26***	58	+17	.10***	23	+11	.14***	94	+4	.27***
Everyday	69	+7	.10***	74	+17	.13***	53	+8	.09***	18	+8	.11***	95	+4	.36***
Race															
White	69	+10	.13***	73	+9	.17***	53	+10	.09***	17	+10	.14***	94	+4	.29***
Non-White	86	+7	.25**	70	+12	.21**	72	+16	.09*	46	-6	-.07	95	+4	.37**
Urban Proximity															
City over 250,000	69	+10	.13**	77	0	-.00	71	+14	.19***	26	+20	.19***	88	+10	.52***
City under 250,000	74	+3	.05	64	+24	.42***	59	+8	.04	22	+5	.09*	89	+11	.57***
Suburban	67	+13	.18***	75	+10	.19***	50	+13	.13***	19	+10	.12***	96	+2	.13
Non-Metropolitan	77	+8	.13**	70	+9	.17***	51	+7	.01	18	+2	.08**	98	0	.10
Income															
under \$10,000	84	0	.04	67	+18	.32***	61	+14	.10***	35	-2	-.00	96	+4	.51***
\$10,000 - \$25,000	68	+8	.12***	74	+6	.12***	55	+6	.04	16	+9	.16***	93	+5	.35***
over \$25,000	62	+18	.13**	76	0	-.03	49	+1	-.01	10	+16	.11**	96	-1	-.13
Sex															
Male	68	+8	.09**	68	+10	.20***	38	+16	.16***	21	+4	.07**	95	+2	.07
Female	76	+8	.15***	78	+6	.14***	73	+1	-.01	20	+12	.14***	94	+5	.55***

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

² Percent Light Viewers = percent of light viewers giving the "Television Answer"

³ CD = Cultivation Differential; percent of heavy viewers minus the percent of light viewers giving the "Television Answer"

* $p \leq .05$ (tau)

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

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

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation

Table 16

Percent Saying Their Chances of Being Involved in Violence are "10 in 100"

	Giving Television Answer						CD (% Heavy- % Light)	gamma	Total N		
	Television Viewing ¹										
	Total		Light		Medium					Heavy	
%	N	%	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	(599)	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	(540)	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 ≤ .05 (tau)

** p ≤ .01 (tau)

*** p ≤ .001 (tau)

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation

Table 17

Percent Saying They "Agree" that Women are More Likely to be Victims of Crimes

	Giving Television Answer						CD (% Heavy- % Light)	gamma	Total N		
	Television Viewing ¹										
	Total		Light		Medium					Heavy	
%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N				
Overall	78	(4192)	72	(1183)	79	(1822)	82	(1187)	+10	.18***	5376
controlling for:											
Age											
18-29	77	(1286)	73	(369)	78	(542)	79	(376)	+6	.17#	1668
30-54	75	(1660)	70	(493)	76	(749)	80	(418)	+10	.18***	2208
over 55	83	(1246)	77	(321)	84	(531)	87	(393)	+10	.22***	1500
Education											
No College	79	(2957)	70	(715)	82	(1297)	82	(945)	+12	.20***	3753
Some College	76	(1223)	76	(462)	73	(522)	83	(239)	+7	.06	1605
Newspaper Reading											
Sometimes	77	(1477)	70	(428)	76	(597)	85	(451)	+15	.26***	1923
Everyday	79	(2713)	74	(753)	81	(1224)	80	(736)	+17	.13***	3450
Race											
White	78	(3713)	73	(1055)	80	(1633)	82	(1025)	+9	.17***	4747
Non-White	76	(479)	70	(129)	76	(188)	82	(162)	+12	.21**	629
Urban Proximity											
City over 250,000	79	(776)	77	(213)	82	(355)	77	(209)	0	-.00	981
City under 250,000	78	(1834)	64	(110)	80	(207)	88	(152)	+24	.42***	603
Suburban	79	(1633)	75	(498)	78	(688)	85	(447)	+10	.19***	2066
Non-Metropolitan	76	(1314)	70	(363)	79	(572)	79	(379)	+9	.17***	1726
Family Income											
under \$10,000	80	(1508)	67	(321)	84	(588)	85	(599)	+18	.32***	1885
\$10,000 - \$25,000	78	(849)	74	(516)	79	(864)	80	(454)	+6	.12***	2362
over \$25,000	75	(849)	76	(346)	74	(369)	76	(134)	0	-.03	1129
Sex											
Male	75	(1903)	68	(560)	80	(899)	78	(443)	+10	.20***	2524
Female	80	(2289)	78	(623)	79	(922)	84	(744)	+6	.14***	2853

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 ≤ .05 (tau)

** p ≤ .01 (tau)

*** p ≤ .001 (tau)

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation

Table 18

Percent Saying Their Neighborhoods are Only Somewhat Safe or not Safe at All

	Giving Television Answer						CD (% Heavy- % Light)	gamma	Total N		
	Television Viewing ¹										
	Total		Light		Medium					Heavy	
%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N				
Overall	59	(3354)	55	(974)	57	(1385)	66	(995)	+11	.10***	5701
controlling for:											
Age											
18-29	53	(905)	49	(267)	50	(344)	60	(294)	+11	.08#	1719
20-54	53	(1251)	53	(406)	47	(503)	65	(342)	+12	.09***	2352
over 55	74	(1200)	65	(302)	79	(538)	74	(259)	+9	.06*	1630
Education											
No College	62	(2477)	58	(641)	60	(1010)	68	(825)	+10	.07#	3995
Some College	51	(862)	49	(325)	50	(371)	58	(166)	+9	.07*	1683
Newspaper Reading											
Sometimes	65	(1356)	58	(397)	64	(535)	75	(424)	+17	.10***	2088
Everyday	55	(1993)	53	(575)	53	(851)	61	(566)	+8	.09***	3608
Race											
White	56	(2828)	53	(824)	55	(1199)	63	(804)	+10	.09#	5014
Non-White	77	(526)	72	(150)	71	(186)	88	(191)	+16	.09*	3608
Urban Proximity											
City over 250,000	75	(770)	71	(215)	71	(318)	85	(236)	+14	.09#	1026
City under 250,000	64	(404)	59	(108)	64	(167)	67	(129)	+8	.19***	635
Suburban	54	(1187)	50	(356)	52	(488)	63	(343)	+13	.04	2194
Non-Metropolitan	54	(993)	51	(296)	53	(412)	58	(285)	+7	.13***	1846
Family Income											
under \$10,000	69	(1397)	61	(330)	68	(515)	75	(552)	+14	.06#	2037
\$10,000 - \$25,000	55	(1364)	55	(403)	53	(609)	61	(352)	+6	.10***	2469
over \$25,000	50	(593)	49	(242)	50	(262)	50	(90)	+1	.04	1195
Sex											
Male	43	(1168)	38	(352)	41	(493)	54	(323)	+16	.06#	2699
Female	73	(2186)	73	(622)	72	(893)	74	(671)	+1	.16***	3002

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 ≤ .05 (tau)

** p ≤ .01 (tau)

*** p ≤ .001 (tau)

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation

Table 19

Percent Saying Fear of Crime is a "Very Serious" Problem

	Giving Television Answer						CD (% Heavy- % Light)	gamma	Total N		
	Television Viewing ¹										
	Total		Light		Medium					Heavy	
%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N				
Overall	24	(1382)	20	(357)	24	(585)	29	(440)	+9	.12	5708
controlling for:											
Age											
18-29	21	(362)	16	(85)	20	(142)	27	(135)	+11	.11#	1736
30-54	21	(498)	17	(130)	21	(222)	28	(145)	+11	.21***	2331
over 55	32	(522)	31	(142)	32	(221)	32	(160)	+1	.12***	1640
Education											
No College	29	(1142)	24	(260)	29	(495)	32	(387)	+8	.11#	3993
Some College	13	(227)	13	(86)	12	(89)	18	(53)	+5	.11***	1693
Newspaper Reading											
Sometimes	27	(565)	23	(155)	26	(217)	34	(193)	+11	.12#	2086
Everyday	22	(813)	18	(199)	23	(368)	26	(245)	+8	.14***	3617
Race											
White	21	(1073)	17	(263)	21	(459)	27	(352)	+10	.11***	5017
Non-White	45	(309)	46	(94)	48	(126)	40	(88)	-6	.14***	691
Urban Proximity											
City over 250,000	39	(403)	26	(78)	42	(193)	46	(132)	+20	.12#	1044
City under 250,000	26	(165)	22	(41)	28	(72)	27	(52)	+5	.19***	638
Suburban	22	(490)	19	(138)	21	(194)	29	(158)	+10	.09*	2183
Non-Metropolitan	18	(325)	18	(100)	16	(127)	20	(97)	+10	.12***	1843
Family Income											
under \$10,000	33	(679)	35	(191)	32	(241)	33	(246)	-2	.08**	2034
\$10,000 - \$25,000	21	(530)	16	(116)	23	(268)	25	(146)	+9	-.00	2473
over \$25,000	14	(174)	10	(50)	14	(76)	26	(48)	+16	.16***	1200
Sex											
Male	22	(583)	21	(191)	21	(243)	25	(149)	+4	.09#	2687
Female	26	(799)	20	(166)	27	(342)	32	(290)	+12	.07***	3021

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 ≤ .05 (tau)

** p ≤ .01 (tau)

*** p ≤ .001 (tau)

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation

Table 20

Percent Agreeing that "Crime is Rising"

	Giving Television Answer								gamma	Total N	
	Television Viewing ¹										
	Total		Light		Medium		Heavy				(% Heavy- % Light)
%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N				
Overall	96	(5448)	94	(1661)	95	(2305)	98	(1482)	+4	-.30***	5681
controlling for:											
Age											
18-29	95	(1635)	93	(498)	95	(654)	97	(484)	+4	.29#	1726
30-54	96	(2242)	96	(725)	96	(993)	99	(524)	+3	-.27***	2325
over 55	96	(1571)	94	(438)	96	(658)	98	(475)	+4	-.38***	1631
Education											
No College	97	(3873)	96	(1058)	96	(1619)	99	(1197)	+3	.26#	3988
Some College	93	(1552)	91	(589)	93	(681)	96	(283)	+5	-.28***	1671
Newspaper Reading											
Sometimes	96	(1994)	95	(652)	96	(785)	99	(557)	+4	.29#	2067
Everyday	96	(3448)	94	(1007)	95	(1519)	98	(922)	+4	-.35***	3609
Race											
White	96	(4790)	94	(1467)	96	(2060)	98	(1263)	+4	.29#	4992
Non-White	96	(658)	95	(194)	93	(245)	99	(219)	+4	-.29***	689
Urban Proximity											
City over 250,000	94	(977)	88	(264)	96	(435)	98	(279)	+10	.22#	1037
City under 250,000	94	(593)	89	(160)	93	(244)	100	(190)	+11	-.52***	631
Suburban	95	(2079)	96	(678)	94	(872)	98	(529)	+2	-.57***	2179
Non-Metropolitan	98	(1798)	98	(560)	98	(754)	98	(484)	0	-.13	1834
Family Income											
under \$10,000	97	(1964)	96	(517)	96	(711)	100	(735)	+4	.30#	2018
\$10,000 - \$25,000	96	(2355)	93	(677)	96	(1102)	98	(576)	+5	-.51***	2462
over \$25,000	94	(1129)	96	(467)	92	(491)	95	(171)	-1	-.35***	1200
Sex											
Male	95	(2535)	95	(865)	93	(1099)	97	(570)	+2	.28#	2677
Female	97	(2913)	94	(796)	97	(1205)	99	(912)	+5	-.07	3004

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 ≤ .05

** p ≤ .01

*** p ≤ .001

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation

We have found parallel results in an analysis of data from our most recently conducted survey of adults across the country. We asked people about how safe they felt walking around alone, at night, in their own neighborhoods, and found (see Table 18) that even light viewers who live in larger cities are much more likely to be afraid in their own neighborhoods at night. But, city dwellers show the strongest association between amount of viewing and expressing this fear. And while urban dwellers are most likely to say that "crime is a very serious personal problem," they also show the largest association between viewing and giving this response.

To provide further evidence, using an index composed of the five questions in Table 15*, we tried to approximate Doob and MacDonald's high crime/low crime distinction for respondents who live in cities. Basically, we are assuming that respondents who live in larger cities and have lower income are likely to live in areas with relatively high crime rates. High income urban residents arguably live in less dangerous areas. The data on Table 21 support the notion that viewing may have a reinforcing influence when messages are congruent with other environmental factors. The correlation between amount of television viewing and violence index scores is .26 (p < .001) for low income (presumably high crime) urban residents; but, it is only .05 for high income (presumably low crime) city dwellers.

When within-group controls for demographic factors are implemented simultaneously, the correlation remains positive and significant (r = .13, p < .001) for urban dwellers with low incomes, and falls to zero for high income urban residents. While the correspondence between income and neighborhood crime is ambiguous in suburban and non-metropolitan areas, it is worth noting that the association between amount of viewing and these images of crime and violence remains significant despite controls. Comparable patterns are found for education and income -- those with less education and lower incomes are more susceptible to the cultivation of these images. The differences are particularly striking, though, when we compare respondents in the residence/income groups.

Thus, cultivation may be most pronounced when the issue at hand has direct relevance to the respondent's life. For another example, there is one question to which older respondents are particularly sensitive. That question suggests, contrary to fact, that "elderly persons are more likely to be the victims of violence than any other age group" (see Table 22). In Table 23 we see that the relationship between amount of viewing and the tendency to think that the elderly are most likely to be victimized is quite small for young and middle-aged respondents. Yet, among older respondents, there is a dramatic positive association between television viewing and expressing this belief.

Thus, older people may be vulnerable to the cultivation process when television's messages are most salient to their lives. In this case, older people may be most "receptive" to images concerning their personal safety. The associations between amount of viewing and responding that older people are more likely to be victimized, for those over 55, are some of the strongest cultivation relationships we have ever found.

*These items essentially tap discrete dimensions; their conceptual link however, is that they examine various aspects of television's portrayal of violence. Thus, it is not surprising that while these questions are all positively and significantly related to each other, their additive index has relatively low internal homogeneity (alpha = .34). At the same time, there is only one factor underlying the five items, indicating a high degree of unidimensionality.

Table 21

Within-Group Partial Correlations between Amount of Viewing and an Index of Images of Violence

	Overall	Education		Income			Race		Residence and Income			
		No College	Some College	Low	Medium	High	White	Non-White	City		Suburban, Non-Metropolitan	
									Low Income	High Income	Low Income	High Income
<u>Simple r</u>	.16***	.15***	.10***	.17***	.11***	.11***	.15***	.12***	.26***	.05	.10***	.20***
controlling for:												
<u>Sex</u>	.15***	.15***	.10***	.16***	.10***	.10***	.14***	.12***	.27***	.05	.01***	.16***
<u>Age</u>	.16***	.15***	.10***	.16***	.11***	.12***	.15***	.13***	.24***	.05	.09***	.20***
<u>Income</u>	.13***	.13***	.08***	.17***	.10***	.11***	.13***	.07*	.26***	.02	.10***	.18***
<u>Newspaper Reading</u>	.16***	.16***	.11***	.17***	.11***	.12***	.16***	.13***	.26***	.04	.10***	.20***
<u>Education</u>	.13***	.16***	.08***	.15***	.08***	.09***	.12***	.11***	.14***	.02	.11***	.15***
<u>Race</u>	.15***	.14***	.10***	.15***	.10***	.12***	-	-	.21***	.03	.11***	.20***
<u>Urban Proximity</u>	.16***	.14***	.11***	.16***	.12***	.11***	.16***	.08*	-	--	-	-
<u>All Controls</u>	.10***	.12***	.06**	.13***	.08***	.07*	.11***	.03	.13***	.00	.10***	.12***
Final d.f. (7th order)	(3555)	(3879)	(1648)	(2018)	(2475)	(1024)	(4887)	(661)	(969)	(656)	(2017)	(1866)

* p ≤ .05
 ** p ≤ .01
 *** p ≤ .001

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation, March 1979

Table 22

Percent Saying They "Agree" that the Elderly are
More Likely to be Victims of Crimes

	Giving Television Answer						CD (% Heavy- % Light)	gamma	Total N		
	Television Viewing ¹										
	Total		Light		Medium					Heavy	
%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N				
Overall	76	(4127)	73	(1246)	76	(1749)	78	(1132)	+5	.08**	5454
controlling for:											
Age											
18-29	70	(1152)	71	(360)	72	(471)	68	(315)	-3	-.04	1643
30-54	76	(1715)	74	(549)	76	(765)	78	(402)	+4	.06	2265
over 55	82	(1259)	75	(331)	81	(513)	88	(416)	+13	.27***	1546
Education											
No College	76	(2881)	75	(795)	74	(1175)	79	(911)	+4	.06*	3803
Some College	76	(1236)	72	(449)	80	(569)	75	(218)	+3	.09*	1631
Newspaper Reading											
Sometimes	73	(1409)	67	(431)	71	(544)	82	(433)	+15	.24***	1941
Everyday	77	(2714)	77	(812)	79	(1204)	75	(699)	-2	-.03	3508
Race											
White	75	(3615)	72	(1094)	75	(1536)	79	(985)	+7	.10***	4815
Non-White	80	(511)	81	(152)	85	(212)	73	(147)	-8	.17*	639
Urban Proximity											
City over 250,000	84	(838)	82	(233)	83	(368)	86	(236)	+4	.11	1002
City under 250,000	74	(449)	72	(121)	78	(200)	70	(128)	-2	-.04	608
Suburban	76	(1592)	76	(517)	74	(663)	78	(412)	+2	.03	2101
Non-Metropolitan	72	(1248)	67	(375)	73	(517)	76	(355)	+9	.14***	1743
Family Income											
under \$10,000	78	(1489)	74	(373)	78	(541)	81	(574)	+7	.05#	1910
\$10,000 - \$25,000	75	(1789)	74	(525)	76	(848)	74	(416)	0	.01	2392
over \$25,000	74	(849)	73	(347)	72	(360)	80	(142)	+7	.08	1152
Sex											
Male	74	(1915)	71	(634)	76	(856)	77	(425)	+6	.10**	2578
Female	77	(2212)	76	(612)	76	(893)	78	(707)	+2	.05	2876

