

National Television Violence Study (see Wilson et al., 1997), which explicates the development of the procedures in greater detail. This approach reflects the most current methodological innovation for calculating reliability across large numbers of coders who are rendering content-based judgments at multiple levels of analysis (Potter et al., 1998). It involves independent assessment first of the fundamental unitizing judgments, followed by a discrete examination of the contextual measures that apply once the higher order units of analysis have been established.

Agreement on unitizing

Unitizing refers to the process of identifying each scene that contains any sexual content. Every time a coder identifies a scene with some codable material, s/he creates a line of data that includes a string of values indicating judgments for each applicable contextual variable. In evaluating the unitizing process, the focus is not on the agreement of the values for the contextual variables; rather, the aim is to assess the extent of agreement that a given scene contained sexual content.

In assessing reliability, if all coders identify the same number of scenes on their coding form for a show and if those scenes refer to the same scenes from the program, then there is perfect agreement. Both conditions must be met for perfect agreement to occur. If coders differ on the number of scenes identified, then there is not perfect agreement. If coders all have the same number of scenes, but there is disagreement about the scenes that were coded, then there also is not perfect agreement.

Three descriptors are reported for unitizing: the agreement mode, the range of scenes, and a statistic called the Close Interval around the Agreement Mode (CIAM). An example will explain what is meant by "agreement mode." If there are ten coders and one reported 9 scenes with sex, eight reported 10 scenes, and one reported 11 scenes, the mode would be 10 scenes as this is the number reported by the greatest number of coders. Thus, 80% of the coders are at this mode. Recall, however, that coders must identify the same scenes in order to have agreement. If all eight coders identified the same 8 scenes, then the agreement mode is 8.

Coders have to make many difficult judgments as part of the coding process. As a result, not every coder is at the agreement mode for every program, so we also report the range of scenes identified by the set of coders for each reliability test. The smaller the range, the tighter the pattern of agreement. However, the range can sometimes be misleading as an indicator of the degree of variation in a distribution. For example, consider a case where there are ten coders and one identifies 4 scenes with sex, eight indicate 5 scenes, and one identifies 8 scenes. The range reported would be from 4 to 8 scenes, which appears to signal a wide range of disagreement. That interpretation would be inaccurate, however, as 90% of the coders are actually within one scene of the mode.

The most important statistic for evaluating reliability at this level is the Close Interval around the Agreement Mode (CIAM). We operationalize "close to the agreement mode" as those judgments that are within one scene (or 20% as described below) of the modal judgment. Thus, if the agreement mode for a program was 5 scenes of sex, we would include in the CIAM each of the following: (a) all coders who identified all 5 of the same scenes; (b) all coders who also saw 5 scenes but disagreed on just one of the scenes identified by those in the modal group; (c) all coders who saw only 4 scenes but each of those scenes matched the 5 scenes identified by the modal

group; and (d) all coders who reported 6 scenes where 5 of those scenes were identical to the ones identified by the modal group. When the agreement mode is greater than five, we establish the width of the CIAM as 20% on either side of the mode. For example, if the agreement mode is 10, we include coders who exhibit no more than two disagreements with the coders at the agreement mode.

Agreement on the contextual variables

The other important aspect of reliability is the degree of consistency among coders in choosing values for each contextual variable once they have identified the examples of sexual content. For program level measures, reliability was assessed by identifying the modal value for all coders. Percentage of agreement was computed by dividing the number of coders at the modal value by the total number of coders.

For scene level measures, it was necessary to construct a matrix for each of the context variables. For each variable, a column is entered for every coder, and a row for every scene that was identified by one or more coders as containing some codable portrayal in that area (i.e., talk about sex or sexual behavior). Each row of the matrix is then examined for its modal value for each applicable contextual variable. Next, the number of coders at the modal value is summed and entered as a marginal. The marginal totals are summed down across all scenes in the matrix for the same variable. This sum of the marginals (i.e., agreements) is then divided by the total number of decisions reflected in the entire matrix (i.e., all agreements and disagreements), and the resulting fraction yields the percentage of agreement among coders on that variable.

While the operational details are intricate, the concept of reliability is not. The term "percentage of agreement" simply refers to the number of times coders actually agreed, divided by the number of times they could possibly have agreed. The larger the result, the better the agreement.

RESULTS OF RELIABILITY TESTING

The mean agreement for identifying scenes that contained sexual content across all programs was 79% on the CIAM measure (see Table 3). The consistency for unitizing, or identifying both sexual behavior and sexual dialogue within scenes, is highly credible given the complexity of the task and the number of coders involved. The consistency for coding the scene-level contextual variables was very strong, achieving agreement above 90% on six of the eight measures involving talk about sex and seven of the eight involving sexual behavior. Inter-coder agreement across all additional scene-level variables was above 90%, and agreement on the program-level variables was 87% or above for all measures.

To summarize, tests to assess the degree of inter-coder agreement were performed throughout all phases of the data collection process. These tests demonstrate that the content measures applied in the study yielded highly reliable data from the coders who were reviewing the programming. Overall, the reliability analyses establish strong confidence in the accuracy of the data reported in the study.

Table 3: Reliability for Talk About Sex and Sexual Behavior Measures

Unitizing							
Measures	Party of Five	Step by Step	Lois & Clark	Magic School Bus	Independence Day	Oprah	Overall Means
Scene Range	6 - 10	3 - 4	3 - 10	0	2 - 5	0 - 4	
Scene Mode	8	3	8	0	3	0	
CIAM	100%	100%	63%	100%	59%	52%	79%

Scene Level Context Variables

Talk About Sex							
Own/Others	94%	91%	79%	100%	67%	78%	85%
Talk About	98%	99%	98%	100%	99%	100%	99%
Talk Toward	100%	75%	96%	100%	98%	100%	95%
Expert Advice	98%	100%	96%	100%	100%	97%	99%
Talk about Sex Crimes	100%	100%	100%	100%	90%	100%	98%
Other	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Talk Focus	81%	80%	64%	n/a	71%	67%	73%
Behaviors							
Flirtatious Behavior	100%	91%	84%	100%	96%	86%	93%
Kissing	94%	95%	95%	100%	96%	86%	94%
Intimate Touch	100%	100%	95%	100%	100%	97%	99%
Intercourse Implied	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Intercourse Depicted	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Other	100%	100%	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Sex Crimes	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Behavior Focus	86%	85%	68%	n/a	86%	73%	80%
Character Age	99%	92%	100%	n/a	92%	79%	92%
Explicitness	99%	100%	98%	n/a	99%	99%	98%
Risk/Responsibility							
Topic	99%	99%	100%	n/a	99%	100%	99%
Focus in Scene	98%	99%	100%	n/a	99%	100%	99%

Special Intercourse Measures

# of Instances	100%	100%	100%	n/a	100%	100%	100%
Relationship	95%	100%	100%	n/a	100%	100%	98%
Presence of Drugs	96%	100%	100%	n/a	100%	100%	99%
Presence of Alcohol	96%	100%	100%	n/a	100%	100%	99%

Program Level Context Variables

Consequences	44%	96%	93%	n/a	100%	100%	87%
Pregnancy Worry	100%	100%	100%	n/a	100%	100%	100%
Unwanted Pregnancy	96%	100%	100%	n/a	100%	100%	99%
STD Worry	100%	100%	100%	n/a	100%	100%	100%
Actual STD	100%	100%	100%	n/a	100%	100%	100%
Program Theme	78%	100%	100%	n/a	100%	100%	96%

PRESENCE OF SEXUAL MESSAGES

There are two primary types of portrayals involving sex examined in this research: talk about sex, and physical behavior. Both types of portrayals hold the potential to influence viewers' beliefs and attitudes about sexual issues, and thus our initial assessment of the presence of sexual messages will group both types of messages together. Starting at the most basic level of analysis, we address the question: What proportion of all programs contain any messages about sex?

