Exploring Entertainment Media Diets in the Age of Polarization

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Abstract

Objective: With widespread polarization in American partisan news media and culture, entertainment media can play an important role in shaping or changing political attitudes. This project explores whether entertainment TV has the ability to increase partisan crossover within the nation's contemporary partisan divide.

Methods: Investigative methods include analyzing 2008 and 2024 surveys for US-based respondents on reasons for watching a particular show or show type, and a content analysis of the shows *Parks and Recreation, Modern Family, NCIS,* and *Duck Dynasty*, in which I code for liberal and conservative values each show evokes and compare those to its partisan viewership.

Results: Through these two methods of analysis, this research found that entertainment media diets varied on a partisan basis more than previously thought. This variance was seen in the heterogeneous content of shows themselves, as well as the cross-partisan show selection for many individuals surveyed.

Conclusions: This research can add to the growing litany of research on the political effects of entertainment media. More specifically, these findings show that entertainment media's political effects can extend beyond the limitations of self-exposure.

The U.S. election of 2016 was a significant year for countless Americans, and for the status of American political life surrounding it. Donald Trump's divisive presidential campaign, followed by his unexpected victory, confirmed 2016 as an inflection point for polarization. Since the US elected its first Black president in 2008, there had existed a sense of overarching progress and hope, and the idea that America had achieved a "post-racial society" permeated liberal pop culture (Crenshaw, 2017). Trump's election was a wake-up call for many educated and liberal Americans who had minimal interaction with Trump supporters and were mystified as to what his supporters liked in him (Scala & Johnson, 2017).

The silo-ing off of the American public by where they live, what kind of news they consume, and other lifestyle factors can help explain why this was so incomprehensible to roughly half of the country. These liberal voters had likely watched MSNBC, CNN, or consumed other liberal news media which engaged a partisan audience, as did Fox News with conservative viewers (Jurkowitz et. al, 2020). Partisan news media has a polarizing effect on viewers by presenting a one-sided or biased version of the news that presents the opposition as an existential threat (Martin & Yurukoglu, 2017). It is recognized that people gravitate toward news that caters to a liberal or conservative audience. This partisan preference is most commonly manifested through conservative news media attacks on the press, voting system, and elitism (Berry & Sobieraj, 2016). As more Americans consume partisan news media, it becomes common for one's news media landscape to correspond with their political ideology (Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, 2010; Levendusky, 2013).

However, the polarization in news media is just a small component in the United States' stark self-sorting. The years leading up to the 2016 election represented a polarized era in the United States, both geographically and culturally, while the years after 2016 showed evidence of

polarization even within parties, for instance with schisms within the Republican Party between "old-guard" conservatives and "MAGA" devotees of Trump (Mason, 2015). Partisan self-sorting has increased over the past few decades, with people surrounding themselves with those who have similar political views or lifestyle values. Quantitatively, recent research found evidence of a "Big Sort", showing from 1992 to 2012, spatial polarization in the percentage voting for Democratic candidates in presidential elections increased (Johnston, Manley & Jones 2016). From this situation of increasingly all-encompassing polarization, it is relevant to explore further to what degree one's lifestyle and political views reinforce or challenge the other.

Researchers have found a high level of selective attention to news media based on one's politics. Polarization is becoming understood as a social phenomenon, which means that one's partisan identity is as visceral of an emotional connection for them as other base aspects of their identity, such as a sports team or religion (Mason, 2015). This primal, intrinsic source of partisanship suggests the ease of becoming stuck in a self-reinforcing feedback loop of like-minded ideas across mediums from news to social media algorithms (Kubin & von Sikorski, 2021). However, with the polarization in news media and other sources receiving so much attention, one area of American culture to add to the conversation is entertainment media. Its noted political effects can influence how we think about polarization and its limits. Moreover, its transformation of medium over the past 15 years from cable to streaming and the rising influence of online discourse underscore the changes in entertainment media as well. As polarization leads to a certain amount of selective exposure, this leads to the question of whether the same pattern seen in partisan news media holds for entertainment media.

One piece of media that provided a direct impetus for this project was a *New York Times* Upshot article released shortly after the 2016 election (Katz, 2016). This article, entitled "'Duck

Dynasty' vs. 'Modern Family': 50 Maps of the U.S Cultural Divide," consisted of several maps representing TV show popularity by region of the country, and correlated that with 2016 electoral voting patterns. These maps' viewership varied by program, with *Modern Family*'s viewership concentrated in urban centers and *Duck Dynasty* watched heavily in rural areas across the country. In fact, Katz found that a region's level of watching the show *Duck Dynasty* was a stronger indicator for voting for Trump in the 2016 election than having voted for Bush in 2000. This data showed a correlation between regional areas of entertainment media viewership and partisan voting patterns in those spaces. However, it also brought up questions as to the nature of the shows themselves. Did the fact that more people who voted for Donald Trump watched *Duck Dynasty* make the show inherently conservative? And, did the fact that *Duck Dynasty* was popular in a region that voted for Trump mean that people in those regions just watched "conservative" shows?

This paper aims to analyze the extent of polarization's role in one's exposure to different kinds of entertainment television. Given this background on the nature of polarization, multiple questions of interest have arisen for this research. These regard to what extent polarization appears in the entertainment media landscape, whether polarization leads to selective exposure to entertainment media in the same way it has for news media, and how one's self-selected entertainment compares to their overall partisan outlook. Accordingly, the purpose of my research is to investigate the entertainment media "diet" of the public. In other words, I analyze what types of entertainment people are consuming from the "menu" of all available TV shows. I do so in two ways: by looking at the entertainment diet of what shows people select (their "entrees") and the ideological content of the shows (the "ingredients" of the entrees they select).

Before doing so, it is important to examine what the existing literature says about the political effects of entertainment media to show why this is important.

Literature Review

There is a strong argument for the idea that even self-selected media can shape or change one's political perspectives. In what is now considered a growing field of research, the study of politics and media has produced significant evidence of political effects from consuming entertainment media. Entertainment media's political effects are increasingly shown to be influential and wide-ranging, with studies showing evidence of political effects from both overtly political and nonpolitical entertainment. Noteworthy studies on the effects of political entertainment media include the effects from satirical shows *The Colbert Report* and *The Daily Show* on viewer levels of skepticism vs. cynicism (Guggenheim et. al, 2011; Gierzynski, 2018), the 1980s made-for-TV movie *The Day After* on the eminence and salience of information on nuclear war (Feldman & Seligman, 1985), and the TV show *Amerika* on harsher viewer attitudes toward Soviet-American relations during the Cold War - while controlling for viewer ideology (Lenart & McGraw, 1989).

In addition, nonpolitical entertainment media, or media with no mentions of real-world politics, has produced political effects. Research has found evidence of entertainment media effects from the portrayal of gender norms in sitcoms changing attitudes on access to contraception (Swigger, 2017), from the meritocratic narratives in reality TV shows on economic mobility (Kim, 2022), from the TV series *Euphoria* on addiction and drug policy (Gierzynski et. al, 2024), from the movies *300* vs. *V for Vendetta* activating authoritarian vs. anti-authoritarian beliefs (Glas & Taylor, 2018), the Harry Potter series and the Millennial generation's disposition towards tolerance (Gierzynski & Eddy, 2013; Vezzali et. al, 2015), dystopian media activating

attitudes on the need for radical political protest (Jones & Paris, 2018), the show *Law and Order* affecting perspectives on the criminal justice system and the death penalty (Slater et. al., 2006), and the show *Game of Thrones* affecting the degree of viewer beliefs in a just world (Gierzynski, 2018). Notably, these examples of political effects have occurred across genres and issue areas, strengthening their efficacy in a variety of viewer situations.

