## Are You What You Watch?

## Tracking the Political Divide Through TV Preferences

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## About



The Norman Lear Center is a nonpartisan research and public policy center that studies the social, political, economic and cultural impact of entertainment on the world. The Lear Center translates its findings into action through testimony, journalism, strategic research and innovative public outreach campaigns. Through scholarship and research; through its conferences, public events and publications; and in its attempts to illuminate and repair the world, the Lear Center works to be at the forefront of discussion and practice in the field.

futurePerfect Lab is a creative services agency and think tank exclusively for non-profits, cultural and educational institutions. We harness the power of pop culture for social good. We work in creative partnership with non-profits to engineer their social messages for mass appeal. Using integrated media strategies informed by neuroscience, we design playful experiences and participatory tools that provoke audiences and amplify our clients' vision for a better future.


At the Lear Center's Media Impact Project, we study the impact of news and entertainment on viewers. Our goal is to prove that media matters, and to improve the quality of media to serve the public good. We partner with media makers and funders to create and conduct program evaluation, develop and test research hypotheses, and publish and promote thought leadership on the role of media in social change.

Are You What You Watch? is made possible in part by support from the Pop Culture Collaborative, a philanthropic resource that uses grantmaking, convening, narrative strategy, and research to transform the narrative landscape around people of color, immigrants, refugees, Muslims and Native people - especially those who are women, queer, transgender and/or disabled. Through partnerships between the social justice sector and the pop culture industries, the Collaborative believes activists, artists and philanthropists can encourage mass audiences to reckon with the past and rewrite the story of our nation's future.

## Acknowledgements

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## Introduction


#### Abstract

Do different political group members like the same shows? Do they experience similar feelings and emotions while viewing them? Are there elements in TV shows that Americans from across the political spectrum enjoy, laugh at or even love to hate together?


Entertainment preferences often go unrecognized as powerful indicators of personal and social aspirations. By investigating connections between entertainment preferences and political beliefs, we can learn whether ideological polarization is reflected in leisure time amusements. The Lear Center has produced almost two decades of academic research demonstrating that entertainment plays a key role in people's lives, igniting curiosity, inciting conversations and influencing attitudes and behavior. 1 The goal of this research is to shed more light on the complex relationship between our storytelling preferences and the values and convictions that shape our understanding of the world.

We believe this dataset will be an indispensable tool for practitioners who hope to achieve culture change by leveraging the power of pop culture. Any one of the 37 social issues we tracked can be used as a focal point for an exploration of American attitudes toward that issue, their entertainment preferences and their psychographic, demographic and political attributes. The dataset can also be used to conduct a deep dive into the priorities, beliefs and other shared characteristics unique to the fanbase of any of the 50 TV shows we tracked.

## The Study

The current study combined survey research on 50 television shows ${ }^{2}$ identified by a 2016 New York Times study ${ }^{3}$ as being popular on Facebook in regions that correspond to voting behavior in the 2016 election. The Times' report found that American TV viewing preferences demonstrate distinct patterns that correspond with regional political views. While the Times research utilized 2016 presidential voting data aggregated by zip code, the Lear Center study gathered individual voting history and attitudinal data through a survey instrument, allowing us to establish a much stronger connection between TV preference,

[^0]political beliefs and behavior. The findings closely align with insights from the Lear Center's prior research studies, ${ }^{4}$ in partnership with Zogby Analytics ${ }^{5}$ (2007, 2008), exploring how American entertainment habits track with their political values. At that time, our research revealed three significant clusters of respondents: liberals, conservatives and a swing group. The liberals were then characterized as Blues, the conservatives were classified as Reds, and the swings became the Purples, representing the bleeding of the two polar political profiles in the middle of the American ideological landscape. Similar findings were mapped in our current study.

Meanwhile, futurePerfect Labs (fPL) founder Heidi Boisvert, a Research Fellow at the Lear Center's Media Impact Project (MIP), saw an opportunity to extend her own research using biometric sensors to test the neurobiological effects of narrative elements in entertainment media. Boisvert received a grant from the Pop Culture Collaborative (PCC) to pilot a project, and the MIP team was invited to assist with the multiphased research study to investigate correlations between entertainment story elements, geographic location, political beliefs and viewers' neurobiological responses to TV content.

The results reported here represent Phase One of a larger study, to be published later this year. In Phase Two, we will use a detailed content analysis of these TV shows to conduct a deeper investigation, measuring biometric responses to TV viewing. Findings will be interpreted by the narrative engine, a new open-source analytic and predictive modeling tool developed by futurePerfect's Boisvert. The narrative engine \& AI system is designed to allow researchers to analyze combined datasets from story coding (scene-by-scene content analysis), survey data and physiological arousal patterns to provide new insights into media impact. Of particular interest is the question:

What combinations of narrative ingredients (character, plot, framing, emotional cathartic moments) of episodic TV shows are the most salient, appealing and galvanizing to specific audiences?

## The Survey

In a nationally representative online survey, 3,096 participants were asked an extensive series of questions regarding their political beliefs, entertainment preferences and viewing behaviors. Questions addressed their knowledge and feelings about specific television shows; what they like about their favorite shows, as well as their happiness, self-efficacy, voting history and demographics. ${ }^{6}$

Respondents were also asked about their personal values and attitudes toward 37 key social and economic issues widely debated in politics and news media. ${ }^{7}$ Most questions were framed in a series of opposing statements with which they could strongly or slightly agree. This offers a more nuanced approach than asking about political party identification. Their responses were compared to results from our 2008 survey; both studies used an iterative clustering technique to arrive at three distinct groups based on these opinions and attitudes. These clusters were found to have distinct in-group similarities; comparing the two provided a unique opportunity to explain ideological shifts that have taken place in the US over the past decade. These will be described in detail in the ensuing report.

[^1]

## Key Findings

## Ideological Groups

Using the same statistical clustering analysis as in our studies 10 years ago, we again discovered three ideological groups in the United States that share common attitudes and values, regardless of voting history or political party preferences:

- Blues who have liberal attitudes toward abortion, the environment, guns, marriage and immigration, make up $47 \%$ of the population. Blues are the least satisfied with their lives. A majority are women; this group contains the most African Americans.
- Purples, a swing group comprising $18 \%$ of the population, hold positions across the political spectrum. With the largest share of Asians/Pacific Islanders and Hispanics/Latinx, Purples are the most religious group and the most satisfied with their lives.
- Reds make up $35 \%$ of the country, holding conservative views on most issues, including positive attitudes towards police and skepticism about affirmative action, immigrants and Islam. Reds have the highest proportion of senior citizens.


## Entertainment \& Media Preferences

- Blues like many more TV shows than Reds. They are open to viewing foreign entertainment options and material that doesn't reflect their values. Blues often get their news from MSNBC and news websites, and they typically enjoy watching Modern Family.
- Purples are the most voracious TV viewers and they enjoy more about the viewing experience than other groups. Since Purples appreciate the educational value of TV programming, and are the most likely to say they take action based on what they learn about politics and social issues from fictional movies and TV, they are an ideal target group for social change campaigns. Favorite shows include The Voice and Dancing with the Stars, but they also like Saturday Night Live, a favorite among Blues, and Duck Dynasty, which is preferred by Reds.
- Reds say they seldom watch entertainment TV, but when they do, they are likely to say they do so for an adrenaline boost. They watch the Hallmark, History and Ion channels far more than others and their favorite shows include NCIS and Criminal Minds.


## Cultural Touchstones \& Fan Favorites

- Five shows have equal appeal for all ideological groups: America's Funniest Home Videos, Bones, Criminal Minds and MythBusters are enjoyed by all three groups. Pawn Stars has the distinction of being watched, but hated by all groups. Ten years ago, our study found only one show that was equally liked by all groups, House.
- Game of Thrones is the fan favorite among all groups, though far fewer Reds watch the show.


## Social Justice Issues \& Patterns of Viewership

- Immigration
- Those who believe immigrants want to work for a better life are more likely to watch Saturday Night Live, The Tonight Show, Modern Family, Game of Thrones and The Daily Show with Trevor Noah.
- Those who believe immigrants want to be handed a better life are more likely to watch Duck Dynasty.
- Americans who rank immigration among their top three issues are more likely to be fans of The Walking Dead. ${ }^{8}$
- Gender Equality
- Saturday Night Live viewers are likely to believe that men and women should share parental and household duties equally.
- Americans who believe a woman's primary responsibility is to her children and home are more likely to watch four reality TV shows: Wipeout, Ridiculousness, Cake Boss and So You Think You Can Dance; two scripted shows, The Walking Dead and Adventure Time; and the music video show 106 \& Park.
- Race Relations/Discrimination
- Americans who consider race among their top issues are more likely to say their favorite shows are The Daily Show, Orange is the New Black, Scandal and Fast N’ Loud, a reality show about refurbishing old cars.
- Respondents who rank race among their least important issues prefer NCIS, The Big Bang Theory, The Walking Dead and Law \& Order: SVU.


## - Actions in Response to Entertainment

- When they learn something from fictional movies and TV shows, Blues are most likely to discuss it with others and seek even more information.

[^2]- Purples take more public-facing actions such as contacting newspapers and talk shows, registering consumer complaints, and making their opinions known to public officials.


## Ideological Shifts

- Overall, the number of people who described themselves as Democrat or Republican ten years ago has dropped by about $20 \%$, coinciding with a rise in Independents.
- Americans diametrically opposed in 2008 are showing signs of shifting - generally toward moderate views - around nine key issues: environment, regulation of business, privacy around new technologies, public education, guns, marriage, abortion, helping the poor and tax reductions.
- $72 \%$ of these shifts are in the Blue direction. This finding comes as a surprising reality-check that defies the simplistic media narrative about an increasingly divided nation, as many of the shifts are away from entrenched positions towards the center.


