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A QUALITATIVE ANALYTIC STUDY OF
THE IMAGE OF ORGANIZED RELIGION
IN PRIME TIME TELEVISION DRAMA

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Paul H. Keckley, Jr., B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1974

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Discussing the recent popularity of research in television programming, Robert Bailey wrote:

For decades, American broadcasting content has been a mother lode mined by sociologists, psychologists, political scientists, behavioral scientists, the Federal government, organized listener-viewer groups, and even broadcasting students for evaluation in books, research papers, theses, lectures, official documents and ordinary conversation. Broadcast programming provides a fruitful vein for researchers to work; it is on-going and ever-changing, sharpened by its simultaneous/instantaneous characteristic, an omnipresent environmental element very possibly having something to do with quality of human life in our society.¹

He went on to say:

With 95% of American homes owning television receivers, all having access to one or more national networks, television network programs have the theoretical potential of reaching nearly the entire population simultaneously. This massive distribution via the prime communications medium seems cogent motivation for descriptive studies designed to ascertain to what kinds of program content the populace is being exposed.²

Research in mass communication has generated new and valuable insights into the process and effects of these
media. An avalanche of monographs has proposed reasons for television-crime motivated aggressive behavior on the part of children, for media induced political voting behavior, and a myriad of other topics.\(^3\) This writer, as a rhetorical critic and student of mass communication, is interested in the content of these television-mediated messages as genre for qualitative content analysis. Specifically, the image of organized religion as depicted in prime time television drama is the focus of this analysis. By way of explanation, the following definitions are used:

1. "the image" -- Boulding defined the image as the individual's "subjective reality."\(^4\) The construct has enjoyed a long tradition of academic interest dating from Aristotle's concept of "ethos" to present day analyses of credibility.\(^5\) For purposes of this study, the term "image" is used as the descriptive term for the construct of perceived reality. A la Boulding and Clevenger, this perception is characterized as organized and structured and is the product of the flow of information through the perceiver's value system.\(^6\) Therefore, television messages may be understood as information-loaded packages which are transmitted through the receiver's value system and integrated into the viewer's image structure.

2. "organized religion" -- These terms pertain to any church, sect, denomination, or cult.\(^7\) Nottingham's explanation of the distinctions between these notions is useful.
He describes a church as follows:

A church stresses its universality within a given territory either national or international. Its patterns of authority are typically both formal and traditional. This authority is centralized and hierarchical and hence is relayed from top to bottom of the organization by means of a chain of command. Various kinds of leaders exist in this large, diversified organization, the most typical leader being the priest rather than the prophet. His main function — namely to administer the sacramental means of grace to the members — is both exclusive and crucial.

The church (or ecclesia), in marked distinction from the sect, neither withdraws from the world nor fights it. Its aim is rather to control the world in the interests of the organization. Hence, there is close reciprocation between the government of the church and the secular institutions of the society, including civil government.

The ideal type of church — a universal world church — has, of course, never existed in any complete fashion. The Catholic Church in the thirteenth century, perhaps its nearest approximation, did not include even all of Western Christendom. Today, the Roman Catholic Church still exemplifies, in theory, an international church, and similarly, the Anglican and Lutheran Churches furnish examples of national churches.

A sect, according to Nottingham,

... is typically a small, exclusive group whose members join voluntarily, usually as adults. Authority is exercised by virtue of personal charisma rather than hierarchical sanction; yet religious discipline is rigorous and is commonly enforced by the mutual scrutiny of the group members. Generally, sects are characterized by religious and ethical fervor, their beliefs stress primitive gospel teachings, and their practices emphasize the way of life of the early Christians. Sectarian beliefs and practices sharpen the distinction between the small, closely knit group of sect members and the outside
world. Indeed, sectarians are usually hostile to members of all other churches and often to those of rival sects. "Come out from among them and be ye separate" might well be the motto of the sect. Hence, sects also tend to be radical in their rejection of secular government; sect members may, for instance, refuse to bear civil office, to perform military service, to take oaths, and to pay taxes.

Sects are of two main varieties: withdrawing sects and militant sects. The monastic orders were the principal withdrawing sects of medieval times, whereas in the modern world sects of this type include the Plymouth Brethren and the Old Order Amish of rural Pennsylvania. Among the militant sects may be numbered the Anabaptists of the seventeenth century and, although possibly less militant, the Jehovah's Witnesses of our own day.

Larger and somewhat more stabilized and complex than a sect, a denomination, observes Nottingham,

... recruits its members largely by birthright. It is characteristically one among a number of churches within a given territory or within a number of territories. Authority in a denomination is sometimes hierarchical in nature and sometimes stems from the elective action of local congregations. Its discipline, unlike that of the sect, is on the whole formal and conventional rather than fervid and exacting. Its priests and pastors are usually temperate in their evangelical zeal and hold themselves chiefly responsible for the welfare of their own congregations. The denomination neither withdraws from, fights, nor controls the world, but for the most part cooperates with it. As a rule it also cooperates with the civil authorities and with most other religious bodies.

Denominations are of two main kinds. They may be one-time sects, tamed and matured, that have made their peace with the world. Or they may be former churches that have been forced to accept denominational status as the condition of their survival in societies like the United States, where the Constitution prohibits an established church of any kind. The Methodist and Baptist Churches are well-known
examples of denominations that evolved from former sects, whereas the Episcopal and Lutheran Churches, which were nationally established ecclesiae in England and Sweden respectively, are denominations in the United States.10

The fourth term, cult, may be described in the following manner:

The cult is a small religious group in some respects similar to the sect, although, unlike the sect, its membership is largely confined to dwellers in metropolitan areas . . . Cult members are frequently rootless urban individuals who may embrace a cult when they are confronted with loneliness and frustration in middle and later life. Thus cult members, like sect members, are voluntary joiners. But joining a cult does not imply the acceptance of group discipline. In the cult, authority is at a minimum. Members may join a cult not because some of them happen to fit in with their own. Furthermore, membership in a cult is not exclusive and need not debar individuals from membership in other, perhaps more conventional, churches. Thus the individual's commitment to the cult is more tenuous, and the term of his membership is likely to be more transient, than in a sect. Cult organization is therefore frequently loose and amorphous.

Cult leadership is charismatic, informal, often precarious, and under metropolitan conditions of relative anonymity, sometimes corrupt. Cult beliefs frequently emphasize one particular aspect of Christian teaching, such as spiritual healing, or they may blend Christian beliefs with beliefs borrowed from other cultures, often oriental ones. Cult beliefs are usually more esoteric and mystical than the plain gospel teachings stressed by the typical sect.

Cult members as a rule neither withdraw from the world nor are likely to be in militant opposition to it. Indeed, cultists with some notable exceptions, are unlikely to be actively concerned with broader political and social issues. The function of the cult is
rather to help its members adjust as satisfactorily as possible to the world and its institutions.

There is less general agreement among sociologists as to the definition of "cult." Some have equated "cult" with the early formative stages of a sect's development. Our emphasis here, however, is on the more permissive nature of cult discipline as opposed to the ethical strictness of the sect, and on the eclectic nature of cult beliefs in comparison with the sect's "gospel" emphasis. Examples of cults are Father Divine's Peace Movement (of the Depression era) and the "I Am" movement. Some young people's groups today, such as Krishna Consciousness and the followers of Meher Baba, may also be classified as cults. The state of California is a prolific breeding ground of cults.11

3. prime-time television drama -- Any television program aired between 8 and 11 p.m. daily wherein the following two criteria are met: (1) characters must be depicted fictionally i.e. John Wayne cannot portray himself; (2) programs must be regularly scheduled either as serials or as any non-special production. According to this definition and these qualifications, any news or sports programs, as well as any variety or musical program, would be excluded.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The function of the rhetorical critic is to identify possible explanations for the social situation wherein persuasive messages act as stimuli relevant to attitudes and actions. As Steiner, Weiss, Schramm, Roberts, Bower and many others have emphasized, the medium of television has a persuasive impact in the United States today.12 The marriage
of medium and message in the philosophical concern of Marshall McLuhan adds weight to the presumption of the writer that television functions as an agent of social change. This being the case, it behooves the critical audience of any medium to understand the dynamics of the medium itself i.e. who decides which programs are cancelled and which continued? Who decides which news stories get full television coverage? What criteria are used in determining the public's interest? etc.

So as to narrow the reader's attention to the dynamics of principal concern to this writer the following questions may be posed:

1. Is organized religion treated in the content of prime time television drama?
2. If so, in what circumstances (program types)?
3. What is the nature of the information about organized religion?
   a. Is more information transmitted through nonverbal symbols or verbal symbols?
   b. Is this information directly or indirectly involved in the plot of the drama?
4. What specific organized religious groups are treated in prime-time television drama?
   a. Of churches, sects, cults, and denominations, which are treated more frequently?
   b. Of churches, sects, cults and denominations,
which are treated more favorably?

5. What are the dimensions of the image of organized religion as precipitated from this environment of prime time television drama?

6. What is the significance of this image?

7. What are the implications of this study for contemporary rhetorical and communication theory research endeavors?

Note: Questions 1 - 5 will be addressed in Chapter Four while Chapter Five will contain a response to Questions 6 - 7.

So that the reader might better understand the social milieu from which this study has been framed and that he may gain a perspective from which these findings may be interpreted, two topics seem appropriate by way of brief introduction: (1) Television and Society, and (2) Religion and Society. To a brief consideration of these subjects let us now turn.

TELEVISION AND SOCIETY

Television as a gift of the electronic age has become the most pervasive and influential of all the mass media of communication. On the basis of his seven biennial surveys beginning in 1959, Roper concluded that the tube has become the people's choice for both information and entertainment. As of 1973, the United States boasted a total of
927 operating commercial and educational television stations. Additionally, there were over 3000 CATV systems operating -- and these figures have increased each year. Over 96% of the households in the U.S. have at least one television receiver, 57.7% of which are color. In 1973, almost six and a half million TV sets were imported into the U.S. and over seventeen million sets sold for a sales worth three and a half billion dollars. It has been estimated that children view 15,000 hours plus of television in the first twenty-one years of life and that the average person's life includes a total time of nine years of television viewing. The magazine with the second largest circulation in the world is devoted exclusively to television (TV Guide, 17.7 million weekly) and if present trends continue should become the largest. It took 80 years for the telephone to be installed in 34 million homes, yet television made that giant stride in less than ten years.

Little wonder, then, that social scientists of all disciplines, along with public relations experts, advertising consultants, marketing and consumer experts, and political candidates have invested much time and many dollars into understanding more completely and using more efficiently the medium once described by McLuhan as the "rear view mirror of the world." The word "television" has great meaning when broken down: tele means "far" and vision means "sight." In the political arena, notice of this trait was taken
early. As Boorstin, Nimmo, Kraus, McGinnis, the team of Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, Sears, the Lang's, Devlin, the duo of Crespi, Mendelsohn, and Wyckoff have noted, the medium of television is uniquely suited to the purposes of the contemporary political campaign. Devlin declared television more than any other medium enables a voter to make judgements about a candidate's personality. The voter seeks an image which says 'I am a man who can solve problems and can be trusted to govern your country.'