As entertainment media's effects have been increasingly studied, so have reasons for the polarization of American news media. For one, partisan polarization in America has been found to extend across more aspects of one's lifestyle and type of residence along the urban-rural continuum (Scala & Johnson, 2017). These lifestyle choices - such as one's preferred news media sources and where and how they choose to live - are increasingly accurate predictors of one's political affiliation. Those in a shared group or identity will select content that reflects and shares the values of that group (Slater, 2007). This shift has been notable looking at polarization by news media consumption (Westerwick et al., 2020). Moreover, from a psychological standpoint, studies have shown that people are generally more intuitive than rational, so appealing to one's feelings and emotions will give someone a more persuasive argument than trying to appeal to reason (Haidt, 2012). This helps to explain why the nature of partisan news media often seems tribal and plays into polarization as a social phenomenon with "primal" political appeals designed to stoke fear and outrage (Levendusky, 2013; Mason, 2015). These scholars assert that with the polarization evoked in partisan news media, self-sorting based on political views and lifestyle values has influenced self-selection of one's news media.

The news media landscape, with more overt partisan rhetoric, contrasts from the ample evidence that entertainment media can cause viewers to alter or even change previously held values. Reasons for this unique effect stem from narrative transportation and identification

theories, both discussed in the following section. The increased understanding of how entertainment media can have political effects and why it matters on a group level can provide a fresh framework for analyzing polarized elections. Based on these established political effects of entertainment media, a new question arises as to whether selective exposure models used for news media apply to entertainment media. In other words, this research investigates whether the uniformity in ingredients and noted pattern of "picky eaters" for news media holds true for entertainment media diets.

Theory and Hypotheses

Having discussed some of the examples of the widespread political effects of entertainment media, it follows to address how and when these effects happen. This is important because entertainment media is particularly adept at generating a political effect in more subtle, yet widespread ways than news media. Said effects occur through the entertainment piece's politically relevant messages and values that the piece of media imparts. Primarily, it is important to differentiate pure entertainment media from news media or even political entertainment media, as the manner of political messaging differs between these categories (Holbert, 2005). "Pure" entertainment media can be defined as being designed to entertain, having no references to real-life political figures or events as a central part of its narrative. This contrast is key to understanding the manner of these different effects. While a viewer can sit down to watch a piece of news media already primed to agree or disagree on a partisan basis, entertainment media differs in that it doesn't drive viewers to activate their political defenses.

The question of whether selective exposure affects entertainment media in the same way that it has polarized the country's news media consumption is central to this study. Author Gierzynski argues that selective exposure is less likely to happen in entertainment media because

viewers aren't primed to look for politically relevant messages in entertainment media. Most people pick their entertainment based on other criteria than its political nature (Gierzynski, 2018). As for its content, pure entertainment media includes lessons and values that don't seem to be political, but can have political effects, unbeknownst to the viewer (Holbert, 2005). This lack of noted focus on explicitly political themes can lead to an implicit landscape of heterogeneity, reaching past the polarization of America's news media landscape. Additionally, shows that attract a wider conversation around them can broaden their audience beyond whatever core group of viewers they were marketing themselves to. For example, the show *Euphoria*'s popularity was aided by the vigorous social media postings based on each week's episode and influenced a broader audience to watch the show than would have originally done so (Gierzynski et. al, 2024). Furthermore, even if someone decides to only watch a specific genre or type of content because of a perceived partisan shared value with that piece, any show can change and evolve over time from its original premise. For example, the HBO show *The Last of Us* was based on a popular apocalyptic video game of the same name which encouraged individualist survivalist tactics. This would ostensibly appeal to conservative, isolationist viewers. However, in the show's third episode, it introduced an LGBTQ love story, thus over the course of the series both appealing to (and potentially enraging) liberal and conservative audiences.

In the case of strictly entertainment media, a viewer's perspectives may be affected by their level of mental transportation into the story's narrative, or level of identification with characters whose traits they may seek to relate to more. Narrative Transportation Theory asserts that when a viewer becomes so immersed in a show, it is as if they have been transported to that show's world (Gierzynski, 2018). This process is impactful, as people in this state lose awareness of the real world while they are mentally within the world of the entertainment piece (Carpenter

& Green, 2012). Viewers who have been transported are more likely to absorb the politically relevant values from a piece of entertainment media, promoting durable changes or reinforcements in opinions. Similarly, Identification Theory posits that when a viewer forms an attachment to a certain character in a story, the viewer may retain their views or try to emulate the values of said character. The stronger a viewer's identification with a character, the stronger their emotional response will be towards the character's triumphs and travails, as if they were experiencing the narrative through the character's eyes (Bryant & Raney, 2020).

Moreover, exposure to the same theme across different pieces of content has been shown to increase media effects, strengthening the value of said theme if the viewer is seeing repeated instances of a particular value (Gierzynski, 2018). This emphasizes the importance of exploring the themes prevalent in entertainment media today, as the extent of the policy views they evoke can be significant (Glas & Taylor, 2018). Political socialization is also an important theoretical aspect of when entertainment media's effects occur most strongly. This theory places much significance on the surrounding people, institutions, and media that influence one's values as they form their political identity (Gierzynski, 2018). Research revealed that the *Harry Potter* series likely had an effect on Millennials' political views due to the series' role as a media agent during Millennials' adolescence and formative years, and thus helped to influence that generation's political perspectives (Gierzynski & Eddy, 2013).

The question remains regarding the extent of selective exposure to entertainment media. From this existing research on entertainment media's effects on politics, I am studying entertainment TV's potential effects within the landscape of urban liberal vs. rural conservative polarization. This research focuses on the variety of political and cultural values in popular contemporary liberal and conservative TV shows by looking at the American public's

entertainment media diets and the content in said TV shows themselves. Confronting entertainment media's potential to exist beyond the hyperpartisan culture and news media environment in the United States is a leading objective. Based on this strong theoretical background of entertainment media's political effects, I developed a few hypotheses for my research. They are as follows:

> *Hypothesis 1:* Individual-level entertainment media "diets" will consist of politically heterogeneous show groupings, even if the individual has a clear partisan identity.
>
> *Hypothesis 2:* Entertainment media show "ingredients" will be more politically heterogeneous than their partisan viewership would suggest.