Across the composite week sample of 942 programs, more than half (56%) contained some sexual content (see Table 4). Although not shown on the table, a total of 39% of all programs studied contain one or more scenes with a substantial emphasis on sex. Most programs that include sexual material do not merely present an isolated scene involving the topic. Rather, across all 528 programs with any sexual content, there was an average of 3.2 scenes per hour involving sex. Clearly, sexual talk and behaviors are a common element in television programming, and many shows that include sexual messages devote substantial attention to the topic.

The lower portion of Table 4 differentiates the two primary types of sexual content examined in the study: talk about sex and sexual behavior. These data reveal that talk is much more common throughout the television landscape than sexual behavior. This pattern holds true both for the proportion of programs that present talk about sex as well as the number of scenes in which it occurs. Across all programs examined, roughly half (54%) included some talk about sex, whereas only about a quarter (23%) presented any sexually-related physical behavior.

Across all scenes involving talk about sex, the exchanges averaged 2.8 on the 4-point scale assessing degree of emphasis on sexual topics in the scene. This means that most scenes involving talk did not consist of isolated or minor references to sexual matters, but rather had a substantial focus on sexual themes and topics.

Across all scenes involving sexual behavior, the portrayals averaged 2.0 on the 4-point scale assessing the highest level of behavior in the scene. This means that the average level of behavior depicted fell at the bottom of the moderate range of sexual behavior, which involves such actions as passionate kissing and intimate touching. To gain a full understanding of the sexual behaviors portrayed on television, however, one must consider more than simply the average level of behavior.

Introduction to the Analyses

Most of the analyses reported here are based upon our examination of the 942 general audience-oriented programs included in the composite week sample. As indicated in the method section, all types of shows are included except daily newscasts and sports. Children's programs are examined separately, beginning on page 51. In addition, we gathered an over-sample of prime-time broadcast network shows. This over-sample is also analyzed and reported separately from that of the larger composite week sample of shows, beginning on page 46.

Table 4: Summary of Sexual Content: Composite Week

ANY SEXUAL CONTENT		
	Percentage of Programs With Any Sexual Content	56%
Of Programs With Any Sex:	Average Number of Scenes Per Hour Containing Sex	3.2
	N of Shows	528
	N of Hours	594.5
	N of Scenes	1930
TALK ABOUT SEX		
	Percentage of Programs With Any Talk About Sex	54%
Of Programs With Any Talk About Sex:	Average Number of Scenes Per Hour Containing Talk	3.0
	Average Level of Talk in Scenes	2.8
	N of Shows	504
	N of Hours	564.5
	N of Scenes With Talk About Sex	1719
SEXUAL BEHAVIOR		
	Percentage of Programs With Any Sexual Behavior	23%
Of Programs With Any Sexual Behavior:	Average Number of Scenes Per Hour Containing Behavior	1.4
	Average Level of Behavior in Scenes	2.0
	N of Shows	221
	N of Hours	294.5
	N of Scenes With Sexual Behavior	420
	TOTAL N OF SHOWS	942

Note: Any given scene may contain talk about sex as well as sexual behavior. Due to the occurrence of some overlap within scenes, the data for talk about sex cannot be summed with the data for sexual behavior to yield the findings for any sexual content overall.

Averages by definition balance out the extreme cases on one end of a scale with the extreme cases at the other end. This balancing could mask the extent of cases ranking high on the behavior scale, which would be of particular interest here because they represent scenes involving sexual intercourse. To gain a clearer picture of the cases involving intercourse presented on television, which arguably hold the greatest potential socializing effects on young viewers, we have isolated those shows that present scenes with sexual intercourse depicted or strongly implied from the remaining shows that present other sexual behaviors that do not involve intercourse. This latter group, which contains portrayals of such behaviors as physical flirting, passionate kissing, and intimate touching, is labeled "Programs with Precursory Behaviors Only" (see Table 5).

The analysis presented in Table 5 indicates that of the 23% of programs in the sample that contained sexual behavior, roughly two-thirds of these shows (16% of programs overall) contained precursory behaviors only, while roughly one-third (7% of programs overall) either depicted sexual intercourse actually occurring or strongly implied it was about to occur or had just occurred between two partners.

The degree of explicitness associated with the portrayal of sexual behaviors was also analyzed. Explicitness was measured on a four-point scale encompassing provocative dress, some disrobing, discreet nudity, and nudity. Across all programs including any sexual behavior, the average level of explicitness was

Table 5: Summary of Sexual Behavior: Composite Week

SEXUAL BEHAVIOR OVERALL		
	Percentage of Programs With Any Sexual Behavior	23%
Of Programs With Any Sexual Behavior:	Average Number of Scenes Per Hour Containing Behavior	1.4
	Average Level of Behavior in Scenes	2.0
	Average Level of Explicitness in Program	0.9
	N of Shows	221
	N of Hours	294.5
	N of Scenes With Sexual Behavior	420
PROGRAMS WITH PRECURSORY BEHAVIOR ONLY		
	Percentage of Programs With Precursory Behaviors Only	16%
Of Programs With Precursory Behaviors Only:	Average Number of Scenes Per Hour Containing Precursory Behavior	1.4
	Average Level of Behavior in Scenes	1.7
	Average Level of Explicitness in Program	0.4
	N of Shows	151
	N of Hours	176.5
	N of Scenes With Precursory	244
PROGRAMS WITH SEXUAL INTERCOURSE		
	Percentage of Programs With Intercourse Behaviors	7%
Of Programs With Intercourse Behaviors:	Average Number of Scenes Per Hour Containing Intercourse Behavior	1.5
	Average Level of Behavior in Scenes	2.5
	Average Level of Explicitness in Program	1.9
	N of Shows	70
	N of Hours	118
	N of Scenes With Intercourse	88
	N of All Sexual Behavior Scenes	176
TOTAL N OF SHOWS		942

very low at 0.9 on the scale. The difference in explicitness between programs with precursory behaviors only (mean=0.4) and programs with sexual intercourse (mean=1.9) is substantial, although the level of explicitness for the latter group is still relatively modest. This indicates that, on average, television's portrayals of intercourse involve some disrobing but generally avoid much nudity.