In the world of marketing and advertising, television has become the chief means for hawking goods. Advertising agencies literally assist in subsidizing television, alerting people to new products, including politicians, and creating needs for people most of whom have had their real needs satisfied. A newsman reports a story of life and death and then a soap commercial flashes on the screen, making soap as important as life and death. Through psychological appeals ranging from sexual desire to class distinction, the language of TV bartering bombards the innocent viewer with products after products -- all of which are "necessary" for a "full" life. Like political campaigning, television peddlers perpetuate a massive business enterprise. In 1971, television ad expenditures, according to the Television Bureau of Advertising, totalled over three and a half billion dollars. Most popular of the items were automobiles, drugs toiletries, food, and soft drinks. Proctor and
Gamble alone spent over 93 million dollars for TV promotion in 1973. It is an understatement to assert that the medium of television has accomplished that which no other sales strategy could have -- the introduction of new products and institutionalizing of the old ones.

But more directly relevant to the focus of this study is the social scientist analysis of television in society. In many instances, the literature has addressed itself to mass media generally rather than to television specifically. Taken alone, the television inventory would certainly underscore and inflate these findings. Robert Stein recently wrote:

Beyond our limited daily experience, it is television, radio, newspapers, magazines, and books -- the media -- that furnish our consciousness with the people, places, and events that we agree to call reality. But reality, in a literal sense, is what happens to three and a half billion people all over the world twenty-four hours a day. Out of that beaming experience, the media can only give us, in words and pictures, a representation of tiny fragments that are deemed significant or suggestive.

In the past our picture of the world was largely shaped by the established institutions of the society. Most vital information was, at least for a time, the exclusive property of government officials, military men and business leaders. News, with rare exceptions, was what they wanted us to know. Throughout most of its history, journalism was limited to mediating between the public and those who held power.

Social scientists have recognized the ubiquitous presence of the mass media in modern society. To people born
into the urban centers of the world, the rich diversity of
the formal media is a natural element of the environment.
Like current modes of transportation, kinds of occupations
and styles of dwellings, the mass media compose one of the
characterizing features of the modern scene. On the per­
sonal level, they affect the carrying out of daily routines,
contribute to relaxation and respite, provide some informa­
tion about the world and broaden human experience. On the
macro level, they not only act as contributors, but as so­
cializers and, at times, mobilizers. Stein concluded:

As substantial control over what we know
has passed from established institutions, a
new force has emerged in American life: Media
Power. By shaping our reality of the world
on an almost minute-to-minute basis, the media
now largely determine what we think, how we
feel and what we do in our social and po­
litical environment.

Other media theorists have expressed similar views.
Marshall McLuhan noted that the medium through which the
message flows may be as important and have more impact on
the viewer than the message itself. Both Lerner and
Schramm espoused the notion that, to a considerable extent,
mass media prepare, instigate, and undergird the development
of a modern society. Lerner emphasized that the media
allow a person to "see himself in another fellow's situ­
at­ion," which he labelled "empathic capacity." This kind
of psychic mobility was restricted in the past to direct ex­
periences. Now, according to Lerner, the media relate the
multitudes to the "infinite vicarious universe" and, as a consequence, function as a "mobility multiplier." Schramm theorized, "The mass media came to the traditional villages of the world with a freshness they have long ceased to carry in highly developed cultures." He also suggested that the media act in three other capacities: as a "watchman," something akin to Lasswell's notion of "surveillance" emphasizing the bringing to public awareness of those concerns relevant to societal goals; as an aid to social decision-making, wherein the media are conceived as contributing actively to open dialogue on vital issues of societal concern thereby modifying attitudes particularly toward lightly supported issues; and as a "teacher" helping substantially all types of formal and informal educational processes. It seems apparent that all of these functions are related to the transmission of a television mediated image into society.

Ivey described in wholistic terms the role of the media in society as the "facilitator of social change." Reasoning that since change is inevitable and that society requires mechanisms for systematic growth, he concluded "Unless the communication process allows us to maintain a certain consensus on how we want . . . change to take place and to identify the goals of social change, we have a complete breakdown of social organization."

The degree to which the media facilitate or obstruct peaceful change remains a question. According to the Kerner
Commission on Civil Disorders, the news media contributed to the violent social confrontations in the 1960's by failing to report the buildup of explosive pressures in the nation's ghettos: "The communications media, ironically, have failed to communicate." Lazarsfeld and Merton observed: "that the effect of a commercially sponsored media system is a gross conformity of material needs and the abortion of thought provoking programming." Schiller noted:

Communications, which could be a rigorous mechanism of social change, have become instead a major obstacle to national reconstruction. They have been seized by the commanding interests in the market economy to promote narrow national and international objectives while simultaneously making alternate paths seem either undesirable or preventing their existence from becoming known.

The treatment of the American Negro in the television programming of the 60's evidenced such a traditional stability. In this regard, Erik Barnouw, broadcast historian, noted a recent change across the media:

Radio had been close to lily white, but implicitly. Television was explicitly and glaringly white. A seeming mirror of the world, it told the Negro continually he did not exist ... It is perhaps not a coincidence that the beginnings of the Negro revolt -- the rise of the "invisible man" -- coincided with the spread and penetration of television.

Regardless of the position taken by theorists and others concerning the role of the media in social change, one has only to look at the treatment of the Watergate Conspiracy to realize the relevant role played by both print and electronic
media. It was the television that made the world aware of President Nixon's trip to China and of wide-spread local resistance to the Vietnam conflict. It was television that allowed Armstrong's moon landing to penetrate the world and television that communicated the ecological decay of planet earth.

A final perspective on the role of television in a society such as ours is the activity of socialization as one of many correlated variables. Adler and Harrington defined socialization as the "process of learning socially relevant behaviors." It is concerned not with the idiosyncratic behavior of individuals but rather with behavior that an individual shares with a group. Roger Brown noted that "conformity to the norms is sometimes said to be the end result of a positive or successful socialization." In the past, the child's socialization was facilitated through the traditional home, school, and peer group identities. Now the mass media generally, and television especially, share in this process:

Television is a primary source of socialization for low income teenagers. In the absence of family, peer, and school relationships, television becomes the most compatible substitute for real life experiences.

It would seem that, for the first time in history, the processes of socialization have been surrendered to a force outside the traditional hierarchy of controls. The rationale for this position was provided by Baker and Ball,
who contended that the child begins absorbing television in infancy. Later, the child spends his/her waking hours with a baby-sitter watching TV. At an early age, children tend to accept as valid whatever they see, whether it be news, drama, cartoons, or comedy. Radio has also extended the socialization process to adolescents in terms of music.

In sum, Charles Reich's analysis seems relevant:

When the television child finally encounters the real world he does not find families like those on "Father Knows Best" and "My Three Sons." He finds not the clean suburbs of television but the sordid dams of reality. He finds not the perpetual smiles and effervescent spirits of a Coke ad but anxieties and monotony. And when he stops believing in this mythic world, the breach in his credulity is total.

On the basis of this overview it is apparent that the relationship between the mass media and society generally and television and society specifically is complex and overwhelming. Equally important by way of providing a frame of reference for this study is the relationship between religion and society. In this regard, the writer will address the topic via popular measures of religiosity coupled with several theological statements toward a broadbased understanding.

ORGANIZED RELIGION AND SOCIETY

Will Herberg wrote: "The American way of life is a middle-class way, just as the American people in their entire
outlook and feelings are a middle-class people." Based on his observation of the American way of life, Brown noted that in essence Americans possess a basic set of precepts about the nature of reality, the good life, and our national destiny which stand alongside the creeds of the churches as a source of personal motivation and social norms. He enumerated these American values as (1) belief in the dignity and worth of man, (2) belief in freedom and equality for all, (3) participation in the self-help tradition, and (4) active participation in progress. Suspicious of the middle class character of the churches, sects, denominations and cults, Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock interviewed three thousand church members in Northern California finding "in contrast with the general public, church members are an extraordinarily affluent group; the poor are conspicuously absent from the church rolls. Even in the fundamentalist sects, traditionally thought to be the special havens of the poor, the majority of members are financially comfortable." They concluded that "church membership is predominantly a middle-class affair."

By way of exploring other dimensions of affiliation with organized religious groups in America a second distinctively middle class characteristic is its fundamentalist flavor. By way of clarification, fundamentalism, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, is a "religious movement which became active among various Protestant bodies in the United
States after the war of 1914-18, based on strict adherence to traditional tenets (e.g. the literal inerrancy of Scripture) held to be fundamental to the Christian faith: opposed to liberalism and modernism." The Concise Oxford Dictionary emphasizes the attitudinal aspect defining fundamentalism as "the maintenance, in opposition to modernism, of traditional orthodox beliefs such as the inerrancy of Scripture and literal acceptance of the creeds as fundamentals of Protestant Christianity." L. Harold DeWolf, in *Present Trends in Christian Thought*, stressed the polemic character of fundamentalism, explaining it as "an effort to reaffirm the fundamentals of the Christian faith, in vigorous reaction and protest against liberal theology." Edward J. Carnell pithily declared: "Fundamentalism is orthodoxy gone cultic."63

The fundamentalistic character of organized religion in America is extremely significant especially when linkages between tenets of faith and other attitudinal positions are explored. As outlined by Streiker and Strober, these major tenets are (1) Jesus Christ as Personal Savior and Lord, (2) The Bible as the Word of God, (3) the legitimacy of "Religious Authorities," (4) a Pessimistic View of Human Nature, and (5) Renunciation of Control of One's Life.64 They added that since World War II, fundamentalism has moved in three directions: "(1) anti-Communism, (2) neo-evangelicalism, and (3) mass evangelism."65 They concluded that
each of these movements has been a response to the over-all
decline in fundamentalist influence upon American life. With these two characteristics in mind, materialism and funda­
damentalism, the contemporary surveyor of American religion
might mistakenly conclude that this society is a homogeneous
mixture of religious values and behaviors. A prominent
rabbI noted:

Some are certain that religion in America
is in eclipse, the hapless victim of an over­
whelming secular environment. Others, de­
defenders of the faith, sense the threat of such
possibilities, rush out to survey the field,
and returning with a sigh of relief, manage
to report that "99 per cent of you and your
neighbors believe in God." With this in mind, the recent
polls provide special insight into the perceived influence
of organized religion in America today.

In 1965, a Gallup poll was taken to measure the
religious beliefs and practices of American adults, and attitudes of members of the three main religious groups toward each other, and to determine what changes, if any, had occurred since a similar study made by Ben Gaffin and Associates in 1952. Sponsored by the Catholic Digest, the 1965 study was based on 2783 personal interviews conducted with a representative cross-section of U.S. adults 18 years of age and over. The entire study was later bound in the volume What Do We Believe? The Stance of Religion in America. The findings of this study yielded the following report: the adult population was composed of 78.9 million Protestants, 29.8 Roman Catholics, 3.2 million Jews, .5 million classified as "other," and 8.1 million with no religious preference. At the time of the poll, the American adult population stood at 120.5 million and the total U.S. population at 194.6 million. Since 1965, the U.S. population has grown by nearly nine million and by about eleven million in terms of voting age adults. According to the '65 survey as compared with the Gaffin study of '52, it would appear that the number of new adult Catholic and Protestant church members increased by 15 and 11 per cent respectively, while Judaism showed a membership decline. At the same time, Americans indicating no religious preference increased at a rate three times as large as the growth of the adult population.