Methods

The research methodology consists of two components. I analyze the overall diet of entertainment media from which consumers could choose, as well as the content of the shows themselves. For the first piece, I analyzed the individual choices made about one's entertainment media diet. This section aimed to test whether polarization affected a viewer's selective exposure in their entertainment consumption and selection process. For example, even if those who identified as conservative were watching the show *Duck Dynasty* in higher numbers, were some of those viewers also watching shows like *Modern Family* or *Parks and Recreation*? Was it possible for an individual to self-select shows with values running counter to the viewer's own ideological beliefs? To test the limits of self-exposure on individual entertainment selection, I designed a few survey questions for US-based respondents ages 18-25 using Amazon's Mechanical Turk. This age range was chosen to increase the amount of respondents, as research has indicated that the Gen Z age range is most engaged in online survey platforms (Huff & Tingley, 2015). These questions were part of a larger overall survey design also involving

questions on a political effect from dystopian media. However, most of those survey questions also served the purposes of this project as standard background questions by first measuring one's political attitudes, level of civic engagement, and political socialization before asking about shows watched and reasons for watching a particular show. The survey had 245 respondents.

For these thesis-specific questions, I asked, "Which of the following programs have you watched most or all of the episodes?" The options gave respondents as many shows as possible to select from so I could get an understanding of their entertainment media diet. To create a wide-ranging list, I picked 26 contemporary TV shows that were either critically acclaimed, popular according to IMDb's "Most Popular TV Shows" list, or both (IMDb, 2024). These were sorted into ideological categories by the fundamental set-up or most valued character traits for each show. I've included a representative show from each category to provide some instances of the fundamental nature of these value categorizations. For example, the show *Reservation Dogs* is meant to represent the lives of Indigenous communities in Oklahoma, which gives voice to a marginalized group and shows how systemic injustices have made their lives harder. I classified this show as liberal. The show *The Bachelor* is a long-running dating show where 30 female contestants vie for the hand of one male bachelor. The show paints a traditional and heteronormative portrait of love, and as the bachelor narrows down his eligible women, the show aims to end with an engagement at the finale. I classified this show as conservative. For the "Neither" category, I included shows with either conflicting value messaging or none at all. For example, the show *Grey's Anatomy* is a long-running medical drama sometimes approaching matters of diversity, but expresses a strong belief in the importance of preserving medicine's institutions. In comparison, *House Hunters* is an HGTV show where couples choose a house after looking at three different options and is value neutral, not evoking many liberal or

conservative coded values, if any. The full list included eight liberal shows, seven conservative shows, and eleven shows classified as “neither”. This list is available in Appendix C.

The question asking which programs one had watched was repeated three times in order to break down the shows into three groups, all with equal numbers of each type of show available to select. The respondent was not told which shows I had classified as which ideologically, and solely was to select the shows from each list of which they had watched all or most episodes. Then, I included two questions to learn more about why respondents picked the shows that they did, and what factors they found most important in selecting and enjoying a TV show. The first of those questions, “Why do you watch the shows you checked above?”, was to explore different factors in one’s surroundings that could influence self-exposure. The second, “Thinking about entertainment shows that are available to you but that you don’t watch, what makes you avoid those shows?” included both political and nonpolitical options for not wanting to watch a specific TV show. This second question asked respondents to consider how relevant their opinions on different aspects of shows were in their selection. These questions can be found in full in Appendix E.

In addition to administering one survey, I also analyzed data from an older source. The Annenberg Public Policy Center conducted their National Annenberg Election Survey (NAES) of US adults, administered in 2008. This was an online panel with data available from the 28,985 respondents who took part in at least one wave of online interviews. The survey’s content was wide-ranging, but I focused on a few questions they asked regarding TV programs regularly watched. The poll was structured similarly to the question design in the survey I had administered, with four groupings of shows under questions about types of shows watched. These questions were worded, “Which of the following programs do you watch regularly on

television? Please check any that you watch at least once a month", "Below are some additional television programs. Which of these do you watch regularly? Please check any that you watch at least once a month", and finally "Here is the last list of television programs. Please check any that you watch at least once a month" (Annenberg Public Policy Center, 2008). However, the NAES included a wider variety of programming, including news media. I first isolated the entertainment shows within these groups and was left with eight shows which fit the category of "pure entertainment media" from these question groupings. Within this list, there were three liberal shows, three conservative shows, and two shows classified as "neither". This list is available in Appendix D.

In addition to analyzing individual media diets, the second part of this research involved conducting a content analysis of the TV shows *Modern Family, NCIS, Duck Dynasty,* and *Parks and Recreation*. In this section, I coded for liberal and conservative values that appeared in each show, and compared the nature of the show's values evoked to its partisan and geographic viewership. I watched 20 episodes each of the four shows, making sure to limit the section of episodes watched to fall 2009 at the earliest and spring 2016 at the latest - within the duration of the Obama Administration. I first created a list of 11 pairs of a liberal-coded value and its conservative counterpart. For example, "innovation" was a liberal-coded value that was found throughout all four shows, and "tradition" was its conservative-coded counterpart. These value comparisons were chosen and sorted using Haidt's Moral Foundations, whose theory on the values that conservatives vs. liberals are more likely to prioritize was useful for these categorizations (Haidt, 2012). The entire list of values used can be found in Appendix B. The same structure was used for all 80 episodes. I used stratified random sampling to determine within the relevant seasons how much to space out the episodes for each respective show, and

then randomly selected an episode to start from. During the TV show viewing, I watched each episode with a coding sheet set up and marked each instance of a value being shown. I then categorized the value by the number of times it occurs, its political association, whether the value is being promoted, satirized, or opposed, and whether the value is manifested as a character trait or a lesson learned. I also included a description of how the value occurred and if it was upheld or challenged by certain characters, which was helpful to have as context for the character dynamics of these shows. With five to nine distinct values from the aforementioned list being recorded per episode, I was able to gather useful data on how partisan homogenous each show's latent content really is.

Analysis

Survey Results

I analyzed data from both surveys to get a sense of individuals' media diets, essentially whether those watching conservative shows were also watching liberal shows, and vice versa. I start with the 2008 NAES data to examine the state of individual diets during an earlier era of polarization. Specifically, I sought to find whether respondents were regularly watching a political mix of shows or whether they selected shows that conformed to their ideology, and to see how the mix of shows related to respondents' partisanship. First, I compared the watching habits of those who watched a certain amount of conservative or liberal-leaning shows, to determine the extent of partisan crossover in TV selection. In terms of those results, among respondents who said they watched two conservative-leaning shows, 19% reported also having watched one liberal-leaning show, and roughly 7% reported watching two liberal leaning shows. Among those who had watched two liberal shows, about 30% reported watching at least one conservative show and 23% reported watching two conservative shows. However, it is worth

noting that there were only three shows in each category for this analysis. Nevertheless, this high rate of partisan crossover was certainly encouraging. The lopsided nature of the partisan crossover, with more liberal viewers crossing over to conservative-leaning shows, could also speak to the popularity of the specific partisan-coded shows chosen. The full crosstabulation of that data is available in Appendix F. Next, I ran bivariate correlations between party identification and types of shows selected, where the number of conservative, nondescript, or liberal-leaning shows watched is the dependent variable. I used party identification in lieu of ideology as the independent variable, given the strong correlation between the two. The party identification factor was coded so that the higher the number, the more Democratic the respondent. As such, one would expect a negative correlation between the measure of partisanship and the number of conservative shows watched, a positive correlation with the number of liberal shows watched and no real correlation with the number of ideologically nondescript shows if viewers are employing selective exposure in choosing entertainment TV. The results presented below in Table 1 suggest nearly the opposite.