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 23

Percent Agreeing that the Elderly are More Likely to be Victims of Violent Crimes, within Age-Groups

	YOUNGER (18-29)			MIDDLE (30-54)			OLDER (Over 55)		
	ZL ¹	CD ²	Gamma	ZL	CD	Gamma	Z	CD	Gamma
OVERALL	71	-3	-.04	74	+4	.06	75	+13	.27***
Controlling for:									
SEX									
Male	75	-5	-.08	73	+1	.03	64	+24	.41***
Female	66	0	-.01	75	+5	.08	91	-2	-.01
EDUCATION									
No College	74	-8	-.11*	75	+2	.04	74	+14	.31***
Some College	67	+4	.14*	73	+5	.06	81	-4	.06
NEWSPAPER READING									
High	73	-12	-.17**	78	-1	-.01	81	+5	.10
Low	68	+7	.09	67	+14	.16*	64	+29	.56***
RACE									
White	69	-2	-.02	73	+7	.10**	76	+13	.27***
Non-White	89	-20	-.36**	85	-17	-.34**	71	+14	.34**
URBAN PROXIMITY									
City over 250,000	82	-5	-.11	79	+8	.16	84	+8	.21
City under 250,000	55	+8	.08	77	-23	-.33***	80	+18	.51**
Suburban	65	+12	.17**	78	-2	-.02	84	-2	-.03
Non-metropolitan	70	-14	-.21**	66	+19	.26***	65	+24	.41***
INCOME									
Low	71	-4	-.07	86	-4	-.08	69	+19	.34***
Medium	69	-5	-.07	74	+2	.06	83	+9	.21*
High	75	+10	.22*	70	+3	.02	78	+12	.08

*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (tau)

¹ZL = percent of light viewers giving "television answer"

²CD = Cultivation Differential; percent heavy viewers minus percent light viewers giving television answer

We must stress, however, that these specifications do not "explain" apparent cultivation patterns. In our recent national adult survey, amount of viewing remains significantly related to scores on this index over and above the effects of education, income, sex, race, age, and newspaper reading (6th order partial, $r = .11$, $p < .001$). Although viewing in and of itself explains a small amount of the variance in index scores, with other things held constant, its predictive power is equal to or greater than that of age, race, urban proximity, income, or newspaper reading. Moreover, even with all those controls included in a hierarchical regression equation, viewing produces a significant increase in the equation's R^2 ($F = 68.28$, $p < .001$)

Thus, we have seen two distinct processes which help explain differential susceptibility to cultivation: "mainstreaming" and "resonance." Resonance happens when a given feature of the television world has special salience for a given group; e.g., neighborhood fear among city dwellers, or perceived over-victimization by the elderly. In these cases, the implications of heavy viewing are most apparent among those for whom the topic holds considerable personal relevance. Mainstreaming, on the other hand, is more general and less issue-specific. It is a more diffuse process, related more to images and norms of social reality than to personal concerns.

Data from our longitudinal study of adolescents also provide strong evidence for both an overall effect and important specification/interaction effects. In this case, the evidence for an overall effect is particularly striking. The data for amount of viewing and two dependent measures -- an images of violence index and a "Mean World" (interpersonal mistrust) index -- were analyzed in the form of structural equation models, using Joreskog's LISREL program.* This technique, a more sophisticated form of path analysis, performs a maximum likelihood estimation of parameters in causal models. It also takes measurement error into account, and reveals how well the hypothesized model fits the observed data.

This procedure can simultaneously evaluate a "measurement model," (that is, how well the observed indicators relate to the "true," underlying concepts) and a "causal model" (that is, the patterns of association among the "true" unobserved constructs). The results of the measurement model are shown in Figure 4. All of the observed indicators show reasonably strong links with the "true" variables; and, as with adults, the images of violence index measures are essentially discrete concepts, so the links are slightly weaker.

*K.G. Joreskog, "Structural Analysis of Covariance and Correlation Matrices," *Psychometrika*, 1978, 43, 443-477; "Structural Equation Models in the Social Sciences: Specification, Estimation, and Testing," in P.R. Krishnaiah, ed., *Applications of Statistics*, Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 1977; "A General Method for Estimating a Linear Structural Equation System," in A.S. Goldberger and O.D. Duncan eds., *Structural Equation Models in the Social Sciences*, New York: Seminar Press, 1973, 85-112; K.G. Joreskog and D. Sorbom, "Statistical Models and Methods for Analysis of Longitudinal Data," in D.J. Aigner and A.S. Goldberger, eds., *Latent Variables in Socioeconomic Models*, Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 1976; K.G. Joreskog and M. van Thillo, "LISREL: A General Computer Program for Estimating a Linear Structural Equation System Involving Multiple Indicators of Unmeasured Variables," Princeton: ETS Research Bulletin RB-72-56, 1972.

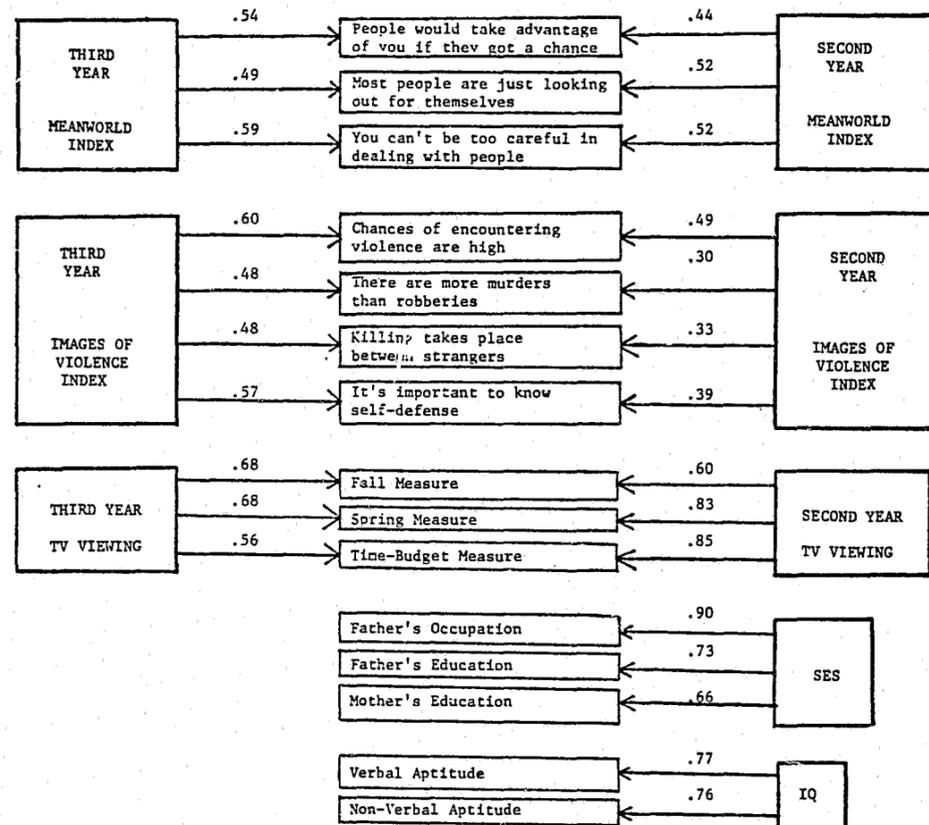


Figure 4

Coefficients Linking Concepts to Observed Indicators in Structural Equation Model

Figure 5 presents the maximum likelihood solution of this model, which includes IQ and SES as controls. Most importantly, we see that previous level of viewing has a positive impact on subsequent levels of mistrust and conceptions of fear and violence. The third year dependent variables (the Mean World and Images of Violence Indices) are controlled for their second year scores, SES, and IQ. Thus, they represent "new information" or "change" in attitudes that is not attributable to previous levels or demographics. We see that the amount of viewing has a positive impact on subsequent Mean World and Images of Violence Index scores. Those who were heavy viewers in the second year will score higher on both fear and mistrust in the third year even controlling for demographics and second year index scores.*

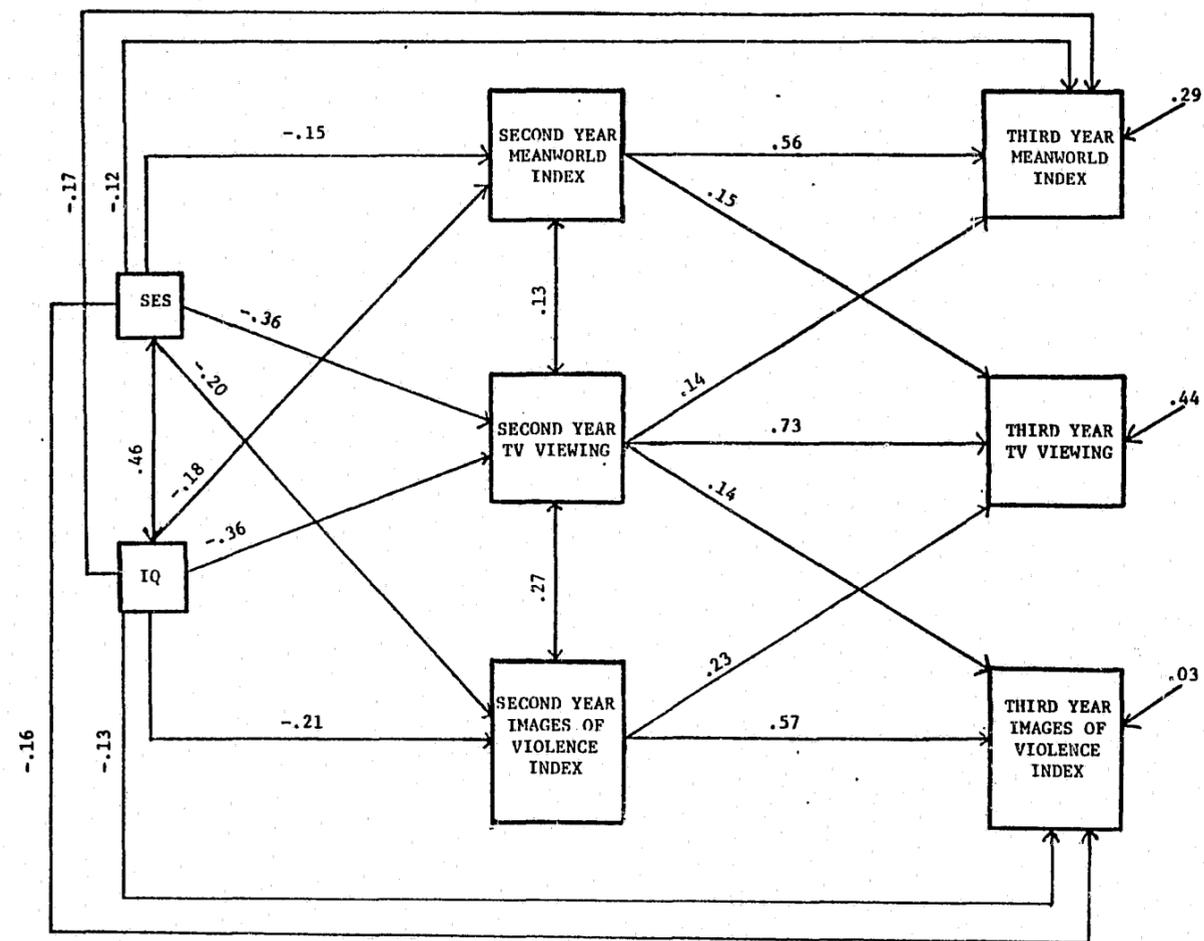
Most important, the model provides an excellent fit to the observed data. With 246 degrees of freedom, the chi-square value is 456.43 which yields a likelihood ratio of only 1.86.** Thus, when measurement error is removed (that is, the coefficients are disattenuated) and even when IQ and SES are held constant, television viewing, over time, increases perceptions of fear, danger, and mistrust among adolescents.

Finally, the longitudinal data provide striking evidence of yet another important specification. Among boys, there is a dramatic interaction between second year viewing and second year violence index scores upon third year violence index scores. Even with IQ, SES, grade, early viewing and early violence index scores already in a regression equation, the interaction term (viewing by violence index) is negative and significant (partial = .30, F = 6.26, d.f. = 1/64, p < .05).

As can be seen on Figure 6, this means that as those boys who had low violence index scores watch more television in the second year, their third year violence scores increase. But, among those who were initially more afraid, heavy viewing leads to less fear. This is a dramatic and significant demonstration of the power of television to cultivate mainstream outlooks. There are, to be sure, significant "main effects" in a generally positive direction. But perhaps the more fundamental, underlying process is that of centralization into the mainstream regardless of starting points. The homogenization of initially different perspectives may be the critical consequence of living with television.

* The conclusion is not challenged by the finding that it seems to also run the other way. In this case the "effects" of different variables cannot be "compared" because they are measured in different units. The finding that television viewing exerts a longitudinal causal influence on attitudes of fear and mistrust is not negated by the finding that these variables also affect viewing. The two causal processes are by no means mutually exclusive. The important thing, from our perspective, is that television demonstrably affects attitudes towards violence and mistrust among adolescents.

** The lower the ratio, the better the fit.



$\chi^2 = 456.43$
d.f. = 246
Ratio = 1.86

Figure 5
Structural Equation Model of the Longitudinal Relationship between Viewing, Fear, and Mistrust

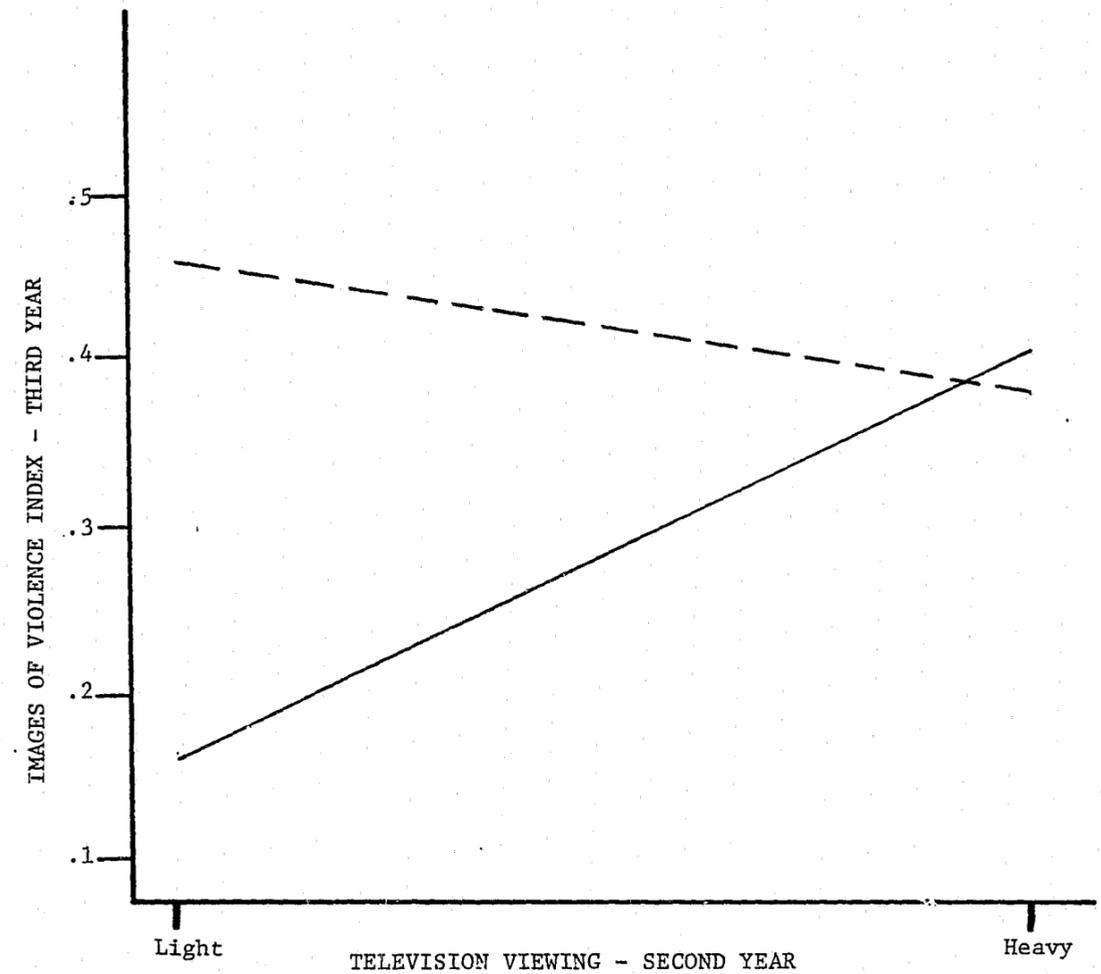


Figure 6

Graph of Interaction between Second Year Television Viewing and Scores on Second Year Images of Violence Index on Third Year Images of Violence Index Scores, among Boys in the New Jersey School Panel

————— = Low on Images of Violence Index, Second Year
----- = High on Images of Violence Index, Second Year

APPENDIX

MESSAGE SYSTEM ANALYSIS TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Title</u>
A	Network of Program
B	Time of Broadcast
C	New or Old Program
D	Format of Program
E	Tone of Program
F	Type of Program
G	Date of Program
H	Place of Program
I	Setting of Program
1	All Programs, All Networks
2	Prime-Time Programs
3	Programs Aired 8-9 p.m. E.S.T.
4	Programs Aired 9-11 p.m. E.S.T.
5	Weekend Morning Programs
6	Television Plays
7	Movies (Feature and For-TV)
8	Cartoons
9	All Action Programs
10	Prime-Time Action Programs
11	Weekend Morning Action Programs
12	All Comic Tone Programs
13	Prime-Time Comic Tone Programs
14	Weekend Morning Comic Tone Programs
15	All Serious Programs
16	Prime-Time Serious Tone Programs
17	Weekend Morning Serious Tone Programs
18	All Programs Continued from the Previous Year
19	All New Programs
20	Prime-Time Programs Continued from the Previous Year
21	New Prime-Time Programs
22	Weekend Morning Programs Continued from the Previous Year
23	New Weekend Morning Programs
24	All ABC Programs
25	ABC Prime-Time Programs
26	ABC Programs Aired 8-9 p.m. E.S.T.
27	ABC Programs Aired 9-11 p.m. E.S.T.
28	ABC Weekend Morning Programs
29	ABC Cartoon Programs
30	ABC Action Programs
31	All CBS Programs
32	CBS Prime-Time Programs
33	CBS Programs Aired 8-9 p.m. E.S.T.