The distribution of Protestants within their various
denominations and sects also showed definite patterns of change. In the thirteen year period, the Baptists increased 5.6 million, Jehovah's Witnesses grew from 200,000 to 500,000 and the Disciples of Christ doubled from 200,000 to 400,000. In the same period, declines were recorded by Methodists, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Reformed, and Quakers. By way of updating these figures to 1973, the nine major Baptist conventions boast memberships of over sixteen million, a slight increase: Disciples of Christ up to 1.4 million members; Jehovah's Witnesses stabilized at .5 million members.

A second study already mentioned in this section was conducted by Glock and Stark in 1963. Then, in 1964, the National Opinion Research Center used a similar sample of adults to confirm the following results: Sects should be thought of in conjunction with the Assemblies of God, Church of Christ, Church of God, Foursquare Gospel, Free Methodist, Mennonite, Nazarene, Pentecostal, Salvation Army, Seventh Day Adventist, Campbellite, Jehovah Witnesses, Christian Missionary Alliance, Mission Convenant, and various small holiness bodies. Denominations included Congregational, Episcopal, Disciples of Christ, Presbyterian, American Baptist, American Lutheran, Missouri Lutheran, Southern Baptist, and Roman Catholic. Finally, cults included Christian Science, Unity, Theosophy, Spiritualism, Divine Science, Church of Latter-Day Saints, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Asian re-
ligions.* On the basis of these four studies, the religious beliefs of American church members may be summarized as follows:

(1) Do you believe God really exists?\(^{81}\)
   (a) '65 Gallup 81% absolutely sure
       12% fairly sure
       2% no belief at all

(2) What kind of god is God?\(^{82}\)
   (a) '65 Gallup 73% loving Father
       19% supernatural power

(3) I know God really exists and I have no doubts about it.\(^{83}\)
   (a) Glock-Stark Jewish 39%
       Congregational 41%
       Methodist 60%
       Episcopal 63%
       American Lutheran 73%
       Presbyterian 75%
       Disciples of Christ 76%
       American Baptist 78%
       Missouri Lutheran 81%
       Roman Catholic 81%
       Sects 96%
       Southern Baptist 99%

(4) Jesus is the Divine Son of God and I have no doubts about it.\(^{84}\)

*Note: Earlier in this chapter by way of defining and clarifying the terminology "organized religion," the writer quoted Nottingham's distinction between churches, denominations, sects, and cults. The literature of religious sociology seems to support such a classification. However, in this discussion of the Glock-Stark survey the writer is bound to the schema contained therein for purposes of reporting their results. Elsewhere in this report, readers are urged to understand that the Nottingham typology is that which is utilized by the writer.
(a) Glock-Stark
Congregational 40%  
Methodists 54%  
Episcopalian 59%  
Presbyterian 72%  
Disciples of Christ 74%  
American Lutheran 74%  
American Baptist 76%  
Roman Catholic 86%  
Missouri Lutheran 93%  
Sects 97%  
Southern Baptist 99%

(5) Do you believe in the Trinity -- the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?  
(a) '65 Gallup
Yes Catholics 96%  
Protestants 86%

(6) Do you believe that Jesus was born of a virgin?  
(a) Glock-Stark
completely true 57% Protestants  
81% Catholics  
Congregationalists 21%  
Methodist 34%  
Episcopalian 39%  
Presbyterian 57%  
Disciples of Christ 62%  
American Lutheran 66%  
American Baptist 69%  
Roman Catholic 81%  
Missouri Lutheran 92%  
Sects 96%  
Southern Baptist 99%

(7) Do you believe Jesus walked on water?  
(a) Glock-Stark
completely true  
Protestants 50%  
Roman Catholic 71%  
Congregationalist 19%  
Methodist 26%  
Episcopalian 30%  
Presbyterian 51%  
American Lutheran 58%  
Disciples of Christ 62%  
American Baptist 62%  
Roman Catholic 71%  
Missouri Lutheran 83%  
Sects 94%  
Southern Baptist 99%
(8) Do you believe Jesus will actually return to the earth some day?\textsuperscript{88}

(a) Glock-Stark

- completely true: 44% Protestant, 47% Catholic
- possible: 20% Protestant, 16% Catholic
- probable: 10% Catholic & Protestant
- definitely not: 10% Protestants, 12% Catholic

(two answering "completely true")

- Congregational: 13%
- Methodist: 21%
- Episcopalian: 24%
- Disciples of Christ: 36%
- Presbyterian: 43%
- Roman Catholic: 47%
- American Lutheran: 54%
- American Baptist: 57%
- Missouri Lutheran: 75%
- Sects: 89%
- Southern Baptists: 94%

(9) Is the Bible the revealed word of God?\textsuperscript{89}

(a) '65 Gallup

- Yes: 79%
- No: 13%

(10) Did the miracles occur just as the Bible described them?\textsuperscript{90}

(a) '65 Gallup

- Doubtful: 17% Protestant, 9% Catholics

(11) Do you think your soul will live on after death?\textsuperscript{91}

(a) '65 Gallup

- Doubtful: 10%

(12) Is there eternal punishment of sinners and endless bliss of the righteous?\textsuperscript{92}

(a) '65 Gallup

- Yes: 68%, 71% Protestant, 80% Catholic

(13) Do you think there is a Heaven where people who have led good lives are eternally rewarded?\textsuperscript{93}
(a) '65 Gallup yes 68% Protestant 80% Catholic

(14) Do you think there is a Hell to which people who have led bad lives and die without being sorry are eternally damned?94

(a) '65 Gallup yes 54% Protestant and National 74% Roman Catholics

(15) Is belief in Christ absolutely necessary for salvation?95

(a) Glock-Stark yes 65% Protestant 51% Roman Catholic

(percentages that responded "absolutely necessary")
Congregational 38%
Methodist 45%
Episcopal 47%
Roman Catholic 51%
Presbyterian 66%
American Lutheran 77%
Disciples of Christ 78%
American Baptist 78%
Sects 96%
Missouri Lutheran 97%
Southern Baptist 97%

(16) Is holding the Bible to be God's truth absolutely necessary for salvation?96

(a) Glock-Stark yes 52% Protestant 38% Catholics

(percentages of those responding "yes")
Congregational 23%
Episcopal 32%
Roman Catholic 38%
Methodist 39%
Presbyterian 52%
Disciples of Christ 58%
American Baptist 58%
Southern Baptist 61%
American Lutheran 64%
Missouri Lutheran 80%
Sects 89%
(17) Is baptism necessary for salvation?^{97}

(a) Glock-Stark yes 58% American Lutherans
78% Missouri Lutherans
65% Roman Catholics
35% total Protestants
39% Episcopalians

(18) Is regular participation in Christian sacraments (i.e. Holy Communion, membership in a Christian Church, being a member of your particular religious faith, tithing) absolutely necessary for salvation?^{98}

(a) Glock-Stark no majority
yes for prayer 55% Protestants
54% Roman Catholics
yes "doing good for others"
52% Protestants
57% Roman Catholics
yes "loving thy neighbor"
58% Protestants
65% Roman Catholics

(19) Obstacles to salvation?^{99}

(a) Glock-Stark being ignorant of Jesus
64% Missouri Lutherans
78% Sects
80% Southern Baptists
being Jewish
83% Southern Baptists
54% Missouri Lutherans
56% Sects
being Hindu
56% Missouri Lutherans
59% Southern Baptist
68% Sect
taking name of Lord in vain
drinking liquor
practicing birth control (only 23% Roman Catholics)
discriminating against other races
being anti-semitic

It is apparent that the religious convictions of most Americans are quite compatible with the doctrines of fundamentalism: however America's ritual commitment lends
great support to the earlier presumption of this review —
that there is a gulf between what is said and what is done.
According to the Gallup survey, seven out of every ten
Americans interviewed expressed the sentiment that religion
was very important in their lives (74% of the Protestants,
76% of the Catholics). Yet only 38% claimed that they
attended church every week (33% Protestants, 67% Catho-
lics). The Glock-Stark survey of church members con-
firmed the gap between affirmation and action. According
to their data, 36% of the Protestants and 70% of the Roman
Catholics attend church every week. But among church
members, the percentage which "never" attend worship ser-
ices dropped to a scant one per cent for Protestants and
two per cent for Catholics. When those who attend "nearly
every week" are added to the "every week" worshippers, the
results are arresting. Almost two-thirds of the total Prot-
estants and eight-tenths of the Catholics attend worship
services nearly every week or better. When "at least
once a month" patrons are added, the statistics are 84 and
87 per cent for Protestants and Catholics respectively.
On the basis of the Gallop poll of 1965 and the Glock-Stark
data of 1966, it may be concluded that Americans are church-
goers like no other nation. By way of up-dating these sta-
tistics, recent surveys have indicated that the trend to
disassociate religious affirmation and religious activity is
growing. A 1973 survey of 26,000 top scholastic achievers
in high school and of a national sample of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews revealed paradoxically that over 70% felt a need for a religious commitment but less than 30% perceived any form of organized religion as accommodating.\textsuperscript{105} Also, a 1973 Gallup poll substantiated not only a trend since post World War II but the most negative image of organized religion polled to that date.\textsuperscript{106}

Other indices of the gap between what is said and what is done uncovered in the Glock-Stark and Gallup polls of the 60's were: (1) 80% of all Americans believe that the Bible is the revealed Word of God, yet only 14% read it practically every day; (2) when asked by Gallup which is most important a comfortable life on earth or preparation for life after death, only 48% replied that after-life was of more concern; (3) with regard to such ritual acts as attendance at worship services and grace before meals as placed on a scale of ritual commitment by Glock and Stark running from high if both activities were engaged in at least once per week, only 44% of the Protestants and 46% of the Catholics were rated high.\textsuperscript{107}

In summary, it may be concluded that religion in America in 1974 is first very much involved in change but still fundamentalist in flavor. Secondly, organized religion continues to be perceived by the majority of Americans as irrelevant to the satisfaction of spiritual needs. Thirdly, there is a glaring chasm between the affirmations
and actions of many if not the majority of people involved in organized religious activities. And finally, the spectrum of ideologies and behavior patterns encompassed by the concept of organized religion is devastatingly wide and pervasive to the point that any systematized code of ethics might in the opinion of some be appropriately classified as such.

Against this backdrop, this study of the image of organized religion in prime time television drama has been framed. The following plan will be used to complete this research report.

PLAN

Chapter Two will include a review of several recent descriptive and qualitative analyses of religion, as well as a summary of studies which have addressed themselves to television-mediated images. For purposes of limiting this section, the writer has excluded the numerous projects which have addressed images in the political arena.

Chapter Three is devoted to a complete statement of the methodology chosen for this study. The writer, functioning as a rhetorical critic, used a qualitative content analytic method to facilitate this study. The procedural manifestations of this methodology are also explained in this section.

Chapter Four is composed of two parts: the reporting
of the results of the data collection and an analysis of these data in terms of research questions 1 through 5 stated earlier in this chapter.

Chapter Five is the writer's comment on the implications of this study for future research ventures and toward the application of select rhetorical and communication theories. It is in this section that the writer wishes to epilogue the report with several personal insights which have infiltrated the progress of this study.
NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE


2Ibid.


Clevenger emphasized the structural dimension of the image in his discussion of the process whereby new information is integrated into the existing mental image. Boulding conceived the image similarly adding that the receiver's value system functioned as a perceptual screen filtering incoming bits of information.


Ibid., p. 231.

Ibid., pp. 231-32.

Ibid., pp. 232-33.

The works of these researchers are cited elsewhere in this report where specific notation is made.


Ibid.

Ibid.


Television Factbook, op. cit.