To summarize the findings on the presence of sexual messages, we see that a majority of programs contain sexual content of some type. More than twice as many shows contain talk about sex as contain sexual behavior. About two of every three programs that present sexual behavior depict precursory behaviors only, such as passionate kissing or intimate touching. Still, approximately one of every three programs that include any sexual behavior depicts or implies sexual intercourse. From a broader perspective, roughly one of every 14 programs on television (excluding news, sports, and children's shows) presents sexual intercourse either by depicting it directly or by portraying characters who are about to begin or have just finished making love.

We turn next to a more detailed examination of the different kinds of portrayals that comprise each of the two primary types of sexual content: talk about sex and sexual behavior. In the following two sections, we first examine the relative frequency with which various categories of talk occur, as well as present representative examples we have identified that illustrate the type of content that falls within each category. We then repeat the same process for the sub-types categorized within the realm of sexual behavior.

TYPES OF TALK ABOUT SEX

It has already been established that talk about sex is found more frequently on television than actual sexual behavior. Yet there are a range of different types of talk about sex. Table 6 reports the frequency with which different categories of talk about sex were observed at the scene level. As we present the findings for each of the categories, we also offer examples that illustrate the various types of talk about sex observed in the study.

Table 6: Distribution of Types of Talk About Sex: Composite Week

TALK ABOUT SEX		
Types of Talk About Sex	N	Percent of Cases of Talk About Sex
Comments About Own/Other's Interests	1356	66%
Talk About Sexual Intercourse Already Occurred	312	15%
Talk About Sex-Related Crimes	188	9%
Talk Toward Sex	84	4%
Expert Advice/Technical Information	49	2%
Other	78	4%
TOTAL	2067	100%

COMMENTS ABOUT OWN/OTHERS' SEXUAL INTERESTS

By far the most common type of talk about sex involved comments about one's own or others' interest in sexual topics or activities. Conversation in this category may address specific "targets" of sexual interest, or may involve more general statements about one's views on sexual topics or issues. Comments in this category accounted for roughly two-thirds (66%) of all cases of talk about sex.

Chandler is distraught over breaking up with his girlfriend. His friends Monica, Phoebe, and Rachel take him to a strip bar, hoping that his sexual interest in other women will be rekindled. The girls have a great time, but Chandler remains depressed. Arriving back home, he throws himself down and wallows in self-pity. Meanwhile, the girls start talking about all of the beautiful women at the bar, and the discussion turns to a provocative topic: who each of the girls would prefer if they were to pick one of these ladies as a female sexual partner. Chandler, who has been listening, jumps out of his chair and yells "I'm totally picturing you

with all those women!" Ecstatic at the physical arousal the conversation has finally triggered, Chandler exclaims "I don't want to have a relationship ever. I just want to have sex with strippers and my friends." (Friends, NBC)

A scene opens with two women on the mayor's office staff giving one another high-five hand slaps, celebrating the fact that it's "water day." Stacy, a female colleague, asks, "Why are you two so happy over a beverage?" One of the women responds, "Trust me, you don't want to miss this!" At exactly that moment, a very fit and 'buff' water deliveryman walks through the office door, with a bottle slung over his shoulder. Stacy, blurts out, "H-2-ooohhhh, would you look at that butt! How often does he deliver?" Another woman responds, "For me, just about every time he walks through that door," as they all stare at his physique. The women ask him to relocate the bottled water so that they can observe him bend over one more time, and then swoon as he sticks out his butt for a better view. Finally, Stacy says "I think we should celebrate water day more often" and changes the office order from one bottle to two. (Spin City, ABC)

After attending a class on sexual harassment, the office workers grow paranoid about a new "no tolerance" policy. Matt is frustrated because he has romantic interests for Jana, one of the women in his office. In front of the entire staff, he loudly declares his affection for her. "I like you. I like you a lot and it's okay if you like me too." She replies earnestly, "I just want to sleep with you!" Matt encourages the other staff members to express their true sexual feelings. Jana invites Matt for an apparent tryst, asking "Do you want to go to the edit room?" He responds eagerly and they scurry off holding hands. Another man asks the girl standing next to him, "Supply closet?" She nods and he wraps his arm around her, leading the way. (Working, NBC)

TALK ABOUT SEXUAL INTERCOURSE ALREADY OCCURRED

While most talk involves people's sexual interests now or in the future, some comments address sexual encounters that have already been experienced in the past. Talk about actual instances of intercourse that have already occurred was less frequent, representing 15% of all talk about sex.

Veronica and her ex-husband, Bryce, share joint custody of their dog, Buddy. Veronica knocks on the door of Bryce's apartment to exchange the dog, and is surprised when a young woman named Pepper answers. Pepper tells Veronica that Bryce has just recently hired her. Veronica asks sarcastically, "By the hour or for the whole night?" Pepper ignores the slur and responds energetically that she is Bryce's new assistant. Veronica then relents, "When I first saw you, I just thought – she's sleeping with my ex-husband." Pepper, in a young, bubbly voice, replies excitedly "Oh, I am!" (Veronica's Closet, NBC)

Dharma and Greg are a married couple. Greg has just won a high profile case and they are celebrating at a bar with a bunch of friends. Dharma decides to make a toast to her husband. She toasts the fact that he "worked his butt off for the past ten weeks to put away a bunch of really bad guys and still had the energy to come home every night and make hot jungle love to his wife." The crowd hoots and Greg

replies with embarrassment, "Thanks Dharma." She then says, "Noooo! Thank you." (Dharma and Greg, ABC)

Jerry, George, and Elaine are among a crowd in a church, awaiting the start of a friend's wedding ceremony. Earlier in the day, George learned that Jerry had previously slept with George's date for the wedding, a woman named Nina. As they all sit and wait for the ceremony to begin, George grows angry thinking about the situation, and says quietly to Jerry that he demands "reparations" to even the score. Since Jerry has slept with Nina, and Nina is George's date, George insists that he should be allowed to sleep with Jerry's date, Elaine. Elaine then joins the conversation and says she absolutely will not sleep with George, and what is the difference who slept with who? Elaine whispers to George, "Nina slept with him, he slept with me, and I slept with Pinter," referring to the man getting married. "Nobody cares," adds Elaine. George responds at the top of his voice, "You slept with the groom?" The crowd gasps in shock and the wedding is disrupted. (Seinfeld, NBC)

TALK ABOUT SEX-RELATED CRIMES

A total of 9% of all talk about sex on television involved mention or description of sex-related crimes. This included talk about such acts as rape, incest, and sexually-related hate crimes (e.g., "gay-bashing"), among others. Of all cases in this category, nearly half (48%) were found in non-fiction genres such as news magazines or talk shows.