## Entertainment Trends: 2008 vs 2018

The biggest differences in viewing patterns in the past ten years are found in shows that feature topical comedy and commentary on current events:

- Among late-night shows, Saturday Night Live now ranks highest among Blues and lowest among Reds. The reverse was true in 2008.
- NBC's The Tonight Show switched hosts from Jay Leno to Jimmy Fallon, and we found a big shift in the ideological makeup of its audience. In 2018, Blues are most likely to rank it among their favorites and Reds are the least likely to do so. The reverse was true in 2008.

For long-running shows, some patterns persisted:

- Despite switching from Jon Stewart to Trevor Noah, Comedy Central's The Daily Show remained very popular among Blues and rarely watched by Reds.
- Fox's The Simpsons and Family Guy remained most popular among Blues and least popular among Reds.
- Despite not being a big favorite for any group, ABC's Grey's Anatomy ${ }^{9}$ remained popular among Purples and least popular with Reds.

[^3]

## Portraits of Blues, Purples \& Reds

The Norman Lear Center's Media Impact Project and futurePerfect Lab administered an extensive, nationwide US survey focusing on entertainment preferences and political beliefs. ${ }^{10}$ We asked detailed questions about popular TV shows, including which ones they love or hate, and why. Using statistical clustering analysis, we grouped respondents into categories based on how they responded to 28 paired statements about hot-button political and social issues.

The results revealed three significant clusters of respondents: a group that holds predominantly liberal political positions makes up $47 \%$ of the national sample; a group with mostly conservative convictions comprises $35 \%$, and a uniquely-opinionated swing group makes up $18 \%$ of the nation. The liberals were then characterized as Blues, the conservatives were classified as Reds, and the swings became the Purples, representing the bleeding of the two polar political profiles in the center of the American ideological landscape. In our 2008 study, we discovered three similar coherent groups, though each group has shifted in size, with Blues increasing by $10 \%{ }^{11}$


A solid group of about $\mathbf{2 0 \%}$ Purples - independent thinkers who can swing on key issues -- held steady in both studies.

[^4]
## Who are the Blues?

Blues are the largest ideological group in the country, accounting for almost half the population. They strongly believe that the government should help everyone achieve the American Dream. Blues tend to prioritize equality over freedom, overwhelmingly agreeing on a shared duty to help the less fortunate. They strongly believe that immigrants are motivated by their desire to work for a better life, as opposed to looking for a free handout. They hold a mixed view of police, with a sizable faction saying police officers use their authority to oppress some
> "Most believe US laws do not sufficiently protect minority rights, but they have mixed feelings about affirmative action." minority groups, and a slight majority saying they protect and serve local communities and citizens. Most believe US laws do not sufficiently protect minority rights, but they have mixed feelings about affirmative action; a majority believe it levels the playing field, while a sizable minority feels it rewards some groups at the expense of others. Blues want religion to be left out of public life and most believe that Islam is a religion of peace. Of the three groups, Blues are the most religiously diverse, though less than one in five describe themselves as very religious. In fact, almost $25 \%$ are atheist or agnostic. They almost unanimously agree that abortion is a private decision between a woman and her doctor and that men and women should share parental and household duties equally. Most Blues believe mainstream media responds to the market, supplying consumers with the content they want, while a sizable minority feels media drives the US political agenda.

Blues are the unhappiest group, more likely than the rest of the country to be unsatisfied with their personal, family, business and social lives. More than half are females between 30 and 64 . Compared to other groups, they are more likely to be single. Blues are also more racially diverse than Reds, including the largest number of African Americans. They are more likely to live in urban or suburban areas, and most consider themselves moderate or liberal, with over half identifying as Democrats, a third identifying as Independent and the rest (10\%) are Republican.

Blues say they often learn about politics and social issues from fictional entertainment sources, including TV shows and films. They are most likely to discuss what they learn from fictional shows with others, and to seek out more information. Most consume news daily, or at least weekly, and they tend to prefer CNN, followed by the New York Times and MSNBC. This group also prefers NPR News far more than Reds or Purples.

Blues are interested in diverse entertainment options, including foreign programming: they enjoy entertainment that reflects values other than their own, and they are even open to entertainment that they believe to be in bad taste. Blues agree with Reds that fictional TV shows and movies, whether they intend to or not, contain political messages. Blues like drama and documentaries even more than Purples, and a lot more than Reds. While all groups enjoy character-driven TV shows that put them in a good mood, Blues express a greater preference for shows that inspire discussion. Like Purples, a majority of Blues watch Saturday Night Live, but they are the only group for which Modern Family ranks among their mostwatched shows, and they are the least likely to watch Duck Dynasty. Comedy Central's The Daily Show is popular among Blues.

## Who are the Purples?

Accounting for $18 \%$ of Americans, the Purples are a widely divergent group, swinging from conservative to liberal on key issues, while marching to their own drummer on others. Purples reflect the most diverse range of political party identifications, and their views span the political spectrum, from progressive

Independents. They identify as Republican (46\%), Democrat (32\%) and Independent (21\%). More than half of them voted for Donald Trump, and less than a third voted for Hillary Clinton. Heavy TV watchers, they are the group most likely to watch TV news on a daily basis, but they are equally likely to tune into CNN as Fox News.

Like Reds, most Purples believe mainstream media drives the US political agenda. They tend to feel the government should help everyone achieve the American Dream, strongly believing in a shared duty to help the less fortunate, despite prizing the ideal of freedom above the importance of equality. Like Blues, they have mixed views about affirmative action, with most believing it levels the playing field. Most Purples hold a favorable view of police, saying they protect and serve local communities and citizens, and they think that US laws sufficiently protect minority rights. In agreement with Blues, most Purples believe foreigners immigrate to America for a chance to work for a better life. However, even more so than Reds, Purples would prefer that religion play more of a role in public life. They are split on views about Islam, with a slight majority thinking it encourages violence.

Some $68 \%$ prefer a traditional definition of marriage, although they have mixed views on women's role, with a sizable minority believing a woman's primary responsibility is to her children and home, though the majority feel that both men and women should share duties equally. They believe that abortion is a private decision between a woman and her doctor.

Including more men than women, most Purples live in cities. The majority are between 30 and 49; Purples have the lowest number of senior citizens among their ranks. Although they include fewer African Americans than Blues, Purples have the greatest proportion of Asians and Hispanics. Purples are the most religious of the three ideological groups, with the vast majority characterizing themselves as moderately to very religious, mostly Catholic followed by Christian. Purples have the greatest proportion of married people and the lowest share of divorcees. About one quarter are single. Purples are by far the happiest and most satisfied group, with the highest estimation of their overall happiness and satisfaction with their personal, family, business and social lives. Members of this group are most likely to say that their lives are turning out as expected and they have the most confidence in their ability to make a difference in their communities, cities, states, the nation and the world. They are more likely than other groups to take public actions based on learning something from fictional movies or TV shows, and make themselves heard by contacting newspapers, call-in shows, and public officials or filing consumer complaints.

Purples are the group most doubtful that fictional TV shows and movies, whether they intend to or not, contain political messages. Nevertheless, like Blues, they say they learn about political and social issues from entertainment fare and they enjoy diverse entertainment options, including content produced in other countries and offerings that might be in bad taste or reflect values other than their own. Purples enjoy educational, reality and children's programming more than Blues or Reds. They don't much like business shows or soap operas, but they enjoy almost everything about the shows they do like - including the humor, suspense and emotional impact - but they especially appreciate their educational value. Compared to Blues and Reds, Purples are much more likely to say they watch shows to be inspired and to gain new insights; to think about meaningful issues and to have discussions, both while they watch and afterwards. They like shows that give them an adrenaline boost and that give them a chance to experience feelings that are difficult to allow in everyday life. More than half have watched Saturday Night Live, a preference they share with Blues, but only Purples rank The Voice and Dancing with the Stars among their most-watched shows.

## Who are the Reds?

Accounting for $35 \%$ of Americans, Reds are the demographically oldest group and the most likely to live in suburban or rural areas. Protecting freedom is more important than ensuring equality to Reds, who feel it's not the government's role to help everyone achieve the American Dream. They lean toward perceiving immigrants as people who want to be handed a better life. Reds want religion to play more of a role in public life, and a majority agree it is our duty to help the less fortunate. Many feel that the Islamic religion
police, strongly believing they protect and serve local communities and citizens. Most assert that US laws sufficiently protect minority rights, and they firmly believe that affirmative action rewards some groups at the expense of others. Some $70 \%$ of Reds adhere to a traditional definition of marriage as only between one man and one woman, a marked difference to the $97 \%$ from ten years ago. Most Reds believe that both men and women should share parental and household duties equally. They hold mixed views about abortion, but a majority leans toward viewing it as a private decision between a woman and her doctor. Reds believe mainstream media drives the US political agenda.

About half male and female, a majority of Reds are married; they have the fewest singles and the highest percentage of divorcees. Reds are the least racially diverse group, and more than two-thirds say they are moderately to very religious, mostly Catholic or Christian. Describing themselves as moderate, conservative or very conservative, the majority identify as Republican, but almost a third call themselves Independents. Some twothirds voted for Donald Trump
> "Reds lean toward prioritizing security over liberty, and they hold a favorable view of police, strongly believing they protect and serve local communities and citizens." and 8\% for Hillary Clinton. Compared to the rest of the nation, Reds have the least confidence in their ability to make a difference in their communities, the nation or the world.