McLuhan, op. cit., p. 293.

Schreivogel, op. cit., p. 144.

- Based on Television Factbook 1972-1973 as reported in "Communications" *op. cit.*, p. 498.

- Many functional theorists have proposed helpful typologies in this regard. Some of these theorists' works are cited later in this study.


Lerner, op. cit.

Ibid.

Schramm, op. cit., p. 105.

Ibid.


Ibid.


Ibid.

50 Ibid.


52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.


57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.


62 L. Harold DeWolf, Present Trends in Christian Thought


65 Ibid., p. 107.

66 Ibid.

68 Bowers, op. cit., and Steiner, op. cit.

69 The results of this poll are used in Chapter Four of Streiker and Strober "Fundamentalism and Middle America," op. cit., pp. 120-68.

70 Ibid., pp. 122-3.

71 Rosenberg, op. cit.


73 Ibid., p. 124.

74 According to U.S. Census Bureau

75 Streiker and Strober, op. cit.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid., pp. 124-5.

78 Ibid.


80 The results of these Glock-Stark surveys are included Glock and Stark, American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment and Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).

81 Each of these surveys, Gallup and Glock-Stark, are reproduced and compared in Chapter Four, Streiker and Strober, op. cit. Footnotes will denote the page reference in this source so that the reader might refer back for greater detail. p. 125.

82 Ibid.


84 Ibid., p. 126.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid., p. 127.

87 Ibid., pp. 127-28.

88 Ibid., p. 128.
Ibid., pp. 128-29.

Ibid., p. 129.

Ibid.

Ibid., pp. 129-30.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 130.

Ibid., p. 131.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 132.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid., pp. 132-34.

Ibid.


George Gallop, Jr. "Confidence in U.S. Institutions" Gallup Opinion Index. This poll was conducted May 4-7, 1973.

Streiker and Strober, op. cit., p. 133.
CHAPTER TWO

RELATED STUDIES

It is no easy task to extract from the annals of research history all those studies directly or indirectly related to the topic of this dissertation. As indicated in Chapter One, the general categorization of studies which have dealt with religion and with television apart from each other is a task of insurmountable magnitude in and of itself. Yet, the researcher would quickly admit that in both areas, the backlog of qualitative and quantitative research efforts is altogether relevant to any study which seeks to impose a relationship between the two. Given this challenge and in light of the earlier discussions of television and religion in society, the writer would preface this review by asserting that the task is a self-fulfilling prophecy. As more studies are uncovered, the parameters of relativity are widened. Because this is more the case with studies of religion, an example might be useful. On the surface, Bonhoffer's treatise on Ethics is irrelevant to this study. Yet, closer inspection of his rational man construct lends itself indirectly to a fuller understanding or broader
interpretation of the human motivation for "church" identification or religious reality. Similarly, studies of television-induced aggressive behavior on the part of children is related in the context of the long-range designation of the process whereby television may produce an effect. Accordingly the following two sections address themselves to representative studies relevant in varying degrees to the focus of this study. For efficiency, discussion of methodologies will be limited to the identification of the approach (qualitative vs. quantitative) and other essential information such as sample size, etc.

STUDIES OF RELIGION

Social scientists' attraction to religion is not a mysterious preoccupation. Dittes observed:

"... religion offers rich, sometimes dramatic, instances of key psychological processes such as the development and change of attitude and belief, the arousal and reduction of anxiety and guilt, personality change, the development of integrative and self-referent processes in personality, and, above all, many instances of the interrelation between cognitive and motivational variables."

Systematic study, predictably, presents a unique problem, for what are the definitional parameters of "religion." Like "communication" the analyst must run headlong into such conceptual and mentally fatiguing questions as "should religion be thought of as a single factor or as a conglomerate of variables?" or "does the maze of affective bonds render
scientific investigation impractical?" Paul Johnson somewhat whimsically illustrated the problem as follows:

In the name of religion what deed has not been done? For the sake of religion, men have earnestly affirmed and contradicted almost every idea and form of conduct. In the long history of religion appear chastity and sacred prostitution, feasting and fasting, intoxication and prohibition, dancing and sobriety, human sacrifice and the saving of life in orphanages and hospitals, superstition and education, poverty and wealthy endowments, prayer wheels and silent worship, gods and demons, one God and many gods, attempts to escape and to reform the world. How can such diametrical positions all be religious?^2

Dittes echoed Johnson's query:

Even within the relatively homogeneous Judaeo-Christian tradition, one finds firm insistence on the importance of obedience to regulation and on freedom from regulation, on inculcation of guilt feelings and on freedom from guilt feelings, on autonomy and on "absolute dependence," on the conservatism of social values and on the overthrow of social values, on individual mystical aloofness and on the interdependence and responsibilities of group membership, on fear and on trust, on intellect and on emotion, on salvation by passively received "justification" and on salvation by energetically pursued "good works." The catalog is almost endless.\(^3\)

Thankfully, many researchers attempted early statements whereby the puzzling paradigm might be understood. These landmark studies were characterized by theoretical, qualitative attempts and merit brief review. Later experimentalists built their constructs on these frontier efforts in much the same way as modern day communication theorists found firm footing in the works of the classical
The period 1900 to 1936 marks the birth of serious western curiosity about the realm of religion. In 1902, the famed psychologist William James penned *The Varieties of Religious Experience* therein conceiving religion as an individual psychological experience which functions in a variety of social contexts. Next came Ernst Troeltsch's *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, the classic study wherein Weber's church-sect typology was expanded and applied to many varieties of Christian organization from the days of the early Christian church to near-modern times. Emile Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* followed in 1915 presenting the growing academic curiosity with a case study of an Australian tribe wherein the social aspects of religious beliefs and practices were first addressed. Malinowski and Freud broadened the perspective hitherto developed through their two equally absorbing and, in the case of Freud, controversial treatises *Magic, Science, and Religion* and *The Future of an Illusion*. In 1929, Niebuhr's *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* was published drawing popular attention to his novel conception of "lower-class" religion versus "middle-class religion."

Seen as an extension of Durkheim's early postulates, Niebuhr himself a theologian, articulated the perennial problem of religion as the relationship between transcendental doctrine and the necessities of organizing a religious community.
Another classic adventurer in these days was R. H. Tawney, whose *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* seemed to cement the then suspected correlation between capitalism and Protestantism. Finally, one would of necessity have to regard the works of the German philosopher Max Weber in extracting the touchstone works in religious sociology. Weber, more than any other, pioneered the way through such classics as *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, and *The Sociology of Religion*. As a result of all of these pioneer efforts, the study of religion came of age. The psychologists concerned themselves with the religious experiences of individuals -- their feelings, attitudes, beliefs, and values about the supernatural. Sociologists, on the other hand, tended to employ attendance measures, interviews and surveys as modes of understanding the social consequence of the collective religious experience. As these disciplines began to address themselves more faithfully to religion and as the scientific method produced more sophisticated methodologies, journals such as the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *Review of Religious Research*, and the *International Yearbook for the Sociology of Religion*, were literally forced into existence.

In order to achieve a coherent and complete account of religion, researchers must be sensitive to both the organizational character of the church and the beliefs, attitudes,
and behavior of religious people. The most outstanding example of this dual approach can be seen in the early studies by Charles Glock and later with his colleague Robert Stark in the Program for the Study of Religion and Society -- a subdivision of the Survey Research Center at the University of California, Berkeley. Their research has contributed both to the development of sound philosophical inquiry into the area of religious research and to the empirical literature as well.

To facilitate this review of religious research the writer has chosen to classify them according to their basic method. According to both Bormann and Auer, there are three: the historical method, the descriptive method, and the empirical (or experimental) method. The last two of these seem most relevant to this review. Moreover, the descriptive studies will be reviewed first because they have provided the theoretical bases for the experimental investigations that followed.

**DESCRIPTIVE STUDIES OF RELIGION**

For some time rhetoricians, psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, journalists, etc. have addressed themselves to the philosophical interpretation of religion. For the most part, these theoretical-descriptive studies have been qualitative explanations based on years of observation and research.
Those descriptive studies relevant to the concerns of this dissertation properly fall into two categories. First, the student of religious communication must acquaint himself with the pioneer writers in the field of the sociology of religion, for the impetus for more descriptive and empirical research was provided by theorists such as Durkheim and Weber. Briefly these landmark studies are included not only because they were the touchstones for serious research but because they provided theoretical explanations for the religiosity of social man -- for man's latent need for companionship along the path of religious experience.

Secondly, the writer would recall several landmark descriptive studies of man's organized religious groups. It is a paramount necessity for this study that the individual religious groups be easily distinguished, their theology exposed and their structure recognized. These insights are best gained through several volumes written for purposes of describing the rituals, beliefs, and attitudes of particular religious groups.

At the outset, the writer would point out that a search of the literature within the domains of rhetorical and communication theory revealed no published study relevant to the descriptive analysis of either a communicative interpretation of religiosity nor of a similar approach to the classification of and distinction between particular organized religious groups. This is not meant to slight the many
excellent contributions which have been made by rhetorical and communication theorists seeking to explain the human religious experience in terms of the communication process. However, their energies have been exerted toward the psychological effect of religiosity, religious spokesmen and their messages, reform and counter reform movements and even religious conversion and are not appropriate to this study.

1. Social Interpretations of Organized Religion

In Chapter One, a definition of "organized religion" was presented which distinguished between four forms: church, denomination, sect, and cult. This formulation now generally accepted by most religious sociologists as valid, came into being as the result of an evolutionary process of theoretical speculation. It began with the work of the German scholar Ernst Troeltsch, author of the classic The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, who proposed a distinction between two types of organized religious groups: the church and the sect. For Troeltsch the church, or ecclesia (Latin) was a type of religious organization characteristic of a religious movement in its mature, established phase. A sect, on the other hand, was the organization marking the early, dynamic phase of a movement. While its early application was limited to various forms of Christianity, Max Weber introduced its use to the analysis of religions of India and China and thereby broadened the
horizons of research.

Later, scholars like H. Richard Niebuhr modified Troeltsch' dichotomy feeling it too simplistic to include a middle term: "denomination."\(^{15}\) He conceived of a distinction between churches and sects as the members' mode of entry into the group: in a church, members are born while members are added to a sect by either conviction or conversion. At the same time, other sociologists such as Howard Becker elaborated still further on the Troeltsch-Niebuhr scheme by adding a fourth category, the "cult."\(^{16}\)

As a result of these developments theorists began to generalize with regard to the nature of organized religion in America. Niebuhr and Becker, for instance, suggested that the denomination was the dominant form of American religious organization. They further advised on a characteristic tendency of American sects to develop more "churchly" traits and thus become denominations. Pope went so far as to identify the stages in this transition and the criteria which may be used to estimate the movement.\(^{17}\) In contrast, the English sociologist Bryan Wilson portended that the dynamic tendency of "successful" sects to become denominations is mainly an effect of fast economic expansion in a society and of groups that he called "conversion" sects rather than "withdrawing" sects.\(^{18}\)

In recent times, the scheme presented above has met criticism from sociologists such as Benton Johnson, who
claimed that conceptualizations of church, sect, denomination, and cult are misleading and confusing for sociological research because they collect in one package a number of different variables that do not always cohere in any given case. It has begun to see frequent use in studies of Asian and African societies though most researchers concede that a more viable conceptualization will be devised in the near future. It is, however, a tested and proven tool if confined to western forms of Christianity and Judaism and will be used as a theoretical backdrop by which coders may classify information from television drama.