A news magazine feature segment examines "Megan's law," which requires sex offenders released from prison to register with local police, who can then warn the public about the new member of their community. One story involves a man named Robert, who was recently released after serving his sixth term for child molestation. Robert never registered when he moved to Tacoma, and within weeks had befriended a nine-year old girl who lived in his apartment complex. He soon molested and raped the girl. An emotional grandmother tells of the trauma after the rape occurred. "When I got her to the hospital, she said 'Grandma, can little kids have babies?' It just cut me to the heart." In a subsequent clip, Robert admits to the reporter exactly what he has done. "I took her to the park and sexually molested her for two days straight, on and off." (Public Eye with Bryant Gumbel, CBS)

Roy Meetchum, a young adult male, is on trial for attacking and sexually assaulting Abigail Bloom, a young deaf woman. As the prosecutor delivers his opening statement, he explains how the assailant approached Abigail on the street and then "taunted her, attacked her, violated her." The defense attorney immediately objects that the prosecutor's use of the term 'violated' is prejudicial, noting that "tests have concluded Ms. Bloom was not raped." The prosecutor responds that "the act of penetration is not the only definition of violation." The judge overrules the objection, and allows the prosecutor to continue. The prosecutor reasserts his claim that the defendant "beat, bloodied and, yes, violated Abigail Bloom." Continuing on, he claims that the defendant "tore at the clothes and groped at the body of the young woman struggling so hard to get away" before finally knocking her unconscious. (Guiding Light, CBS)

TALK TOWARD SEX

Talk toward sex is the category that reflects intimate or seductive comments meant to solicit or encourage subsequent sexual activities between two potential partners. Such comments were coded as talk about sex only in situations when they were not accompanied by any overt sexual behavior, such as passionate kissing or intimate touching, in order to minimize double-coding of both talk and behavior in the same scene. This category accounted for only 4% of all talk about sex.

Matt has been trying to pick up young women at a club, and has already struck out with some prospects who turned out to be too young – high school girls, in fact. Sitting at the bar, he can't believe his eyes when Jolie, a young, dark haired female in a leather jacket and skimpy dress sits down next to him. "Oh my," he says when Jolie sits down, and quickly asks her age. "Twenty-one," she replies as she downs a shot of liquor. He declares more emphatically, "Oh my!!!" She remarks that he looks like a nice guy. Sensing a put-down, Matt retorts, "No I'm not. I'm not a nice guy. I'm a bad, bad guy." Jolie looks him directly in the eye and says, "Well I am a bad, bad girl." Matt makes a proposition. "So why don't we go back to my place and do some things badly." The girl looks at him quizzically, and he corrects himself, "I mean some bad things goodly." She smiles and shrugs her shoulders in a 'why not' response. The scene then shifts to Matt's office the next morning, where he tells his co-workers how he got lucky last night. "One night stand and I'm never going to see her again," he exults. "It was just sex. No commitments, no baggage, no entanglements." Then the young woman from the bar walks into the office and exclaims, "Hi Dad," to

Aliens attack Earth in this science fiction drama. As the invaders assault the city of Los Angeles, thousands flee to the nearby desert to escape. In a make-shift refugee camp that consists of mostly campers and trailers, people converge to wait out the attack. Within the camp are several teenagers, including Alicia, who appears to be about 15. A young boy about the same age approaches her with the line, "This could be our last night on earth. You don't want to die a virgin....do you?" As he leans towards her seductively, the girl's older brother interrupts them and abruptly pulls Alicia away. ("Independence Day," HBO)

EXPERT ADVICE/TECHNICAL INFORMATION

Of all the types of talk examined for the study, expert advice accounted for the fewest number of cases, just 2% overall. This category encompasses two different types of exchanges. The first involves the delivery of advice from someone who has received formal training, such as a clinical psychologist who might address behavioral issues, or a medical doctor who might deal with reproductive concerns. The second involves technical information conveyed by an authoritative source, such as a segment in a news magazine that reports about the means by which AIDS is transmitted or the availability of a new form of contraception. As with all categories, such talk could occur in a fiction or non-fiction setting, though there were few examples of either type.

After a late night drink at a bar with her friend Noah, Valerie wakes up in a stupor the next morning on the couch in Noah's office. She is naked and can't remember much of what happened, but feels so ill she immediately goes to a doctor. Valerie suspects food poisoning, but the doctor explores another possibility, asking if she had been drinking the night before and if she blacked out. Valerie says yes, but that she only had one drink. "I know this is personal," says the doctor, "but did you have sexual intercourse last night?" Valerie objects, "What does that have to do with anything?" The doctor then explains about a new drug on the street called Rohypnol or 'roofies,' also known as the date rape drug. The doctor asks Valerie if she remembers consenting to sex or if she remembers even having sex. Shaking her head, Valerie says, "No, but I did. I woke up naked." Suddenly grasping what really happened, she exclaims, "Oh God, I feel really disgusting." The doctor suggests a drug test and a gynecological rape kit for forensic purposes in case she wants to prosecute. Valerie hesitates. Confused and still disbelieving, she sputters "... but Noah would never ... I know this guy." The doctor tells her that is why it's called the date rape drug. Valerie consents to the exam. (Beverly Hills 90210, Fox)

In this segment, NBC's chief medical correspondent Dr. Bob Arnot addresses the topic of women who have lost their desire to have sex, examining the potential biological causes of the problem such as a reduced level of testosterone. The segment focuses at length on Christina Ferrare, a former model and current talk-show host, who suffered this malady in her mid-40s. She explains how her identity and self-confidence were threatened by her loss of desire, and the guilt she experienced as a result. Her problem was alleviated almost immediately once she discovered testosterone treatment. Dr. Susan Ryko, a psychiatrist and author of the book The Hormone of Desire: The Truth about Sexuality, Menopause and Testosterone explains how the treatment works in an interview with Dr. Arnot. (Dateline, NBC)

Finally, an additional 4% of all cases that clearly met the criteria for talk about sex could not be classified into one of the above groups, and were classified as "other."

TYPES OF SEXUAL BEHAVIORS

It has already been reported that sexual behaviors were found in roughly one of every four shows (23%) throughout the composite week sample. As with talk, there are a range of different types of sexual behaviors identified by the study. Table 7 reports the frequency with which each of the most common categories of behavior occurred at the scene level. As we present the findings for each of the categories, we also offer examples that illustrate the various types of sexual behavior observed in the study.

Table 7: Distribution of Types of Sexual Behavior: Composite Week

SEXUAL BEHAVIOR		
Types of Sexual Behavior	N	Percent of Cases of Sexual Behavior
Physical Flirting	154	26%
Passionate Kiss	297	50%
Intimate Touch	39	7%
Sexual Intercourse Implied	71	12%
Sexual Intercourse Depicted	17	3%
Other	15	3%
TOTAL	593	100%

PHYSICAL FLIRTING

Behaviors were categorized on a four-point scale, with the first level comprised of physical flirting. This category is coded when a character uses his/her own body in a way that is meant to arouse or promote sexual interest in another. This type of action accounted for roughly a quarter (26%) of all the sexual behavior observed in the study.