Most Reds watch TV news daily (usually Fox News) or at least once a week. Reds tend to be the least familiar with the 50 entertainment TV shows on our list, as they watch entertainment TV far less than other groups, with $18 \%$ reporting less than two hours per week. When they do watch TV or films, Reds prefer action-adventure. They dislike talk shows more than the other groups. Compared to Blues and Purples, fewer Reds enjoy a show for its ability to inspire. They are also least likely to enjoy moments of sadness and poignancy in the stories they watch, and they tend not to watch shows in order to experience feelings that are difficult to allow in everyday life. Reds are less interested in seeking out diverse entertainment options, including entertainment that originates outside of the US, or that reflects taste or values different from their own. They are least likely to say they have learned about politics and social issues from fictional movies or TV; in fact, they had the highest proportion of people in any group saying they never do so. Reds are the least likely to use shows to stimulate discussion, or provide new insights. Reds enjoy crime procedurals such as NCIS and the dark fantasy Supernatural.

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## Changing Colors Then \& Now: Comparing 2008 and 2018 Survey Results

The three distinct cluster groups we detected in 2018 were also found in our similar survey ten years ago. These results provide a unique perspective to explain longitudinal changes that have taken place in the US over the past decade. Demographically, survey respondents were predominantly
"The number of people who aligned with either the Democratic or Republican party dropped by 20\% from 2008." white in 2018, though less so than a decade ago, with small increases across all nonwhite groups. The proportion of female Blues and Reds increased in the past ten years, as the proportion of males decreased. More Blues and Reds have shifted their homes to suburbs, and Reds also to rural areas, moving away from cities, while many Purples moved into large cities. Although the Purple group slightly decreased in size, more Blues and Reds consider themselves Independents in 2018, as the number of people who aligned with either the Democratic or Republican party dropped by $20 \%$ from $2008 .^{12}$

POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION: 2018 VS. 2008


- Significant drops in both major party affiliations corresponded with a rise in independent voters.


A trend toward the ideological middle was detected across all groups, indicating a move away from extremism in both political parties.

## Ideology: Nine Signs of Common Ground

Americans diametrically opposed in 2008 are showing signs of shifting - generally toward moderate views - around nine key issues: environment, regulation of business, privacy around new technologies, public education, guns, marriage, abortion, helping the poor and tax reductions.

Some $72 \%$ of these shifts are in the Blue direction. This finding comes as a surprising reality-check that defies the simplistic media narrative about an increasingly divided nation, as many of the shifts are away from entrenched positions towards the center.

## 1. More Resources for Environmental Protection

Since 2008, agreement that government needs to devote more resources to protecting the environment increased from about one-half to three-quarters overall. Much of this shift can be attributed to Reds moving away from their previously near-unanimous belief that the government has taken protecting the environment too far and is hurting business. In fact, $45 \%$ of Reds now agree with almost all Blues and most Purples that more government support of environmental protection is required.

## 2. Regulation of Business

Ten years ago, a slight majority agreed that government regulation creates an undue burden on business. In 2018, we see a shift away from that sentiment, with a majority belief that it is important for the government to regulate business. Both Blues and Reds appear to have softened their positions, while the Purple majority favoring government regulations has increased in both size and strength.

## IS GOVERNMENT REGULATION A BURDEN?

| A. It is important for the government to regulate business | B. Government regulation creates an undue burden <br> on business |
| :--- | :--- |



While the Purples create a strong force in favor of government regulation of business, the extreme Blues and Reds have softened their positions.

## 3. Cautious of New Technology

The general public appears to have become more risk-averse regarding new technology, perhaps due to abuses by tech companies and online privacy violations that have dominated the news. Support has substantially decreased for the view that we should embrace new technology and all the social and economic changes it brings. Fewer Blues and Purples now hold that view, while the Red majority has reversed its previous view, with a majority now saying we should be wary of new technology and slow down its implementation when necessary.

## 4. Need for Gun Legislation

Public opinion has shifted away from the belief that the Constitution gives us the absolute right to bear arms, to greater agreement that times have changed and it's necessary to regulate gun ownership. Although often presented in news media as an insuperable partisan divide, our data shows that the entrenched majorities on both sides of this issue have actually weakened slightly, in that fewer attest to strong agreement with their chosen side.

## 5. Support for Public Education

Overall support for investing in public education increased sharply compared to ten years ago when half of Americans agreed that the only way to get a better education in America is to invest in public education. In 2018, 80\% of respondents agreed with this statement. Most of the general shift is attributable to a Red drift in position away from the belief that the only way to get better education in America is to invest in private education to a majority agreement (63\%) that it's better to invest in public education.

## 6. Abortion Rights

Overall, more people support the belief that abortion is a private decision between a woman and her doctor now than ten years ago. The Red majority has shifted to this point of view, and their strong agreement to the contrary has also declined. Notably, strong agreement has decreased somewhat for Blues and Purples.

## IS ABORTION A PRIVATE DECISION?

A. Abortion is a private decision between a woman and her doctor
B. Abortion is NOT a private decision between a woman and her doctor


A remarkable shift towards agreement that abortion is a private decision was traced across all groups, led by a softening of position by Purples and shifting sides by Reds.

## 7. Help for the Less Fortunate

The vast majority of all Americans agree that they have a responsibility to help those less fortunate. In $2008,75 \%$ agreed that it is our duty to help the less fortunate, and now $80 \%$ have adopted that view. The shift is led by Purples (from $77 \%$ to $83 \%$ ), while agreement from Reds has increased more modestly (from $58 \%$ to $61 \%$ ). Blues kept their super-majority of ten years ago when they were almost unanimous

## 8. Marriage

Overall public opinion has shifted on the issue of marriage equality. Whereas ten years ago the majority of Americans agreed that marriage should only be between one man and one woman, the majority now believes that the institution of marriage should adapt to a changing society. Drilling down, we see the Red majority of ten years ago, when $97 \%$ held a strong belief in traditional marriage, has shrunk to 70\%. Close to one-third of Reds now agree that marriage should adapt to a changing society. Conversely, a slightly greater majority of Purples have shifted toward the more traditional viewpoint.

## WHAT IS MARRIAGE?

A. Marriage should only be between one man and one woman $\quad$ B. The institution of marriage should adapt to a changing society


Overall, public opinion has shifted toward agreement that marriage should adapt to a changing society, as opposed to marriage being only between one man and one woman.

## 9. Reduced Taxes

The majority opinion that all Americans would benefit from drastically reduced taxes has increased from $59 \%$ to $63 \%$ - a rare example of a shift toward the more traditionally conservative end of the spectrum. This is largely due to a shift by the Blues, whose majority went from almost $90 \%$ agreement that not all Americans would benefit from drastically reduced taxes to over-half now agreeing all Americans would benefit from drastically reduced taxes. Majority agreement from Purples has increased from over half to almost $70 \%$ as well. Surprisingly, the Red majority has decreased on this issue (from $92 \%$ to $74 \%$ ), with strong agreement declining from $78 \%$ to $39 \%$.

## Partisan Shifts

## 1. View of Government

Although in both 2008 and 2018 a majority of respondents agreed that government generally creates more problems than it solves, this position is held less strongly now. Thus, the Blue majority shifted from threequarters in agreement that government generally solves problems to almost $70 \%$ indicating that government generally creates more problems than it solves; whereas, the Purple majority reversed from over threequarters agreeing government creates problems to over $60 \%$ believing it generally solves them. Meanwhile, Reds' belief that government creates more problems than it solves declined from $95 \%$ to $85 \%$.
A. Government generally solves problems


Partisan shifts over the past ten years reveal a reversal among Blue and Purple views around the ability of government to solve problems.

## 2. View of America's Role in the World

We detected a startling reversal among Blue, Purple and Red answers to the question do you agree that America should actively promote its values of Freedom and Democracy around the world, as opposed to the view that it is not America's job to promote its values around the world. Although the nation remains split, positions have shifted, with more Blues and Purples moving towards internationalism, now agreeing that America should promote freedom and democracy, while the Red majority now agrees that is not America's job.

WHAT IS AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD?
A. America should actively promote its values of Freedom and Democracy around the world
B. It is not America's job to promote its values around the world


Although the nation remains split, we found startling reversals among Blues, Purples and Reds around views on internationalism.


## Exploring Entertainment Preferences

## Appetites for Entertainment

We wanted to learn more about the Americans whose political values are so often characterized as diametrically opposed to determine if there are distinctions in entertainment choices inherent to each group or, conversely, to find cultural touchstones, programs and stories that resonate across ideological divides. Looking at each group, we determined what shows they had watched, ${ }^{13}$ what shows they liked most, what features they enjoyed about those shows (e.g., character, story, humor) ${ }^{14}$ and which genres they preferred. ${ }^{15}$

ENTERTAINMENT PREFERENCES AMONG BLUES, PURPLES \& REDS

|  | Blues | Purples | Reds |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Number of shows liked (Out of 50) | 22 | 40 | 14 |
| Number of enjoyable TV show features (Out of 9) | 7 | 9 | 2 |
| Number of genres liked (Out of 17) | 13 | 14 | 6 |

Purples love watching TV, and they enjoy everything about the experience. Reds, conversely, watch far less and enjoy fewer features of entertainment.
> "When Reds watched entertainment TV, they chose shows that put them in a good mood and had characters they could identify with."

Analysis revealed that Purples have a voracious appetite for TV. They watched most entertainment shows more than Blues, and far more than Reds. When asked what they enjoyed most about the experience, Purples said they liked almost every feature of the shows, such as identifying with the characters and learning about other people's lives. Reds however, watched in much smaller numbers. In the case of Game of Thrones, which is at the

[^5]top of all three groups' most-liked lists, we found that half as many Reds watched it than Blues or Purples. When Reds watched entertainment TV, they chose shows that put them in a good mood and had characters they could identify with. Blues rated most features of TV watching favorably and shared with Purples a diverse taste.