Table 1

		lib_shows_wFG	conservative_shows	non_ideol_shows	Party_ID
lib_shows_wFG	Pearson Correlation	1	.068**	.549**	.076**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<.001	<.001	<.001
	N	24036	23948	23988	24036
conservative_shows	Pearson Correlation	.068**	1	.072**	.025**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001		<.001	<.001
	N	23948	23983	23941	23983
non_ideol_shows	Pearson Correlation	.549**	.072**	1	-.069**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	<.001		<.001
	N	23988	23941	23988	23988
Party_ID	Pearson Correlation	.076**	.025**	-.069**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	<.001	<.001	
	N	24036	23983	23988	25376

The findings in this table contradict the theory of selective exposure. If there was to be selective exposure in a viewer's entertainment election, one would not expect any overlap in shows, as there would be a negative correlation between people watching liberal and conservative-leaning shows. Table 1 instead expresses a positive correlation, with viewers who watch conservative-leaning shows also watching liberal-leaning and nondescript shows, and the same being true across the table. There exist small positive correlations between being Republican and watching conservative-leaning shows and being Democratic and watching liberal-leaning shows. If selective exposure were taking place, those would be negative, suggesting some selective exposure for Democrats. There is a negative correlation when it comes to nondescript shows, suggesting a greater preference among Republicans for ideologically nondescript entertainment shows. While containing some conflicts in the expression of this data, it does suggest an overall variance in entertainment TV diet for viewers, even factoring in differences in partisan composition.

I also analyzed the data from the 2024 Mechanical Turk survey to assess entertainment media diets under contemporary US polarization. I followed the same format as the NAES data, by first analyzing the amount of overlap in watching conservative and liberal shows. Those results are specifically worth mentioning due to the higher partisan crossover within the eight liberal, seven conservative, and eleven nondescript shows. Among respondents who said they watched two conservative-leaning shows, roughly 35% reported also having watched one liberal-leaning show and 25% having watched two liberal shows. Among those who had watched two liberal shows, about 33% reported watching at least one conservative show and 25% reported watching 2 conservative shows. These results displayed a higher rate of partisan crossover across conservative and liberal-leaning show viewers and suggested that finding a

show to align with one's political ideology played a limited role in its selection. Furthermore, the rate of conservative-leaning viewers watching liberal shows increased from the 2008 survey to the 2024 survey by 16%. As the 2024 Mechanical Turk data surveyed those from 18-25, this higher recent rate of partisan crossover among conservatives could reflect the more mixed views of Gen Z conservatives on issues such as environmental stewardship (Tyson et. al, 2021). The full crosstabulation of that data is available in Appendix G. Next, I ran a correlational analysis between party identification and number of each category of shows watched. In this table, the Party Identification factor was also coded so that the higher the number, the more Democratic the respondent. The Table 2 results, presented below, are similarly indicative of varied media diets.

Table 2

		lib_shows_wFG	conservative_shows	ideologically_indescript_shows	Party_ID
lib_shows_wFG	Pearson Correlation	1	.250**	.552**	.041
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<.001	<.001	.533
	N	245	245	245	231
conservative_shows	Pearson Correlation	.250**	1	.417**	.219**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001		<.001	<.001
	N	245	245	245	231
ideologically_indescript_shows	Pearson Correlation	.552**	.417**	1	.231**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	<.001		<.001
	N	245	245	245	231
Party_ID	Pearson Correlation	.041	.219**	.231**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.533	<.001	<.001	
	N	231	231	231	231

Table 2 also expresses a positive correlation between partisan viewers watching liberal and conservative-leaning shows. There is a small positive correlation between identifying as Republican and watching conservative-leaning shows, but no such correlation between identifying as a Democrat and watching liberal-leaning shows. This means that those identifying more strongly as Republican were more likely to watch liberal-leaning shows and those

identifying more strongly as a Democrat were not more likely to watch liberal-leaning shows, again contradicting the argument in favor of selective exposure. The positive correlation between party identification and watching different types of shows, or simply lack of a negative correlation, suggests a strongly varied diet for entertainment TV viewers.

Regarding the Mechanical Turk survey portion, I also analyzed the responses to the two questions on motivations for watching or (not watching) available entertainment TV shows. These questions had multiple options, where respondents could select a variety of different political or nonpolitical reasons. Those results are seen below in Tables 3A and 3B.

Table 3A

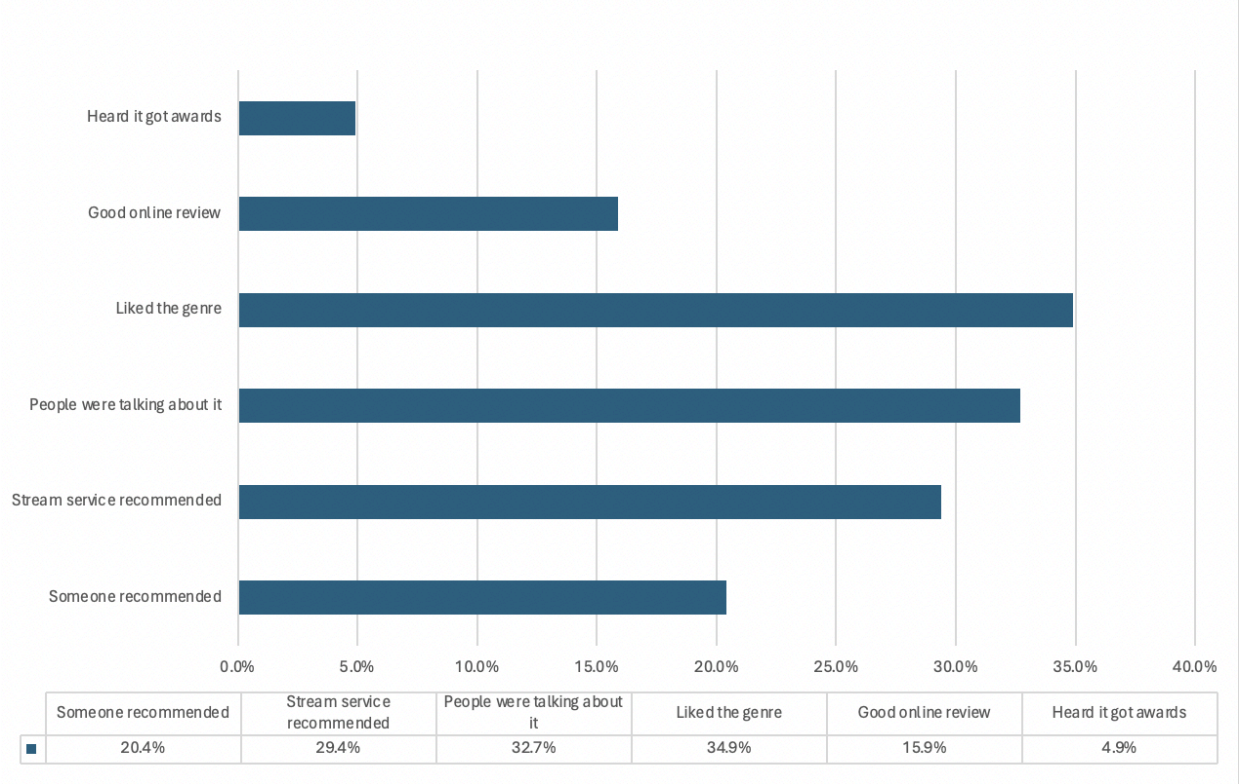
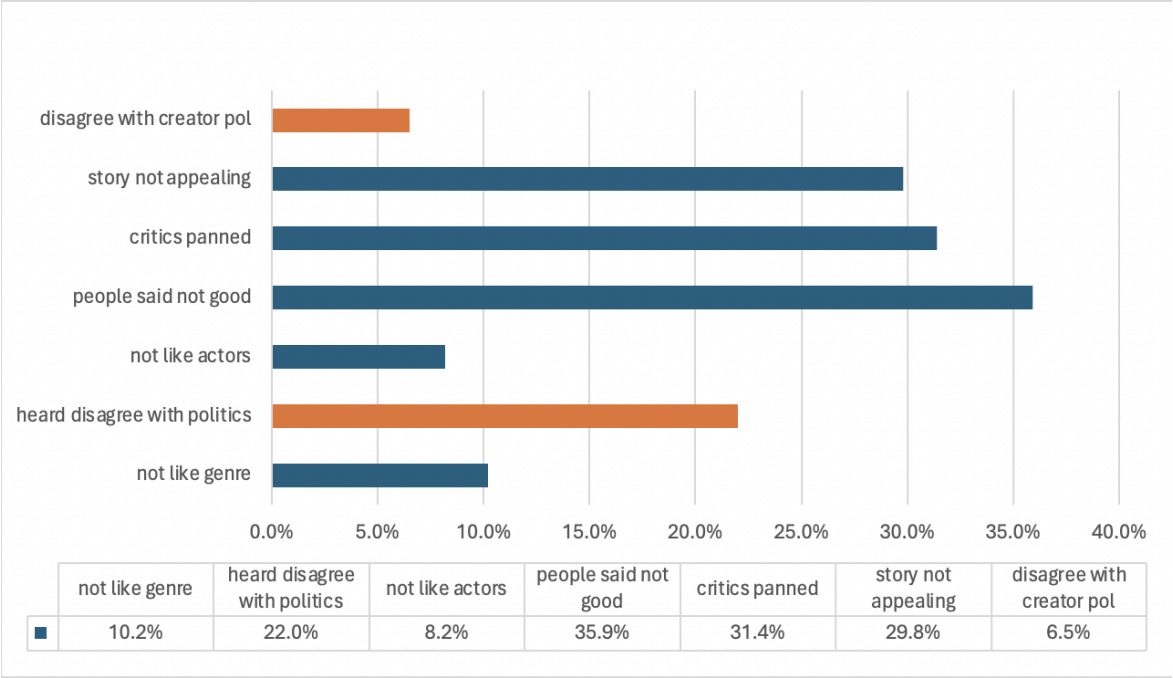