Nina is working alone in her high-rise office, talking on the phone while pulling up her jet black nylons. She swivels in her chair and discovers a young male window washer is outside just inches away from where she is sitting. She gasps with shock and embarrassment, then tells the person on the phone what is happening. Luckily, the man seems not to notice her. Still explaining the situation on the phone, she starts to sound lustful and remarks that the man is "pretty cute." Nina turns to the window and coos "Hello Mr. Clean. I have been a very dirty girl," while blowing him a kiss. He winks at her and the tone escalates with more non-verbal come-ons between the two. When the man starts to unzip his pants, Nina storms to the door in seeming disgust, but surprisingly closes the door and locks it. She walks seductively back to

the window and says, "See how you like this, naughty boy." Nina unzips the front of her tight black dress, revealing her black bra and jumps in front of the window flashing her body. The window washer is so stunned that he loses his balance and falls off of his platform. (Just Shoot Me, NBC)

In this humorous scene, Carlton pays an office visit to Daley, a female IRS agent, to discuss an audit. The meeting starts with Carlton asking Daley to refer to some details on his forms. The woman appears uninterested in the audit, but highly interested in gaining Carlton's attention. She gazes at him seductively, and twists her hair provocatively while telling Carlton she is having a little trouble reading her copy. Carlton is not interested in her flirtatious behavior, and responds that she should turn on a light. Daley walks around her desk, stands behind the seat he is in, and places her hands around Carlton's chest. She informs him that the entire audit can be resolved as long as he cooperates. With that said, she slides onto his lap and tries to kiss him. Carlton halts things, yelling "What are you doing?," and then threatens to file a complaint against her. (Fresh Prince of Bel Air, KTLA/syndicated)

PASSIONATE KISSING

The second step or level of sexual behavior in the four-point scale consisted of two types of actions, passionate kissing and intimate touching. The majority of sexual behavior (50%) portrayed on television consisted of passionate kissing. This type of act was coded only in cases where the kiss conveyed a sense of sexual intimacy between two partners.

Mike and Kim meet at a bar. They talk about life and relationships and Kim comments about the importance of taking time to build a relationship. The scene shifts abruptly from the middle of their conversation in the bar to a living room couch where the two are frantically groping and kissing one another repeatedly as they tear their clothes off. In between kisses, Kim asserts, "I don't normally do this...I like to wait for a more meaningful relationship..." Mike agrees with everything she says, all the while focusing on undressing her. As he begins to undo her bra, a beeper goes off and he remarks jokingly, "I didn't know bras came with alarms." The encounter comes to an end because of some urgent interruption. (Almost Perfect, Lifetime)

Craig and Jennifer are business partners and lovers. Craig comes to visit Jennifer at work, and asks her to come outside. There he shows her a brand new Porsche and says that it is all hers. She gets in the driver's seat and Craig takes the passenger side. She says to him, "You have made me a very happy woman. Now we've got to break it in." He says she shouldn't be driving around town because she has to go back to work. She responds by saying, "Who said anything about driving." She starts to fondle his face and hair as they kiss long and passionately while sitting in the car. (Melrose Place, Fox)

INTIMATE TOUCHING

Also at the second level on the four-point scale of sexual behavior is intimate touching of another's body in a way that is meant to be sexually arousing. Intimate touching accounted for 7% of all cases of sexual behavior.

A scene opens with the camera moving slowly along a row of cars in a parking lot, finally stopping at the last one which is rocking slowly and has fogged windows. Inside the car are Dennis, a cheating husband, and Gail, his attractive insurance agent. As the camera's view enters the car, the couple is locked in a steamy embrace. Between kisses, they both moan in passionate ecstasy. The bra-clad Gail writhes on top of Dennis, who holds her and a bottle of almost-empty scotch in one hand. As Gail strokes her hand along his khaki-clad thigh, Dennis reaches his free hand around her and begins working it under her skirt. Visibly aroused, Gail suggests they take their sexual activities "to somewhere that has a bigger play area" and they decide to head for a hotel. (Silk Stalkings, USA Network)

Barbie and Charlie are a young married couple who are trying to have a baby. This scene opens with Charlie seated in the living room, and Barbie calling to him from the hallway, asking if his eyes are closed. She then enters the room, clothed only in a silky pink negligee that reaches just below her waist, saying, "Here comes your Christmas present." She walks up to Charlie and stands inches in front of him, straddling his legs. With Charlie's eyes still closed, Barbie gently takes his hands and carefully places them on her naked thighs. Charlie follows her lead and slowly moves his hands up her thighs and then caresses her all the way up her posterior. They then begin to kiss tenderly on the lips. ("Danielle Steele's Mixed Blessing," Lifetime)

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE STRONGLY IMPLIED

The third level on the behavior scale involves sexual intercourse that is not shown directly as it is occurring, but rather is strongly implied. In order for a portrayal to be considered an instance of intercourse strongly implied, a scene must depict a couple's actions immediately before or after an act of intercourse that is clearly inferred by narrative device. For example, a couple might be shown passionately kissing as they undress one another in a darkened bedroom, followed by a fade-to-black that then leads to a scene with the two awakening in each other's arms the next morning.

Scenes in which sexual intercourse is strongly implied represent the most common approach for television stories to convey that love-making has occurred. This approach is hardly rare, occurring in 71 scenes throughout the composite week of programming on 10 channels. Sexual intercourse strongly implied was found in 56 programs, and accounted for 12% of all sexual behavior across the composite week sample.

An intense meeting between opposing sides in a legal battle has just adjourned. Michael and Phyllis, two lawyers on the case, are left alone in a conference room after all the others depart. Phyllis compliments Michael on his work as she pulls him close and forces a hard kiss. She

quickly locks the door, then hastily clears all the papers off the table. Taking a perch on the table, she asks seductively, "Where were we?" She pushes her skirt up to the top of her thighs as she pulls Michael tight to her body so that her legs can completely straddle him. Michael embraces her and kisses her lips and neck before the scene shifts. The next scene shows Michael putting his tie back on while Phyllis is buttoning up her blouse. (*Young and the Restless*, CBS)

A scene opens with Dr. Mark Green and his current girlfriend Cynthia lying apparently naked in bed, with private parts of their bodies covered discreetly by a bedsheet. They are downing shots of tequila while engaging in sexual foreplay, clearly inebriated. Mark kisses Cynthia passionately while she holds a slice of lime between her teeth, then they pause while she takes another drink. Reaching back to kiss him again, she realizes he is now holding something. She asks, "What do we have here? Another present?" She opens up a box containing some lingerie. Smiling, she asks, "Should I try it on?" Mark laughs and says she can try it on later, clearly not willing to allow any interruptions right now. There is some short sexual banter about what they are about to do to one another, which ends with Cynthia instructing Mark to "Lie back!" As she begins to climb on top and straddle him, the scene ends and the program concludes. (*ER*, NBC)

Angela, an expert computer hacker, is vacationing alone at a tropical island resort. On the beach she meets another computer junkie named Jack, and they decide to share dinner that evening. After dinner, Jack takes them out on his boat to enjoy the romantic setting. Angela makes the first move and gingerly kisses Jack. She smiles at him and slowly removes his jacket, dropping it on the deck. The next cut -- which reflects a brief shift in time -- shows the same view of the jacket on the deck, but now with all of the couple's clothes scattered around it. We then see the couple lying together on a cushioned bench, naked under a blanket. Angela says, "I hope you don't take this the wrong way. This isn't exactly my style. You know...first date...sex...one night stand...that sort of thing." Jack asks, "You've always been a relationship kind of girl?" to which she jokingly replies, "Absolutely. Both times!" (*The Net*, HBO)

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE DEPICTED

Finally, the highest level of sexual behavior on the four-point scale is sexual intercourse depicted. Scenes are classified as intercourse depicted if any portion of the body of those engaged in sexual intercourse is shown while the act is occurring. Such depictions need not be explicit in terms of nudity, as explicitness is measured independently from the type of behavior portrayed. Scenes involving sexual intercourse directly depicted account for 3% of all sexual behavior identified by the study, and were found in 14 shows in the composite week sample.