TABLE 42: NBC WEEKEND MORNING PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	22	30	24	43	24	19	16	11	19	208
Program Hours Analyzed	5.0	7.0	9.4	17.2	10.0	4.9	4.9	3.8	5.5	67.8
Leading characters analyzed	42	67	56	142	65	41	45	23	52	533
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	86.4	100.0	95.8	95.3	91.7	100.0	93.8	90.9	89.5	94.2
Program hours containing violence	85.0	100.0	94.7	94.2	90.0	100.0	89.8	95.7	86.4	93.1
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	106	221	147	223	180	144	77	79	58	1235
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.8	7.4	6.1	5.2	7.5	7.6	4.8	7.2	3.1	5.9
(R/H) Rate per all hours	21.2	31.6	15.6	12.9	18.0	29.4	15.7	20.6	10.5	18.2
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	1.1	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	3.2
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	66.7	71.6	57.1	36.6	53.8	78.0	44.4	60.9	38.5	52.7
Victims (subjected to violence)	76.2	92.5	71.4	66.2	75.4	82.9	60.0	82.6	48.1	71.7
(%V) Any involvement in violence	81.0	95.5	78.6	76.1	84.6	90.2	71.1	91.3	69.2	80.9
Killers (committing fatal violence)	4.8	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	4.8	3.0	1.8	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
(%K) Any involvement in killing	9.5	4.5	1.8	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.14	- 1.29	- 1.25	- 1.81	- 1.40	- 1.06	- 1.35	- 1.36	- 1.25	- 1.36
Killers : Killed Ratio	1.00	1.00	- 0.00	- 0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	- 1.50
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	138.4	177.9	139.4	131.6	142.7	173.9	134.8	146.5	116.7	142.6
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	90.5	100.0	80.4	76.8	84.6	90.2	71.1	91.3	69.2	82.6
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	228.9	277.9	219.7	208.4	227.3	264.2	205.9	237.8	185.9	225.1

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 43: NBC CARTOON PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	17	28	22	32	20	13	15	11	18	176
Program Hours Analyzed	4.4	6.2	8.4	11.2	6.3	1.9	4.1	3.8	5.0	51.3
Leading characters analyzed	36	59	54	107	46	28	42	23	49	444
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	88.2	100.0	100.0	96.9	100.0	100.0	93.3	90.9	94.4	96.6
Program hours containing violence	84.9	100.0	100.0	95.5	100.0	100.0	87.7	95.7	95.0	95.9
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	96	201	144	193	155	113	76	79	58	1115
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.6	7.2	6.5	6.0	7.8	8.7	5.1	7.2	3.2	6.3
(R/H) Rate per all hours	21.7	32.6	17.1	17.2	24.5	59.5	18.7	20.5	11.6	21.7
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.9	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	2.7
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	72.2	76.3	63.0	40.2	54.3	89.3	47.6	60.9	40.8	56.8
Victims (subjected to violence)	77.8	91.5	72.2	73.8	87.0	89.3	66.7	82.6	51.0	75.9
(%V) Any involvement in violence	83.3	94.9	81.5	79.4	93.5	96.4	78.6	91.3	73.5	84.5
Killers (committing fatal violence)	5.6	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	5.6	3.4	1.9	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4
(%K) Any involvement in killing	11.1	5.1	1.9	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.08	- 1.20	- 1.15	- 1.84	- 1.60	1.00	- 1.40	- 1.36	- 1.25	- 1.34
Killers : Killed Ratio	1.00	1.00	- 0.00	- 0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	- 1.50
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	143.0	179.5	147.4	143.3	164.4	236.3	140.8	146.5	124.1	152.7
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	94.4	100.0	83.3	80.4	93.5	96.4	78.6	91.3	73.5	86.5
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	237.4	279.5	230.7	223.7	257.9	332.8	219.4	237.8	197.6	239.2

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 44: NBC ACTION PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-70	71-72	73-74*	1975*	1976	1977**	1978	1979	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	41	42	40	61	39	15	30	14	18	300
Program Hours Analyzed	33.7	29.8	32.6	55.2	38.5	14.7	30.6	9.3	13.5	257.9
Leading characters analyzed	114	108	117	226	130	44	100	40	63	942
PREVALENCE										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	95.1	95.2	100.0	95.1	92.3	93.3	86.7	92.9	94.4	94.3
Program hours containing violence	93.6	95.0	100.0	94.6	94.8	93.2	88.6	89.2	98.1	94.4
RATE										
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	285	289	246	382	281	127	218	94	123	2045
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	7.0	6.9	6.1	6.3	7.2	8.5	7.3	6.7	6.8	6.8
(R/H) Rate per all hours	8.5	9.7	7.5	6.9	7.3	8.7	7.1	10.2	9.1	7.9
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	3.1	1.9	1.3	1.5	0.5	0.9	9.2
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	71.1	62.0	55.6	46.0	48.5	70.5	61.0	42.5	58.7	55.8
(%V) Victims (subjected to violence)	74.6	76.9	60.7	61.5	59.2	75.0	63.0	60.0	63.5	65.3
Any involvement in violence	86.0	84.3	73.5	74.3	69.2	86.4	73.0	70.0	77.8	76.5
Killers (committing fatal violence)	18.4	6.5	6.0	11.1	13.8	18.2	14.0	5.0	6.3	11.3
(%K) Killed (victims of lethal violence)	7.9	2.8	2.6	4.9	4.6	6.8	5.0	0.0	3.2	4.5
Any involvement in killing	22.8	8.3	8.5	12.8	16.2	20.5	16.0	5.0	9.5	13.6
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.05	- 1.24	- 1.09	- 1.34	- 1.22	- 1.06	- 1.03	- 1.41	- 1.08	- 1.17
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.33	+ 2.33	+ 2.33	+ 2.27	+ 3.00	+ 2.67	+ 2.80	+ 0.00	+ 2.00	+ 2.52
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: $PS = (%P) + 2(R/P) + 2(R/H)$	126.0	128.4	127.4	121.4	121.3	127.6	115.4	126.6	126.3	123.8
Character V-Score: $CS = (%V) + (%K)$	108.8	92.6	82.1	87.2	85.4	106.8	89.0	75.0	87.3	90.1
Violence Index: $VI = PS + CS$	234.7	221.0	209.4	208.6	206.7	234.4	204.4	201.6	213.6	214.0

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 45: RISK RATIOS - CHARACTERS IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
ALL CHARACTERS																		
Total	573	100.0	552	100.0	987	100.0	664	100.0	290	100.0	585	100.0	298	100.0	381	100.0	4330	100.0
Violents	285	49.7	234	42.4	396	40.1	291	43.8	176	60.7	276	47.2	126	42.3	188	49.3	1972	45.5
Victims	333	58.1	277	50.2	523	53.0	359	54.1	188	64.8	292	49.9	171	57.4	200	52.5	2343	54.1
Involved In Violence	373	65.1	330	59.8	606	61.4	426	64.2	217	74.8	356	60.9	193	64.8	239	62.7	2740	63.3
Killers	27	4.7	45	8.2	84	8.5	43	6.5	19	6.6	30	5.1	9	3.0	12	3.1	269	6.2
Killed	17	3.0	22	4.0	46	4.7	25	3.8	9	3.1	10	1.7	6	2.0	5	1.3	140	3.2
Involved In Killing	38	6.6	54	9.8	108	10.9	61	9.2	24	8.3	34	5.8	15	5.0	15	3.9	349	8.1
Character V-Score		71.7		69.6		72.3		73.3		83.1		66.7		69.8		66.7		71.3
Violents : Victims	-	1.17	-	1.18	-	1.32	-	1.23	-	1.07	-	1.06	-	1.36	-	1.06	-	1.19
Killers : Killed	+	1.59	+	2.05	+	1.83	+	1.72	+	2.11	+	3.00	+	1.50	+	2.40	+	1.92
MEN																		
Total	441	100.0	405	100.0	741	100.0	522	100.0	218	100.0	413	100.0	198	100.0	284	100.0	3222	100.0
Violents	244	55.3	200	49.4	334	45.1	248	47.5	141	64.7	217	52.5	98	49.5	149	52.5	1631	50.6
Victims	281	63.7	227	56.0	431	58.2	309	59.2	152	69.7	227	55.0	119	60.1	164	57.7	1910	59.3
Involved In Violence	311	70.5	268	66.2	492	66.4	358	68.6	174	79.8	274	66.3	133	67.2	192	67.6	2202	68.3
Killers	26	5.9	43	10.6	75	10.1	39	7.5	15	6.9	28	6.8	6	3.0	11	3.9	243	7.5
Killed	13	2.9	20	4.9	39	5.3	23	4.4	6	2.8	10	2.4	4	2.0	4	1.4	119	3.7
Involved In Killing	34	7.7	50	12.3	93	12.6	55	10.5	17	7.8	32	7.7	10	5.1	13	4.6	304	9.4
Character V-Score		78.2		78.5		78.9		79.1		87.6		74.1		72.2		72.2		77.8
Violents : Victims	-	1.15	-	1.13	-	1.29	-	1.25	-	1.08	-	1.05	-	1.21	-	1.10	-	1.17
Killers : Killed	+	2.00	+	2.15	+	1.92	+	1.70	+	2.50	+	2.80	+	1.50	+	2.75	+	2.04
WOMEN																		
Total	123	100.0	138	100.0	240	100.0	129	100.0	67	100.0	168	100.0	91	100.0	84	100.0	1040	100.0
Violents	35	28.5	27	19.6	59	24.6	33	25.6	30	44.8	56	33.3	21	23.1	29	34.5	290	27.9
Victims	44	35.8	42	30.4	87	36.2	39	30.2	31	46.3	63	37.5	45	49.5	31	36.9	382	36.7
Involved In Violence	54	43.9	54	39.1	109	45.4	56	43.4	38	56.7	79	47.0	51	56.0	36	42.9	477	45.9
Killers	1	0.8	1	0.7	9	3.7	4	3.1	4	6.0	2	1.2	3	3.3	1	1.2	25	2.4
Killed	4	3.3	2	1.4	7	2.9	2	1.6	3	4.5	0	0.0	2	2.2	1	1.2	21	2.0
Involved In Killing	4	3.3	3	2.2	15	6.2	6	4.7	7	10.4	2	1.2	5	5.5	2	2.4	44	4.2
Character V-Score		47.2		41.3		51.7		48.1		67.2		48.2		61.5		45.2		50.1
Violents : Victims	-	1.26	-	1.56	-	1.47	-	1.18	-	1.03	-	1.13	-	2.14	-	1.07	-	1.32
Killers : Killed	-	4.00	-	2.00	+	1.29	+	2.00	+	1.33	+	0.00	+	1.50	+	1.00	+	1.19

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 46: RISK RATIOS - CHARACTERS IN PRIME-TIME PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
ALL CHARACTERS																		
TOTAL	350	100.0	386	100.0	609	100.0	431	100.0	172	100.0	440	100.0	191	100.0	218	100.0	2797	100.0
VIOLENTS	128	36.6	151	39.1	248	40.7	173	40.1	97	56.4	197	44.8	64	33.5	98	45.0	1156	41.3
VICTIMS	150	42.9	168	43.5	282	46.3	196	45.5	94	54.7	196	44.5	85	44.5	101	46.3	1272	45.5
INVOLVED IN VIOLENCE	173	49.4	208	53.9	327	53.7	237	55.0	116	67.4	244	55.5	101	52.9	117	53.7	1523	54.5
KILLERS	24	6.9	44	11.4	81	13.3	43	10.0	17	9.9	30	6.8	9	4.7	12	5.5	260	9.3
KILLED	14	4.0	20	5.2	44	7.2	23	5.3	8	4.7	10	2.3	6	3.1	5	2.3	130	4.6
INVOLVED IN KILLING	33	9.4	52	13.5	103	16.9	59	13.7	21	12.2	34	7.7	15	7.9	15	6.9	332	11.9
CHARACTER V-SCORE	58.9		67.4		70.6		68.7		79.7		63.2		60.7		60.6		332	11.9
VIOLENTS : VICTIMS	- 1.17		- 1.11		- 1.14		- 1.13		+ 1.03		+ 1.01		- 1.33		- 1.03		- 1.10	
KILLERS : KILLED	+ 1.71		+ 2.20		+ 1.84		+ 1.87		+ 2.13		+ 3.00		+ 1.50		+ 2.40		+ 2.00	
MEN																		
TOTAL	249	100.0	276	100.0	441	100.0	324	100.0	119	100.0	299	100.0	120	100.0	152	100.0	1980	100.0
VIOLENTS	107	43.0	130	47.1	211	47.8	151	46.6	72	60.5	151	50.5	48	40.0	74	48.7	944	47.7
VICTIMS	122	49.0	138	50.0	235	53.3	168	51.9	71	59.7	144	48.2	54	45.0	76	50.0	1008	50.9
INVOLVED IN VIOLENCE	139	55.8	168	60.9	267	60.5	199	61.4	86	72.3	180	60.2	66	55.0	88	57.9	1193	60.3
KILLERS	23	9.2	42	15.2	72	16.3	39	12.0	15	12.6	28	9.4	6	5.0	11	7.2	236	11.9
KILLED	10	4.0	18	6.5	37	8.4	22	6.8	6	5.0	10	3.3	4	3.3	4	2.6	111	5.6
INVOLVED IN KILLING	29	11.6	48	17.4	88	20.0	54	16.7	17	14.3	32	10.7	10	8.3	13	8.6	291	14.7
CHARACTER V-SCORE	67.5		78.3		80.5		78.1		86.6		70.9		63.3		66.4		291	14.7
VIOLENTS : VICTIMS	- 1.14		- 1.06		- 1.11		- 1.11		+ 1.01		+ 1.05		- 1.13		- 1.03		- 1.07	
KILLERS : KILLED	+ 2.30		+ 2.33		+ 1.95		+ 1.77		+ 2.50		+ 2.80		+ 1.50		+ 2.75		+ 2.13	
WOMEN																		
TOTAL	101	100.0	109	100.0	168	100.0	107	100.0	53	100.0	140	100.0	71	100.0	65	100.0	814	100.0
VIOLENTS	21	20.8	20	18.3	37	22.0	22	20.6	25	47.2	45	32.1	16	22.5	23	35.4	209	25.7
VICTIMS	28	27.7	29	26.6	47	28.0	28	26.2	23	43.4	51	36.4	31	43.7	25	38.5	262	32.2
INVOLVED IN VIOLENCE	34	33.7	39	35.8	60	35.7	38	35.5	30	56.6	63	45.0	35	49.3	28	43.1	327	40.2
KILLERS	1	1.0	1	0.9	9	5.4	4	3.7	2	3.8	2	1.4	3	4.2	1	1.5	23	2.8
KILLED	4	4.0	2	1.8	7	4.2	1	0.9	2	3.8	0	0.0	2	2.8	1	1.5	19	2.3
INVOLVED IN KILLING	4	4.0	3	2.8	15	8.9	5	4.7	4	7.5	2	1.4	5	7.0	2	3.1	40	4.9
CHARACTER V-SCORE	37.6		38.5		44.6		40.2		64.2		46.4		56.3		46.2		40	4.9
VIOLENTS : VICTIMS	- 1.33		- 1.45		- 1.27		- 1.27		+ 1.09		- 1.13		- 1.94		- 1.09		- 1.25	
KILLERS : KILLED	- 4.00		- 2.00		+ 1.29		+ 4.00		+ 1.00		+ 0.00		+ 1.50		+ 1.00		+ 1.21	

* THE FIGURES GIVEN FOR 1973-74 INCLUDE A SPRING 1975 SAMPLE AND THOSE FOR 1975 INCLUDE A SPRING 1976 SAMPLE.
 ** THE FALL 1977 SAMPLE CONSISTS OF TWO WEEKS OF PRIME-TIME AND ONE WEEKEND MORNING NETWORK DRAMATIC PROGRAMS.