## Most \& Least Watched Shows

Rob Drydek's Fantasy Factory and Bad Girls Club were the least popular programs overall: these were the only shows that less than $10 \%$ of all respondents had watched.

We found just two shows that were watched by about half of the people from all groups: The Simpsons (watched by $60 \%$ of Blues, $59 \%$ of Purples, and $49 \%$ of Reds) and The Big Bang Theory (watched by $57 \%$ of Blues, $52 \%$ of Purples, and $49 \%$ of Reds). Majorities of Blues ( $56 \%$ ) and Purples ( $52 \%$ ) watched Saturday Night Live, a show viewed far less by Reds (33\%). Blues and Purples also watched the animated Family Guy and SpongeBob SquarePants at rates of about $40 \%$. Over $40 \%$ of Blues also watched South Park, and another $42 \%$ of Purples ranked The Tom and Jerry Show among shows they watched often enough to have an opinion about.

## MOST WATCHED SHOWS BY GROUP

## Bones

Family Guy
It's Always Sunny in Philadelphia
Law \& Order: SVU
Modern Family
Once Upon a Time
Saturday Night Live
Scandal
South Park
The Big Bang Theory
The Daily Show with Trevor Noah
The Simpsons
106 \& Park
16 and Pregnant
Adventure Time
American Dad
American Horror Story
Bad Girls Club
Cake Boss
Criminal Minds
Dancing with the Stars
Duck Dynasty
Empire
Fast n' Loud
Game of Thrones
Grey's Anatomy
Keeping Up with the Kardashians
Love \& Hip Hop
MythBusters
Orange is the New Black
Pretty Little Liars
Real Housewives of Atlanta
Ridiculousness
Rob Dyrdek's Fantasy Factory
So You Think You Can Dance
SpongeBob SquarePants
Supernatural
Teen Mom
The First 48
The Tom and Jerry Show
The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon
The Vampire Diaries
The Voice
The Walking Dead
Tosh. 0
Wipeout
America's Funniest Home Videos
Deadliest Catch
NCIS
Pawn Stars


Purples voracious appetite for entertainment indicated, as they watched 34 of the 50 shows more than other groups. Blues watched 12 and Reds just four more than others.

## Most Liked \& Disliked Shows

When asked to score the shows they've watched on a 100-point scale from hate it to love it, Purples tended to give the highest scores: they rated almost half of the shows over 80 points, with 40 shows above 75 . Blues scored only nine shows over 80, and 22 over
> "This may indicate that Reds who have yet to discover these shows have a high likelihood of enjoying them."
75. Reds only gave six shows high scores, with just 14 scoring above 75 points.

Blues and Purples liked Game of Thrones a little bit more on average (89\%) than Reds (87\%). However, only about half as many Reds watched Game of Thrones (16\%). Other shows had similar small but devoted fan bases: Empire and Pretty Little Liars received high ratings from Reds, but they were also on Reds list of least watched shows. This may indicate that Reds who have yet to discover these shows have a high likelihood of enjoying them. In the same vein, Rob Dyrdek's Fantasy Factory, Bad Girls' Club, and Love \& Hip Hop were not watched by many Purples, but, those who watched liked them quite a bit, on average rating them above 80 on a 100-point scale.

When asked what they liked about their favorite shows, all groups gave their highest rankings to characters, followed by story/plot. The groups then diverged:

- Blues liked humor and style/tone more than other groups
- Purples liked educational value more than other groups
- Reds liked emotional impact much less than other groups

Five shows got the lowest ratings from all the ideological groups: Keeping Up with the Kardashians, 106 \& Park, Pawn Stars, Grey's Anatomy and Scandal. When given the opportunity to specify what they disliked about these shows, Blues and Reds mentioned the characters, style/tone and story/plot most frequently, while Purples bemoaned the lack of educational value.

## Cultural Touchstones \& Fan Favorites

In our 2008 study, we found only one TV show that was equally beloved among ideological groups: Fox TV's long-running House. In that study we asked about the top 25 shows airing at the time of the survey; in our 2018 study, we focused instead on 50 shows identified by the New York Times as the most popular on Facebook in regions that corresponded to voting behavior in the 2016 election. ${ }^{16}$ This list included several shows that have demonstrated long-term mass appeal, often on a global scale. ${ }^{17}$ Even with this time-tested sample, we only discovered five shows that appealed to all ideological groups equally: that is, there was no difference among Blues, Purples and Reds in their likelihood to watch these shows, and they rated them similarly. Interestingly, the lack of differences between groups remained even after we factored out the differences attributable to demographics normally used to describe different audience segments for shows, including gender, age and race. Given the many choices available for viewing widely different programming, we think this is helpful news for social activists seeking change through storytelling, as one show can reach literally millions of viewers across the political spectrum.

[^6]- Criminal Minds, which we analyze at length below, was as likely to be watched by Blues, Purples and Reds.
- America's Funniest Home Videos was more popular with females, but there were no differences in viewership by ideological group or by age, race or ethnicity.
- Bones, the networks' longest-running drama that aired from 2005 to 2017 and remains available via streaming, was rated favorably by all who watched, and did not have significantly different viewership by demographic.
- MythBusters appealed to all ideological stripes, although it tended to be more popular with younger white males.
- Pawn Stars, now in its fifteenth season, had equal appeal for Blues, Purples and Reds, but was more popular among white males. However, unlike the others, this is a show that people equally love to hate. Viewership is high among all three ideological groups, but ratings are low: in short, people are hate-watching Pawn Stars.


# "People are hate-watching Pawn Stars." 

While we cannot describe it as a cultural touchstone, because so few Reds watch it, Game of Thrones distinguished itself as the highest-rated show in our study. It was a fan favorite among Blues, Purples and Reds.

## Network \& News Preferences ${ }^{18}$

Most people watch networks based on their content preferences and presentation style, but allegiance to just one or two channels has been associated with information "bubbles," where they are only exposed to a narrow range of choices and information. ${ }^{19}$ The differences in selection of preferred networks by Blues, Purples and Reds reveal distinctly different appetites: ${ }^{20}$

- Blues are by far the biggest viewers of MSNBC, watching this network at three times the rate of Purples, and nearly ten times that of Reds. Blues also watch NBC twice as much as Purples and 1.5 times as much as Reds. Blues prefer to get their news from network TV and also news websites (CNN.com and MSNBC.com) more than other groups. They are also the largest audience for NPR.
- Purples watch TNT at twice the rate of others, and they watch Univision almost five times more than Reds and three times more than Blues, likely due to the group's greater number of Hispanics/Latinx. Purples also tend to watch ESPN significantly more than other groups and they enjoy international newspapers as well.
- Reds were over six times more likely than Blues, and almost twice as likely as Purples, to watch Fox News. Reds also watch Hallmark, History and Ion significantly more than others. CNN, HBO and AMC are far less popular among Reds, and this group is the least likely to say they use comedy news programs or national newspapers as a news source. Reds prefer local TV news more than other groups, and radio is a more significant news source for them than for Blues.

[^7]| MSNBC | Univision | FOX |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| CNN | TNT | HISTORY |
| HBO | ESPN | ION |
| NBC | HBO | HALLMARK |
| AMC | MSNBC | NBC |
|  | AMC |  |
|  | CNN |  |

Each group is drawn to different networks with distinctly different types of programming.

## Genre Preferences

Reds were fans of only five of 17 TV and film genres, whereas Blues liked eight and Purples liked 14 genres. ${ }^{21}$ The genres with the most appeal for all groups were action-adventure, comedy and drama. Mysteries/thrillers, documentaries and science/nature programming also scored high for all groups, with Blues favoring dramas and documentaries a bit more than Purples. All groups gave low scores to business programs, talk shows and soap operas, but Reds liked talk shows even less than other groups.

GENRE PREFERENCES


- Purples liked most genres more than both Blues and Reds.

[^8]
## Reasons for Tuning In

Developed by media scholars over 45 years ago, ${ }^{22}$ communication studies' Uses and Gratification ${ }^{23}$ construct states that people seek out media that fulfills emotional and informational needs. ${ }^{24}$ In order to understand what respondents get from the entertainment they most enjoy, we assessed ${ }^{25}$ emotional gratifications associated with TV watching. ${ }^{26}$ Participants were asked if and how the following statements apply to them:

The TV shows and movies I most enjoy ...


## What do you like about watching your favorite shows?

I enjoy the adrenaline boost.
can experience feelings that are difficult for me to allow in everyday life.

I like moments of sadness and poignancy.

We found extreme differences between the groups. Purples consistently gave higher ratings to all nine of the possible reasons for watching their favorite shows, and what they liked about watching them. Reds rated all items lower than other groups. Aside from the Purple tendency to like things most, and the Red instinct to like things least, people generally said they most often enjoy watching shows that allow them to identify with characters, that raise their mood or give them an adrenaline boost.

WHAT THEY LIKE ABOUT TV SHOWS AND MOVIES


- Across all groups, people most like to watch TV because it puts them in a good mood.

[^9]While it is important to know what kind of content people are watching, understanding why people tune in is essential to developing smart cultural strategies for social change. Social activists are far more likely to be successful in their effort to create engaging content if they understand what their target audiences will find fulfilling.

## Trends in Entertainment Preferences: 2008 vs. 2018

> "Understanding why people tune in is essential to developing smart cultural strategies."