Maverick (Tom Cruise), a young Navy pilot, has been developing a romantic interest in his female instructor, Charlie (Kelly McGillis). After a disagreement in class, Maverick tries to avoid Charlie, but she chases after him. When he stops they begin to argue, but then she abruptly admits she has "fallen" for him. He puts his hand to her cheek and they kiss deeply. The scene shifts immediately to a dimly lit bedroom with the onset of the song "Take My Breath Away" in the soundtrack. Charlie wears only a shirt and Maverick has his pants unbuttoned. They gaze

deeply in each other's eyes as Charlie slips off her blouse. Maverick pulls toward her and they kiss long and passionately. Visual cuts show many different views as first they caress and lick one another, and then rock rhythmically together while engaging in intercourse. ("Top Gun," HBO)

Ally makes an urgent after-hours call to the head of her law firm, Richard. The scene shifts to his bedroom where the phone is ringing. Richard is in bed with Whipper, a judge with whom he has an ongoing relationship. The two are engaged in a flurry of frantic, conjoined movement, literally bouncing around the bed as the phone rings. Whipper reaches to the nightstand and answers the phone without disengaging the sex act. Ally is surprised to recognize Whipper's voice and to hear Richard's moaning in the background. Ally asks for Richard, but Whipper says "He's a little busy right now. Could I ask him to call you back?" Ally hangs up with a disgusted look on her face, while Richard and Whipper continue their sexual escapade. (Ally McBeal, Fox)

In a candle-lit bedroom with soft romantic music playing in the background, a newly engaged couple, Ben and Meg, begin kissing. Meg gazes deeply into Ben's eyes as she removes his shirt. He kisses her passionately again and again on the lips, and then she kisses his bare chest as he lays on the bed. They fondle each other and with hands clenched, they are shown from the shoulders up as they make love. Discreet views of their body reveal little but suggest complete nudity as the couple engages in intercourse in this long, romantic love scene. (Sunset Beach, NBC)

Finally, an additional 3% of all scenes that clearly present physical behavior could not be classified into one of the above groups, and are reported as "other." These included such behaviors as voyeurism and self-gratification.

MESSAGES INVOLVING SEXUAL RISKS OR RESPONSIBILITIES

One of the most important contextual factors likely to shape the socializing effects of sexual portrayals is the extent to which the risks and responsibilities associated with human sexual activity are included. In this study, we measured the presence of three possible types of themes concerning the risks or responsibilities of sexual behavior: (1) *sexual patience*: waiting until a relationship matures and both people are equally ready to engage in sex; (2) *sexual precaution*: pursuing efforts to prevent AIDS, STDs, and/or unwanted pregnancy when sexually active; and (3) *depiction of risks and/or negative consequences* of irresponsible sexual behavior. Sexual encounters that are presented without any of these contextual elements certainly convey a much different message to the audience, and in particular to young viewers, than portrayals that include such elements.

In analyzing programs for this study, each scene involving any sexual content was evaluated for any mention or depiction of these themes. Table 8 indicates that the treatment of such issues was quite rare overall, with only 4% of all scenes that include any sexual content incorporating any message about the risks or responsibilities of sexual activity.

Those scenes that included risk or responsibility concerns were categorized as placing either minor or substantial emphasis on such topics within the scene as a whole. The breakdown was relatively even, with 37 scenes classified as minor emphasis on risk or responsibility, and 41 scenes classified as a substantial portrayal. Thus we can see that while 4% of all scenes with sexual content included some treatment of a risk or responsibility topic, only about half of these, or 2%, actually made such topics an important focus within the scene.

Table 8: Distribution of Risk/Responsibility Topics Included in Scenes

Types of Risk/Responsibility	N of Scenes	Percentage of Sexual Scenes That Contain R/R
Depiction Of Risks/Negative Consequences	45	2%
Sexual Precaution	35	2%
Sexual Patience	13	1%
N Of Scenes With Any R/R	78†	4%
Total N Of Scenes With Sexual Content	1930	-

† 15 cases contained two aspects of risk/responsibility within a single scene. Thus, a total of only 78 independent scenes were found to include any risk/responsibility.

DEPICTION OF RISKS/NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES

Of the three key themes, the depiction of risks and/or negative consequences was found most frequently, appearing in 45 scenes across the composite week. Scenes in this category presented such outcomes as unwanted pregnancy and abortion, as well as the prospect of contracting AIDS from unprotected sexual intercourse.

Two couples in their late teens, Nicky and Sally, and Hop and Caddie, are close friends who are sharing similar experiences. Both couples are shown engaging in sex, in one case in a romantic outdoor scene at a beautiful lake. Later Nicky learns that Sally has become pregnant and, in a poignant scene, turns to Hop to discuss the predicament. Incredulous, Hop can't believe that Nicky got Sally pregnant. He asks Nicky accusingly, "Didn't you use anything?" Nicky replies, "It just happened." Hop gets angry at his friend's irresponsibility. Nicky replies defensively, "I'm paying for it, all right!" referring to the abortion for Sally that he is planning to finance. As he storms off, Hop retorts sharply, "No, she's paying for it. She's paying for it, Nicky!" referring to the emotional toll that obviously accompanies her situation. ("Racing With

SEXUAL PRECAUTION

Portrayals involving sexual precaution were found in only 35 scenes involving sexual content across the composite week. The majority of these scenes (20 of 35) either mentioned or depicted the use of a condom.