TABLE 47: RISK RATIOS - CHARACTERS IN WEEKEND MORNING PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
ALL CHARACTERS																				
TOTAL	223	100.0	166	100.0	378	100.0	233	100.0	118	100.0	145	100.0	107	100.0	163	100.0	1533	100.0		
VIOLENTS	157	70.4	83	50.0	148	39.2	118	50.6	79	66.9	79	54.5	62	57.9	90	55.2	816	53.2		
VICTIMS	183	82.1	109	65.7	241	63.8	163	70.0	94	79.7	96	66.2	86	80.4	99	60.7	1071	69.9		
INVOLVED IN VIOLENCE	200	89.7	122	73.5	279	73.8	189	81.1	101	85.6	112	77.2	92	86.0	122	74.8	1217	79.4		
KILLERS	3	1.3	1	0.6	3	0.8	0	0.0	2	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	0.6		
KILLED	3	1.3	2	1.2	2	0.5	2	0.9	1	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	0.7		
INVOLVED IN KILLING	5	2.2	2	1.2	5	1.3	2	0.9	3	2.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	17	1.1		
CHARACTER V-SCORE		91.9		74.7		75.1		82.0		88.1		77.2		86.0		74.8		80.5		
VIOLENTS : VICTIMS		- 1.17		- 1.31		- 1.63		- 1.38		- 1.19		- 1.22		- 1.39		- 1.10		- 1.31		
KILLERS : KILLED		1.00		- 2.00		+ 1.50		- 0.00		+ 2.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		- 1.11		
MEN																				
TOTAL	192	100.0	129	100.0	300	100.0	198	100.0	99	100.0	114	100.0	78	100.0	132	100.0	1242	100.0		
VIOLENTS	137	71.4	70	54.3	123	41.0	97	49.0	69	69.7	66	57.9	50	64.1	75	56.8	687	55.3		
VICTIMS	159	82.8	89	69.0	196	65.3	141	71.2	81	81.8	83	72.8	65	83.3	88	66.7	902	72.6		
INVOLVED IN VIOLENCE	172	89.6	100	77.5	225	75.0	159	80.3	88	88.9	94	82.5	67	85.9	104	78.8	1039	81.2		
KILLERS	3	1.6	1	0.8	3	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	0.6		
KILLED	3	1.6	2	1.6	2	0.7	1	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	8	0.6		
INVOLVED IN KILLING	5	2.6	2	1.6	5	1.7	1	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	13	1.0		
CHARACTER V-SCORE		92.2		79.1		76.7		80.8		88.9		82.5		85.9		78.8		82.3		
VIOLENTS : VICTIMS		- 1.16		- 1.27		- 1.59		- 1.45		- 1.17		- 1.26		- 1.30		- 1.17		- 1.31		
KILLERS : KILLED		1.00		- 2.00		+ 1.50		- 0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		- 1.14		
WOMEN																				
TOTAL	22	100.0	29	100.0	72	100.0	22	100.0	14	100.0	28	100.0	20	100.0	19	100.0	226	100.0		
VIOLENTS	14	63.6	7	24.1	22	30.6	11	50.0	5	35.7	11	39.3	5	25.0	6	31.6	81	35.8		
VICTIMS	16	72.7	13	44.8	40	55.6	11	50.0	8	57.1	12	42.9	14	70.0	6	31.6	120	53.1		
INVOLVED IN VIOLENCE	20	90.9	15	51.7	49	68.1	18	81.8	8	57.1	16	57.1	16	80.0	8	42.1	150	66.4		
KILLERS	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.9		
KILLED	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.5	1	7.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.9		
INVOLVED IN KILLING	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.5	3	21.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	1.8		
CHARACTER V-SCORE		50.9		51.7		68.1		86.4		78.6		57.1		80.0		42.1		68.1		
VIOLENTS : VICTIMS		- 1.14		- 1.86		- 1.82		1.00		- 1.60		- 1.09		- 2.80		1.00		- 1.48		
KILLERS : KILLED		0.00		0.00		0.00		- 0.00		+ 2.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		1.00		

* THE FIGURES GIVEN FOR 1973-74 INCLUDE A SPRING 1975 SAMPLE AND THOSE FOR 1975 INCLUDE A SPRING 1976 SAMPLE.
 ** THE FALL 1977 SAMPLE CONSISTS OF TWO WEEKS OF PRIME-TIME AND ONE WEEKEND MORNING NETWORK DRAMATIC PROGRAMS.

TABLE 48: RISK RATIOS - SOCIAL AGE - CHARACTERS IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
CHILD-ADOLESCENT																		
Total	44	100.0	49	100.0	138	100.0	59	100.0	17	100.0	79	100.0	29	100.0	23	100.0	438	100.0
Violents	15	34.1	16	32.7	31	22.5	18	30.5	9	52.9	33	41.8	9	31.0	9	39.1	140	32.0
Victims	20	45.5	19	38.8	7	51.4	35	59.3	9	52.9	39	49.4	16	55.2	11	47.8	220	50.2
Involved In Violence	23	52.3	25	51.0	83	60.1	40	67.8	13	76.5	49	62.0	18	62.1	12	52.2	263	60.0
Killers	0	0.0	1	2.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.5	0	0.0	1	4.3	4	0.9
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.4	0	0.0	1	0.2
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	1	2.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.5	1	3.4	1	4.3	5	1.1
Character V-Score	52.3		53.1		60.1		67.8		76.5		64.6		65.5		56.5		61.2	
Violents : Victims	- 1.33		- 1.19		- 2.29		- 1.94		1.00		- 1.18		- 1.78		- 1.22		- 1.57	
Killers : Killed	0.00		+ 0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 0.00		- 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 4.00	
YOUNG ADULT																		
Total	142	100.0	110	100.0	222	100.0	139	100.0	30	100.0	114	100.0	56	100.0	74	100.0	887	100.0
Violents	63	44.4	55	50.0	73	32.9	62	44.6	11	36.7	63	55.3	16	28.6	33	44.6	376	42.4
Victims	84	59.2	64	58.2	117	52.7	85	61.2	17	56.7	69	60.5	30	53.6	37	50.0	503	56.7
Involved In Violence	95	66.9	73	66.4	129	58.1	99	71.2	18	60.0	78	68.4	32	57.1	42	56.8	566	63.8
Killers	5	3.5	10	9.1	18	8.1	13	9.4	4	13.3	8	7.0	0	0.0	2	2.7	60	6.8
Killed	4	2.8	3	2.7	7	3.2	11	7.9	2	6.7	2	1.8	0	0.0	2	2.7	31	3.5
Involved In Killing	8	5.6	13	11.8	22	9.9	19	13.7	5	16.7	8	7.0	0	0.0	3	4.1	78	8.8
Character V-Score	72.5		78.2		68.0		84.9		76.7		75.4		57.1		60.8		72.6	
Violents : Victims	- 1.33		- 1.16		- 1.60		- 1.37		- 1.55		- 1.10		- 1.88		- 1.12		- 1.34	
Killers : Killed	+ 1.25		+ 3.33		+ 2.57		+ 1.18		+ 2.00		+ 4.00		0.00		1.00		+ 1.94	
SETTLED ADULT																		
Total	266	100.0	299	100.0	524	100.0	396	100.0	200	100.0	345	100.0	182	100.0	214	100.0	2426	100.0
Violents	119	44.7	117	39.1	231	44.1	171	43.2	121	60.5	150	43.5	81	44.5	105	49.1	1095	45.1
Victims	130	48.9	138	46.2	271	51.7	191	48.2	126	63.0	154	44.6	100	54.9	115	53.7	1225	50.5
Involved In Violence	148	55.6	169	56.5	318	60.7	234	59.1	145	72.5	194	56.2	114	62.6	132	61.7	1454	59.9
Killers	19	7.1	28	9.4	64	12.2	30	7.6	14	7.0	18	5.2	7	3.8	6	2.8	186	7.7
Killed	11	4.1	12	4.0	34	6.5	12	3.0	7	3.5	8	2.3	3	1.6	3	1.4	90	3.7
Involved In Killing	26	9.8	31	10.4	79	15.1	40	10.1	18	9.0	22	6.4	10	5.5	8	3.7	234	9.6
Character V-Score	65.4		66.9		75.8		69.2		81.5		62.6		68.1		65.4		69.6	
Violents : Victims	- 1.09		- 1.18		- 1.17		- 1.12		- 1.04		- 1.03		- 1.23		- 1.10		- 1.12	
Killers : Killed	+ 1.73		+ 2.33		+ 1.88		+ 2.50		+ 2.00		+ 2.25		+ 2.33		+ 2.00		+ 2.07	

TABLE 48: RISK RATIOS - SOCIAL AGE - CHARACTERS IN ALL PROGRAMS

CONTINUED

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
OLD																			
Total	17	100.0	26	100.0	27	100.0	17	100.0	0	0.0	12	100.0	7	100.0	9	100.0	115	100.0	
Violents	7	41.2	6	23.1	8	29.6	5	29.4	0	0.0	5	41.7	3	42.9	3	33.3	37	32.2	
Victims	10	58.8	6	23.1	11	40.7	4	23.5	0	0.0	5	41.7	3	42.9	3	33.3	42	36.5	
Involved In Violence	11	64.7	9	34.6	14	51.9	5	29.4	0	0.0	6	50.0	5	71.4	3	33.3	53	46.1	
Killers	1	5.9	1	3.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	28.6	1	11.1	5	4.3	
Killed	1	5.9	2	7.7	2	7.4	1	5.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	14.3	0	0.0	7	6.1	
Involved In Killing	2	11.8	2	7.7	2	7.4	1	5.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	42.9	1	11.1	11	9.6	
Character V-Score		76.5		42.3		59.3		35.3		0.0		50.0		114.3		44.4		55.7	
Violents : Victims		- 1.43		1.00		- 1.38		+ 1.25		0.00		1.00		1.00		1.00		- 1.14	
Killers : Killed		1.00		- 2.00		- 0.00		- 0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 2.00		+ 0.00		- 1.40	
CANNOT CODE SOCIAL AGE																			
Total	104	100.0	68	100.0	76	100.0	53	100.0	43	100.0	35	100.0	24	100.0	61	100.0	464	100.0	
Violents	81	77.9	40	58.8	53	69.7	35	66.0	35	81.4	25	71.4	17	70.8	38	62.3	324	69.8	
Victims	89	85.6	50	73.5	53	69.7	44	83.0	36	83.7	25	71.4	22	91.7	34	55.7	353	76.1	
Involved In Violence	96	92.3	54	79.4	62	81.6	48	90.6	41	95.3	29	82.9	24	100.0	50	82.0	404	87.1	
Killers	2	1.9	5	7.4	2	2.6	0	0.0	1	2.3	2	5.7	0	0.0	2	3.3	14	3.0	
Killed	1	1.0	5	7.4	3	3.9	1	1.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.2	0	0.0	11	2.4	
Involved In Killing	2	1.9	7	10.3	5	6.6	1	1.9	1	2.3	2	5.7	1	4.2	2	3.3	21	4.5	
Character V-Score		94.2		89.7		88.2		92.5		97.7		88.6		104.2		85.2		91.6	
Violents : Victims		- 1.10		- 1.25		1.00		- 1.26		- 1.03		1.00		- 1.29		+ 1.12		- 1.09	
Killers : Killed		+ 2.00		1.00		- 1.50		- 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 0.00		- 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 1.27	

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 49: RISK RATIOS - SOCIAL AGE - MEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975+		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
CHILD-ADOLESCENT																		
Total	32	100.0	34	100.0	96	100.0	44	100.0	13	100.0	57	100.0	21	100.0	17	100.0	314	100.0
Violents	12	37.5	12	35.3	21	21.9	15	34.1	6	46.2	26	45.6	8	38.1	8	47.1	108	34.4
Victims	17	53.1	16	47.1	53	55.2	28	63.6	8	61.5	34	59.6	13	61.9	11	64.7	180	57.3
Involved In Violence	19	59.4	19	55.9	60	62.5	31	70.5	10	76.9	40	70.2	14	66.7	11	64.7	204	65.0
Killers	0	0.0	1	2.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	3.5	0	0.0	1	5.9	4	1.3
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.8	0	0.0	1	0.3
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	1	2.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	3.5	1	4.8	1	5.9	5	1.6
Character V-Score	59.4		58.8		62.5		70.5		76.9		73.7		71.4		70.6		66.6	
Violents : Victims	- 1.42		- 1.33		- 2.52		- 1.87		- 1.33		- 1.31		- 1.63		- 1.38		- 1.67	
Killers : Killed	0.00		+ 0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 0.00		- 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 4.00	
YOUNG ADULT																		
Total	89	100.0	73	100.0	152	100.0	102	100.0	21	100.0	75	100.0	27	100.0	48	100.0	587	100.0
Violents	47	52.8	45	61.6	59	38.8	51	50.0	10	47.6	47	62.7	11	40.7	23	47.9	293	49.9
Victims	60	67.4	48	65.8	83	54.6	65	63.7	12	57.1	50	66.7	15	55.6	27	56.2	360	61.3
Involved In Violence	66	74.2	55	75.3	93	61.2	77	75.5	13	61.9	55	73.3	16	59.3	32	66.7	407	69.3
Killers	5	5.6	9	12.3	15	9.9	11	10.8	4	19.0	6	8.0	0	0.0	2	4.2	52	8.9
Killed	2	2.2	2	2.7	5	3.3	10	9.8	2	9.5	2	2.7	0	0.0	2	4.2	25	4.3
Involved In Killing	6	6.7	11	15.1	17	11.2	16	15.7	5	23.8	6	8.0	0	0.0	3	6.2	64	10.9
Character V-Score	80.9		90.4		72.4		91.2		85.7		81.3		59.3		72.9		80.2	
Violents : Victims	- 1.28		- 1.07		- 1.41		- 1.27		- 1.20		- 1.06		- 1.36		- 1.17		- 1.23	
Killers : Killed	+ 2.50		+ 4.50		+ 3.00		+ 1.10		+ 2.00		+ 3.00		0.00		1.00		+ 2.08	
SETTLED ADULT																		
Total	219	100.0	229	100.0	409	100.0	323	100.0	146	100.0	242	100.0	130	100.0	169	100.0	1867	100.0
Violents	110	50.2	106	46.3	203	49.6	153	47.4	95	65.1	120	49.6	65	50.0	90	53.3	942	50.5
Victims	120	54.8	121	52.8	242	59.2	178	55.1	101	69.2	118	48.8	76	58.5	96	56.8	1052	56.3
Involved In Violence	135	61.6	145	63.3	277	67.7	209	64.7	115	78.8	150	62.0	85	65.4	111	65.7	1227	65.7
Killers	18	8.2	28	12.2	58	14.2	28	8.7	10	6.8	18	7.4	4	3.1	5	3.0	169	9.1
Killed	9	4.1	12	5.2	31	7.6	11	3.4	4	2.7	8	3.3	2	1.5	2	1.2	79	4.2
Involved In Killing	24	11.0	31	13.5	71	17.4	37	11.5	11	7.5	22	9.1	6	4.6	6	3.6	208	11.1
Character V-Score	72.6		76.9		85.1		76.2		86.3		71.1		70.0		69.2		76.9	
Violents : Victims	- 1.09		- 1.14		- 1.19		- 1.16		- 1.06		+ 1.02		- 1.17		- 1.07		- 1.12	
Killers : Killed	+ 2.00		+ 2.33		+ 1.87		+ 2.55		+ 2.50		+ 2.25		+ 2.00		+ 2.50		+ 2.14	

TABLE 49: RISK RATIOS - SOCIAL AGE - MEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

CONTINUED

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
OLD																		
Total	13	100.0	18	100.0	20	100.0	12	100.0	0	0.0	11	100.0	6	100.0	6	100.0	86	100.0
Violents	6	46.2	6	33.3	6	30.0	5	41.7	0	0.0	5	45.5	3	50.0	2	33.3	33	38.4
Victims	8	61.5	4	22.2	6	30.0	4	33.3	0	0.0	5	45.5	2	33.3	2	33.3	31	36.0
Involved In Violence	9	69.2	7	38.9	9	45.0	5	41.7	0	0.0	6	54.5	4	66.7	2	33.3	42	48.8
Killers	1	7.7	1	5.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	33.3	1	16.7	5	5.8
Killed	1	7.7	1	5.6	1	5.0	1	8.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	4.7
Involved In Killing	2	15.4	1	5.6	1	5.0	1	8.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	33.3	1	16.7	8	9.3
Character V-Score		84.6		44.4		50.0		50.0		0.0		54.5		100.0		50.0		58.1
Violents : Victims		- 1.33		+ 1.50		1.00		+ 1.25		0.00		1.00		+ 1.50		1.00		+ 1.06
Killers : Killed		1.00		1.00		- 0.00		- 0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 1.25
CANNOT CODE SOCIAL AGE																		
Total	88	100.0	51	100.0	64	100.0	41	100.0	38	100.0	28	100.0	14	100.0	44	100.0	368	100.0
Violents	69	78.4	31	60.8	45	70.3	24	58.5	30	78.9	19	67.9	11	78.6	26	59.1	255	69.3
Victims	76	86.4	38	74.5	47	73.4	34	82.9	31	81.6	20	71.4	13	92.9	28	63.6	287	78.0
Involved In Violence	82	93.2	42	82.4	53	82.8	36	87.8	36	94.7	23	82.1	14	100.0	36	81.8	322	87.5
Killers	2	2.3	4	7.8	2	3.1	0	0.0	1	2.6	2	7.1	0	0.0	2	4.5	13	3.5
Killed	1	1.1	5	9.8	2	3.1	1	2.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	7.1	0	0.0	10	2.7
Involved In Killing	2	2.3	6	11.8	4	6.3	1	2.4	1	2.6	2	7.1	1	7.1	2	4.5	19	5.2
Character V-Score		95.5		94.1		89.1		90.2		97.4		89.3		107.1		86.4		92.7
Violents : Victims		- 1.10		- 1.23		- 1.04		- 1.42		- 1.03		- 1.05		- 1.18		- 1.08		- 1.13
Killers : Killed		+ 2.00		- 1.25		1.00		- 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 0.00		- 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 1.30