Table 3B



	not like genre	heard disagree with politics	not like actors	people said not good	critics panned	story not appealing	disagree with creator pol
■	10.2%	22.0%	8.2%	35.9%	31.4%	29.8%	6.5%

Table 3A shows the different political socialization aspects at play for respondents. The most popular response with 34.9%, “liked the genre,” was a more intrinsic measure for deciding to watch a show that could be related to selective exposure. However, the next two most popular responses, “people were talking about it” (32.7%) and “streaming service recommended it” (29.4%) both suggest parts of one’s surroundings as influential factors in deciding what to watch, which could have the potential to challenge one’s own political beliefs. In addition, the response option “Heard it got awards” was the least popular response (4/9%), signifying the limited impact of that type of prestige on one’s inclination to select a show. Broader signifiers of popularity, such as online discourse or chatter within one’s network, seemed to more directly incline one to watch a show.

Table 3B shows the differing extent to which political vs. nonpolitical factors influenced viewer decisions to not watch shows available to them. For viewing ease, the politically-coded reasons for not wanting to watch a show are in orange, and the nonpolitical reasons are in blue.

Notably, the top three reasons respondents selected, “people said it wasn’t good” (35.9%), “critics panned it” (31.4%), and “the story wasn’t appealing” (29.8%), were all nonpolitical. For these respondents, disagreeing with the show’s politics (22%) was only the 4th biggest reason for not wanting to watch a show. In fact, the other politically-factored option, “disagree[ing] with the politics of a show’s creator,” was the least popular reason selected (6.5%). Moreover, given the influence of people’s networks as the most popular reason given for deciding to not watch a show, it is worth noting that there could be some politics at play in one’s personal networks or opinions of a show’s plot. However, for the purposes of this survey response, one can remove politics from the equation in these nonpolitical responses because a political option was available. I had included a politics-specific option separately, so isolating the nonpolitical responses shows the strength of factors other than politics in individual self-selection.

Content Analysis Results:

Having explored the diet of audiences across the political spectrum, the purpose of the content analysis was to find how a show’s partisan composition within its episodes compared to its overall perception. To calculate the values for Table 1, I sorted the values from all episodes watched within each show to collect all the liberal values together, followed by all of the conservative values. I then further sorted these to organize whether each value was being promoted, satirized, or opposed within the liberal or conservative value lists. I organized the partisan implications of the values from this breakdown. Most obviously, both “Promote Liberal” and “Oppose Conservative” would be evoking a liberal value. I also included “Satirize Conservative” in evoking liberal values, as a conservative value being satirized essentially led to its opposition, simply through irony or humor instead of drama. Thus, this value breakdown

categorized “Promote Conservative,” “Oppose Liberal,” and “Satirize Liberal” as conservative value outcomes, while their opposites had liberal value outcomes.

Each value’s percentage was calculated by dividing the instances of it specifically being expressed by the total count of values recorded per show. For example, there were 14 instances of values that “Promote Conservative” across all 20 episodes I watched of *Parks and Recreation.* To calculate the percentage of the times a conservative value was promoted in the show, I divided 14 by the total amount of values I recorded - which was 259 - to get the percentage of 17.4%. Results of these calculations can be found in Table 4. A qualitative, followed by a quantitative analysis of each show’s politically-coded value makeup follows.

Table 4

	Promote Con.	Satirize Lib.	Oppose Lib.	**Total Con.**	Promote Lib.	Satirize Con.	Oppose Con.	**Total Lib.**
Parks and Rec	17.4%	28.6%	2.7%	**48.7%**	32.05%	13.9%	5.41%	**51.3%**
Modern Family	11.3%	19.6%	2.9%	**33.8%**	32.8%	30.4%	2.9%	**66.2%**
Duck Dynasty	28.1%	17.6%	4.3%	**50%**	29.5%	16.7%	3.8%	**50%**
NCIS	23.2%	11.6%	2.3%	**37.1%**	40.5%	11.2%	11.2%	**62.9%**

It is interesting to note the contrasts and similarities between each show’s partisan value composition and their overall perception. Not one of these shows analyzed had an overwhelming majority of liberal or conservative values, with even the most lopsided - *Modern Family* - containing less than ⅔ liberal values. Although these shows were correlated with either a liberal or conservative audience, their actual content had a mix of partisan values. Therefore, the fact that these shows are more heavily watched by a partisan audience does not mean that the shows themselves are homogenous. A more detailed qualitative, followed by a quantitative analysis of each show’s politically coded value makeup follows.