Charlie and Nina are two young adults who have established a dating relationship. Nina is helping Charlie clean out the storeroom of his restaurant, which is closed for major renovation. As Charlie reminisces about "old times" at the restaurant, a construction worker closes the storeroom door, apparently not realizing they are inside. Charlie wonders aloud if they are locked in, and says he can holler to the workers outside should they be trapped. Nina, however, seems to like the situation. "What if we were trapped?" she asks as she begins to caress and kiss him long and passionately. Responding to her signals, Charlie stammers out a concern. "Great ... what about ... because I usually carry one," implying that intercourse is out of the question without some protection. "I do, since our third date," Nina promptly replies, pulling a condom out of her pocket. With that, the two engage in a passionate kiss as the scene fades to black. (Party of Five, Fox)

In the opening moments of a film, a teenage girl named Kelly is shown at home with her 5 year-old brother, Stuart. Her parents are away but expected to return home soon. While Stuart occupies himself with a remote-controlled race car, Kelly has other plans. She is in her bedroom with a teenage boy and they both are filled with sexual curiosity and interest. They begin to kiss and fondle one another while lying on her bed, with Kelly establishing herself as the sexual aggressor by taking off the boy's shirt and pulling his body tightly to hers. The boy responds to her actions by stuttering that he's always liked her. She replies sharply, "I like you too . . . we don't have a lot of time," and puts a condom in his hand. She rolls on top and straddles him as they start to disrobe. The scene shifts back to Stuart's car play in another room, but moments later the parents return home. Hearing them enter the

house, Kelly panics. She pushes her boyfriend out of her bedroom and scrambles around to get dressed. ("Playing Dangerous," HBO)

SEXUAL PATIENCE

Finally, portrayals that incorporated a theme of sexual patience were found in only 13 scenes, or less than 1% of all scenes involving sexual content. Scenes that fell in this category emphasized the virtues of sexual abstinence, virginity, or simply waiting until one is certain s/he is ready to assume the responsibilities associated with a sexual relationship.

Two young adults, Sinclair and Obie, have been dating regularly and have established a committed and caring relationship. Recently they have begun to talk frankly about the implications of "taking their relationship to the next level." Obie senses it is time for him to take the lead and he tries his best to do so, inviting Sinclair to a romantic candlelight dinner at his apartment. Obie tries to set the mood by pouring them champagne, but he quickly notices that something is wrong and asks Sinclair what is bothering her. She speaks gently and says that she is not ready to have sex with him. She explains that she initially thought that "having sex would make our relationship better" but that now she is uncertain and would rather wait. Obie is patient and completely understanding. He states, "The last thing I want to do is rush you, because really, I don't want to have sex with you. I want to make love to you." The scene closes with Obie kissing Sinclair and telling her sweetly, "Besides, waiting can be fun." (Living Single, Fox/syndicated)

These findings make clear that scenes addressing the risks or responsibilities of sexual activity are rare overall. It is also worth noting that none of the 88 scenes in which intercourse was depicted or implied included any mention of risks or responsibilities.

Another perspective on the treatment of these issues can be gained by considering how many programs contain *any* scenes that address such topics. As plots unfold across the span of an entire show, it is possible that the treatment of these themes might be conveyed effectively in a single pivotal scene that strongly counterbalances any preceding portrayals that omit such concerns. Thus, it may be more informative to consider what proportion of *programs* with any sexual content contain any scenes that address risk or responsibility concerns, in contrast to the finding reported above regarding the proportion of all scenes that include these concepts.

Table 9 presents the results of this program-wide analysis, which indicates that across all programs with any sexual content, roughly one of every ten shows (9%) contained at least one scene presenting the risks or responsibilities of sexual activity.

Of course, not all programs that include sexual content actually engage the topic of intercourse, and thus not all sexual messages are necessarily at the level where issues such as these are directly relevant. Those shows that actually deal with intercourse, either by presenting such behavior in the story or by including characters that talk about specific instances of intercourse, arguably are the programs for which addressing the risks or responsibilities of sexual behavior would

be most salient. At this more focused level, we see that risk or responsibility concerns are included only slightly more often in programs that contain talk about intercourse or intercourse behaviors than in all programs that contain any sexual content. More specifically, 10% of shows that include intercourse behaviors and 14% of shows that present talk about intercourse were found to include at least one scene addressing risk and responsibility issues (see Table 9).

Table 9: Use of Sexual Risk/Responsibility Themes: Composite Week

	All Programs With Talk About Sexual Intercourse That Has Occurred	All Programs With Intercourse Behavior	All Programs With Any Sexual Content
Percentage Of Shows With Any Mention of R/R	14%	10%	9%
N of Shows With Any Mention of R/R	25	7	45
Total N of Shows	179	70	528
Percentage Of Shows With Primary Emphasis On R/R	3%	0%	1%
N of Shows With Primary Emphasis On R/R	5	0	7
Total N of Shows	179	70	528

OVERALL PROGRAM EMPHASIS ON RISKS OR RESPONSIBILITIES

The study also evaluated whether each program considered as a whole placed strong emphasis on any theme about the possible risks or responsibilities of sexual behavior. In the findings reported above, some scenes included mere isolated mention of issues that received little attention in the overall plot of the program. For this measure of program level emphasis on risk or responsibility themes, coders evaluated whether these topics were a central theme that ran throughout the program.

This analysis, which is reported in the lower portion of Table 9, indicates that programs with a primary emphasis on risk and responsibility themes were extremely rare, representing only 1% of all shows on television that contained any sexual content. Of particular note is the finding that across all 70 programs in the composite week sample that included intercourse behavior, not even one qualified on this measure. Only a slightly higher proportion of programs (3%) that presented talk about intercourse emphasized risk and responsibility concerns.

Featured throughout this episode is Ivy, a 15 year-old who first goes to see a doctor because she thinks she might be pregnant. In a brief misunderstanding, Dr. Grad tells Ivy, "Your test is positive." The teenager panics because she does not want to have a baby. But the doctor quickly clarifies that the test which came back positive is not the one for pregnancy but rather the one for HIV. From that moment on, Ivy appears quite relieved. She does not take the situation seriously, skipping her medicine and missing scheduled check-ups at the hospital. Dr. Grad grows frustrated with Ivy's state of denial. When she first confronts her, Ivy lies, covering up the fact that she has not told her

boyfriend or her parents that she has contracted the HIV virus. Eventually, Dr. Grad forces Ivy to face her situation. In an emotional scene at the end of the program, Ivy tearfully recounts the repercussions of her sexual activity. Her pills make her tired and sick. The boyfriend she thought would marry her has left. She cries, "Who's going to date me now, let alone marry me?" Dr. Grad embraces Ivy and tries to comfort her, but the grim negative consequences of unprotected sex have no easy solution in this case. (Chicago Hope, CBS)

The title of this episode is "I'm 13 and Have Unprotected Sex." A series of young teens aged 13-16 appear with their mothers to discuss their sexual behavior. All of the teens have had sexual intercourse with multiple partners at a very young age, and they all are arrogant in their refusal to use any protection against AIDS, STDs, or unwanted pregnancy. For example, Valerie, who lost her virginity at age 12 and has had unprotected sex with 15 partners, refuses to use any protection because "it just doesn't feel right." Another teen who has had eight sexual partners, Gabby, is asked by the host why she doesn't worry about AIDS. She responds, "I'm not gonna worry about it till I get it." The host and audience rebuke these teenagers' irresponsibility, using various strategies to communicate the risks they are taking. Then another teen, 18 year-old Cyndi, tells how unprotected sex has affected her life. She became pregnant at age 14 by a boy who has left her. She was the primary caretaker for her father, who has just died of AIDS that resulted from unprotected sex, and she recounts in graphic detail how his body withered to 62 pounds before he died. With the help of a psychologist who appears near the end of the show, several of the teens acknowledge they have made bad judgments and offer tearful public commitments to change their behavior. (Sally Jesse Raphael, KTLA/syndicated)

The number of shows that placed overall emphasis on themes such as these was too small (N=7) to meaningfully consider the question of which program genres devote more attention to these concerns than others. That issue can be addressed, however, by again examining the data that identifies risk or responsibility portrayals at the individual scene level, as we do below.