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 50: RISK RATIOS - SOCIAL AGE - WOMEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
CHILD-ADOLESCENT																		
Total	12	100.0	15	100.0	42	100.0	14	100.0	4	100.0	22	100.0	7	100.0	6	100.0	122	100.0
Violents	3	25.0	4	26.7	10	23.8	3	21.4	3	75.0	7	31.8	0	0.0	1	16.7	31	25.4
Victims	3	25.0	3	20.0	18	42.9	7	50.0	1	25.0	5	22.7	3	42.9	0	0.0	40	32.8
Involved In Violence	4	33.3	6	40.0	23	54.8	9	64.3	3	75.0	9	40.9	3	42.9	1	16.7	58	47.5
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Character V-Score		33.3		40.0		54.8		64.3		75.0		40.9		42.9		16.7		47.5
Violents : Victims		1.00		+ 1.33		- 1.80		- 2.33		+ 3.00		+ 1.40		- 0.00		+ 0.00		- 1.29
Killers : Killed		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
YOUNG ADULT																		
Total	53	100.0	36	100.0	69	100.0	35	100.0	9	100.0	39	100.0	29	100.0	26	100.0	296	100.0
Violents	16	30.2	9	25.0	14	20.3	10	28.6	1	11.1	16	41.0	5	17.2	10	38.5	81	27.4
Victims	24	45.3	15	41.7	33	47.8	18	51.4	5	55.6	19	48.7	15	51.7	10	38.5	139	47.0
Involved In Violence	29	54.7	17	47.2	35	50.7	20	57.1	5	55.6	23	59.0	16	55.2	10	38.5	155	52.4
Killers	0	0.0	1	2.8	3	4.3	2	5.7	0	0.0	2	5.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	8	2.7
Killed	2	3.8	1	2.8	2	2.9	1	2.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	2.0
Involved In Killing	2	3.8	2	5.6	5	7.2	3	8.6	0	0.0	2	5.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	14	4.7
Character V-Score		58.5		52.8		58.0		65.7		55.6		64.1		55.2		38.5		57.1
Violents : Victims		- 1.50		- 1.67		- 2.36		- 1.80		- 5.00		- 1.19		- 3.00		1.00		- 1.72
Killers : Killed		- 0.00		1.00		+ 1.50		+ 2.00		0.00		+ 0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 1.33
SETTLED ADULT																		
Total	47	100.0	70	100.0	115	100.0	73	100.0	54	100.0	103	100.0	51	100.0	45	100.0	558	100.0
Violents	9	19.1	11	15.7	28	24.3	18	24.7	26	48.1	30	29.1	15	29.4	15	33.3	152	27.2
Victims	10	21.3	17	24.3	29	25.2	13	17.8	25	46.3	36	35.0	23	45.1	19	42.2	172	30.8
Involved In Violence	13	27.7	24	34.3	41	35.7	25	34.2	30	55.6	44	42.7	28	54.9	21	46.7	226	40.5
Killers	1	2.1	0	0.0	6	5.2	2	2.7	4	7.4	0	0.0	3	5.9	1	2.2	17	3.0
Killed	2	4.3	0	0.0	3	2.6	1	1.4	3	5.6	0	0.0	1	2.0	1	2.2	11	2.0
Involved In Killing	2	4.3	0	0.0	8	7.0	3	4.1	7	13.0	0	0.0	4	7.8	2	4.4	26	4.7
Character V-Score		31.9		34.3		42.6		38.4		68.5		42.7		62.7		51.1		45.2
Violents : Victims		- 1.11		- 1.55		- 1.04		+ 1.38		+ 1.04		- 1.20		- 1.53		- 1.27		- 1.13
Killers : Killed		- 2.00		0.00		+ 2.00		+ 2.00		+ 1.33		0.00		+ 3.00		1.00		+ 1.55

TABLE 50: RISK RATIOS - SOCIAL AGE - WOMEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

CONTINUED

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
OLD																				
Total	4	100.0	8	100.0	7	100.0	5	100.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	1	100.0	3	100.0	29	100.0		
Violents	1	25.0	0	0.0	2	28.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	4	13.8		
Victims	2	50.0	2	25.0	5	71.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	1	33.3	11	37.9		
Involved In Violence	2	50.0	2	25.0	5	71.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	1	33.3	11	37.9		
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0		
Killed	0	0.0	1	12.5	1	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	3	10.3		
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	1	12.5	1	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	3	10.3		
Character V-Score		50.0		37.5		85.7		0.0		0.0		0.0		200.0		33.3		48.3		
Violents : Victims		- 2.00		- 0.00		- 2.50		0.00		0.00		0.00		- 0.00		1.00		- 2.75		
Killers : Killed		0.00		- 0.00		- 0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		- 0.00		0.00		- 0.00		
CANNOT CODE SOCIAL AGE																				
Total	7	100.0	9	100.0	7	100.0	2	100.0	0	0.0	3	100.0	3	100.0	4	100.0	35	100.0		
Violents	6	85.7	3	33.3	5	71.4	2	100.0	0	0.0	3	100.0	1	33.3	2	50.0	22	62.9		
Victims	5	71.4	5	55.6	2	28.6	1	50.0	0	0.0	3	100.0	3	100.0	1	25.0	20	57.1		
Involved In Violence	6	85.7	5	55.6	5	71.4	2	100.0	0	0.0	3	100.0	3	100.0	3	75.0	27	77.1		
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0		
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.9		
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.9		
Character V-Score		85.7		55.6		85.7		100.0		0.0		100.0		100.0		75.0		80.0		
Violents : Victims		+ 1.20		- 1.67		+ 2.50		+ 2.00		0.00		1.00		- 3.00		+ 2.00		+ 1.10		
Killers : Killed		0.00		0.00		- 0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		- 0.00		

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 51: RISK RATIOS - MARITAL STATUS - ALL CHARACTERS IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
UNMARRIED, UNKNOWN																		
Total	365	100.0	313	100.0	400	100.0	235	100.0	143	100.0	272	100.0	145	100.0	178	100.0	2051	100.0
Violents	191	52.3	148	47.3	147	36.7	96	40.9	85	59.4	133	48.9	57	39.3	100	56.2	957	46.7
Victims	220	60.3	169	54.0	215	53.7	134	57.0	94	65.7	141	51.8	79	54.5	100	56.2	1152	56.2
Involved In Violence	251	68.8	202	64.5	247	61.7	156	66.4	108	75.5	173	63.6	92	63.4	117	65.7	1346	65.6
Killers	19	5.2	25	8.0	30	7.5	16	6.8	10	7.0	13	4.8	3	2.1	6	3.4	122	5.9
Killed	14	3.8	10	3.2	14	3.5	9	3.8	7	4.9	5	1.8	2	1.4	3	1.7	64	3.1
Involved In Killing	30	8.2	29	9.3	37	9.2	21	8.9	14	9.8	15	5.5	5	3.4	7	3.9	158	7.7
Character V-Score	77.0		73.8		71.0		75.3		85.3		69.1		66.9		69.7		73.3	
Violents : Victims	- 1.15		- 1.14		- 1.46		- 1.40		- 1.11		- 1.06		- 1.39		1.00		- 1.20	
Killers : Killed	+ 1.36		+ 2.50		+ 2.14		+ 1.78		+ 1.43		+ 2.60		+ 1.50		+ 2.00		+ 1.91	
MARRIED																		
Total	149	100.0	155	100.0	258	100.0	157	100.0	63	100.0	123	100.0	72	100.0	68	100.0	1055	100.0
Violents	47	31.5	41	24.8	83	32.2	43	27.4	28	44.4	36	29.3	20	27.8	25	36.8	323	30.6
Victims	62	41.6	59	35.8	100	38.8	53	33.8	30	47.6	40	32.5	33	45.8	27	39.7	404	38.3
Involved In Violence	68	45.6	71	43.0	122	47.3	64	40.8	37	58.7	50	40.7	37	51.4	32	47.1	481	45.6
Killers	8	5.4	12	7.3	21	8.1	11	7.0	6	9.5	8	6.5	4	5.6	1	1.5	71	6.7
Killed	3	2.0	7	4.2	11	6.6	10	6.4	0	0.0	1	0.8	4	5.6	2	2.9	44	4.2
Involved In Killing	8	5.4	16	9.7	32	12.4	18	11.5	6	9.5	9	7.3	8	11.1	3	4.4	100	9.5
Character V-Score	51.0		52.7		59.7		52.2		68.3		48.0		62.5		51.5		55.1	
Violents : Victims	- 1.32		- 1.44		- 1.20		- 1.23		- 1.07		- 1.11		- 1.65		- 1.08		- 1.25	
Killers : Killed	+ 2.67		+ 1.71		+ 1.24		+ 1.10		+ 0.00		+ 8.00		1.00		- 2.00		+ 1.61	
CANNOT CODE MARITAL STATUS																		
Total	59	100.0	74	100.0	329	100.0	272	100.0	84	100.0	190	100.0	81	100.0	135	100.0	1224	100.0
Violents	47	79.7	45	60.8	166	50.5	152	55.9	63	75.0	107	56.3	49	60.5	63	46.7	692	56.5
Victims	51	86.4	49	66.2	208	63.2	172	63.2	64	76.2	111	58.4	59	72.8	73	54.1	787	64.3
Involved In Violence	54	91.5	57	77.0	237	72.0	206	75.7	72	85.7	133	70.0	64	79.0	90	66.7	913	74.6
Killers	0	0.0	8	10.8	33	10.0	16	5.9	3	3.6	9	4.7	2	2.5	5	3.7	76	6.2
Killed	0	0.0	5	6.8	15	4.6	6	2.2	2	2.4	4	2.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	32	2.6
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	9	12.2	39	11.9	22	8.1	4	4.8	10	5.3	2	2.5	5	3.7	91	7.4
Character V-Score	91.5		89.2		83.9		83.8		90.5		75.3		81.5		70.4		82.0	
Violents : Victims	- 1.09		- 1.09		- 1.25		- 1.13		- 1.02		- 1.04		- 1.20		- 1.16		- 1.14	
Killers : Killed	0.00		+ 1.60		+ 2.20		+ 2.67		+ 1.50		+ 2.25		+ 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 2.38	

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 52: RISK RATIOS - MARITAL STATUS - MEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975+		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
UNMARRIED, UNKNOWN																		
Total	298	100.0	242	100.0	287	100.0	176	100.0	100	100.0	180	100.0	91	100.0	129	100.0	1503	100.0
Violents	170	57.0	129	53.3	116	40.4	82	46.6	63	63.0	99	55.0	44	48.4	80	62.0	783	52.1
Victims	192	64.4	138	57.0	165	57.5	108	61.4	69	69.0	106	58.9	54	59.3	83	64.3	915	60.9
Involved In Violence	216	72.5	165	68.2	185	64.5	125	71.0	79	79.0	126	70.0	62	68.1	95	73.6	1053	70.1
Killers	19	6.4	24	9.9	26	9.1	13	7.4	7	7.0	12	6.7	2	2.2	6	4.7	109	7.3
Killed	11	3.7	8	3.3	11	3.8	9	5.1	5	5.0	5	2.8	2	2.2	3	2.3	54	3.6
Involved In Killing	27	9.1	26	10.7	31	10.8	18	10.2	9	9.0	14	7.8	4	4.4	7	5.4	136	9.0
Character V-Score		81.5		78.9		75.3		81.2		88.0		77.8		72.5		79.1		79.1
Violents : Victims		- 1.13		- 1.07		- 1.42		- 1.32		- 1.10		- 1.07		- 1.23		- 1.04		- 1.17
Killers : Killed		+ 1.73		+ 3.00		+ 2.36		+ 1.44		+ 1.40		+ 2.40		1.00		+ 2.00		+ 2.02
MARRIED																		
Total	95	100.0	104	100.0	163	100.0	106	100.0	42	100.0	72	100.0	44	100.0	43	100.0	669	100.0
Violents	35	36.8	33	31.7	64	39.3	34	32.1	21	50.0	25	34.7	15	34.1	19	44.2	246	36.8
Victims	47	49.5	48	46.2	77	47.2	44	41.5	25	59.5	27	37.5	20	45.5	18	41.9	306	45.7
Involved In Violence	50	52.6	55	52.9	90	55.2	50	47.2	29	69.0	34	47.2	23	52.3	23	53.5	354	52.9
Killers	7	7.4	12	11.5	16	9.8	11	10.4	5	11.9	7	9.7	2	4.5	1	2.3	61	9.1
Killed	2	2.1	7	6.7	13	8.0	8	7.5	0	0.0	1	1.4	2	4.5	1	2.3	34	5.1
Involved In Killing	7	7.4	16	15.4	23	14.1	16	15.1	5	11.9	8	11.1	4	9.1	2	4.7	81	12.1
Character V-Score		60.0		68.3		69.3		62.3		81.0		58.3		61.4		58.1		65.0
Violents : Victims		- 1.34		- 1.45		- 1.20		- 1.29		- 1.19		- 1.08		- 1.33		+ 1.06		- 1.24
Killers : Killed		+ 3.50		+ 1.71		+ 1.23		+ 1.38		+ 0.00		+ 7.00		1.00		1.00		+ 1.79
CANNOT CODE MARITAL STATUS																		
Total	48	100.0	59	100.0	291	100.0	240	100.0	76	100.0	161	100.0	63	100.0	112	100.0	1050	100.0
Violents	39	81.3	38	64.4	154	52.9	132	55.0	57	75.0	93	57.8	39	61.9	50	44.6	602	57.3
Victims	42	87.5	41	69.5	189	64.9	157	65.4	58	76.3	94	58.4	45	71.4	63	56.2	689	65.6
Involved In Violence	45	93.8	48	81.4	217	74.6	183	76.2	66	86.8	114	70.8	48	76.2	74	66.1	795	75.7
Killers	0	0.0	7	11.9	33	11.3	15	6.2	3	3.9	9	5.6	2	3.2	4	3.6	73	7.0
Killed	0	0.0	5	8.5	15	5.2	6	2.5	1	1.3	4	2.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	31	3.0
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	8	13.6	39	13.4	21	8.7	3	3.9	10	6.2	2	3.2	4	3.6	87	8.3
Character V-Score		93.8		94.9		88.0		85.0		90.8		77.0		79.4		69.6		84.0
Violents : Victims		- 1.08		- 1.08		- 1.23		- 1.19		- 1.02		- 1.01		- 1.15		- 1.26		- 1.14
Killers : Killed		0.00		+ 1.40		+ 2.20		+ 2.50		+ 3.00		+ 2.25		+ 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 2.35