For the long-running shows we investigated in 2008 that were still on the air in 2018, we were interested in knowing if they attracted similar audiences over the years, or if their appeal had changed. This analysis uncovered some intriguing shifts. The biggest differences in viewing patterns are found in shows that feature topical comedy and commentary on current events, including the late night shows:

- The Reds enjoy talk shows the least, but those who did watch NBC's Saturday Night Live in 2008 had ranked it their most preferred late night show. That same year, the Blues had much preferred The Daily Show among the late nighters. Today we trace a switch, where SNL now ranks highest among Blues and lowest among Reds.
- NBC's The Tonight Show switched hosts from Jay Leno to Jimmy Fallon and the ideological makeup of its audience shifted significantly. In 2008, the show was in favor with Reds while very few Blues ranked it as a preferred option. This flipped in 2018, when Blues were most likely to rank it among their favorites and Reds were least likely to do so.

Despite switching from Jon Stewart to Trevor Noah, Comedy Central's The Daily Show remained most popular among Blues and rarely watched by Reds. Other findings include:

- Fox's The Simpsons and Family Guy remained most popular among Blues and least popular among Reds.
- Long-running competition shows such as So You Think You Can Dance (Fox) and Dancing with the Stars (ABC) remained among the most watched shows by Purples and the least watched by Reds.
- ABC's Grey's Anatomy ${ }^{27}$ remained mostly watched by Purples and least popular with Reds.

[^10]
## Anatomy of Three Crime Dramas

Police procedurals and legal dramas are the bread and butter of primetime lineups, drawing the largest audiences in the US: an average of 112 million viewers tune-in each week for crime shows on network television, with presumably millions more watching on streaming services. ${ }^{28}$ To explore how different ideological groups respond to the same shows, we chose three perennial police procedurals that were liked by all three groups, and we compared current reactions to those of ten years ago. ${ }^{29}$


## Criminal Minds

Criminal Minds is the rare show that is equally favored among Blues, Purples and Reds, even when we control for age, race and gender. All groups gave it an average score over 80 on the 100 point "liking" scale, with at least one-third from each group reporting they watched it. The show was a preferred show for $18 \%$ of respondents in 2008, ranking highest with Purples followed by Blues and then Reds, and we found the same pattern in 2018. Thus, Criminal Minds can be considered a color neutral show, appealing across demographic and ideological groups. If a social issue is covered on this show, it will
"Criminal Minds can be considered a color neutral show, appealing across demographic and ideological groups. If a social issue is covered on this show, it will reach a broad range of viewers." reach a broad range of viewers.

Further analysis of what each group specifically liked about the show revealed some common themes, but also some interesting contrasts. For example, all groups most frequently selected the characters as what they liked best. After characters, Reds were next most likely to say they liked the style and tone, whereas Purples noted both suspense and the educational value of the show. Almost half of the Blues liked its emotional impact and the way it makes them feel. More than half of Blues indicated that the emotional responses they most often feel while watching are surprise, fear and sadness. Half of the Purples also felt surprise and fear, although Purples were as likely to say they felt hope. Some $40 \%$ of Reds also felt surprise while watching the show, but the fear, sadness and hope felt by the other groups were not reported as often by Reds. In fact, Reds' second most frequently reported feeling was neutral while they watched this show. Reds and Purples also selected disgust and anger far more often than Blues.

[^11]The Purple group's responses stood apart in several ways. Purples watched this show most often to learn about other people's lives; they were more likely to say it makes them feel inspired and helps them think about their own lives more than other groups. Purples also enjoyed social viewing more than the other groups. Blues most frequently watched Criminal Minds because it allowed them to experience things they can't in real life, while both Reds and Blues watched to forget about their own problems at double the rate of Purples.

## Law \& Order: SVU vs. NCIS

Although both of these long-running police procedurals enjoy broad appeal, analysis revealed an interesting fact: both today and ten years ago, NBC's Law \& Order: Special Victims Unit appealed more to


Blues, whereas the Reds -- the group that generally eschewed most entertainment programming -- watched CBS's NCIS at a higher rate than most other shows and more than other groups. ${ }^{30}$ We found that just under half of those who selected SVU as the show they liked best ( $n=152$ ) were Blues ( $47 \%$ ) while $35 \%$ were Reds. Those who most liked the show were generally consistent in their reasons, praising the characters and its story and plot most frequently. The emotion they reported feeling while viewing the show was surprise. For NCIS, those numbers flipped: of those who selected NCIS as the show they liked best ( $\mathrm{n}=233$ ), half were Reds and one-third were Blues. Although Reds are generally infrequent TV watchers, NCIS appears to have a special attraction for this group, perhaps related to the adrenaline boost that Reds say it provides. Still, all

fans agreed that the characters were what they enjoyed most, followed by its story/plot. Thus, we see that despite differing values, priorities and interests in many of their outlooks, viewers were drawn to shows with compelling characters and intriguing stories. Since this is the stock in trade of police procedurals, these findings provide some evidence for why the subgenre remains a TV staple.


## Social Issues \& Entertainment Preferences

Participants were asked to select the three most and least important topics in the US today from a list of 19 topics. ${ }^{31}$ The chart below shows the five selected most important overall, with the relative frequencies of each group.

## How Americans Rank Social Issues

Overall, health care/insurance is the number one concern Americans shared (45\%) trailed at some distance by terrorism/security ( $28 \%$ ) and Social Security ( $24 \%$ ). The healthcare ranking was in part driven by the Blues, as Purples and Reds were more likely to rank terrorism/security as their top concern, with health care second. Environment and education/schools were the second and third most frequently selected by Blues; while Purples and Reds chose them far less frequently. Purples were more likely to select crime/ violence among their most important issues than other groups, while immigration was selected much more frequently by Reds.

RANKING OF SOCIAL ISSUES


On average, health care was selected as the most important issue to Americans, a result driven by Blues. Purples and Reds more frequently selected security and terrorism as most important.

## Social Justice Issues

Despite some support from Blues, social justice issues related to race, gender and sexual discrimination were not priority issues for Americans. In fact, a majority of Reds ranked these issues at the very bottom of their priority lists, and Purples were aligned more closely with Reds than Blues in their lack of interest in these topics. As for least important issues, Americans most frequently selected LGBTQ+ rights (41\%) overall, followed by gender equality ( $30 \%$ ) and utility rates/gas prices (29\%). Reds and "Despite some support from Blues, social justice issues related to race, gender and sexual discrimination were not priority issues for Americans." Purples identified LGBTQ+ rights and gender equality as their least important issues far more frequently than Blues, who instead selected utility rates and morality/values. Reds were also the most likely to identify race relations/discrimination as least important to them.

For those working in the social justice media space, this finding has serious implications: instead of focusing chiefly on the best methods to harness media storytelling to shift social norms, activists also need to convince Americans that social justice issues are actually important. This may mean placing more emphasis on raising awareness of discrimination and its profound social impact as opposed to proposing solutions to things that Americans don't consider pressing problems. Further research should be conducted to discover whether the chief reason these issues appear at the bottom of American priority lists is that most Americans are more aware of the progress that has been made against race, gender and sexual discrimination and less aware of continuing inequities and their effects.

## Patterns of Viewership

We wondered whether we could detect any unique viewing patterns common among those who held more positive vs. more negative attitudes toward social justice topics. ${ }^{32}$ Focusing on American attitudes toward three key social justice topics - immigration, gender equality and race relations/discrimination - we discovered distinct patterns of TV viewership.

Immigration: Those who believe immigrants want to work for a better life are more likely to watch Saturday Night Live, The Tonight Show, Modern Family, Game of Thrones and The Daily Show. Those who believe immigrants want to be handed a better life are more likely to watch Duck Dynasty. Regardless of their view of immigrants' motivations, those who believe immigration is among the top three most important issues selected from our list of 19 had a much greater propensity to select The Walking Dead as their best liked show. ${ }^{33}$

Gender equality: Viewership of Saturday Night Live distinguishes those who believe men and women should share parental and household duties equally. This group is also significantly more likely to watch NBC, CBS, HGTV and MSNBC. Those who believe a woman's primary responsibility is to her children and home were more likely to watch Fox News, CNN, ESPN and the History Channel. They were also significantly more likely to have been viewers of four reality TV shows: Wipeout, Ridiculousness, Cake Boss and So You Think You Can Dance; two scripted shows, The Walking Dead and Adventure Time, and the music video show 106 \& Park.

Race Relations/Discrimination: Respondents who considered race among their most important issues were more likely to say that their favorite shows were The Daily Show with Trevor Noah, Orange is the New Black, Scandal and Fast N'Loud, a reality show about refurbishing old cars. Respondents who ranked race among their least important issues preferred NCIS, The Big Bang Theory, The Walking Dead and Law \& Order: SVU. For social change activists, these findings can be practically applied. For example, if a group working towards non-discrimination wanted to "rally the troops," they should seek out audiences who care about this issue, such as those who watch The Daily Show. Chances are these messages would not broaden awareness, though, as this group already cares about race issues. Nevertheless, activists could remind audiences to discuss these issues with friends and family members, and help to galvanize core supporters. If that same group wanted to reach people who rank non-discrimination among their least important concerns, then vaulting the ideological divide and getting a race relations storyline into an episode of NCIS, which attracts an audience cold about your issue, could increase awareness.

## Do Viewers Take Action?

Over half (59\%) of the respondents said they had taken some action based on something they had learned from a fictional movie or TV show. These actions included having conversations with friends, family and co-workers: a crucial step toward socializing new ideas that can lead to broader cultural shifts. These are a clear sign of social engagement, which requires taking a position and using critical thinking to explore the relevance and meaning of a story. Fictional stories and characters, in particular, provide a safe place to explore unfamiliar issues or viewpoints and contemplate new ideas about how the world works, and how it might work in the future.