2. Descriptive Studies of Organized Religious Groups

It becomes necessary at an early point in the analysis of organized religion to attach more meaning to particular religious groups than that provided by the structural and ideological continua presented earlier. The writer found several volumes which were helpful in this venture.

Leading the list of volumes which attempt to supply information about particular religious groups is Will Herberg's Protestant, Catholic, Jew. It was his thesis that these three traditional camps had ceased to be distinctive while individual groups within the categories had become institutionalized.

Another volume of a similar nature is Huston Smith's The Religions of Man which, in the writer's estimation,
provides the most concise explanation of the world's major religious groups: Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Shintoism, Judaism, Islam, and Zoroastrianism. Similar works have been done by Noss, Karrer, Braziller.

The writer intuitively felt that insight into the nature of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States would be profitable. Its history in this country is traced well in the works of DeWan, Ellis, and Moore. Contemporary insight into its structure and influence today is reviewed well by Merton, McLoughlin and Bellar, and Underwood. The amazing early growth and recent decline of the religion's influence on its membership leads the reader to suspicion that the church may be internally unstable at this point in time. At any rate the writer, knowing that the Catholic Church is the largest single church in the United States, sought to identify the sources of the church's economic and social influence in America.

Finally, the writer reviewed several recent volumes which have attempted to understand American Protestantism and its constituents. The surveys of Baltzell, Brauer, Underwood, and the Brown and Weigel team lead one to believe that Protestantism no longer explains itself in unique terms but instead by deduction is perceived by the masses to be a religious mega-organization which does not recognize the Pope in Rome nor reject at least the historical personnage
of Jesus Christ. Clark, Dahrman, Wilson, and Stewart's works provide excellent analyses of specific Protestant religious groups lending themselves to the assumption that to a non-Protestant onlooker, there is little significant difference between the groups while the insider sees great distinction.

There are literally hundreds of volumes of high quality and utility which provide insight into the character of organized religion in the United States. While much of the content of these volumes will be used in interpreting the data several conclusions may be drawn: First, there are three main organized religious groups in the United States: Roman Catholic Church, Protestantism, and Judaism. Each of the three has many sub-groups; for instance there are three branches of American Judaism: Conservative, Reformed, and Orthodox. Moreover, there are over two hundred Protestant denominations holding to almost every imaginable system of theology and behavior. Secondly, religious groups in America tend to be homogenous in terms of their basic tenets of faith (belief in God and acceptance of Jesus Christ as God's Son) while quite heterogenous in their responses to these doctrines. Finally, organized religion in America seems to occupy a unique position in the structure of society. This position is reinforced by frequent enactment of ritual behavior such as weddings and funerals.

Having briefly surveyed several landmark studies of
religion from their descriptive method, the empirical method may be reviewed.

**EMPIRICAL ANALYSES**

1. Studies of Religiosity

By way of clarification, studies of religiosity are those which explore the dimensions inherent in the religious factor from a perspective which conjoins organizational affiliation with personality variables. Probably two studies stand out as the most sophisticated treatments of religiosity. Both were applications of earlier qualitative analyses of ways in which an individual can be religious. This work seemingly silenced the religious apologists and social scientists who had argued that empirical research was incapable of measuring "true" religion. To avoid these criticisms, Glock and Stark undertook a comparative study of religious commitment based on their earlier suspicions. As mentioned in Chapter One, the team tested a sample of 3000 Northern California church members and compared these data with those of a national sample of 1976 respondents. Using a 500-item questionnaire, the authors constructed indices of four general dimensions of religious commitment:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Dimensions of Religious Commitment</th>
<th>Primary Measures</th>
<th>Secondary Measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Belief</td>
<td>Orthodoxy</td>
<td>Particularism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(central</td>
<td>ethicalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>religious</td>
<td>(beliefs)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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27
General Dimensions of Religious Commitment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Measures</th>
<th>Secondary Measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Belief (continued)</td>
<td>beliefs; doctrine) about what leads to salvation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Practice</td>
<td>ritualism (Public worship) devotionalism (Private worship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Experience</td>
<td>experience (contact with supernatural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Knowledge</td>
<td>knowledge (knowledge of Bible)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the basis of their data, Glock and Stark concluded that the four measured dimensions were in fact essentially uncorrelated. Later, Faulkner and DeJong applied this scheme to a sample of college students and concluded that the Glock-Stark findings were valid. Both teams, moreover, found that the orthodoxy dimension was the most significant ingredient of the religiosity factor because the individual's system of beliefs affects his/her accompanying behaviors. When religious belief wanes, as popular opinion polls indicate is happening in today's moderate and liberal churches, other indications of religiosity will eventually decline -- e.g. church attendance, Bible reading, prayer. The research also showed that orthodoxy is associated with bigotry substantiating that the most central component of religious commitment (orthodox belief) is somehow linked with intolerance,
In 1965, Faulkner and DeJong operationalized the earlier
dimensions of religiosity proposed by Glock and Stark. They
surveyed 372 students in an introductory sociology
class at Pennsylvania State University composed as follows:
25% freshmen, 38% sophomores, 25% juniors, and 12% seniors;
196 males and 166 female. Using items from previous atti-
tude measures and some devised especially for this scale,
the authors sought to measure several dimensions of tradi-
tional Judaeo-Christian beliefs. On the basis of their data,
Faulkner and DeJong concluded that although the dimensions
were all moderately correlated with each other to a statis-
tically significant degree, there was evidence that no two
dimensions were the same. It was clear that the belief or
ideological dimension was the most highly correlated with
the others, again suggesting that belief is the central com-
ponent of religiosity, and that the consequential dimension,
the integration of religious beliefs into the individual
system of ethics, was least central. The latter conclusion,
according to the researchers, seemed to indicate that ethi-
cal views were fairly independent of religious beliefs.

In sum, these two studies may be conducive to a five
dimensional view of religiosity: (1) the experiential,
which refers to the basic assumption that a religious person
will at one time or another experience special feelings or
direct knowledge of ultimate reality (e.g. the presence or nearness of God); (2) the ideological, which reflects the assumption in all formal religions that adherence to a core of beliefs is essential to the religious life; (3) the ritualistic, encompassing the particular religious activities prescribed by all formal religions, such as prayer and fasting; the intellectual, reflecting the expectation that a religious person will be knowledgeable about the tenets of his faith; and (5) the consequential, different from the other four in that it refers to the effects of religiosity in an individual's life -- e.g. doing of good works and displaying love of neighbor.

Before concluding this section, several other studies may be mentioned briefly. Whereas Glock and Stark built their indices in correspondence with a prior analytic scheme, King explored the multi-dimensionality of religiosity empirically using factor analytic techniques.²⁹

Following an unusually comprehensive literature review, and with a sample of 575 Dallas, Texas Methodists, King reduced a large battery of items to a relatively small number of factors which, to King, represented the entire range of religious beliefs and behavior. Eleven factors emerged from this procedure: (1) assent to credal propositions, (2) religious knowledge, (3) theological perspective, (4) dogmatism vs. openness to growth and change, (5) extrinsic orientation, (6) participation in and understanding of public
and private worship, (7) involvement with friends in the social activities of the congregation, (8) participation in organizational activities, (9) financial support and attitudes toward it, (10) loyalty to the institutional church, and (11) attitudes toward ethical questions.

King's study is limited by the representativeness of the sample but useful as a foundation for future research on the basis of its extensive literature review and because its scale items were designed to tap church related attitudes. For purposes of this project, King's admitted emphasis on the social as opposed to individual aspects of religiosity is relevant. Further, of the eleven factors, coefficients of homogeneity rankings revealed that the institutional influence of the church was more important than individual piety in the case of these Methodists.

In the Putney and Middleton study of religious ideology, the team sought to identify the dimensions of belief component of religiosity. A sample of 1200 students in social science courses at thirteen colleges and universities in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Florida, Georgia, and Alabama was used -- about half being in the Northeastern universities. Nineteen statements were used based on four presumed dimensions of ideology: orthodoxy, fanaticism, importance, and ambivalence. Using a rank sum statistic on the Likert scaled responses, Putney and Middleton produced findings not easily summarized.
Four important independent dimensions of religious ideology are investigated: the orthodoxy of the belief, the fanaticism which it inspires, its importance to the self-conception, and the consciousness of ambivalence concerning the belief. Measured independently of each other, the first three are found to be directly related to each other, and the fourth inversely related to the other three. These dimensions are found to be related -- but in different degree -- to personality characteristics -- such as authoritarianism, status concern, and conservatism, and social characteristics such as region of residence, size of community, and sex.31

Compared to the studies of Glock-Stark and Faulkner-DeJong, added emphasis is placed on the belief of ideological dimension of religiosity as the central most factor. It would appear that this dimension is the best single index of religiosity. This assumption is underscored by the 1956 Broen religious attitude inventory.32 He sought to identify the dimensions of religiosity, finding two: (1) fundamentalism-humanitarianism and (2) nearness to God. Compared to the Glock-Stark study, the fundamentalism-humanitarianism factor is their ideological (belief) dimension and nearness to God the experiential factor. Moreover, the belief factor loaded higher than the experiential factor.

A final study is classic in the study of religiosity -- Lenski's The Religious Factor.33 Particularly relevant to this review is his correlation of two dimensions of the factor: (1) involvement as associational or communal and (2) orientation as doctrinal orthodoxy or devotionalism. Associational involvement referred to participation in
corporate worship whereas communal involvement was defined as the degree to which a person's primary group is restricted to members of his own religion. Similarly, doctrinal orthodoxy was related to adherence to church dogma and devotionalism to private, personal communion with God. Using a long interview schedule composed of direct questions coded as "yes" - "no" or as choices among alternatives, 656 Detroiters participated in the study. Categorized by social grouping, the results were as follows: 41% white Protestants, 35% white Catholics, 15% Negro Protestants and 4% Jews, and 5% Eastern Orthodox, Negro Catholic, Moslems, Buddhists, and no preference. In terms of the usual demographics variables, the group was representative of the population of Detroit by comparison with census data and earlier Detroit area studies. Overall, the associational and communal dimensions were essentially uncorrelated. The four "socio-religious" groups were characterized by the following patterns of religious involvement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Associational</th>
<th>Communal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Catholics</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Protestants</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro Protestants</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lenski theorized that associational involvement was correlated positively with upward social mobility for White
Protestants, with capitalist ideology for White and Negro 
Protestants, with voting Republican for Whites and Demo- 
cratic for Negroes, and with voting for all groups. Com- 
munal involvement was found to be inversely related to mo-
bility, especially for Catholics. Regarding religious ori-
entation, Lenski concluded:

Repeatedly throughout this study, we found 
that the orthodox and the devotional orien-
tations are linked with differing and even opposing behavior patterns. In general, the 
orthodox orientation is associated with a 
compartmentalized outlook which separates and segregates religion from daily life. By con-
trast, the devotional orientation is linked 
with a unified Weltonschaug, or view of life, 
with religious beliefs and practices being 
integrated with other major aspects of daily 
life. In particular, the devotional orienta-
tion is linked with a humanitarian orientation.34

On the basis of these results, Lenski concluded that reli-
gion is as important as socio-economic class as a socializ-
ing agent.35

These five studies seem to underscore consistently the 
relevance of the belief factor as the most significant de-	erminant of individual religiosity. The Glock-Stark, 
Faulkner-DeJong, and Putney-Middleton studies verified this 
assumption; the studies by King and Lenski underscored this 
assumption by using larger samples of people. The relevance 
of this conclusion to the proposed study lies in the deeper 
understanding of the motivation to and expression of reli-
gious commitment. With the focus of this study, it is im-
perative that the reader understand the inseparable
relationship between the motivation and influence of the specific organized religious group and the intellectual and emotional make up of the individual member. As these researchers observed, the belief factor seems to be the dominant factor in religious experience. Beliefs are obtained by the individual as he interacts with the environment. It is easy to understand the popularity of Sunday schools, vacation Bible schools, and the thrust of church initiated education of its children with this axiom in mind.