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 53: RISK RATIOS - MARITAL STATUS - WOMEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
UNMARRIED, UNKNOWN																		
Total	66	100.0	70	100.0	112	100.0	56	100.0	42	100.0	92	100.0	53	100.0	45	100.0	536	100.0
Violents	21	31.8	18	25.7	31	27.7	12	21.4	21	50.0	34	37.0	12	22.6	17	37.8	166	31.0
Victims	27	40.9	30	42.9	49	43.7	24	42.9	24	57.1	35	38.0	25	47.2	16	35.6	230	42.9
Involved In Violence	34	51.5	36	51.4	61	54.5	29	51.8	28	66.7	47	51.1	28	54.7	19	42.2	283	52.8
Killers	0	0.0	1	1.4	4	3.6	3	5.4	3	7.1	1	1.1	1	1.9	0	0.0	13	2.4
Killed	3	4.5	2	2.9	3	2.7	0	0.0	2	4.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	1.9
Involved In Killing	3	4.5	3	4.3	6	5.4	3	5.4	5	11.9	1	1.1	1	1.9	0	0.0	22	4.1
Character V-Score	56.1		55.7		59.8		57.1		78.6		52.2		56.6		42.2		56.9	
Violents : Victims	- 1.29		- 1.67		- 1.58		- 2.00		- 1.14		- 1.03		- 2.08		+ 1.06		- 1.39	
Killers : Killed	- 0.00		- 2.00		+ 1.33		+ 0.00		+ 1.50		+ 0.00		+ 0.00		0.00		+ 1.30	
MARRIED																		
Total	54	100.0	61	100.0	95	100.0	51	100.0	21	100.0	51	100.0	28	100.0	25	100.0	386	100.0
Violents	12	22.2	8	13.1	19	20.0	9	17.6	7	33.3	11	21.6	5	17.9	6	24.0	77	19.9
Victims	15	27.8	11	18.0	23	24.2	9	17.6	5	23.8	13	25.5	13	46.4	9	36.0	98	25.4
Involved In Violence	18	33.3	16	26.2	32	33.7	14	27.5	8	38.1	16	31.4	14	50.0	9	36.0	127	32.9
Killers	1	1.9	0	0.0	5	5.3	0	0.0	1	4.8	1	2.0	2	7.1	0	0.0	10	2.6
Killed	1	1.9	0	0.0	4	4.2	2	3.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	7.1	1	4.0	10	2.6
Involved In Killing	1	1.9	0	0.0	9	9.5	2	3.9	1	4.8	1	2.0	4	14.3	1	4.0	19	4.9
Character V-Score	35.2		26.2		43.2		31.4		42.9		33.3		64.3		40.0		37.8	
Violents : Victims	- 1.25		- 1.38		- 1.21		1.00		+ 1.40		- 1.18		- 2.60		- 1.50		- 1.27	
Killers : Killed	1.00		0.00		+ 1.25		- 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 0.00		1.00		- 0.00		1.00	
CANNOT CODE MARITAL STATUS																		
Total	3	100.0	7	100.0	33	100.0	22	100.0	4	100.0	25	100.0	10	100.0	14	100.0	118	100.0
Violents	2	66.7	1	14.3	9	27.3	12	54.5	2	50.0	11	44.0	4	40.0	6	42.9	47	39.8
Victims	2	66.7	1	14.3	15	45.5	6	27.3	2	50.0	15	60.0	7	70.0	6	42.9	54	45.8
Involved In Violence	2	66.7	2	28.6	16	48.5	13	59.1	2	50.0	16	64.0	8	80.0	8	57.1	67	56.8
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	7.1	2	1.7
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.5	1	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	7.1	3	2.5
Character V-Score	66.7		28.6		48.5		63.6		75.0		64.0		80.0		64.3		59.3	
Violents : Victims	1.00		1.00		- 1.67		+ 2.00		1.00		- 1.36		- 1.75		1.00		- 1.15	
Killers : Killed	0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 0.00		- 0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 0.00		+ 2.00	

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 54: RISK RATIOS - SOCIAL CLASS - ALL CHARACTERS IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
UPPER CLASS																		
Total	54	100.0	48	100.0	70	100.0	45	100.0	10	100.0	23	100.0	19	100.0	14	100.0	283	100.0
Violents	16	29.6	20	41.7	26	37.1	21	46.7	5	50.0	11	47.8	5	26.3	10	71.4	114	40.3
Victims	27	50.0	23	47.9	39	55.7	28	62.2	5	50.0	13	56.5	8	42.1	10	71.4	153	54.1
Involved In Violence	29	53.7	28	58.3	44	62.9	30	66.7	6	60.0	14	60.9	9	47.4	10	71.4	170	60.1
Killers	4	7.4	3	6.2	11	15.7	5	11.1	2	20.0	2	8.7	0	0.0	1	7.1	28	9.9
Killed	4	7.4	4	8.3	5	7.1	4	8.9	0	0.0	1	4.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	18	6.4
Involved In Killing	5	9.3	5	10.4	13	18.6	9	20.0	2	20.0	3	13.0	0	0.0	1	7.1	38	13.4
Character V-Score	63.0		68.7		81.4		86.7		80.0		73.9		47.4		78.6		73.5	
Violents : Victims	- 1.69		- 1.15		- 1.50		- 1.33		1.00		- 1.18		- 1.60		1.00		- 1.34	
Killers : Killed	1.00		- 1.33		+ 2.20		+ 1.25		+ 0.00		+ 2.00		0.00		+ 0.00		+ 1.56	
MIXED CLASS																		
Total	508	100.0	494	100.0	874	100.0	589	100.0	269	100.0	543	100.0	272	100.0	363	100.0	3912	100.0
Violents	262	51.6	207	41.9	354	40.5	257	43.6	163	60.6	250	46.0	120	44.1	175	48.2	1788	45.7
Victims	298	58.7	248	50.2	460	52.6	312	53.0	174	64.7	262	48.3	162	59.6	187	51.5	2103	53.8
Involved In Violence	335	65.9	293	59.3	537	61.4	376	63.8	201	74.7	325	59.9	183	67.3	226	62.3	2476	63.3
Killers	23	4.5	41	8.3	71	8.1	37	6.3	14	5.2	26	4.8	9	3.3	11	3.0	232	5.9
Killed	11	2.2	17	3.4	39	4.5	18	3.1	8	3.0	8	1.5	6	2.2	5	1.4	112	2.9
Involved In Killing	31	6.1	48	9.7	92	10.5	49	8.3	19	7.1	29	5.3	15	5.5	14	3.9	297	7.6
Character V-Score	72.0		69.0		72.0		72.2		81.8		65.2		72.8		66.1		70.9	
Violents : Victims	- 1.14		- 1.20		- 1.30		- 1.21		- 1.07		- 1.05		- 1.35		- 1.07		- 1.18	
Killers : Killed	+ 2.09		+ 2.41		+ 1.82		+ 2.06		+ 1.75		+ 3.25		+ 1.50		+ 2.20		+ 2.07	
LOWER CLASS																		
Total	11	100.0	10	100.0	43	100.0	30	100.0	11	100.0	19	100.0	7	100.0	4	100.0	135	100.0
Violents	7	63.6	7	70.0	16	37.2	13	43.3	8	72.7	15	78.9	1	14.3	3	75.0	70	51.9
Victims	8	72.7	6	60.0	24	55.8	19	63.3	9	81.8	17	89.5	1	14.3	3	75.0	87	64.4
Involved In Violence	9	81.8	9	90.0	25	58.1	20	66.7	10	90.9	17	89.5	1	14.3	3	75.0	94	69.6
Killers	0	0.0	1	10.0	2	4.7	1	3.3	3	27.3	2	10.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	6.7
Killed	2	18.2	1	10.0	2	4.7	3	10.0	1	9.1	1	5.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	7.4
Involved In Killing	2	18.2	1	10.0	3	7.0	3	10.0	3	27.3	2	10.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	14	10.4
Character V-Score	100.0		100.0		65.1		76.7		118.2		100.0		14.3		75.0		80.0	
Violents : Victims	- 1.14		+ 1.17		- 1.50		- 1.46		- 1.13		- 1.13		1.00		1.00		- 1.24	
Killers : Killed	- 0.00		1.00		1.00		- 3.00		+ 3.00		+ 2.00		0.00		0.00		- 1.11	

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 55: RISK RATIOS - SOCIAL CLASS - MEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
UPPER CLASS																		
Total	38	100.0	36	100.0	44	100.0	33	100.0	7	100.0	13	100.0	11	100.0	12	100.0	194	100.0
Violents	14	36.8	19	52.8	20	45.5	17	51.5	4	57.1	9	69.2	5	45.5	9	75.0	97	50.0
Victims	21	55.3	19	52.8	31	70.5	23	69.7	3	42.9	9	69.2	5	45.5	9	75.0	120	61.9
Involved In Violence	23	60.5	23	63.9	33	75.0	24	72.7	4	57.1	10	76.9	6	54.5	9	75.0	132	68.0
Killers	3	7.9	3	8.3	9	20.5	4	12.1	1	14.3	2	15.4	0	0.0	1	8.3	23	11.9
Killed	2	5.3	3	8.3	4	9.1	4	12.1	0	0.0	1	7.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	14	7.2
Involved In Killing	3	7.9	4	11.1	10	22.7	8	24.2	1	14.3	3	23.1	0	0.0	1	8.3	30	15.5
Character V-Score		68.4		75.0		97.7		97.0		71.4		100.0		54.5		83.3		83.5
Violents : Victims		- 1.50		1.00		- 1.55		- 1.35		+ 1.33		1.00		1.00		1.00		- 1.24
Killers : Killed		+ 1.50		1.00		+ 2.25		1.00		+ 0.00		+ 2.00		0.00		+ 0.00		+ 1.64
MIXED CLASS																		
Total	394	100.0	363	100.0	663	100.0	463	100.0	201	100.0	385	100.0	181	100.0	268	100.0	2918	100.0
Violents	223	56.6	175	48.2	300	45.2	219	47.3	129	64.2	196	50.9	92	50.8	137	51.1	1471	50.4
Victims	253	64.2	205	56.5	379	57.2	269	58.1	140	69.7	204	53.0	113	62.4	152	56.7	1715	58.8
Involved In Violence	280	71.1	239	65.8	437	65.9	317	68.5	160	79.6	250	64.9	126	69.6	180	67.2	1989	68.2
Killers	23	5.8	39	10.7	64	9.7	34	7.3	11	5.5	25	6.5	6	3.3	10	3.7	212	7.3
Killed	10	2.5	16	4.4	33	5.0	16	3.5	5	2.5	8	2.1	4	2.2	4	1.5	96	3.3
Involved In Killing	30	7.6	45	12.4	80	12.1	44	9.5	13	6.5	28	7.3	10	5.5	12	4.5	262	9.0
Character V-Score		78.7		78.2		78.0		78.0		86.1		72.2		75.1		71.6		77.1
Violents : Victims		- 1.13		- 1.17		- 1.26		- 1.23		- 1.09		- 1.04		- 1.23		- 1.11		- 1.17
Killers : Killed		+ 2.30		+ 2.44		+ 1.94		+ 2.13		+ 2.20		+ 3.13		+ 1.50		+ 2.50		+ 2.21
LOWER CLASS																		
Total	9	100.0	6	100.0	34	100.0	26	100.0	10	100.0	15	100.0	6	100.0	4	100.0	110	100.0
Violents	7	77.8	6	100.0	14	41.2	12	46.2	8	80.0	12	80.0	1	16.7	3	75.0	63	57.3
Victims	7	77.8	3	50.0	21	61.8	17	65.4	9	90.0	14	93.3	1	16.7	3	75.0	75	68.2
Involved In Violence	8	88.9	6	100.0	22	64.7	17	65.4	10	100.0	14	93.3	1	16.7	3	75.0	81	73.6
Killers	0	0.0	1	16.7	2	5.9	1	3.8	3	30.0	1	6.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	8	7.3
Killed	1	11.1	1	16.7	2	5.9	3	11.5	1	10.0	1	6.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	8.2
Involved In Killing	1	11.1	1	16.7	3	8.8	3	11.5	3	30.0	1	6.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	12	10.9
Character V-Score		100.0		116.7		73.5		76.9		130.0		100.0		16.7		75.0		84.5
Violents : Victims		1.00		+ 2.00		- 1.50		- 1.42		- 1.13		- 1.17		1.00		1.00		- 1.19
Killers : Killed		- 0.00		1.00		1.00		- 3.00		+ 3.00		1.00		0.00		0.00		- 1.13

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 56: RISK RATIOS - SOCIAL CLASS - WOMEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
UPPER CLASS																		
Total	16	100.0	12	100.0	26	100.0	12	100.0	3	100.0	10	100.0	8	100.0	2	100.0	89	100.0
Violents	2	12.5	1	8.3	6	23.1	4	33.3	1	33.3	2	20.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	17	19.1
Victims	6	37.5	4	33.3	8	30.8	5	41.7	2	66.7	4	40.0	3	37.5	1	50.0	33	37.1
Involved In Violence	6	37.5	5	41.7	11	42.3	6	50.0	2	66.7	4	40.0	3	37.5	1	50.0	38	42.7
Killers	1	6.3	0	0.0	2	7.7	1	8.3	1	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	5.6
Killed	2	12.5	1	8.3	1	3.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	4.5
Involved In Killing	2	12.5	1	8.3	3	11.5	1	8.3	1	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	8	9.0
Character V-Score		50.0		50.0		53.8		58.3		100.0		40.0		37.5		50.0		51.7
Violents : Victims		- 3.00		- 4.00		- 1.33		- 1.25		- 2.00		- 2.00		- 0.00		1.00		- 1.94
Killers : Killed		- 2.00		- 0.00		+ 2.00		+ 0.00		+ 0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 1.25
MIXED CLASS																		
Total	105	100.0	122	100.0	205	100.0	113	100.0	63	100.0	154	100.0	82	100.0	82	100.0	926	100.0
Violents	33	31.4	25	20.5	51	24.9	28	24.8	29	46.0	51	33.1	21	25.6	28	34.1	266	28.7
Victims	37	35.2	35	28.7	76	37.1	32	28.3	29	46.0	56	36.4	42	51.2	30	36.6	337	36.4
Involved In Violence	47	44.8	46	37.7	95	46.3	47	41.6	36	57.1	72	46.8	48	58.5	35	42.7	426	46.0
Killers	0	0.0	1	0.8	7	3.4	3	2.7	3	4.8	1	0.6	3	3.7	1	1.2	19	2.1
Killed	1	1.0	1	0.8	6	2.9	2	1.8	3	4.8	0	0.0	2	2.4	1	1.2	16	1.7
Involved In Killing	1	1.0	2	1.6	12	5.9	5	4.4	6	9.5	1	0.6	5	6.1	2	2.4	34	3.7
Character V-Score		45.7		39.3		52.2		46.0		66.7		47.4		64.6		45.1		49.7
Violents : Victims		- 1.12		- 1.40		- 1.49		- 1.14		1.00		- 1.10		- 2.00		- 1.07		- 1.27
Killers : Killed		- 0.00		1.00		+ 1.17		+ 1.50		1.00		+ 0.00		+ 1.50		1.00		+ 1.19
LOWER CLASS																		
Total	2	100.0	4	100.0	9	100.0	4	100.0	1	100.0	4	100.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	25	100.0
Violents	0	0.0	1	25.0	2	22.2	1	25.0	0	0.0	3	75.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	28.0
Victims	1	50.0	3	75.0	3	33.3	2	50.0	0	0.0	3	75.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	12	48.0
Involved In Violence	1	50.0	3	75.0	3	33.3	3	75.0	0	0.0	3	75.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	13	52.0
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.0
Killed	1	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.0
Involved In Killing	1	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	8.0
Character V-Score		100.0		75.0		33.3		75.0		0.0		100.0		0.0		0.0		60.0
Violents : Victims		- 0.00		- 3.00		- 1.50		- 2.00		0.00		1.00		0.00		0.00		- 1.71
Killers : Killed		- 0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 0.00		0.00		0.00		1.00

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 57: RISK RATIOS - RACE - ALL CHARACTERS IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
WHITE RACE																		
Total	428	100.0	451	100.0	800	100.0	494	100.0	210	100.0	463	100.0	241	100.0	286	100.0	3373	100.0
Violents	188	43.9	177	39.2	304	38.0	208	42.1	120	57.1	220	47.5	95	39.4	131	45.8	1443	42.8
Victims	219	51.2	207	45.9	407	50.9	250	50.6	124	59.0	229	49.5	128	53.1	144	50.3	1708	50.6
Involved In Violence	252	58.9	252	55.9	478	59.7	302	61.1	146	69.5	279	60.3	147	61.0	163	57.0	2019	59.9
Killers	23	5.4	37	8.2	75	9.4	41	8.3	17	8.1	27	5.8	9	3.7	11	3.8	240	7.1
Killed	16	3.7	15	3.3	43	5.4	22	4.5	5	2.4	10	2.2	5	2.1	5	1.7	121	3.6
Involved In Killing	34	7.9	43	9.5	97	12.1	57	11.5	20	9.5	31	6.7	14	5.8	14	4.9	310	9.2
Character V-Score		66.8		65.4		71.9		72.7		79.0		67.0		66.8		61.9		69.0
Violents : Victims	-	1.16	-	1.17	-	1.34	-	1.20	-	1.03	-	1.04	-	1.35	-	1.10	-	1.18
Killers : Killed	+	1.44	+	2.47	+	1.74	+	1.86	+	3.40	+	2.70	+	1.80	+	2.20	+	1.98
OTHER RACE																		
Total	65	100.0	41	100.0	95	100.0	62	100.0	18	100.0	62	100.0	17	100.0	23	100.0	383	100.0
Violents	33	50.8	18	43.9	34	35.8	17	27.4	7	38.9	21	33.9	4	23.5	11	47.8	145	37.9
Victims	46	70.8	21	51.2	49	51.6	26	41.9	11	61.1	19	30.6	6	35.3	15	65.2	193	50.4
Involved In Violence	46	70.8	26	63.4	52	54.7	27	43.5	12	66.7	28	45.2	7	41.2	17	73.9	215	56.1
Killers	2	3.1	7	17.1	6	6.3	2	3.2	2	11.1	3	4.8	0	0.0	1	4.3	23	6.0
Killed	0	0.0	7	17.1	0	0.0	2	3.2	3	16.7	0	0.0	1	5.9	0	0.0	13	3.4
Involved In Killing	2	3.1	10	24.4	6	6.3	3	4.8	3	16.7	3	4.8	1	5.9	1	4.3	29	7.6
Character V-Score		73.8		87.8		61.1		48.4		83.3		50.0		47.1		78.3		63.7
Violents : Victims	-	1.39	-	1.17	-	1.44	-	1.53	-	1.57	+	1.11	-	1.50	-	1.36	-	1.33
Killers : Killed	+	0.00	+	1.00	+	0.00	+	1.00	-	1.50	+	0.00	-	0.00	+	0.00	+	1.77
CANNOT CODE RACE																		
Total	80	100.0	60	100.0	92	100.0	108	100.0	62	100.0	60	100.0	40	100.0	72	100.0	574	100.0
Violents	64	80.0	39	65.0	58	63.0	66	61.1	49	79.0	35	58.3	27	67.5	46	63.9	384	66.9
Victims	68	85.0	49	81.7	67	72.8	83	76.9	53	85.5	44	73.3	37	92.5	41	56.9	442	77.0
Involved In Violence	75	93.7	52	86.7	76	82.6	97	89.8	59	95.2	49	81.7	39	97.5	59	81.9	506	88.2
Killers	2	2.5	1	1.7	3	3.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	1.0
Killed	1	1.2	0	0.0	3	3.3	1	0.9	1	1.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	1.0
Involved In Killing	2	2.5	1	1.7	5	5.4	1	0.9	1	1.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	1.7
Character V-Score		96.2		88.3		88.0		90.7		96.8		81.7		97.5		81.9		89.9
Violents : Victims	-	1.06	-	1.26	-	1.16	-	1.26	-	1.08	-	1.26	-	1.37	+	1.12	-	1.15
Killers : Killed	+	2.00	+	0.00	+	1.00	-	0.00	-	0.00	+	0.00	+	0.00	+	0.00	+	1.00