Overall, one third of Americans said that they had sought more information about an issue after encountering it in a fictional story, demonstrating the porous boundary between fiction and fact. The ability to focus mass attention may be mass media's superpower: whether it intends to or not, mainstream

[^12]

Viewers were most likely to talk with a friend or seek additional information. While far fewer called a politician, consumer group or newspaper, Purples were always more likely to do so.
media sets de facto agendas as it produces and disseminates content. For example, it is unlikely that the viewers who tuned into the "Witness" episode of Law \& Order: SVU did so in order to learn about the plight of asylum seekers, but a Lear Center study found that viewers increased their knowledge about US immigration and asylum policies, as well as learning about conflict minerals. ${ }^{34}$

While Blues are more likely to report that they had spoken to someone or sought more information, Purples were far more likely than the other groups to have taken higher level actions, including making donations to charity, volunteering, contacting newspapers and public officials, and registering to vote - apparent signs that they not only learn about political and social issues from fictional entertainment they sometimes act on that information. In comparison, Reds were generally the least likely to say that they had taken action.

Other Lear Center research has found that entertainment programming is particularly effective at shifting attitudes and even overcoming ideological bias. In a 2017 study of USA's popular scripted series Royal Pains, we discovered that viewers of an episode about a transgender teen were more likely to have supportive attitudes toward transgender people and policies than Royal Pains viewers who had not seen that episode. We also found that there was a cumulative effect: the more entertainment storylines about transgender issues that viewers had seen, the more supportive their attitudes were. Notably, exposure to news stories

[^13]about transgender people and issues had no effect. The most compelling finding, however, was that exposure to two entertainment storylines actually decreased the negative effect of ideological bias by half: that is, politically conservative viewers who saw multiple shows featuring transgender characters had more positive attitudes toward trans people than those who saw just one. ${ }^{35}$

## Self-efficacy \& Entertainment Consumption

Influential psychologist Albert Bandura has published studies since the 1970's demonstrating that people's sense of self-efficacy is affected by the media representations they encounter: when people see individuals like themselves succeeding at something, they are more likely to believe that they can do it, too. ${ }^{36}$ This research
"The wish-fulfillment fantasies on display in Once Upon a Time may be more appealing to people who have modest ideas about their ability to make a difference on a national level." provides the evidence base for efforts to diversify demographic representations in mainstream media.

In this survey, we included a set of questions that gauge each respondent's sense of self-efficacy by asking them to describe their degree of confidence in their ability "to make a difference" in their home, local community, city, country and in other countries. ${ }^{37}$ Focusing on the ideological groups, we discovered that all groups were equally confident about their self-efficacy within their homes, but Purples exhibited much higher levels of self-confidence in every other geographical sphere, particularly in the global context.

This finding appears to be in alignment with the fact that they were the most demographically diverse group - with the most Asians and Hispanics/Latinx in their ranks -- and the most likely to consume international news. Blues also consistently outpaced Reds in their sense of self-efficacy in every sphere except for the home.

CONFIDENCE YOU CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE


All groups tended to believe they could make a difference in their own homes, but Purples outpaced both groups in believing they could help change things elsewhere.

Setting aside the ideological groups, we also segmented all survey respondents based upon their level of self-efficacy in making a difference in their country. When we analyzed the entertainment preferences of

[^14]these subgroups we discovered that many liked the same perennial favorites - including NCIS, The Big Bang Theory and Criminal Minds but there were some statistically significant differences, as well.

Respondents with high self-efficacy levels were more likely to be fans of Empire, Pretty Little Liars and Law \& Order: SVU, while those with low self-efficacy said they enjoyed Once Upon a Time, The First 48 and Orange is the New Black. Two of these shows were particularly
> "Those with high self-efficacy respond well to messages that provide concrete information about how to get involved to work toward change." polarizing: Once Upon a Time was ranked low among those with high efficacy and Pretty Little Liars was distinctly unpopular among those with low efficacy. One potential (tantalizing) explanation for this is that people with high selfconfidence about their ability to affect the course of a nation are drawn to the type of Machiavellian storylines that typify Pretty Little Liars and Empire. The wish-fulfillment fantasies on display in Once Upon a Time may be more appealing to people who have modest ideas about their ability to make a difference on a national level.

## Calls to Action

Strategists working for social change through pop culture should take into account levels of self-efficacy among priority audiences when tailoring messages. Generally, those with high self-efficacy respond well to messages that provide concrete information about how to get involved to work toward change. ${ }^{38}$ Activists who are working on global social justice campaigns could, for instance, craft more intense calls to action (such as signing a petition, contacting a government representative or attending an event) when targeting Purples. Reds would likely be a harder group to incite to action around global issues, and so more local calls to action would probably be more successful. People with lower levels of self-efficacy may be better motivated to take action by stories that feature people like themselves making a real difference. ${ }^{39}$ Knowing specific entertainment preferences among these subgroups (such as a predilection for Once Upon a Time) enables activists to make more informed decisions about which TV shows to approach with relevant initiatives and campaigns.

Purples, in particular, represent an ideal target group for activists hoping to leverage the power of entertainment for social change. Purples account for about one in five Americans - a giant audience segment in the current highly-fragmented media landscape. Given their voracious appetite for entertainment TV, Purples are easily reached through mainstream entertainment content, and several attributes of this group make them ideal for social change campaigns, including their high self-efficacy, their respect for the educational value of entertainment TV and their self-reported openness to learning about political and social issues from entertainment programming. As a swing group, the Purples appear to be the most ideologically fluid: their lack of rigid allegiance to a single political party may signal the kind of open-mindedness that social change activists require in order to move the needle in public sentiment toward social justice issues.

[^15]

## How To Use This Research

The primary goal of this research is to provide actionable insights to people using cultural strategies to achieve social change. Here are some examples of how this research project can help artists and activists in media, entertainment, journalism, advertising and philanthropy:

## Understanding Your Audience

- Some audiences are easier to reach than others. Use this data to identify where audiences receptive to your message are tuning in. Use the openness indicators to inform your strategy.
- Know your limits - you can't reach everyone, and you can't change everyone's mind. Understanding who might be too difficult (or too expensive) to reach will help you develop realistic strategies.
- Knowing ahead of time whether there is more likely to be resistance to a social justice storyline can be tremendously helpful to storytellers who hope to change hearts and minds.
- Even "members of the choir" - those who may already share a progressive vision - need to be cultivated and reminded about the important social consequences of discrimination and inequality. If a TV show is associated with viewers who hold progressive views on social justice topics, that should not stop social justice advocates from working with the show; instead, it should inform the strategy for doing so.


## Segmenting Your Audience

- Decoding the media habits of your target audience can help you locate them: like commercial marketers, activists can be more effective if they know where their audience is already tuning in. Understanding their entertainment preferences, in particular, can help you devise storytelling strategies that will resonate with them.
- The key is finding out not only what your target audience is watching, but why. For example, although Reds are infrequent TV watchers, they do watch NCIS which they say provides them with an adrenaline boost. Prioritizing this element in future content could help attract and retain a conservative audience, which can be difficult to reach through entertainment TV.
- Use knowledge about values and entertainment preferences to define the target audiences critical to the success of your campaign.
- Explore the media preferences of those who say your issue is not important to them. Put your key issues on your audience's radar by working with existing shows to introduce compelling characters and stories that will raise awareness.


## Locating Mass Audiences

- If your goal is to reach a very broad audience, consider working with shows like Criminal Minds that appeal across ideological divides.
- We identified five shows that could be considered cultural touchstones: if your plan is to develop content that brings divergent political groups together, study the distinctive features of these shows, and consider what they might have in common.


## Activating Your Audience

- Don't shy away from issuing explicit calls to action to groups with high self-efficacy.
- Develop and mobilize engaging characters to provide behavior modeling to groups with low self-efficacy. Use compelling storytelling to let them know they, too, can play a role in improving the world.
- Regardless of your target audience, consider devising a Purple strategy. Given their high self-efficacy and their voracious appetite for entertainment TV, a pop culture strategy would likely benefit from a focus on this ideological swing group, which is open to learning things from entertainment content.



## Conclusion

This research project confirms that one of the most important things to know about someone is their taste: what they chose to do during their leisure time, for their own personal pleasure. We discovered how people allocate their attention, a valuable currency in our highly fragmented media landscape, but we have also explored the stories and characters that engage different types of people, as well as how they experienced that engagement - whether it was through laughter, tears or white-knuckle suspense.

Further understanding of the complex relationship between our leisure time passions and the values and convictions that shape our understanding of the world should be a priority for those using pop culture strategies for social change. Activists who hope to promote just and humane narratives about groups of people historically excluded in American society can utilize this report to inform partnership strategies with the entertainment industry, as well as savvy content development and distribution.

This report provides important overarching findings, but it includes only a few snapshots illustrating the types of data analyses that can be conducted on this wide-ranging dataset. A glance at the Appendices will reveal the breadth of social issues, news sources, networks, genres, viewing behaviors and demographic data that can be mined to answer questions as varied as:

- What are the most popular genres among people who are concerned about health care?
- What TV shows are binge-watched by people who say they learn about social issues through fictional programming?
- What are the media diets of people under 30 who have high self-efficacy?

Any of the 37 social issues we tracked could be used as the focal point for a corresponding pattern of entertainment preferences and psychographic, demographic and political profiles. ${ }^{40}$ Alternately, the dataset could be used to conduct a deep dive into the priorities, beliefs and other shared characteristics unique to the fanbase of a particular show.