In concluding this section, the writer would suggest that church affiliation may be a factor in the set of beliefs developed by the individual. Each religious group perceives itself as unique primarily because it holds and seeks to perpetuate a set of beliefs uniquely its own. As illustrated in Chapter One, these sets of beliefs vary greatly when addressed to basic tenets of faith such as 'Jesus actually performed miracles.' Philosophers, theologians, and sociologists have conveniently categorized these belief systems into the familiar liberal-conservative (or liberal-fundamentalist) distinction and have used this system to classify religious groups. It follows that this writer is concerned in this study with not only information about specific religious groups in prime time TV drama but with information found therein which may be traced to a belief system and thereafter to a group of churches sharing this belief set.
2. Studies of Organized Religious Typology

Most of the literature on ideal church organization contains or assumes an image of the church as a primary group: the members know and love each other as they live a life of worship, fellowship, and good deeds. However, the casual observer of the Sunday experience in America quickly and readily discerns mild and blatant contradictions in this prevailing view. As indicated in Chapter One by Streiker and Strober, there is a great gap between what people profess to believe and do and what is done in actuality. Moreover, the student of literature dealing with the process of an individual's socialization would conclude that the church's role in this process has declined consistently over time and shows signs of continuing this decline. It follows as a pursuit of the researcher to analyze the various religious groups via indices which allow comparisons and contrasts. The following studies illustrate these attempts.

The church-sect typology proposed by sociologists beginning with Max Weber and elaborated by Ernst Troeltsch was the first attempt to describe and analyze the deviation and development of churches away from the sect form. A recent study by Dynes aimed at operationalizing the distinction may be examined by way of illustration. As Dynes stated:

The construct of the church has generally signified a type of religious organization which accepts the social order and integrates
existing cultural definitions into its religious ideology. The Sect, as a contrasting type, rejects integration with the social order and develops a separate subculture, stressing rather rigid behavioral requirements for its members.\(^3^8\)

Each respondent in the two samples of Protestant church members used in the main study was asked to rate each test item on a five point agree-disagree scale. A score of one was assigned to a Sect response and five for a Church response. The total sum of scores across the 24 items was used to indicate acceptance of either the Church or Sect forms. Going one step further, Dynes applied the scale to an analysis of the variation between groups. Accordingly, Episcopalians and Presbyterians (church organizations) were compared with members of several sectarian groups: Holiness, Pentecostal, Church of God, Church of the Nazarene, and Baptist. Mean scale scores for these two sets of respondents were significantly different in the expected direction. On the basis of these data using three different measures of socio-economic status, Dynes found that "Churchness" is associated with high status and "Sectness" with low status. Regarding education as an SES variable, "Churchness" correlated positively with the level of education -- a correlation which held true within a denomination as well.\(^3^9\)

In a later article, Dynes reported further results of the same research showing that for Sectarians, religious groups supplied their most meaningful associations and
sources of friendship. Dynes noted:

... This was indicated by the fact that he attends church more often, belongs to more subgroups within an undifferentiated organization, states almost unanimously that he derives more satisfaction from these religious associations as contrasted with 'secular' groups, and draws most of his close friends from within his religious groups.

As a result of studies of the church-sect typology a "church-sect theory" emerged within sociological circles to describe the evolution from sect to church: emotional, evangelical, communion and spiritualistic sects gradually become (or lose members to) more formal, quiet, and less "other worldly" churches. As Glock and Stark put it, religious communities become religious audiences. As a result, sects attract lower status, somewhat alienated members, while the churches tend to be filled with the more comfortable, better established members of an area or society. Conclusions such as this border on the third category of studies to be reviewed next. In summary, the numerous studies of organized religion which have sought to develop a typology whereby these groups may be viewed lend themselves to a single continuum running from orthodox, conservative, superstitious and emotional on the one hand to skeptical, liberal, and scientific on the other. Glock and Stark further applied this continuum to major religious groups of America producing the following breakdown:
For purposes of this study, the church-denomination-sect-cult typology is useful in tracing information in television drama to a particular religious group or type of group. This typology is based primarily on the structural nature of the religious group, while the liberal-moderate-conservative is essentially a continuum of the ideological (or orthodox) nature of the group. It should be noted that an overlay of the two typologies is conceivable and in fact suggested in the diagram above. Liberalism as a belief system is usually accepted by churches; the moderate ideology would likely be associated with denominational membership, and the conservative camp occupied by sectarian groups. This overlay does, however, present problems in many specific cases. For instance both the Roman Catholic Church and the Missouri Lutheran Synod are considered to be conservatives in terms of theology (See Chapter One) but would admittedly be classified as churches in terms of their structural personalities. Both are highly structured and authority (power) is vested in higher levels of administration. Organization is stable and the belief system itself is stable. So, the overlay is helpful but contains exceptions.
3. Studies of Religious-Personality Correlates

A final grouping of studies may be classified as addressing the attitudinal aspect of the religious experience, i.e. what does religion have to do with the individual's system of beliefs toward various environmental objects. Having reviewed public attitudes toward religion, the church, God etc. in Chapter One, the writer by way of understanding the "religious" person reviewed first the early philosophical position of Gordon Allport, who explained the mysterious relationship between religiosity and prejudice by reasoning that people who go to church for social support and for relief from personal problems might be insecure enough to blame outgroups for their problems, to feel threatened by social change, and so on. There exists a second category of churchgoers, he reasoned, who attend very frequently and attempt to apply religion in all their social dealings. Later, Allport produced a U-shaped curve explanation explaining that the "almost regularly" church attender was the prejudiced, intolerant churchgoer, while the very frequent and very infrequent attender were tolerant.

More than a decade later, Martin and Westie surveyed a cross section of Indianapolis adults' attitudes toward Negroes. They concluded that the important factor was not church attendance, as Allport had suggested, but the ideological basis for the individual's religiosity. Accordingly, they found a strong relationship between
Christian fundamentalism and bigotry. The team interpreted this pattern of results as suggestive of a cognitive style interpretation in which cognitive rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity, strict adherence to church dogma, and separation between in-group and out-group members are all dynamically related.

A scale designed to determine the certainty with which various religious beliefs are developed was conducted by Thouless in 1935. By "certainty" Thouless meant the individual's commitment to a particular belief across a span of time -- at what point and under what conditions will a person espouse a belief which is unlikely to be changed or compromised thereafter. This classic study used forty questionnaire statements and was administered to 148 students at the University of Glasgow. His data seemed to reveal a strong tendency toward certainty where the individual's religious beliefs had been the result of individual striving and institutional (church-related) reinforcement.

In 1962, L. B. Brown designed and administered a questionnaire relevant to the functional relationship between religious beliefs and other psychological variables. Items used in the questionnaire were drawn principally from the Thouless scale previously discussed. A sample of 203 first year psychology students from the University of Adelaide averaging 22 years of age was used in the study. Religiously they comprised the following breakdown: Roman
Catholics -- 19, Church of England -- 56, Methodists -- 40, non-conformists (e.g. Baptist and Presbyterian) -- 45, miscellaneous -- 18, and atheists -- 25. Brown's data suggested that religious certainty is independent of certainty about factual and opinionative matters (war, economy, personal habits such as smoking), and that anxiety is associated with certainty only on matters of opinion. 54

A final study which may be reviewed in this section is that of Poppleton and Pilkington conducted in 1963. 55 Their religious attitude scale was designed to measure the "religious attitudes" of British college students via a proportioned stratified random sample of the entire student body of the University of Sheffield, England. Analysis of the data revealed a "typical" view of religious attitudes similar to those found in the United States. There was a significant decline in religious belief among students in the Arts and Pure Science during early years at the University, but the decline continued only for the scientists (especially for those later engaging in research); women tended to be more religious than men; Catholics and members of small sects scored higher than members of other denominations. 56

Findings similar to the above studies illustrate an intriguing paradox -- whereas religious doctrine nearly always emphasizes universal love and brotherhood, social psychological research regularly reveals a negative
relationship between religiosity (orthodoxy) and tolerance. The empirical research supportive of this correlate dates back to 1946 when Allport and Kramer demonstrated that churchgoers were more intolerant than non-churchgoers. Three years later, Kirkpatrick found religious people to be less humanitarian than non-religious people. Similarly, Rokeach found non-believers (individuals who do not believe in God e.g. atheists, agnostics) to be less dogmatic and less ethnocentric than believers.

This final group of studies may be viewed relative to the topic of this study in that the psychological manifestations of religious experience, whether derived from organized religion or from secular agencies, may be perceived by the television viewer as, in fact, responses to the organized religious stimulus. That Dirty Sally or Maude is open-minded or bigoted on a particular subject may be perceived by the acute viewer who realizes that both characters have been set in these particular stories as God-fearing churchgoers as a response to the influence of their religious affiliation. As will be discussed in greater detail at a later point in this dissertation, Maude, a Catholic by admission, saw the possibility of an abortion as a viable alternative to an unwanted pregnancy. The particular episode drew great criticism from the Legion of Decency (the social barometer of the Roman Catholic Church founded to protect members of the church first and society in general from such
immoral influences as sinful movies) which petitioned through the CBS affiliates for the episode's deletion because it did not properly depict the church's attitude toward abortion. A regular viewer of the series might be sensitive to this incongruence between Maude's religious affiliation and her attitude toward abortion. Similarly, television viewers find cause-effect relations between religious affiliations where revealed and accompanying attitudes and behaviors.

Before concluding this section of studies relevant to the analysis of organized religion within the context of this project, the writer would hasten to suggest the difficulty with which any systematic analysis of religion is approached -- particularly where the investigator seeks to uncover causal relationships. As previously stated, empirical research on religion is a relatively recent phenomenon. The social scientist, expert or novice, who undertakes such a study is immediately confronted by a web of seemingly discrepant, unrelated or at least marginally correlated variables embodied sometimes spasmodically and loosely under the heading of religion. In the future, social scientists will have to address themselves to religious people outside of formal and informal organized religious structures. If, as much of the literature suggests, there is a continuing cycle whereby religious groups move along the structural continuum from cult through church researchers will necessarily have to develop instruments sensitive to this movement.
Moreover, as the present confirms the appearance of more non-traditional forms of "organized religion" via the pathways of mysticism astrology, scientific determinism, or even Satanism, the portent of future research thrusts seems to suggest wider more pervasive view of man as a religious animal.

Similarly, religious research of the future might profitably address itself to non-Christian ideologies, customs, and behaviors beyond the application of structural or ideological typologies. Just as a theory of non-Western rhetoric is desirable, so must a model of non-Western organized religion be modelled beyond the descriptive studies available today.