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 58: RISK RATIOS - RACE - MEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975+		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
WHITE RACE																		
Total	320	100.0	321	100.0	583	100.0	385	100.0	147	100.0	322	100.0	157	100.0	207	100.0	2442	100.0
Violents	160	50.0	151	47.0	248	42.5	176	45.7	91	61.9	172	53.4	75	47.8	104	50.2	1177	48.2
Victims	183	57.2	168	52.3	327	56.1	214	55.6	95	64.6	176	54.7	87	55.4	116	56.0	1366	55.9
Involved In Violence	207	64.7	201	62.6	376	64.5	250	64.9	110	74.8	212	65.8	100	63.7	132	63.8	1588	65.0
Killers	22	6.9	36	11.2	66	11.3	37	9.6	13	8.8	25	7.8	6	3.8	10	4.8	215	8.8
Killed	12	3.7	13	4.0	36	6.2	20	5.2	3	2.0	10	3.1	3	1.9	4	1.9	101	4.1
Involved In Killing	30	9.4	40	12.5	82	14.1	51	13.2	14	9.5	29	9.0	9	5.7	12	5.8	267	10.9
Character V-Score		74.1		75.1		78.6		78.2		84.4		74.8		69.4		69.6		76.0
Violents : Victims		- 1.14		- 1.11		- 1.32		- 1.22		- 1.04		- 1.02		- 1.16		- 1.12		- 1.16
Killers : Killed		+ 1.83		+ 2.77		+ 1.83		+ 1.85		+ 4.33		+ 2.50		+ 2.00		+ 2.50		+ 2.13
OTHER RACE																		
Total	52	100.0	38	100.0	75	100.0	45	100.0	17	100.0	41	100.0	12	100.0	22	100.0	302	100.0
Violents	28	53.8	18	47.4	31	41.3	17	37.8	7	41.2	16	39.0	3	25.0	11	50.0	131	43.4
Victims	38	73.1	20	52.6	42	56.0	24	53.3	11	64.7	14	34.1	4	33.3	14	63.6	167	55.3
Involved In Violence	38	73.1	25	65.8	45	60.0	25	55.6	12	70.6	21	51.2	5	41.7	16	72.7	187	61.9
Killers	2	3.8	7	18.4	6	8.0	2	4.4	2	11.8	3	7.3	0	0.0	1	4.5	23	7.6
Killed	0	0.0	7	18.4	0	0.0	2	4.4	3	17.6	0	0.0	1	8.3	0	0.0	13	4.3
Involved In Killing	2	3.8	10	26.3	6	8.0	3	6.7	3	17.6	3	7.3	1	8.3	1	4.5	29	9.6
Character V-Score		76.9		92.1		68.0		62.2		88.2		58.5		50.0		77.3		71.5
Violents : Victims		- 1.36		- 1.11		- 1.35		- 1.41		- 1.57		+ 1.14		- 1.33		- 1.27		- 1.27
Killers : Killed		+ 0.00		1.00		+ 0.00		1.00		- 1.50		+ 0.00		- 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 1.77
CANNOT CODE RACE																		
Total	69	100.0	46	100.0	83	100.0	92	100.0	54	100.0	50	100.0	29	100.0	55	100.0	478	100.0
Violents	56	81.2	31	67.4	55	66.3	55	59.8	43	79.6	29	58.0	20	69.0	34	61.8	323	67.6
Victims	60	87.0	39	84.8	62	74.7	71	77.2	46	85.2	37	74.0	28	96.6	34	61.8	377	78.9
Involved In Violence	66	95.7	42	91.3	71	85.5	83	90.2	52	96.3	41	82.0	28	96.6	44	80.0	427	89.3
Killers	2	2.9	0	0.0	3	3.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	1.0
Killed	1	1.4	0	0.0	3	3.6	1	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	1.0
Involved In Killing	2	2.9	0	0.0	5	6.0	1	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	8	1.7
Character V-Score		98.6		91.3		91.6		91.3		96.3		82.0		96.6		80.0		91.0
Violents : Victims		- 1.07		- 1.26		- 1.13		- 1.29		- 1.07		- 1.28		- 1.40		1.00		- 1.17
Killers : Killed		+ 2.00		0.00		1.00		- 0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		1.00

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 59: RISK RATIOS - RACE - WOMEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
WHITE RACE																		
Total	108	100.0	130	100.0	217	100.0	109	100.0	63	100.0	141	100.0	84	100.0	79	100.0	931	100.0
Violents	28	25.9	26	20.0	56	25.8	32	29.4	29	46.0	48	34.0	20	23.8	27	34.2	266	28.6
Victims	36	33.3	39	30.0	80	36.9	36	33.0	29	46.0	53	37.6	41	48.8	28	35.4	342	36.7
Involved In Violence	45	41.7	51	39.2	102	47.0	52	47.7	36	57.1	67	47.5	47	56.0	31	39.2	431	46.3
Killers	1	0.9	1	0.8	9	4.1	4	3.7	4	6.3	2	1.4	3	3.6	1	1.3	25	2.7
Killed	4	3.7	2	1.5	7	3.2	2	1.8	2	3.2	0	0.0	2	2.4	1	1.3	20	2.1
Involved In Killing	4	3.7	3	2.3	15	6.9	6	5.5	6	9.5	2	1.4	5	6.0	2	2.5	43	4.6
Character V-Score	45.4		41.5		53.9		53.2		66.7		48.9		61.9		41.8		50.9	
Violents : Victims	- 1.29		- 1.50		- 1.43		- 1.13		1.00		- 1.10		- 2.05		- 1.04		- 1.29	
Killers : Killed	- 4.00		- 2.00		+ 1.29		+ 2.00		+ 2.00		+ 0.00		+ 1.50		1.00		+ 1.25	
OTHER RACE																		
Total	10	100.0	3	100.0	20	100.0	17	100.0	1	100.0	21	100.0	5	100.0	1	100.0	78	100.0
Violents	3	30.0	0	0.0	3	15.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	23.8	1	20.0	0	0.0	12	15.4
Victims	5	50.0	1	33.3	7	35.0	2	11.8	0	0.0	5	23.8	2	40.0	1	100.0	23	29.5
Involved In Violence	5	50.0	1	33.3	7	35.0	2	11.8	0	0.0	7	33.3	2	40.0	1	100.0	25	32.1
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Character V-Score	50.0		33.3		35.0		11.8		0.0		33.3		40.0		100.0		32.1	
Violents : Victims	- 1.67		- 0.00		- 2.33		- 0.00		0.00		1.00		- 2.00		- 0.00		- 1.92	
Killers : Killed	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00	
CANNOT CODE RACE																		
Total	5	100.0	5	100.0	3	100.0	3	100.0	3	100.0	6	100.0	2	100.0	4	100.0	31	100.0
Violents	4	80.0	1	20.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	1	33.3	3	50.0	0	0.0	2	50.0	12	38.7
Victims	3	60.0	2	40.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	2	66.7	5	83.3	2	100.0	2	50.0	17	54.8
Involved In Violence	4	80.0	2	40.0	0	0.0	2	66.7	2	66.7	5	83.3	2	100.0	4	100.0	21	67.7
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.2
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.2
Character V-Score	80.0		40.0		0.0		66.7		100.0		83.3		100.0		100.0		71.0	
Violents : Victims	+ 1.33		- 2.00		0.00		1.00		- 2.00		- 1.67		- 0.00		1.00		- 1.42	
Killers : Killed	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		- 0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		- 0.00	

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 60: RISK RATIOS - TYPE - ALL CHARACTERS IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
'GODD' (HEROES)																		
Total	323	100.0	305	100.0	598	100.0	360	100.0	172	100.0	371	100.0	175	100.0	197	100.0	2501	100.0
Violents	136	42.1	114	37.4	204	34.1	136	37.8	91	52.9	147	39.6	61	34.9	90	45.7	979	39.1
Victims	168	52.0	146	47.9	291	48.7	172	47.8	96	55.8	171	46.1	102	58.3	95	48.2	1241	49.6
Involved In Violence	192	59.4	176	57.7	339	56.7	212	58.9	116	67.4	202	54.4	108	61.7	120	60.9	1465	58.6
Killers	9	2.8	11	3.6	36	6.0	10	2.8	6	3.5	7	1.9	3	1.7	4	2.0	86	3.4
Killed	2	0.6	5	1.6	12	2.0	2	0.6	2	1.2	1	0.3	4	2.3	2	1.0	30	1.2
Involved In Killing	10	3.1	16	5.2	43	7.2	12	3.3	8	4.7	8	2.2	7	4.0	5	2.5	109	4.4
Character V-Score	62.5		63.0		63.9		62.2		72.1		56.6		65.7		63.5		62.9	
Violents : Victims	- 1.24		- 1.28		- 1.43		- 1.26		- 1.05		- 1.16		- 1.67		- 1.06		- 1.27	
Killers : Killed	+ 4.50		+ 2.20		+ 3.00		+ 5.00		+ 3.00		+ 7.00		- 1.33		+ 2.00		+ 2.87	
MIXED TYPE																		
Total	163	100.0	157	100.0	235	100.0	222	100.0	75	100.0	151	100.0	90	100.0	122	100.0	1215	100.0
Violents	72	44.2	55	35.0	92	39.1	86	38.7	51	68.0	76	50.3	38	42.2	48	39.3	518	42.6
Victims	94	57.7	64	40.8	121	51.5	119	53.6	59	78.7	68	45.0	48	53.3	57	46.7	630	51.9
Involved In Violence	103	63.2	78	49.7	140	59.6	137	61.7	63	84.0	93	61.6	57	63.3	65	53.3	736	60.6
Killers	8	4.9	12	7.6	10	4.3	8	3.6	6	8.0	10	6.6	3	3.3	3	2.5	60	4.9
Killed	6	3.7	8	5.1	12	5.1	11	5.0	2	2.7	2	1.3	2	2.2	1	0.8	44	3.6
Involved In Killing	12	7.4	15	9.6	19	8.1	16	7.2	7	9.3	11	7.3	5	5.6	3	2.5	88	7.2
Character V-Score	70.6		59.2		67.7		68.9		93.3		68.9		68.9		55.7		67.8	
Violents : Victims	- 1.31		- 1.16		- 1.32		- 1.38		- 1.16		+ 1.12		- 1.26		- 1.19		- 1.22	
Killers : Killed	+ 1.33		+ 1.50		- 1.20		- 1.38		+ 3.00		+ 5.00		+ 1.50		+ 3.00		+ 1.36	
'BAD' (VILLAINS)																		
Total	87	100.0	90	100.0	152	100.0	82	100.0	43	100.0	6	100.0	33	100.0	62	100.0	612	100.0
Violents	77	88.5	65	72.2	99	65.1	69	84.1	34	79.1	53	84.1	27	81.8	50	80.6	474	77.5
Victims	71	81.6	67	74.4	111	73.0	68	82.9	33	76.7	53	84.1	21	63.6	48	77.4	472	77.1
Involved In Violence	78	89.7	76	84.4	126	82.9	77	93.9	38	88.4	61	96.8	28	84.8	54	87.1	538	87.9
Killers	10	11.5	22	24.4	38	25.0	25	30.5	7	16.3	13	20.6	3	9.1	5	8.1	123	20.1
Killed	9	10.3	9	10.0	22	14.5	12	14.6	5	11.6	7	11.1	0	0.0	2	3.2	66	10.8
Involved In Killing	16	18.4	23	25.6	46	30.3	33	40.2	9	20.9	15	23.8	3	9.1	7	11.3	152	24.8
Character V-Score	108.0		110.0		113.2		134.1		109.3		120.6		93.9		98.4		112.7	
Violents : Victims	+ 1.08		- 1.03		- 1.12		+ 1.01		+ 1.03		1.00		+ 1.29		+ 1.04		+ 1.00	
Killers : Killed	+ 1.11		+ 2.44		+ 1.73		+ 2.08		+ 1.40		+ 1.86		+ 0.00		+ 2.50		+ 1.86	

TABLE 60: RISK RATIOS - TYPE - ALL CHARACTERS IN ALL PROGRAMS

CONTINUED

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
CANNOT CODE TYPE																				
Total	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	100.0
Violents	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	50.0
Victims	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Involved In Violence	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	50.0
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Character V-Score		0.0		0.0		50.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		50.0
Violents : Victims		0.00		0.00		+ 0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 0.00
Killers : Killed		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 61: RISK RATIOS - TYPE - MEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
'GOOD' (HERDES)																		
Total	240	100.0	216	100.0	440	100.0	282	100.0	131	100.0	244	100.0	106	100.0	139	100.0	1798	100.0
Violents	115	47.9	97	44.9	175	39.8	118	41.8	74	56.5	109	44.7	44	41.5	70	50.4	802	44.6
Victims	139	57.9	115	53.2	234	53.2	153	54.3	81	61.8	126	51.6	63	59.4	75	54.0	986	54.8
Involved In Violence	156	65.0	139	64.4	271	61.6	181	64.2	98	74.8	145	59.4	67	63.2	93	66.9	1150	64.0
Killers	9	3.7	11	5.1	35	8.0	10	3.5	3	2.3	7	2.9	2	1.9	4	2.9	81	4.5
Killed	1	0.4	3	1.4	9	2.0	2	0.7	2	1.5	1	0.4	2	1.9	2	1.4	22	1.2
Involved In Killing	9	3.7	14	6.5	39	8.9	12	4.3	5	3.8	8	3.3	4	3.8	5	3.6	96	5.3
Character V-Score	68.7		70.8		70.5		68.4		78.6		62.7		67.0		70.5		69.3	
Violents : Victims	- 1.21		- 1.19		- 1.34		- 1.30		- 1.09		- 1.16		- 1.43		- 1.07		- 1.23	
Killers : Killed	+ 9.00		+ 3.67		+ 3.89		+ 5.00		+ 1.50		+ 7.00		1.00		+ 2.00		+ 3.68	
MIXED TYPE																		
Total	121	100.0	110	100.0	177	100.0	169	100.0	52	100.0	115	100.0	63	100.0	88	100.0	895	100.0
Violents	59	48.8	45	40.9	74	41.8	70	41.4	38	73.1	63	54.8	30	47.6	34	38.6	413	46.1
Victims	77	63.6	52	47.3	100	56.5	95	56.2	43	82.7	56	48.7	37	58.7	45	51.1	505	56.4
Involved In Violence	84	69.4	62	56.4	113	63.8	109	64.5	45	86.5	77	67.0	41	65.1	50	56.8	581	64.9
Killers	7	5.8	11	10.0	8	4.5	5	3.0	5	9.6	10	8.7	1	1.6	3	3.4	50	5.6
Killed	3	2.5	8	7.3	11	6.2	10	5.9	1	1.9	2	1.7	2	3.2	1	1.1	38	4.2
Involved In Killing	9	7.4	14	12.7	16	9.0	12	7.1	5	9.6	11	9.6	3	4.8	3	3.4	73	8.2
Character V-Score	76.9		69.1		72.9		71.6		96.2		76.5		69.8		60.2		73.1	
Violents : Victims	- 1.31		- 1.16		- 1.35		- 1.36		- 1.13		+ 1.13		- 1.23		- 1.32		- 1.22	
Killers : Killed	+ 2.33		+ 1.38		- 1.38		- 2.00		+ 5.00		+ 5.00		- 2.00		+ 3.00		+ 1.32	
'BAD' (VILLAINS)																		
Total	80	100.0	79	100.0	123	100.0	71	100.0	35	100.0	54	100.0	29	100.0	57	100.0	528	100.0
Violents	70	87.5	58	73.4	84	68.3	60	84.5	29	82.9	45	83.3	24	82.8	45	78.9	415	78.6
Victims	65	81.2	60	75.9	97	78.9	61	85.9	28	80.0	45	83.3	19	65.5	44	77.2	419	79.4
Involved In Violence	71	88.7	67	84.8	107	87.0	68	95.8	31	88.6	52	96.3	25	86.2	49	86.0	470	89.0
Killers	10	12.5	21	26.6	32	26.0	24	33.8	7	20.0	11	20.4	3	10.3	4	7.0	112	21.2
Killed	9	11.2	9	11.4	19	15.4	11	15.5	3	8.6	7	13.0	0	0.0	1	1.8	59	11.2
Involved In Killing	16	20.0	22	27.8	38	30.9	31	43.7	7	20.0	13	24.1	3	10.3	5	8.8	135	25.6
Character V-Score	108.7		112.7		117.9		139.4		108.6		120.4		96.6		94.7		114.6	
Violents : Victims	+ 1.08		- 1.03		- 1.15		- 1.02		+ 1.04		1.00		+ 1.26		+ 1.02		- 1.01	
Killers : Killed	+ 1.11		+ 2.33		+ 1.68		+ 2.18		+ 2.33		+ 1.57		+ 0.00		+ 4.00		+ 1.90	