## Next Steps

During Phase Two, we will use Phase One survey results and content coding to help select the set of shows, locations and key scenes for event locking narrative nodes for the biometric field study. Steps include:

- User-testing the full tech pipeline for the mobile biometric lab with multi-modal sensor integration (biophysical, EEG, eye-tracking, facial recognition \& GSR data).
- Creating data models and a database for capturing dynamic biological signatures as well as survey analysis and story coding.
- Designing and running the biometric field study with five cultural touchstones in at least three regions of the country that surfaced in Phase One survey results as high concentration areas across the ideological spectrum (e.g., California, New York and Florida).
- Collecting and analyzing data to correlate self-reporting from survey analysis with unconscious biological responses and story coding for drafting a full report on our findings.
- Generating predictive models based on neural networks to isolate narrative ingredients more likely to lead to altruistic engagement with specific demographics/psychographic profiles.
- Designing an interactive installation, entitled "This is Your Brain on Episodic TV" to render data science and media effects research more accessible to lay audiences.



## Methods

This study combined survey research on 50 TV shows with questions on ideological beliefs and voting behaviors. ${ }^{41}$ Selection of shows based on social media preferences was inspired by a 2016 New York Times research project, which found that Americans' TV viewing preferences show distinct patterns that correspond with regional political views. ${ }^{42}$ The Times findings closely aligned with insights from the Lear Center's prior research studies, in partnership with Zogby Analytics (2007, 2008), which explored how Americans' entertainment habits track with their political values. While both sets of research offer useful insights into correlations between entertainment habits and political views, their methodologies were quite different: the Times' study combined aggregated datasets on the top "liked" shows on Facebook with voting records by ZIP code, while the Lear Center surveyed a nationwide sample ${ }^{43}$ to assess patterns of differences among individuals. ${ }^{44}$ Thus, our study delves deeper into individual beliefs, attitudes and values as well as their viewing preferences and behaviors. By utilizing the same list of 50 shows, we will be able to make direct comparisons to the New York Times' results in Phase Two.

The survey was conducted from August 20th - September 10th of 2018, with 3,096 adult participants proportionally matched to the US population for age, gender, race/ethnicity, and geographically representative of all 50 states. ${ }^{45}$ At a $95 \%$ level of confidence, our sample carries a margin of error of $+/-1.8 \%$.

## Diagnosing Ideology

Following a brief introduction about the purpose of the study and age verification, participants were asked to indicate which among a set of 28 paired statements came closest to their personal beliefs and how much they agreed. To force respondents to "pick a side," no midpoint was offered. Thus, they could strongly or slightly agree with either side of diametrically opposed positions on key social and economic issues widely debated in politics and the news media. ${ }^{46}$ This provides a far more nuanced portrait of ideological proclivities than political party registration or self-reported labels, such as "moderate" or "conservative."

For 25 of these dialectical pairs, we have comparison data from a decade ago from a similar nationwide survey ( $\mathrm{n}=3,167$ ). Both studies used an iterative clustering technique to discover distinct groups based on respondents' attitudes toward social, economic and political issues. In both instances, three groupings (or clusters) were found to have distinct in-group similarities making it possible to assess longitudinal changes in the beliefs and attitudes, as well as the demographic composition, of these groups over the past decade.

[^16]Other sections of the survey addressed myriad media and entertainment preferences, including descriptions of what they liked about their favorite television shows and how often they watched them, as well as psychographic and demographic questions. ${ }^{47}$

## Entertainment Preferences

Following the ideological items, participants were asked to indicate which of the 50 shows ${ }^{48}$ (Appendix A) they have watched enough to have an opinion. In order to increase engagement and recall, cover images for each show were provided. For each of the shows selected, participants were asked to indicate how much they disliked or liked them on a 100-point sliding scale. For their highest-rated show in each genre, a series of follow-up questions probed their viewing habits and what they liked and experienced while watching each show (Appendix H). Follow-up questions were asked about the shows they liked and disliked most.

To investigate broader entertainment preferences and habits, participants were asked how much they liked each of 17 film and television genres (Appendix E) on a 5-point scale; other items asked which networks (Appendix F) they watched most often, how often they watched the news, and which news sources (Appendix G) they preferred; how many hours they typically spent watching entertainment TV shows each week; and what viewing platforms (Appendix H) they use. A shortened version of Bartsch's (2012) Uses and Gratifications instrument ${ }^{49}$ was used to investigate why respondents enjoy their favorite shows. Openness to different types of programming and viewing experiences were assessed on a scale from never to very often, and respondents were asked to indicate what action(s) they had ever taken in response to learning something from a fictional movie or TV show.

## Psychographics, Demographics \& Politics

Overall life satisfaction and happiness were investigated using a series of questions with four-point response scales, and respondents were asked questions determining levels of self-efficacy in various contexts, from local to global. Basic demographic data was collected as well as information about political identification and behavior, including political party, basic ideology, voting and priority issues (Appendix C).

## Data Analysis

Data was downloaded from Qualtrics into SAS for cluster analysis. ${ }^{50}$ Once clusters were iterated, a variable was created to allow segmentation and comparisons between groups. Comparative analyses were conducted by the research team using SAS, SPSS and Excel.

## 47 See Appendices for full details.

48 List drawn from NY Times study which indicated Americans' TV viewing preferences show distinct patterns that correspond with regional political views. See Katz, Josh (2016, December 27). ‘Duck Dynasty" vs. "Modern Family": 50 Maps of the U.S. Cultural Divide. The New York Times: Upshot section. Accessed 3/15/19: https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/12/26/upshot/duck-dynasty-vs-modern-family-television -maps.htm?_r=0
49 Bartsch, Anne \& Viehoff, Reinhold. (2010). The Use of Media Entertainment and Emotional Gratification. Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences.5.2247-2255.10.1016/j.sbspro.2010.07.444.
50 K-means works by partitioning n number of participants into k clusters by minimizing the sum of squared distances between the data points and their distance to the cluster with the nearest mean. In neither of our studies did we specify the number of clusters a priori; yet in each study we derived three groups for which comparisons between studies reveal substantial similarities.


## Appendix

Appendix A: Entertainment TV Shows

| TV Show (Network) | Category |
| :--- | :--- |
| 106 \& Park (BET) | Factual |
| 16 and Pregnant (MTV) | Reality |
| Adventure Time (Cartoon Network) | Animated |
| America's Funniest Home Videos (ABC) | Reality Comedy |
| American Dad! (TBS) | Animated |
| American Horror Story (FX) | Fantasy / Horror |
| Bad Girls Club (Oxygen) | Reality |
| Bones (Fox) | Dramatic |
| Cake Boss (TLC) | Reality |
| Criminal Minds (CBS) | Dramatic |
| Dancing with the Stars (ABC) | Reality Competition |
| Deadliest Catch (Discovery) | Reality |
| Duck Dynasty (A\&E) | Reality |
| Empire (Fox) | Dramatic |
| Family Guy (Fox) | Animated |
| Fast n' Loud (Discovery) | Reality |
| Game of Thrones (HBO) | Fantasy / Horror |
| Grey's Anatomy (ABC) | Dramatic |
| It's Always Sunny in Philadelphia (FX) | Comedy |
| Keeping Up with the Kardashians (E!) | Reality |
| Law \& Order: SVU (NBC) | Dramatic |
| Love \& Hip Hop (VH1) | Reality |
| Modern Family (ABC) | Comedy |
| MythBusters (Discovery) | Factual |
| NCIS (CBS) | Dramatic |
| Once Upon a Time (ABC) | Fantasy / Horror |
| Pawn Stars (History) | Dramatic |


| Pretty Little Liars (Freeform) | Dramatic |
| :--- | :--- |
| Real Housewives of Atlanta (Bravo) | Reality |
| Ridiculousness (MTV) | Reality Comedy |
| Rob Dyrdek's Fantasy Factory (MTV) | Reality |
| Saturday Night Live (NBC) | Late Night Show |
| Scandal (ABC) | Dramatic |
| So You Think You Can Dance (Fox) | Reality Competition |
| South Park (Comedy Central) | Animated |
| SpongeBob SquarePants (Nickelodeon) | Animated |
| Supernatural (The CW) | Fantasy / Horror |
| Teen Mom (MTV) | Reality |
| The Big Bang Theory (CBS) | Comedy |
| The Daily Show with Trevor Noah (Comedy Central) | Late Night Show |
| The First 48 (A\&E) | Factual |
| The Simpsons (Fox) | Animated |
| The Tom and Jerry Show (Cartoon Network) | Animated |
| The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon (NBC) | Late Night Show |
| The Vampire Diaries (The CW) | Fantasy / Horror |
| The Voice (NBC) | Reality Competition |
| The Walking Dead (AMC) | Fantasy / Horror |
| Tosh.o (Comedy Central) | Reality Comedy |
| Wipeout (ABC) | Reality Competition |

## Appendix B: Social and Political Issues

| Abortion | Affirmative Action |
| :--- | :--- |
| Budget deficit | Civil Rights |
| Constitutional issues | Crime / Violence |
| Diplomacy / Foreign policy | Drug addiction / Opioid epidemic |
| Education / Schools | Environmental protection |
| Equality | Free trade |
| Freedom | Gender equality |
| Government regulations | Government spending |
| Gun control | Health care / Insurance / Prescription drug prices |
| Home prices / Gentrification / Homelessness | Immigration |
| International relations | Islam |
| Jobs / Unemployment | LGBTQ+ rights |
| Morality / Values | Police |
| Race relations / Discrimination | Religion |
| Social Security | Taxes |
| Technology | Terrorism / Security |
| Utility rates / Gas prices | War on Terror |
| Welfare / Child care |  |


| Appendix C: Demographics and Psychographics |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| Demographics: | Psychographics: |
| Age | Happiness |
| Gender | Openness |
| Race / Ethnicity | Satisfaction |
| Education | Self-Efficacy |
| Income | Spirituality |
| Religion |  |
| State |  |
| ZIP code |  |
| Voting habit |  |


| Appendix D: What They Like / Dislike About TV Shows and Emotional Responses to TV Shows |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| What they like / dislike: | Emotional responses: |
| Characters | Amusement |
| Educational value | Anger |
| Emotional impact | Contempt |
| Humor | Disgust |
| Story/Plot | Fear |
| Style/Tone | Guilt |
| Suspense | Hope |
|  | Joy |
|  | Sadness |
|  | Shame |
|  | Surprise |