Despite these shortcomings, quantitative religious research has advanced tremendously. Though few communication theorists have isolated their research to the religious factor or situation, the writer feels that there is sufficient impetus for the above mentioned directives to be met. Readers are encouraged to consult the Survey Research Center's *Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes* for more information about specific studies and methodologies. The simultaneous development of theory and method as illustrated herein is quite promising.

A final group of studies that should receive the attention of this review is designated by researchers' attempts to analyze the content of television programming or
advertising in search of images which may be interesting to a sector of the public. While none of these image studies are relevant to the object of this image study, it is appropriate that they be surveyed so as to acquaint the reader with similar studies.

STUDIES OF TELEVISION MEDIATED IMAGES

A final body of research literature which the writer would call to the reader's attention is those wherein a particular object in television content has been studied so as to ascertain the image of the object as perceived by the viewing audience. With the exception of studies related to the images of candidates in political campaigns, these studies are few and may be classified into three categories: (1) Occupational Images, (2) Sex-Role Images, and (3) Racial Images. While the objects of these studies are not directly relevant to that of this study the methodologies used did provide meaningful aid in the framing of this study. Also, as the writer contended in Chapter One, the study of an object such as organized religion is itself a drastic departure from previous content analytic studies of television for the object itself is impersonal or at least not confined to a particular person or group of persons. It was felt, however, that the reader might better evaluate the present study if he understood the scope of previous similar studies and so the brief section to follow was added.
1. Occupational Images

Occupational images were first examined in the era of early concern for the social impact of the television medium. In 1952, Sydney Head examined 209 television programs coding 1,023 characters. Frequency calculation revealed that 68% of these characters were males and occupations portrayed included the following larger groups:

- 17% . . . police and protective work
- 17% . . . professional crime
- 11% . . . housewives
- 10% . . . professional (doctors, lawyers)

Head concluded that the television programming of that day presented a distorted picture of occupational reality.

In 1961, Richard Bell analyzed 192 television programs seeking to ascertain the relationship between occupational portrayals and the American culture. Bell categorized the characters as protagonists, adversaries, and supporting characters and concluded that occupational portrayals termed protagonist mirrored the American value of success via the prestige and financial comfort of a professional role, and that adversaries' roles tended to distort this mirroring effect.

In 1964, Melvin DeFleur analyzed over 250 half-hour late afternoon, evening, and weekend TV programs seeking to categorize occupational portrayal frequencies. His data revealed a tendency toward more doctor-lawyer characterizations and therein indicated a change from Head's earlier
analysis. DeFleur also examined the male/female dimension and reported that 83.9% of the roles were played by male actors -- a conclusion which seemed to imply a trend consistent with Head's data concerning the same.

Natan Katzman's 1972 study of 371 characters in daytime television serials may be reviewed as a fourth member of this category. His data revealed an uneven distribution of occupational roles in the following statistics:

- 192 characters were male
- 179 characters were female

Of the 179, 62% were nurses, secretaries or housewives -- a figure which led Katzman to the conclusion that "Although the working woman is an accepted part of the serials, her role is typically one of stereotyped feminine labor."

Finally, Seggar and Wheeler, in 1973, replicated in essence DeFleur's study and offered only mild modification of his earlier results. Their data underscored the predominance of the doctor-lawyer role and added a popular third role -- the policeman-detective. Concerning the sexual dimension, the two studies produced amazingly similar results: 81.7% of the roles were played by males in 1973 compared to 83.9% in 1964.

These five studies addressed themselves to enactment of roles by actors with reference to occupational categories. It is significant that four of the five studies gathered data regarding the sexual dimension of role enactment,
treated these data as complementary to the occupational data. Only recently have researchers established the primary importance of this variable as revealed in Marting's study in 1973. Because this dimension was not the primary target of her research it can be treated as a second distinct category in the following section.

2. Sex-Role Images

Building on the earlier work of Head, DeFleur and others, Leeda Marting surveyed the image of the woman in prime time drama. Through data collected via a survey of images of prime time television drama characters, she concluded that female roles tend to be passive, unintellectual and domestic while male roles are active, intelligent, and professional. It would seem that Marting's conclusions were highly consistent with those studies of occupational roles previously cited.

3. Racial Role Images

The final category is illustrated by the 1968 study of Negro images in the media by Royal Colle. The methodology for his study was not discussed in the Journalism Quarterly on which this review is based but foot notation indicated that the study had been done as a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Wisconsin in 1967. Concerning television's treatment of the Negro, Colle noted that until the late '60's, the Negro had been treated as "Step 'n Fetchit."
With popularity of Amos 'n Andy being supplanted by the charisma of Sidney Potier, the Negro, in Colle's estimation, was finally receiving the positive treatment previously neglected.

**SUMMARY**

It has been the purpose of this chapter to review those studies which are relevant to the topic of this dissertation. Studies of organized religion were reviewed first according to two basic methods: the descriptive and the empirical. A survey of the descriptive analyses of organized religion yielded two useful conclusions: (1) organized religion in America is traditionally thought of in terms of three major forms: Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish; (2) specific distinctions between religious groups was afforded by the descriptive literature's explanation of in-group symbolism, both verbal and nonverbal.

Empirical analyses of religion were reviewed so as to understand the social-psychological factors related to organized religion. The Glock-Stark factor analysis of religious commitment was used as a backdrop for arriving at a scheme of categories which could be used in the coding process. This literature yielded two useful conclusions: (1) structurally organized religion may be thought of in terms of churches, denominations, sects, and cults; and (2) organized religious factors useful as categories include
structure, ideology, and influence.

Finally, studies of television mediated images were reviewed in light of the persuasive impact of the medium itself. Images related to occupations, race, and sex have been studied via content analyses of television programming and it was reasoned that the present study continues in this tradition.

Chapter Three is devoted to complete clarification of the methodology and procedures used in this study.
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO


3Dittes, op. cit.

4William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Dolphin Book Reprint, 1902).


9Ibid.


12 Readers may wish to refer back to Chapter One for a review of the Glock-Stark surveys of 1963.


14 Troeltsch, op. cit., pp. 333-34.


This breakdown is found in two Glock-Stark volumes: Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism (1965) and American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment (1966). op. cit.


Ibid., p. 290.


Ibid., p. 323.

Ibid.


38 Ibid.

39 Ibid., p. 560.


41 Ibid., p. 334.

42 Glock and Stark, *Religion and Society in Tension*.

43 Ibid.


45 Ibid.


48 Ibid., p. 528.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.


52 Ibid., pp. 29-31.


54 Ibid., pp. 270-72.

Ibid., pp. 34-36.


Sydney Head "Content Analysis of Television Drama Programs" Quarterly of Film, Radio, and Television Vol. 9 (1954-55).


Melvin DeFleur "Occupational Roles as Portrayed on Television" POQ Vol. 28 No. 1 (Spring, 1964) pp. 57-74.


CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Rhetorical Criticism and the Content Analytic Approach

The rhetorical critic pledges himself to the task of carefully, accurately, and systematically analyzing persuasive messages, their senders and receivers. Thonssen and Baird called the activity "an exact anatomy" of a communicative situation "employing word counts, classifications of arguments, ratios of exposition to argumentation, or of description to narration, surveys of sentences according to length and structure, listings of figurative elements, itemizations of pronoun usage, and many other classificatory arrangements. The objective of such criticism is not a revelation of a speech in its social setting, but an understanding of the speech in its own right."1 Similarly the content analyst, whether qualitative, quantitative, or both, seeks to describe the communicative situation via select indices deemed important to the process. Harold D. Lasswell explained the technique as follows: "Content analysis provides a precise means of describing the contents of any sort of communication -- newspapers, radio programs, films,
everyday conversation, verbalized free associations, etc.
The operations of content analysis consist in classifying
the signs occurring in a communication into a set of appro­
priate categories. The results state the frequency of oc­
currence of signs for each category in the classification
scheme."² Berelson defined it as "a research technique for
the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of
the manifest content of communication."³ It follows, then,
that the functions of the content analyst and rhetorical
critic are quite similar due to the fact that both may be
considered descriptive methods of research.

By way of extending this comparison, the three assump­
tions made by Berelson with regard to content analysis may
be reviewed in terms of rhetorical criticism:

(1) Content analysis assumes that inferences
about the relationship between intent
and content or between content and effect
can validly be made, or the actual rela­
tionships established.⁴

Similarly, the rhetorical critic is concerned with the in­
teraction between intent, content, and effect:

In order to fully comprehend the dimen­
sions of the rhetorical critic's task, rhe­
torical discourse should be placed in the
context of its occurrence to reveal more pre­
cisely those elements included in the crit­
ic's examination and evaluation. Rhetorical
discourse occurs whenever a human agent tries
through the vehicle of language to affect the
attitudes, beliefs, and actions of another
human being. At the heart of the rhetorical
act is the interaction that occurs between
the rhetor (one who attempts to influence),
the linguistic message (which constitutes the discursive instrument of persuasion), and the auditor (who may react both to the rhetor and his message). This process of three-way interaction may be called a rhetorical transaction. . . . Furthermore, the discourse arises from, is sustained by, and becomes a part of the public climate of opinion of the times which exerts a pervasive influence on all happenings touched by it.  

Gregg's conception of the role of the rhetorical critic seems uniquely consistent with Berelson's first assumption. Moreover, Gregg went on to suggest that the task of the rhetorical critic is three-fold: the operation of historical reconstruction, the task of explication and analysis, and the final act of judgment.  

Whether the source be a television writer or a political candidate, the rhetorical critic may legitimately analyze and evaluate the content of the messages generated by proposing relationships between the interactive trio suggested by Gregg.

(2) Content analysis assumes that study of the manifest content is meaningful.  

It is clear that message content is a source of meaningful information for the rhetorical critic. Traditionally, the critic has analyzed content by way of three standards: quality, effect, and truth. Illustrative of the quality standard's application to content is Brandenburg and Braden's analysis of FDR's voice and articulation, and Clevenger's survey of the use of humor in the public speaking of Alben W. Barkley. The qualitative standard concerns itself with the compositional features of the content. More
will be said about this standard as the plan of this study is unfolded.

Secondly, the rhetorical critic employs an effect standard. By its very nature, rhetoric produces an effect, some intended and others unanticipated. The rhetorical critic, for instance, may analyze the effectiveness of a speech by Martin Luther King or the effectiveness of a particular social movement. Though the majority of published research in rhetorical criticism has addressed itself to the immediate effects of a discourse upon a specific audience, there is no inherent reason for such a limitation. Therefore, a logical extension of this standard is the analysis of content in television drama as it is instrumental toward the production of identifiable effects.

Finally, the rhetorical critic employs a truth standard in his analyses. An example is Patrick Devlin's analysis of Vice-President Agnew's Iowa speech wherein Devlin uncovered an obviously incorrect assumption on the Vice President's part. On that occasion, Agnew attacked the television networks' monopoly over other channels of news dissemination declaring it unfair and holding up the virtuous un-monopolized free press as an alternative. Devlin corrected Agnew's logic by pointing out that the newspaper industry was in fact composed of network ownerships and could not be used legitimately to support Agnew's position. To the extent that the image of organized religion is realistic as
depicted in television drama is the relevance of this standard to this study.