Parks and Recreation:

The sitcom *Parks and Recreation* is set in flyover country in Pawnee, Indiana and features titular character Leslie Knope as an unflaggingly optimistic bureaucrat in her town's local Parks and Recreation department. Her foil, who ultimately becomes a close friend over the course of the show's run, is head of the department Ron Swanson, who contrasts her liberal and feminist attitudes with his libertarian old-school patriotism. Other notable characters in Leslie's office include the deadpan resident young person April Ludgate, canny entrepreneur Tom Haverford, hapless and well-meaning Jerry Gergich, and naive goofball Andy Dwyer. Leslie also develops a romantic relationship with a measured accountant named Ben Wyatt and maintains a strong friendship with a sensible nurse named Ann Perkins.

The show develops an extremely positive and cheerful tone throughout its run, with many storylines centered on the staff coming together to solve a town problem. Its overarching message can be described as the power of small government and hope. As a sitcom, this show uses a good deal of satire to communicate values or things that are important to different characters. Although the theme of unfettered optimism was heavy in the episodes I watched, there were also many instances satirizing liberal values, such as characters getting into trouble due to irreverence and failing to show a proper amount of respect for their government title or an important situation. These qualitative traits are backed up by the overall breakdown of values, with *Parks and Recreation* exhibiting a slight tilt towards evoking liberal values at 51.4%.

Modern Family:

Modern Family was a groundbreaking sitcom upon its debut for depicting - as per its title - a "modern family." This California family is composed of patriarch, Jay Pritchett, who is married to his second and much younger wife who has immigrated from Colombia, Gloria. Jay and Gloria live with Gloria's son from a former marriage, Manny. Jay has two children, one of

whom is his son, Mitchell, who lives with his partner, Cam, and their adopted daughter, Lily. Jay's daughter, Claire, has perhaps the most conventional home out of the family, and lives with her husband, Phil, and their three children: Haley, Alex, and Luke. This multicultural and multigenerational family is shown to be extremely close-knit and supportive in each other's endeavors. Though the characters do grow throughout the show, many dynamics remain constant. One is Claire and Phil's subtle inversion of traditional gender dynamics in their marriage as Claire is more assertive and hard-working while Phil is the gentler and more compassionate parent. Subverting stereotypes happened often in the show, with many lessons making fun of prejudices, like Gloria's accent or Jay's distrust of Manny's more feminine hobbies. The show overwhelmingly values tolerance and diversity - both liberal values - and spends almost as much time satirizing conservative values as it does promoting liberal ones. This show certainly upheld its liberal image, with total liberal values making up 66.2%, roughly two-thirds of all values recorded.

Duck Dynasty:

Duck Dynasty is a show that to those who had not watched much of it, would seem extremely conservative-coded. The reality show follows the self-proclaimed "redneck" Robertson family of West Monroe, Louisiana who gained a fortune by starting a duck call business. Main characters include Willie - the CEO of the company and generally the straight man to his family's foibles, Jase - Willie's older brother and often his antagonist, Jep - Willie's softer-spoken younger brother, Phil - the patriarch with a traditionalist outlook, and Uncle Si - Phil's brother, a Vietnam War veteran, and the comedic center of the show. The screen time is male-dominated by these characters, but some female representation includes Miss Kay - Phil's wife and mother to her sons, Korie - Willie's rational and sensible wife, and Sadie - Willie's precocious daughter. This is a very traditional family structure which includes a religious

undertone, as Phil (or occasionally one of the sons) leads a prayer at the end of every episode. Despite these overtly conservative-coded values, the show does have liberal-coded elements. These occur mainly in the employees often using creativity to make their work life more exciting, the family members helping those in need through sound advice, and plenty of irreverence which softens and even subverts the rigid family hierarchy. These factors helped cause the “Promote Liberal" value to be the most-cited occurrence throughout these episodes, at 29.5%. Overall, and perhaps most surprisingly, *Duck Dynasty* had a 50/50 split between liberal and conservative value outcomes.

NCIS:

The show *NCIS* is a drama set in the Washington, DC area where special agents at the Naval Criminal Investigative Service work together to solve criminal acts. The gruff, yet shrewd special agent Leroy Jethro Gibbs leads a team which evolves throughout its run but primarily includes meek agent Tim McGee, charismatic Anthony DiNozzo, assertive Ziva David, spunky Abby Sciuto, and erudite medical examiner Dr. Donald “Ducky” Mallard. There are some important overarching conservative themes in this show, as the characters work for an American government and security agency and tend to have an undercurrent of patriotism, and within the strict hierarchy of the government agency they work in and the military crimes they investigate, there is often a deferential attitude to those in higher positions, signifying the importance of respect. However, these central overarching themes can belie smaller and more contained plotlines - that are still important - with liberal value outcomes. In each episode, the team works together and displays ingenuity, creativity, and innovation to solve their criminal investigations and help the victims of the crime. It was the repetition of this sequence of events, and of values, that gave *NCIS* more instances of liberal value outcomes, at 62.9%. Within these results, *NCIS* also had much lower instances of satirizing values from the other shows analyzed. This is most

likely due to its status as a drama as opposed to a sitcom or a reality show, so there is less inherent humor or irony surrounding a value and more earnestness.

Conclusions

This research found that both the diet and ingredients of one's entertainment media consumption were much more politically mixed than theories of selective exposure would lead us to expect. Looking at samples from 2008 and 2024 of individual media consumption indicated lack of a negative correlation, and in some cases even a positive correlation between watching one partisan type of show and watching others. The fact that this correlation wasn't strongly negative, as selective exposure theories would have posited, was surprising. The fact that almost every correlation between party identification and number of liberal, conservative, and nondescript shows watched from the NAES and Mechanical Turk samples was positive shows a much broader variety in entertainment media diets than previously theorized. This indicates an openness on the part of the viewer to remain transported and identifying with entertainment TV shows, even when their values are challenged.

This variance can be seen in the surprisingly heterogeneous content of shows themselves, as well as the cross-partisan show selection for many individuals. In addition, it is much more likely for one's entertainment media diet to be varied on a partisan basis than one's news diet, the result of an extensive content analysis of four broadly differing TV shows. As audiences are most likely unaware that their favorite shows contain political counter-currents, viewers can be introduced to new perspectives in entertainment media in a way they would not be primed to do while watching an explicitly political piece of media. Both of these findings did not reflect expectations, rather showing entertainment media's differences from news media in how one is influenced to watch a show and what content the viewer is exposed to. This research found that

its content and array of shows challenge the polarized electorate in a rare fashion, given the breadth of polarization across other spheres.

In conducting this research, there did exist some limitations that merit further investigation on this topic. One potential limitation was Mechanical Turk accurately identifying and preventing artificial intelligence from taking the survey. This is an emerging concern for those using the platform to recruit human respondents (Kennedy et. al, 2020). The survey was run with bot detection on, so I do not expect this to alter the conclusions from my research, especially since any presence of artificial intelligence in the MTurk survey would have only diluted the results. Similarly, I faced a limitation in only using ages 18-25 in the MTurk survey sample, while the NAES survey included US adults of all ages. As said previously, this was done to strengthen the sample size, with MTurk having shown the most success in recruiting young adults to take the surveys on their platform (Huff & Tingley, 2015). This obviously meant that the voices of older adults were left out in the 2024 survey. While acting as a limitation, I think this also presents some opportunities in exploring Gen Z's apparent proclivity for varying their entertainment TV content.