TABLE 61: RISK RATIOS - TYPE - MEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

CANNOT CODE TYPE	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		CONTINUED		TOTAL			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Total	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
Violents	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
Victims	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Involved In Violence	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Character V-Score		0.0		0.0		100.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0
Violents : Victims		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		100.0
Killers : Killed		0.00		0.00		+ 0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 0.00
						0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 62: RISK RATIOS - TYPE - WOMEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
'GOOD' (HEROES)																		
Total	79	100.0	85	100.0	154	100.0	74	100.0	41	100.0	124	100.0	65	100.0	51	100.0	673	100.0
Violents	20	25.3	14	16.5	27	17.5	16	21.6	17	41.5	36	29.0	14	21.5	14	27.5	158	23.5
Victims	26	32.9	28	32.9	53	34.4	16	21.6	15	36.6	44	35.5	36	55.4	19	37.3	237	35.2
Involved In Violence	33	41.8	34	40.0	64	41.6	28	37.8	18	43.9	55	44.4	37	56.9	21	41.2	290	43.1
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	3	7.3	0	0.0	1	1.5	0	0.0	5	0.7
Killed	1	1.3	2	2.4	3	1.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	3.1	0	0.0	8	1.2
Involved In Killing	1	1.3	2	2.4	4	2.6	0	0.0	3	7.3	0	0.0	3	4.6	0	0.0	13	1.9
Character V-Score	43.0		42.4		44.2		37.8		51.2		44.4		61.5		41.2		45.0	
Violents : Victims	- 1.30		- 2.00		- 1.96		1.00		+ 1.13		- 1.22		- 2.57		- 1.36		- 1.50	
Killers : Killed	- 0.00		- 0.00		- 3.00		0.00		+ 0.00		0.00		- 2.00		0.00		- 1.60	
MIXED TYPE																		
Total	38	100.0	45	100.0	57	100.0	45	100.0	19	100.0	35	100.0	23	100.0	28	100.0	290	100.0
Violents	9	23.7	8	17.8	18	31.6	9	20.0	9	47.4	12	34.3	5	21.7	10	35.7	80	27.6
Victims	13	34.2	10	22.2	21	36.8	17	37.8	12	63.2	11	31.4	8	34.8	8	28.6	100	34.5
Involved In Violence	15	39.5	14	31.1	27	47.4	20	44.4	14	73.7	15	42.9	12	52.2	10	35.7	127	43.8
Killers	1	2.6	0	0.0	2	3.5	3	6.7	1	5.3	0	0.0	2	8.7	0	0.0	9	3.1
Killed	3	7.9	0	0.0	1	1.8	1	2.2	1	5.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	2.1
Involved In Killing	3	7.9	0	0.0	3	5.3	4	8.9	2	10.5	0	0.0	2	8.7	0	0.0	14	4.8
Character V-Score	47.4		31.1		52.6		53.3		84.2		42.9		60.9		35.7		48.6	
Violents : Victims	- 1.44		- 1.25		- 1.17		- 1.89		- 1.33		+ 1.09		- 1.60		+ 1.25		- 1.25	
Killers : Killed	- 3.00		0.00		+ 2.00		+ 3.00		1.00		0.00		+ 0.00		0.00		+ 1.50	
'BAD' (VILLAINS)																		
Total	6	100.0	8	100.0	28	100.0	10	100.0	7	100.0	9	100.0	3	100.0	5	100.0	76	100.0
Violents	6	100.0	5	62.5	14	50.0	8	80.0	4	57.1	8	88.9	2	66.7	5	100.0	52	68.4
Victims	5	83.3	4	50.0	13	46.4	6	60.0	4	57.1	8	88.9	1	33.3	4	80.0	45	59.2
Involved In Violence	6	100.0	6	75.0	18	64.3	8	80.0	6	85.7	9	100.0	2	66.7	5	100.0	60	78.9
Killers	0	0.0	1	12.5	6	21.4	1	10.0	0	0.0	2	22.2	0	0.0	1	20.0	11	14.5
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	10.7	1	10.0	2	28.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	20.0	7	9.2
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	1	12.5	8	28.6	2	20.0	2	28.6	2	22.2	0	0.0	2	40.0	17	22.4
Character V-Score	100.0		87.5		92.9		100.0		114.3		122.2		66.7		140.0		101.3	
Violents : Victims	+ 1.20		+ 1.25		+ 1.08		+ 1.33		1.00		1.00		+ 2.00		+ 1.25		+ 1.16	
Killers : Killed	0.00		+ 0.00		+ 2.00		1.00		- 0.00		+ 0.00		0.00		1.00		+ 1.57	

TABLE 62: RISK RATIOS - TYPE - WOMEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

CONTINUED

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
CANNOT CODE TYPE																				
Total	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
Violents	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Victims	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Involved In Violence	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Character V-Score		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		
Violents : Victims		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		
Killers : Killed		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 63: RISK RATIOS - NATIONALITY - ALL CHARACTERS IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
U.S. NATIONALITY																		
Total	391	100.0	428	100.0	827	100.0	529	100.0	209	100.0	464	100.0	252	100.0	274	100.0	3374	100.0
Violents	158	40.4	169	39.5	309	37.4	222	42.0	114	54.5	206	44.4	94	37.3	117	42.7	1389	41.2
Victims	186	47.6	195	45.6	420	50.8	265	50.1	118	56.5	209	45.0	134	53.2	130	47.4	1657	49.1
Involved In Violence	215	55.0	236	55.1	481	58.2	315	59.5	141	67.5	262	56.5	152	60.3	150	54.7	1952	57.9
Killers	18	4.6	35	8.2	77	9.3	43	8.1	17	8.1	27	5.8	6	2.4	11	4.0	234	6.9
Killed	10	2.6	13	3.0	40	4.8	24	4.5	5	2.4	10	2.2	6	2.4	3	1.1	111	3.3
Involved In Killing	26	6.6	41	9.6	97	11.7	60	11.3	20	9.6	31	6.7	12	4.8	12	4.4	299	8.9
Character V-Score	61.6		64.7		69.9		70.9		77.0		63.1		65.1		59.1		66.7	
Violents : Victims	- 1.18		- 1.15		- 1.36		- 1.19		- 1.04		- 1.01		- 1.43		- 1.11		- 1.19	
Killers : Killed	+ 1.80		+ 2.69		+ 1.92		+ 1.79		+ 3.40		+ 2.70		1.00		+ 3.67		+ 2.11	
OTHER NATIONALITY																		
Total	92	100.0	58	100.0	50	100.0	33	100.0	11	100.0	20	100.0	0	0.0	8	100.0	272	100.0
Violents	56	60.9	24	41.4	25	50.0	11	33.3	6	54.5	9	45.0	0	0.0	6	75.0	137	50.4
Victims	72	78.3	33	56.9	29	58.0	19	57.6	10	90.9	9	45.0	0	0.0	7	87.5	179	65.8
Involved In Violence	75	81.5	39	67.2	36	72.0	22	66.7	10	90.9	12	60.0	0	0.0	7	87.5	201	73.9
Killers	7	7.6	7	12.1	3	6.0	0	0.0	2	18.2	2	10.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	21	7.7
Killed	5	5.4	7	12.1	1	2.0	0	0.0	3	27.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	16	5.9
Involved In Killing	9	9.8	10	17.2	4	8.0	0	0.0	3	27.3	2	10.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	28	10.3
Character V-Score	91.3		84.5		80.0		66.7		118.2		70.0		0.0		87.5		84.2	
Violents : Victims	- 1.29		- 1.38		- 1.16		- 1.73		- 1.67		1.00		0.00		- 1.17		- 1.31	
Killers : Killed	+ 1.40		1.00		+ 3.00		0.00		- 1.50		+ 0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 1.31	
CANNOT CODE NATIONALITY																		
Total	90	100.0	66	100.0	110	100.0	102	100.0	70	100.0	101	100.0	46	100.0	99	100.0	684	100.0
Violents	71	78.9	41	62.1	62	56.4	58	56.9	56	80.0	61	60.4	32	69.6	65	65.7	446	65.2
Victims	75	83.3	49	74.2	74	67.3	75	73.5	60	85.7	74	73.3	37	80.4	63	63.6	507	74.1
Involved In Violence	83	92.2	55	83.3	89	80.9	89	87.3	66	94.3	82	81.2	41	89.1	82	82.8	587	85.8
Killers	2	2.2	3	4.5	4	3.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.0	3	6.5	1	1.0	14	2.0
Killed	2	2.2	2	3.0	5	4.5	1	1.0	1	1.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.0	13	1.9
Involved In Killing	3	3.3	3	4.5	7	6.4	1	1.0	1	1.4	1	1.0	3	6.5	3	3.0	22	3.2
Character V-Score	95.6		87.9		87.3		88.2		95.7		82.2		95.7		85.9		89.0	
Violents : Victims	- 1.06		- 1.20		- 1.19		- 1.29		- 1.07		- 1.21		- 1.16		+ 1.03		- 1.14	
Killers : Killed	1.00		+ 1.50		- 1.25		- 0.00		- 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 0.00		- 2.00		+ 1.08	

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 64: RISK RATIOS - NATIONALITY - MEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
U.S. NATIONALITY																		
Total	293	100.0	309	100.0	616	100.0	413	100.0	148	100.0	319	100.0	165	100.0	202	100.0	2465	100.0
Violents	135	46.1	146	47.2	262	42.5	195	47.2	86	58.1	159	49.8	74	44.8	95	47.0	1152	46.7
Victims	155	52.9	160	51.8	342	55.5	229	55.4	91	61.5	160	50.2	93	56.4	106	52.5	1336	54.2
Involved In Violence	177	60.4	190	61.5	388	63.0	267	64.6	107	72.3	197	61.8	105	63.6	123	60.9	1554	63.0
Killers	18	6.1	34	11.0	69	11.2	39	9.4	13	8.8	26	8.2	4	2.4	10	5.0	213	8.6
Killed	7	2.4	11	3.5	34	5.5	22	5.3	3	2.0	10	3.1	4	2.4	3	1.5	94	3.8
Involved In Killing	23	7.8	38	12.3	84	13.6	54	13.1	14	9.5	30	9.4	8	4.8	11	5.4	262	10.6
Character V-Score		68.3		73.8		76.6		77.7		81.8		71.2		68.5		66.3		73.7
Violents : Victims		- 1.15		- 1.10		- 1.31		- 1.17		- 1.06		- 1.01		- 1.26		- 1.12		- 1.16
Killers : Killed		+ 2.57		+ 3.09		+ 2.03		+ 1.77		+ 4.33		+ 2.60		1.00		+ 3.33		+ 2.27
OTHER NATIONALITY																		
Total	72	100.0	47	100.0	37	100.0	24	100.0	9	100.0	14	100.0	0	0.0	6	100.0	209	100.0
Violents	48	66.7	22	46.8	21	56.8	8	33.3	6	66.7	9	64.3	0	0.0	5	83.3	119	56.9
Victims	60	83.3	30	63.8	24	64.9	16	66.7	9	100.0	8	57.1	0	0.0	6	100.0	153	73.2
Involved In Violence	62	86.1	35	74.5	29	78.4	18	75.0	9	100.0	11	78.6	0	0.0	6	100.0	170	81.3
Killers	6	8.3	7	14.9	2	5.4	0	0.0	2	22.2	2	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	19	9.1
Killed	4	5.6	7	14.9	1	2.7	0	0.0	3	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	15	7.2
Involved In Killing	8	11.1	10	21.3	3	8.1	0	0.0	3	33.3	2	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	26	12.4
Character V-Score		97.2		95.7		86.5		75.0		133.3		92.9		0.0		100.0		93.8
Violents : Victims		- 1.25		- 1.36		- 1.14		- 2.00		- 1.50		+ 1.13		0.00		- 1.20		- 1.29
Killers : Killed		+ 1.50		1.00		+ 2.00		0.00		- 1.50		+ 0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 1.27
CANNOT CODE NATIONALITY																		
Total	76	100.0	49	100.0	88	100.0	85	100.0	61	100.0	80	100.0	33	100.0	76	100.0	548	100.0
Violents	61	80.3	32	65.3	51	58.0	45	52.9	49	80.3	49	61.2	24	72.7	49	64.5	360	65.7
Victims	66	86.8	37	75.5	65	73.9	64	75.3	52	85.2	59	73.7	26	78.8	52	68.4	421	76.8
Involved In Violence	72	94.7	43	87.8	75	85.2	73	85.9	58	95.1	66	82.5	28	84.8	63	82.9	478	87.2
Killers	2	2.6	2	4.1	4	4.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	6.1	1	1.3	11	2.0
Killed	2	2.6	2	4.1	4	4.5	1	1.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.3	10	1.8
Involved In Killing	3	3.9	2	4.1	6	6.8	1	1.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	6.1	2	2.6	16	2.9
Character V-Score		98.7		91.8		92.0		87.1		95.1		82.5		90.9		85.5		90.1
Violents : Victims		- 1.08		- 1.16		- 1.27		- 1.42		- 1.06		- 1.20		- 1.08		- 1.06		- 1.17
Killers : Killed		1.00		1.00		1.00		- 0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 0.00		1.00		+ 1.10

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.
 ** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

TABLE 65: RISK RATIOS - NATIONALITY - WOMEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-70		71-72		73-74*		1975*		1976		1977**		1978		1979		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
U.S. NATIONALITY																		
Total	95	100.0	118	100.0	210	100.0	111	100.0	61	100.0	145	100.0	87	100.0	72	100.0	899	100.0
Violents	21	22.1	22	18.6	47	22.4	24	21.6	28	45.9	47	32.4	20	23.0	22	30.6	231	25.7
Victims	28	29.5	34	28.8	78	37.1	32	28.8	27	44.3	49	33.8	41	47.1	24	33.3	313	34.8
Involved In Violence	35	36.8	45	38.1	93	44.3	44	39.6	34	55.7	65	44.8	47	54.0	27	37.5	390	43.4
Killers	0	0.0	1	0.8	8	3.8	4	3.6	4	6.6	1	0.7	2	2.3	1	1.4	21	2.3
Killed	3	3.2	2	1.7	6	2.9	2	1.8	2	3.3	0	0.0	2	2.3	0	0.0	17	1.9
Involved In Killing	3	3.2	3	2.5	13	6.2	6	5.4	6	9.8	1	0.7	4	4.6	1	1.4	37	4.1
Character V-Score		40.0		40.7		50.5		45.0		65.6		45.5		58.6		38.9		47.5
Violents : Victims		- 1.33		- 1.55		- 1.66		- 1.33		+ 1.04		- 1.04		- 2.05		- 1.09		- 1.35
Killers : Killed		- 0.00		- 2.00		+ 1.33		+ 2.00		+ 2.00		+ 0.00		1.00		+ 0.00		+ 1.24
OTHER NATIONALITY																		
Total	20	100.0	11	100.0	13	100.0	9	100.0	2	100.0	6	100.0	0	0.0	2	100.0	63	100.0
Violents	8	40.0	2	18.2	4	30.8	3	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	18	28.6
Victims	12	60.0	3	27.3	5	38.5	3	33.3	1	50.0	1	16.7	0	0.0	1	50.0	26	41.3
Involved In Violence	13	65.0	4	36.4	7	53.8	4	44.4	1	50.0	1	16.7	0	0.0	1	50.0	31	49.2
Killers	1	5.0	0	0.0	1	7.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	3.2
Killed	1	5.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.6
Involved In Killing	1	5.0	0	0.0	1	7.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	3.2
Character V-Score		70.0		36.4		61.5		44.4		50.0		16.7		0.0		50.0		52.4
Violents : Victims		- 1.50		- 1.50		- 1.25		1.00		- 0.00		- 0.00		0.00		1.00		- 1.44
Killers : Killed		1.00		0.00		+ 0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 2.00
CANNOT CODE NATIONALITY																		
Total	8	100.0	9	100.0	17	100.0	9	100.0	4	100.0	17	100.0	4	100.0	10	100.0	78	100.0
Violents	6	75.0	3	33.3	8	47.1	6	66.7	2	50.0	9	52.9	1	25.0	6	60.0	41	52.6
Victims	4	50.0	5	55.6	4	23.5	4	44.4	3	75.0	13	76.5	4	100.0	6	60.0	43	55.1
Involved In Violence	6	75.0	5	55.6	9	52.9	8	88.9	3	75.0	13	76.5	4	100.0	8	80.0	56	71.8
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.9	1	25.0	0	0.0	2	2.6
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.9	0	0.0	1	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	10.0	3	3.8
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.9	0	0.0	1	25.0	1	5.9	1	25.0	1	10.0	5	6.4
Character V-Score		75.0		55.6		58.8		88.9		100.0		82.4		125.0		90.0		78.2
Violents : Victims		+ 1.50		- 1.67		+ 2.00		+ 1.50		- 1.50		- 1.44		- 4.00		1.00		- 1.05
Killers : Killed		0.00		0.00		- 0.00		0.00		- 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 0.00		- 0.00		- 1.50

* The figures given for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

** The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend morning network dramatic programs.

END