Appendix E: Film and Television Genres

| Action Adventure | Drama | Science \& Nature |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Arts | Educational | Sci Fi \& Fantasy |
| Business | Game Show | Soap Opera |
| Children | Horror | Sports |
| Comedy | Mystery \& Thriller | Talk Shows |
| Documentary | Reality |  |


| Appendix F: Networks |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ABC | Fox News | NBC |
| AMC | FX | Nickelodeon |
| CBS | Hallmark | TBS |
| CNN | HBO | Telemundo |
| CW | HGTV | TNT |
| Discovery | History | Univision |
| Disney | Investigation Discovery | USA |
| ESPN | Ion |  |
| Fox | MSNBC |  |

## Appendix G: News Sources

| National newspapers | Breitbart News Network |
| :--- | :--- |
| Local newspapers | CNN |
| International newspapers | Drudge Report |
| Spanish-language newspapers | Fox News |
| Radio | Huffington Post |
| Local TV news | MSNBC |
| Network TV news | New York Times |
| Cable TV news | NPR News |
| Comedy news programs | USA Today |
| News websites | Wall Street Journal |
| Blogs |  |

Social media

## Appendix H: Viewing Behaviors - How, Why and Where They Watch

| How they watch: | Why they watch: | Where they watch: |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Binge-watching | Emotional release | Regular broadcast |
| Live viewing | Escapism | Cable |
| Social viewing | Inspiration | Satellite |
| Second-screening | Laughter | Streaming device |
| Time-shifting | Learn about others' lives | Streaming subscription |
| Viewing frequency | Passive viewing | Other streaming service |
|  | Relaxation | Pay-per-view |
|  | Reduce loneliness | Free online |
|  | Self-reflection |  |
|  | Vicarious experience |  |



Corman Lear
CIENTER
and
learcenter.org


[^0]:    1 Lear Center research reports and summaries can be found on the Hollywood, Health \& Society site, https://hollywoodhealthandsociety.org/ materials/research-evaluation, and on the Media Impact Project site, http://www.mediaimpactproject.org/research.html.
    2 See Appendix A for list of Entertainment TV Shows
    3 Katz, Josh (2016, December 27). 'Duck Dynasty" vs. "Modern Family": 50 Maps of the U.S. Cultural Divide. The New York Times: Upshot section. Retrieved from: https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/12/26/upshot/duck-dynasty-vs-modern-family-television-maps.htm?_r=0

[^1]:    4 Such as Baker, T., Blakley, J., Z., \& N. (2008, April). You Are What You Watch (And Listen To, And Read). Retrieved from https://learcenter.org/ pdf/entertainmentandpolitics.pdf
    5 Zogby Analytics - Home. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://zogbyanalytics.com/
    6 See appendices for full listings of all survey items.
    7 See Appendix B for list of all Social and Political Issues.

[^2]:    8 Donald Trump's Presidential campaign also discovered this association, as reported in Bertoni, S. (2016, November 23). Exclusive Interview: How Jared Kushner Won Trump The White House. Retrieved from https://www.forbes.com/sites/stevenbertoni/2016/11/22/exclusive-inter

[^3]:    9 The longest running medical drama on primetime TV as reported in Dugan, C. (2019, February 28). Grey's Anatomy Set to Become the Longest-Running Primetime Medical Drama on TV - Surpassing ER! Retrieved from https://people.com/tv/greys-anatomy-longest-prime time-medical-drama/

[^4]:    See appendices for full listings of all survey items.
    It's important to note that although the Blue and Red groups seem to align with the political views of Democrats and Republicans, the clusters were not based upon party self-identification; in fact, substantial proportions of Blues did not identify as Democrats and substantial proportions of Reds did not identify as Republican.

[^5]:    13 See Appendix A for list of Entertainment TV Shows.
    14 See Appendix D for lists of What They Like / Dislike About TV Shows and Emotional Responses to TV Shows.
    15 See Appendix E for list of Film and TV Genres.

[^6]:    16 See Appendix A for list of all Entertainment TV Shows.
    17 As reported in Katz, Josh (2016, December 27). ‘Duck Dynasty" vs. "Modern Family": 50 Maps of the U.S. Cultural Divide. The New York Times: Upshot section. Accessed 3/15/19: https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/12/26/upshot/duck-dynasty-vs-modern-family-televi sion-maps.htm?_r=0 Note: Katz' 2016 article used the number of "likes" given to a show's Facebook page as an indicator of "fandom." He obtained data on TV shows' number of "likes" by active Facebook users in each US ZIP code, and he correlated that with voting data for

[^7]:    18 See Appendix F for list of networks, and Appendix G for list of news sources.
    19 Lulkin, Maiz. (2016, June 17). Fixing the filter bubble. Accessed 3/15/19: https://medium.com/@joaomilho/fixing-the-filter-bubble-e36oa2c9bfdc.
    20 Analyses were conducted to determine likelihood of watching based on significant differences in odds ratios between groups (i.e., a measure of association indicating a group's probability compared to another group). We compared two groups at a time: Blue vs. Red, Purple vs. Red and Blue vs. Purple to develop the models. The models controlled for basic demographics, including age, gender and race/ethnicity (white vs. others).

[^8]:    21 See Appendix E for list of Film and TV Genres.
    22 The roots of this research extend further back to scholars studying media gratifications in the 1940s (e.g., Cantril, 1942; Wolfe and Fiske, 1949). See also Blumler, J. G., \& McQuail, D. (1969). Television in Politics - Its Uses and Influence. Pp. xxvii, 379. Carter, R. E. (1969). In The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. University of Chicago Press, 386(1), 221-222. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716269386001 74, which laid the groundwork for what would come to be known as the Uses and Gratifications approach to media research.

[^9]:    25 See Bartsch, Anne \& Viehoff, Reinhold. (2010). The Use of Media Entertainment and Emotional Gratification. Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences. 5. 2247-2255. 10.1016/j. Accessed 3/15/19: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1877042810018185.
    26 See Appendix H for list of Viewing Behaviors: How, Why and Where They Watch.
    23 Katz, E., Blumler, J. G., \& Gurevitch, M. (1973). Uses and gratifications research. The Public Opinion Quarterly, 37(4), 509-523.
    24 See Ruggiero, T. E. (2017). Uses and Gratifications Theory in the 21st Century. Refining Milestone Mass Communications Theories for the 21st Century, 36-70. Accessed 3/15/19: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/233138016_Uses_and_Gratifications_Theory_in_the_21st_Century.

[^10]:    27 Soon to become longest running medical drama on primetime TV as reported in Dugan, C. (2019, February 28). Grey's Anatomy Set to Become the Longest-Running Primetime Medical Drama on TV - Surpassing ER! Accessed 3/15/19: https://people.com/tv/greys-anatomy-longest-primetime-medical-drama/

[^11]:    28 See the Media Impact Project's forthcoming 2019 report: Racial Disparities in the Criminal Justice System: An Examination of Depictions in Mainstream Television.
    29 Due to differences in how questions were posed and discrepancies between number and types of other shows investigated by both studies, these comparisons are provided as indicators of general feelings and trends in viewership behavior.

[^12]:    32 Comparisons in this section were made on subsets of the data: Viewing preferences of those who ranked each of these issues among either their three most important or three least important issues.
    33 Donald Trump's Presidential campaign also discovered this association, as reported in Bertoni, S. (2016, November 23). Exclusive Interview: How Jared Kushner Won Trump The White House. Retrieved from https://www.forbes.com/sites/stevenbertoni/2016/11/22/exclusive-interview-how-jared-kushner-won-trump-the-white-house/\#10452fc13af6

[^13]:    34 Murphy, S.T., Hether, H.J., Felt, L.J., \& Buffington, S.C. (2012). Public Diplomacy in Prime Time: Exploring the Potential of Entertainment

[^14]:    35 Gillig, TK., Rosenthal, E.L., Murphy, S.T., \& Folb, K. L. (2017, August 2). More than a media moment: The influence of televised storylines on viewers' attitudes toward transgender people and policies. Sex Roles.

[^15]:    38 Bandura, A. (1977) Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. Psychological Review. 84(2), 191-215. DOI:10.1037/0033295X.84.2.191 Accessed 3/15/19: http://culturalmeded.stanford.edu/pdf\%20docs/Bandura1977\%20SelfEfficacy\%20for\%20Behavioral\%20Change.pdf 39 Bandura, A. (1982). Self-efficacy mechanism in human agency. American Psychologist, 37(2), 122-147. DOI:10.1037/0003-066X.37.2.122 Accessed

[^16]:    41 The University of Southern California's Internal Review Board (IRB) reviewed the study for conduct on Human Subjects, and granted exempt status.
    42 See Appendix A for list of Entertainment TV Shows.
    43 Curated by panel provider, Cint, to align to census proportions.
    44 Our survey also collected ZIP codes and other geographic location data which will be analyzed and included in our report on findings for Phase 2 .
    45 We contracted with a national panel provider to locate respondents from all 50 states, keeping gender, age and race/ethnicity in proportion with census data. Most respondents completed the survey in 20 minutes.