Another limitation was any personal unconscious biases. While I approached the episode coding with as much objectivity as possible, using Haidt's moral value research, my content analysis was largely qualitative. I do not think that someone replicating this work would necessarily have the exact same percentile breakdown of these partisan values as I did, but I do contend that within a reasonable margin of error, the totality of these results is replicable. Moreover, the strength of these content analysis findings is further supplemented by the survey aspect of this research. Questions for US-based respondents about the landscape of entertainment TV that they watch and what qualities they look for in selecting their entertainment diet

culminated in further supporting my hypotheses. Finally, in terms of classifying TV shows as liberal, conservative, or nondescript for the MTurk and NAES samples, there also existed some debate for certain shows, and arguments could be made for some shows to be categorized differently than how they were in this study. Although explanations for these present categorizations are available in Appendix C and D, even the difficulty of doing this broad categorization speaks to the heterogeneity present in many of these shows. This further weakens the argument that viewers could self-select entertainment TV based on political content, since it was not easy to silo a show into one partisan category for this research.

On a broader scale, it is important to look beyond overtly political media to understand the extent of polarization in American culture. This research on entertainment TV is important and relevant for the near future, with the 2024 presidential election on the horizon. These findings show that entertainment media's political effects can, in fact, extend beyond the limitations of selective exposure. The values that viewers are exposed to in different pieces of popular entertainment media, though politically relevant, may not correlate with their partisan affiliation. 2016 was an inflection point for polarization in American politics, which since then has remained prone to extremism. This research is important and relevant for 2024 and beyond. It is crucial for the United States' democratic future to be aware of entertainment media's potentially unifying role, subtly challenging a viewer's partisan values with the click of a remote.

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Appendix:

A. Coding Values Used

List of Values	Pol Association
Irreverence	L
Respect	C
Tolerance	L
Authoritarianism	C
Prejudice	C
Diversity	L
Conformity	C
Creativity	L
Order	C
Tradition	C
Innovation	L
Optimism	L
Pessimism	C
Christianity	C
Atheism	L
Religious Pluralism	L
Equality	L
Freedom	C
Patriotism	C
Questioning Am. Power	L
Hard Work	C
Helping Someone in Need	L
Explicit Mention of Liberal/Democrat	L
Explicit Mention of Conservative/Republican	C
	Key:
	L=Liberal
	C=Conservative

B. Coding Values Used

Coding sheet available upon request to snfreedm@uvm.edu

Or at
https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/13SehqjN14uRwTwd3mQLT7Ux37owVbSDAdc7-R-y_2Gk/edit#gid=2008992930

C. Political Breakdown of Partisan-Leaning Shows for MTurk Sample

Liberal:
Bob's Burgers - An animated comedy about a quirky family who owns a burger restaurant. Does not use divisive jokes, rather focusing on family ties and embracing each other's idiosyncrasies.
White Lotus - A satire critiquing capitalism's inequalities, depicting wealthy families on lavish vacations and contrasting their experiences with the resort workers who must cater to their needs.
House of the Dragon - A prequel to the show *Game of Thrones,* focuses on a kingdom's civil war while highlighting the plight of women in a patriarchal society.
Abbott Elementary - A sitcom about a group of mostly Black teachers at an underfunded, urban elementary Philadelphia school and their efforts to improve conditions and student equity.
Doctor Who - A British sci-fi show about a time-traveling immortal alien with a diverse range of friends accompanying them to bring justice to a variety of universes. The race and gender of the actor playing the doctor changes with frequency, including different marginalized identities.
Reservation Dogs - Meant to represent the lives of Indigenous communities in Oklahoma, giving voice to a marginalized group and showing how systemic injustices have made their lives harder.
Ted Lasso - A warm and gentle sitcom on an American football coach who takes over as coach of a British soccer club. Features many portrayals of positive masculinity.
Family Guy - An animated comedy following the Griffin family as they handle and satirize the clan's bizarre adventures. Run by famously liberal producer Seth McFarlane.

Conservative:
The Voice - A singing competition with famous music artists as judges. Individualistic portrayals of success featuring frequent rags-to-riches narratives for contestants.

Survivor - Individual contestants fight against the elements of their natural environment and one another to win a million dollars through physical challenges and social manipulation.
The Bachelor - A long-running dating show where 30 female contestants vie for the hand of one male bachelor. The show paints a traditional and heteronormative portrait of love, and as the bachelor narrows down his eligible women, the show aims to end with an engagement.
Blue Bloods - Dedicated to New York City law enforcement, a drama featuring a family of cops. Portrays the righteousness of police and characters express firm beliefs in the rule of law.
The Crown - Netflix show dramatizing the British royals from Queen Elizabeth II's coronation to the present. Inherently conservative institution, showing the resiliency of the monarchy.
Chicago Fire - A drama about the Chicago Fire Department. Emphasizes the hard work and heroism of the firefighters in a variety of high-pressure calls.
Yellowstone - A western drama portraying the patriarch of the largest ranch in Montana and his family fighting against corrupt interests for his property. Values western individualism, in opposition to nefarious urban or coastal influences.

Neither:
Loki - As part of the Marvel Cinematic Universe, the chaos-causing god sows disorder in multiple universes, while experiencing a good deal of character and emotional growth. Loki is an anti-hero, but is the god of mischief and thus is neither fully good nor evil.
The Last of Us - Based on a popular apocalyptic video game of the same name which encouraged individualist survivalist tactics. Also included an LGBTQ love story, thus balancing themes of both hard work/individualism and diversity/tolerance.
Better Call Saul - A prequel to the popular show *Breaking Bad,* focusing on the legal crime aspect. The titular attorney hustles to protect clients and further his career, with those two goals sometimes clashing.
Criminal Minds - an FBI behavioral analysis unit works to solve violent crimes under an urgent deadline. Cases are contained to an episode and are solved with evidence-based conclusions.
Grey's Anatomy - A long-running medical drama focusing on the professional and love lives of surgeons in a Seattle hospital. Sometimes approaches matters of diversity, but within the context of medical issues with patients or doctors.
House Hunters - HGTV show where couples choose a house looking at three different options

and is value neutral. Not evoking many liberal or conservative-coded values, if any.
Jury Duty - A comedy where an entire trial and jury is staged for TV, but one regular person unknowingly is included in the jury of actors. Focuses on the absurd interpersonal relationships and the real person's reactions that result from this dynamic.
WandaVision - Part of the Marvel Cinematic Universe, suburban couple Wanda and Vision jump through decades while trying to regain their former lives.
The Boys - Satirical superhero show about a group of makeshift defenders exposing corrupt superheroes and keeping their management accountable.
The Bear - A Chicago chef comes home to take over and revive his late brother's sandwich restaurant to transform it into a gastronomic center. Explores familial and working dynamics in the construction of a successful restaurant.
South Park - Animated adult cartoon which generally satirizes a wide variety of current issues and events, designed to offend both liberals and conservatives.