RISK OR RESPONSIBILITY PORTRAYALS ACROSS DIFFERENT GENRES

Table 10 reports the frequency with which different genres of programs included any treatment of the risks or responsibilities of sexual behavior within scenes. Talk shows stand out as well above the norm on this analysis. Nearly one of every four (23%) talk shows involving sex included some discussion of the risks of irresponsible sexual behavior. Reality programs (16%), news magazines (14%), and soap operas (11%) were slightly above average in presenting such topics.

In considering these findings, it is important to bear in mind that these data reflect any mention of risk or responsibility topics, including even relatively minor references. Indeed, of all the scenes in which risk or responsibility messages were presented in talk shows, half (50%) of them were considered minor or inconsequential in nature; and only a single episode out of 39 talk shows that included sexual content (3%) placed primary emphasis on presenting risk or responsibility concerns throughout the program. Thus, one should be cautious in interpreting the overall degree of social responsibility that may be reflected by our

finding that talk shows provide the most frequent treatment of risk or responsibility concerns on television.

Table 10: Distribution of Risk/Responsibility Portrayals by Genre: Composite Week

	COMEDY SERIES	DRAMA SERIES	MOVIE	NEWS MAGAZINE	SOAP OPERA	TALK SHOW	REALITY	TOTAL
Percentage of Shows With Any Sex That Contain R/R	3%	5%	9%	14%	11%	23%	16%	9%
N of Shows with Any R/R	4	4	12	3	5	9	8	45
N of Shows With Sex	153	83	134	22	47	39	50	528
Total N of Shows	274	142	162	38	55	50	221	942

The program types that include themes concerning risks or responsibilities least often when addressing sexual topics are comedy series (3%) and drama series (5%), two of the most common genres on television. This finding for comedy series will take on added significance shortly when we report the frequency with which sexual topics are addressed across different program genres, an analysis that indicates comedies present more scenes with messages about sex than any other type of program.

To summarize, messages concerning the possible risks or responsibilities of sexual activity are not often presented in conjunction with the treatment of sexual topics on television. When they are included, they do not tend to receive strong emphasis in a program overall. In addition, messages of risk and responsibility seem particularly lacking in those programs that portray intercourse behaviors, arguably the most salient context in which such messages might appear.

FURTHER CONTEXTUAL ELEMENTS IN SCENES WITH SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

Televised portrayals of intercourse play a role in socializing viewers, particularly children and teens, to the patterns of sexual behavior that are common or acceptable in American society. Besides the critical issues already considered regarding risks and responsibilities, there are other concerns that are relevant here. Questions such as the age at which one should have intercourse, or the strength of the relationship that typically exists between intercourse partners are important concerns for many young people. Portrayals on television can be an important source of information about these societal norms. In this section, we examine some of the contextual features in the portrayals that involve intercourse. Recall that 7% of all programs in the composite week sample included intercourse either depicted or strongly implied.

Table 11 addresses several different types of contextual factors that help to shape the meaning of any portrayal involving intercourse. First of all, the age of characters involved in intercourse was examined. Across all the intercourse scenes identified by the study (N=88), we see that only one involved a child. This was the scene of a rape of a 9-year old girl in the film "A Time to Kill" (HBO). The vast majority of characters involved with intercourse (73%) are adults who appear to be age 25 or older, with 23% appearing to be young adults (age 18-24), and only 3% teenagers.

Portrayals were also analyzed to determine the nature of the relationship between any characters involved in intercourse. An established relationship was judged to exist when characters had previously shared a sexual or romantic activity *and* they had an apparent commitment to a future together, though this could range from a dating relationship to a long-term commitment such as a marriage.

Table 11: Contextual Elements in Scenes with Sexual Intercourse Related Behaviors

APPARENT AGE OF CHARACTERS INVOLVED		
	N	Percent of Characters
Child (<12)	1	1%
Teen (13-17)	6	3%
Young Adult (18-24)	40	23%
Adult (25+)	129	73%
Total N Of Characters	176	100%
PARTICIPANTS' RELATIONSHIP WITH ONE ANOTHER		
	N	Percent of Characters
Have An Established Relationship	47	53%
Have Met Before But No Established Relationship	25	28%
Have Just Met	9	10%
Can't Tell	7	8%
DRUGS		
	N	Percent of Characters
Use Of Drugs In Scene	2	2%
ALCOHOL		
	N	Percent of Characters
Use Of Alcohol In Scene	13	15%
TOTAL N OF SCENES	88	100%

About half of all scenes with intercourse (53%) involved characters who had an established relationship with one another. Approximately one of every four scenes (28%) portrayed characters having sex who knew one another but had not yet established a relationship, and another 10% of scenes presented characters having sex when they had just met. Very few scenes of intercourse include any use of drugs (2%), although the use of alcohol was somewhat more common, appearing in 15% of scenes.

It has already been established in the section on risks or responsibilities that very few portrayals show any strong negative outcomes as a result of sexual activity. That finding, however, only tells us part of the story about the consequences TV portrays as a result of sexual activity. In fact, there are a range of possible consequences that may be associated with sexual intercourse, either positive or negative. For example, the experience may contribute to personal satisfaction or self-confidence; may enhance one's peer status or popularity; or may establish or benefit a relationship. In contrast, one can experience guilt or remorse about the act; diminished status or popularity can result when others disapprove of one's sexual behavior; and intercourse can cause worry about or actual unwanted pregnancy, HIV, or other sexually-transmitted diseases.

For each program in which intercourse was mentioned (i.e., characters spoke about specific acts of intercourse that had already occurred), depicted, or strongly implied, the consequences associated with intercourse were classified as either primarily positive, primarily negative, mixed, or not shown. These judgments were based on all information presented at any point in the program.

Table 12: Consequences of Sexual Intercourse: Composite Week

	PRIMARILY POSITIVE CONSEQUENCES	PRIMARILY NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES	MIXED CONSEQUENCES	NO CONSEQUENCES SHOWN	TOTAL
Of Programs With Talk About Intercourse That Has Occurred	14%	16%	8%	63%	100%
N of Programs	25	28	14	112	179
Of Programs With Intercourse Depicted or Implied	27%	7%	7%	59%	100%
N of Programs	19	5	5	41	70

The majority of shows on television that involve intercourse present no information at all within episodes regarding the consequences for the characters (see Table 12). This holds true both for programs that present talk about intercourse (63% show no clear consequences) as well as for those that depict or strongly imply the behavior (59% show no clear consequences). When intercourse is the topic of talk, there is relative balance between the programs that include primarily positive and primarily negative consequences of intercourse (14% positive vs. 16% negative in programs featuring talk about intercourse that has occurred). Yet when intercourse behavior is