D. Political Breakdown of Partisan-Leaning Shows for NAES Sample

Liberal:
Big Love - Drama about modern polygamy, focusing on a Utah man with three wives and nine children. Open to exploring the complexity in polygamous relationships, and challenges viewers to accept that moral ambiguity.
Scrubs - A medical sitcom which follows a new intern learning at a teaching hospital. The show uses humor to critique the medical institution and tackles real-life issues which split the characters, including the Iraq War
Family Guy - See Appendix C.

Conservative:
CSI: Miami - A forensic drama involving a team of Florida investigators solving crimes. Focuses on restoring order through justice.
Law & Order - A police procedural and legal drama, this series explores the investigation and prosecution of crimes in New York City. These teams use the criminal justice system to maintain city safety and incarcerate perpetrators.

24 - With each season covering one day, the show details the life of a counterterrorism agent fighting to protect the US from terrorist attacks.

Neither:
Brothers & Sisters - A multigenerational family-centered drama dealing with the ups and downs of the Walker family. Conflicts are typically interpersonal, not issue-oriented, and the family is held together by matriarch Nora Walker.
The Simpsons - A long-running animated comedy about the dysfunctional Simpson family. The family, as well as the ideas the show satirizes, includes those across the political spectrum.

E. MTurk Survey - Thesis-Specific Question Block

Q118: Which of the following programs have you watched most or all of the episodes?

- The Last of Us (1)
- Bob's Burgers (2)
- Loki (3)
- Family Guy (4)
- The Voice (5)
- South Park (6)
- White Lotus (7)
- Survivor (8)
- Better Call Saul (9)

Q119: Which of the following programs have you watched most or all of the episodes?

- House of the Dragon (1)
- Criminal Minds (2)
- The Bachelor (3)
- Abbott Elementary (4)
- Blue Bloods (5)
- Grey's Anatomy (6)
- House Hunters (7)
- The Crown (8)
- Doctor Who (9)

Q120: One more list...Which of the following programs have you watched most or all of the episodes?

- Reservation Dogs (1)
- House Hunters (2)
- Chicago Fire (3)
- Jury Duty (4)
- Ted Lasso (5)
- Yellowstone (6)
- The Bear (7)
- Wanda Vision (8)
- The Boys (9)

Q81: Why did you watch the shows you checked above?

- Someone I know recommended it. (1)
- It was recommended by my streaming service. (2)
- A lot of people were talking about it (online or in person). (3)
- I like the genre. (4)
- A good online review of the show. (5)
- I heard it won some awards. (6)
- Some other reason (please specify) (8)

Q82: Thinking about entertainment shows that are available to you but that you don't watch, what makes you avoid those shows?

- I'm not into the genre/type of some shows. (1)
- The story just didn't seem appealing. (6)
- I heard from people that it wasn't good. (4)
- The critics panned it. (5)
- I heard the show promotes politics I don't agree with. (2)
- I don't like the lead actor(s). (3)
- I don't agree with the political views of the actors or producers of the show. (7)
- Some other reason (please specify) (8)

F. Crosstabulation of number of liberal and conservative shows: NAES

			lib_shows_wFG				
			.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	Total
conservative_shows	.00	Count	0	1973	529	32	2534
		% within conservative_shows	0.0%	77.9%	20.9%	1.3%	100.0%
		% within lib_shows_wFG	0.0%	46.2%	40.9%	38.1%	17.5%
		% of Total	0.0%	13.6%	3.6%	0.2%	17.5%
	1.00	Count	5111	1321	392	25	6849
		% within conservative_shows	74.6%	19.3%	5.7%	0.4%	100.0%
		% within lib_shows_wFG	57.7%	30.9%	30.3%	29.8%	47.2%
		% of Total	35.2%	9.1%	2.7%	0.2%	47.2%
	2.00	Count	3273	841	301	17	4432
		% within conservative_shows	73.8%	19.0%	6.8%	0.4%	100.0%
		% within lib_shows_wFG	36.9%	19.7%	23.3%	20.2%	30.5%
		% of Total	22.5%	5.8%	2.1%	0.1%	30.5%
	3.00	Count	481	140	71	10	702
		% within conservative_shows	68.5%	19.9%	10.1%	1.4%	100.0%
		% within lib_shows_wFG	5.4%	3.3%	5.5%	11.9%	4.8%
		% of Total	3.3%	1.0%	0.5%	0.1%	4.8%
Total		Count	8865	4275	1293	84	14517
		% within conservative_shows	61.1%	29.4%	8.9%	0.6%	100.0%
		% within lib_shows_wFG	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	61.1%	29.4%	8.9%	0.6%	100.0%

G. Crosstabulation of number of liberal and conservative shows: MTurk

			conservative_shows								
			.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00	6.00	7.00	Total
lib_shows_wFG	.00	Count	19	14	11	4	3	0	0	0	51
		% within lib_shows_wFG	37.3%	27.5%	21.6%	7.8%	5.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within conservative_shows	30.2%	17.3%	19.3%	17.4%	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.8%
		% of Total	7.8%	5.7%	4.5%	1.6%	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.8%
	1.00	Count	21	38	20	6	0	1	2	1	89
		% within lib_shows_wFG	23.6%	42.7%	22.5%	6.7%	0.0%	1.1%	2.2%	1.1%	100.0%
		% within conservative_shows	33.3%	46.9%	35.1%	26.1%	0.0%	20.0%	66.7%	100.0%	36.3%
		% of Total	8.6%	15.5%	8.2%	2.4%	0.0%	0.4%	0.8%	0.4%	36.3%
	2.00	Count	15	19	14	7	1	1	0	0	57
		% within lib_shows_wFG	26.3%	33.3%	24.6%	12.3%	1.8%	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within conservative_shows	23.8%	23.5%	24.6%	30.4%	8.3%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	23.3%
		% of Total	6.1%	7.8%	5.7%	2.9%	0.4%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	23.3%
	3.00	Count	6	5	7	3	2	1	0	0	24
		% within lib_shows_wFG	25.0%	20.8%	29.2%	12.5%	8.3%	4.2%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within conservative_shows	9.5%	6.2%	12.3%	13.0%	16.7%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	9.8%
		% of Total	2.4%	2.0%	2.9%	1.2%	0.8%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	9.8%
	4.00	Count	0	4	3	2	4	2	0	0	15
		% within lib_shows_wFG	0.0%	26.7%	20.0%	13.3%	26.7%	13.3%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within conservative_shows	0.0%	4.9%	5.3%	8.7%	33.3%	40.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.1%
		% of Total	0.0%	1.6%	1.2%	0.8%	1.6%	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%	6.1%
	5.00	Count	1	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	5
		% within lib_shows_wFG	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	40.0%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within conservative_shows	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%	16.7%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	2.0%
		% of Total	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.8%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	2.0%
	6.00	Count	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
		% within lib_shows_wFG	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within conservative_shows	1.6%	1.2%	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%
		% of Total	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%
	7.00	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
		% within lib_shows_wFG	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within conservative_shows	0.0%	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%
		% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%
Total		Count	63	81	57	23	12	5	3	1	245
		% within lib_shows_wFG	25.7%	33.1%	23.3%	9.4%	4.9%	2.0%	1.2%	0.4%	100.0%
		% within conservative_shows	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	25.7%	33.1%	23.3%	9.4%	4.9%	2.0%	1.2%	0.4%	100.0%