On the whole, these three standards may be applied to the manifest content of television drama and will be discussed in greater detail as the content analytic data are analyzed and evaluated. The popularity of television would seem to substantiate the relevance of its messages, just as the messages of any opinion leader are usually attached to greater influence. In the case of prime time television, the massiveness of its audience lends itself to the assumption that this region of the television menu should be viewed as a persuasive message worthy of content analytic investigation.12

(3) Content analysis assumes that the quantitative description of communication content is meaningful.13

The rhetorical critic has historically concerned himself with the relative degree of frequency of use of certain words, phrases, or arguments contained in a persuasive message. The rigor of the quantitative effort will, of course, always vary with the particular researcher's objectives. Berelson, whose volume on content analysis has been the most popular of its kind, wrote:

... A great number of non-numerical content studies call for attention by virtue of their general contribution in insight and interest. As a matter of fact, a broad definition of "content analysis" would, of course, include a large part of the work in literary
criticism and intellectual and cultural history generally, as well as sizeable amount of writings in political history, political and social philosophy, rhetoric, and indeed any field in which the close reading of texts is followed by summary and interpretation of what appears therein.\textsuperscript{14}

By way of clarification, Berelson later qualified himself saying:

\ldots "Qualitative" analysis appears to consist either of quasi-quantification -- i.e. quantified but not precisely numerical measurements -- or of simple reading plus interpretation in the traditional sense -- i.e. reading plus a judgment as to what the content "means." In view of the general confusions attached to the terms, it might be well to use "content analysis" to refer to any quantitative analyses regardless of the rigor or the precision of the measurements, i.e., to any analysis in which the conclusions refer to differences of magnitude in the appearance of selected symbols.\textsuperscript{15}

Following this overview explanation of the writer's methodological stance, the specific methodology and actual procedures used in the collection of data will be reviewed in the next two sections.

METHODOLOGY: QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

The contemporary researcher in the social sciences is faced with a decision in framing his or her investigations as to whether a quantitative or qualitative posture should be assumed. The key to the decision is found in the object of the study itself so that the question becomes "what approach should I use in order that I may find out what
about X?" In this study, X is "organized religion in prime
time television drama." Thus, the content about organized
religion must first be extracted from the broader context of
the programs wherein it is contained. It is understood that
the amount of this information will be small and that this
information will be both verbal and nonverbal. With these
considerations in mind the qualitative content analytic
method described by Berelson was chosen for this study as
being most conducive to the research questions articulated
in Chapter One. Accordingly, the seven basic tenets of this
method will be reviewed and supplemented by the procedures
used.

1. Much qualitative analysis is quasi-quantitative.¹⁶

Berelson noted:

... there is no strict dichotomy between
"qualitative" and "quantitative" analysis.
Just as quantitative analysis assigns relative
frequencies to different qualities (or cate­
gories), so qualitative analysis usually con­
tains quantitative statements in rough form.
They may be less explicit but they are non­
theless frequency statements about the in­
cidence of general categories.¹⁷

Within the domain of rhetorical criticism there have
been numerous studies which are illustrative of this dual
approach. Burke analyzed the rhetoric of Hitler's 'Battle'
counting his use of tropes, figures of speech, etc.¹⁸
Murray Stedman examined the favorable/unfavorable treatment
of the concept of "democarcy" in Socialist literature and
Sidney Krause though not a rhetorical critic analyzed the Kennedy-Nixon debates of 1960 pulling together the reactions of specialists in several fields toward the historical reconstruction.19 Obviously, the rhetorical critic functions as a quasi-quantitative critic in the course of interpreting relative frequencies of content units. In the same manner, DeFleur counted occupational roles in television drama and Katzman recorded events in television soap operas.20 The functions of DeFleur and Katzman, whether called content analysts or rhetorical critics, are complementary though they vary in degree of their quantitative vigor. Berelson summarized by saying that studies such as these "use clearly quantitative terms -- "repeatedly," "rarely," "usually," "often," "emphasis," etc. -- in describing communication content of one sort or another . . . they are only roughly quantitative and not precisely so, i.e., they are not numerical."21 He later explained that "the more precise answer requires more careful methods for the collection of the data: the less precise answer can utilize more impressionistic methods.22

2. "Qualitative" analysis is often based upon presence-absence of particular content (rather than relative frequencies).23

As Berelson went on to say, the qualitative analyst has concerned himself traditionally with the presence or absence of a particular item in the content.24 Applied to this
study, content analysis of television drama should reveal
either the presence or absence of content related to or­
ganized religion. For this determination research question
one was posed.

3. "'Qualitative' analysis is done on small or incom­
plete samples:"\textsuperscript{25}

Berelson noted that the matter "of size and composition
of the content sample is one basic reason for the quasi­
quantitative nature of much qualitative analysis."\textsuperscript{26}

4. "'Qualitative' analysis usually contains a higher
ratio of non-content statements than quantitative
analysis:"\textsuperscript{27}

In describing this premise, Berelson observed:

Qualitative analysis more often focuses
on the intentions of a communicator or the
effects upon the audience, and uses the con­
tent as a springboard to them. Quantitative
analysis is more likely to focus first upon
the straight description of the content it­
self, if for no other reason because of the
amount of energy devoted to the counting pro­
cedure. In "qualitative" analysis the inter­
pretations (i.e. inferences about intent or
effect) are more often made as part of the
analytic process whereas in quantitative anal­
ysis the interpretations are more likely to
follow the analytic procedure. This is not
an intrinsic difference in the two modes of
analysis but rather an empirical observation
based upon the literature.\textsuperscript{28}

The rhetorical critic functioning as a content analyst
brings to the project three critical standards as described
earlier in this chapter. Because qualitative analysis war­
rants the making of inferences regarding cause-effect
relationships and because functional theories of the mass media allow the researcher to assume such a posture, the writer will enter a discussion of possible interpretations of the data recovered in the content analytic procedure in Chapter Four of this report.

5. "'Qualitative' analysis is relatively less concerned with the content as such than with content as a reflection of deeper phenomena."29

This statement, closely akin to Berelson's fourth, warrants serious consideration by the rhetorical critic. As Berelson went on to explain, the qualitative analyst may legitimately establish or at least suggest a motive on the part of the message source.30 The relevance of this consideration to this study is that which may be inferred from the content of television drama with regard to the sources of this programming. Head, DeFleur, Katzman, Seggar and Wheeler, Marting, and Colle indicated in their studies that whether intended or unintended, the sources of stereotypes they analyzed had been the result of insensitivity on the program creators' part.31

6. "'Qualitative' analysis employs less formalized categorization than quantitative analysis."32

Because the categorization scheme is the backbone of any proper content analytic study, the writer found this statement to be salient to the total development of the study. Berelson clarified himself in this regard as follows:
Partly this is an attribute of the presence-absence type of qualitative analysis in which elaborate or even moderate definitional problems ordinarily do not occur since the inference is based on a relatively concrete formulation. Partly this is due to the necessity in quantitative analysis for clear and full categorization since reliable counting cannot proceed on any other basis. Primarily for these reasons there is more formal and systematic definition and organization of categories in quantitative than in qualitative analysis though here again this is not an intrinsic difference.

In quantitative analyses, after the initial period of pretesting and reformulation the typical pattern of procedure calls for the differentiation, definition, and organization of alternative categories, followed by a more or less rigorous analysis of these terms. In qualitative analyses, the elaboration of alternatives not only seems to go on throughout the analysis but also to differ from point to point depending upon the context. This ordinarily means more clever or relevant analysis because of the lack of a rigid system of categories allowing for more subtle or more individualized interpretation. Any number of traditional "qualitative" studies reveal the system of formal categories upon which the analysis was based. . . . In "qualitative" analyses . . . categories are, so to speak, picked up where they come to hand, are not systematized or defined clearly enough to facilitate or, in some cases, even permit appropriate checks.33

7. "Qualitative" analysis utilizes more complex themes than quantitative analysis.34

This principle, according to Berelson, might be summarized as follows:

Finally, the basic content unit of analysis is likely to be more complex in "qualitative" than in quantitative analysis. To some extent this is due to the requirement of reliability in quantitative analysis which normally places a restriction upon complexity. Quantitative
analysis tends to break complex materials down into their components so that they can be reliably measured. "Qualitative" analysis is more likely to take them in the large on the assumption that meanings preside in the totality of impression, the Gestalt, and not in the atomistic combination of measurable units.\textsuperscript{35}

As Berelson, Kerlinger, and others have noted the units of content analysis are the second priori concern of the researcher\textsuperscript{36} after the development of a category scheme.

Bormann explained:

Content analysis is a procedure used by investigators in speech to find or create units in speech events that can be counted in such a way that the resulting numbers are useful measures of indexes to important features of the communicative event . . . \textsuperscript{37}

On the basis of the selection of units and categories, the analyst extracts a body of information which may be analyzed according to the objectives of the study. The allowance in qualitative methodology for subjective treatment of data is by no means discrediting to the methodology. As Berelson commented,

. . . content analysis should not be done as precisely as possible but rather as imprecisely as possible -- that is, as roughly as the circumstances of the study will allow (in order to minimize costs relative to returns). This implies that under normal conditions careful counting should not be done unless it is quite necessary. . . . If the study does not deal with a large or representative body of material to be analyzed in terms of a set of highly specifiable categories which appear with substantial frequencies, in order to produce objective or precise results -- if these conditions are not met careful counting is probably not warranted.\textsuperscript{37}
At this point it is useful to make a statement relevant to the image of organized religion in prime time television drama. So that this objective might be accomplished and that both rhetorical and mass communication theories be employed in interpreting the data, the writer would subscribe to the liberty of the method described in this section. The conditions described herein are applicable to the objectives of this study in that the domain of prime time television drama does not contain vast amounts of information about organized religion. With this methodology in mind, the following procedures were followed in this study.

PROCEDURES

1. Sample

On the basis of preliminary research and analysis the writer concluded that the coding period of one week's duration would provide sufficient data for this study. Consideration was given to the requirements which were to be placed on the coders and to the avoidance of a week containing either too many specials or repeat programs. A survey of program schedules for the three Columbus, Ohio network affiliates (NBC, WLWC-TV, Channel 4; ABC, WTVN-TV, Channel 6; CBS, WBNS-TV, Channel 10) revealed that on or about May 1, 1974, the networks would begin to re-broadcast episodes of their series. It was decided, therefore, that the coding week should begin on Monday, April 22 and end Sunday night.
April 28. A review of the week's agenda presented the following sample characteristics: forty-four programs would be coded including thirty-four episodes of regular series, seven feature length films, and three unsold TV pilots. According to programming types the sample included fourteen crime dramas, eleven general dramatic programs, thirteen comedy programs, two adventure programs, and four westerns. (See Summary Sheet One). In all, forty-three hours of television programming composed the sample as per the definition of prime-time television drama presented in Chapter One.

2. Selection of Coders

So as to achieve a suitable degree of objectivity and approach a high degree of reliability, the writer determined that a team of nine coders, or three per network affiliate per evening, would be necessary. The rationale for this decision was that information about organized religion in the programming would not be abundant and frequently not the focal point of the particular program. Therefore, if three coders were assigned to each program, the chances that this information might escape the grasp of these coders would be greatly reduced.

It was not considered an important preconsideration that the nine coders chosen for this study be representative of the student population of The Ohio State University from which they were selected. More important was the team's
SUMMARY SHEET ONE

PRIME TIME TELEVISION DRAMATIC PROGRAMMING
Monday, April 22 - Sunday, April 28

1. Crime Drama
   "Ironside"
   "Mannix"
   "Barnaby Jones"
   "Hawaii Five-O"
   "Police Story"
   "Cannon"
   "Chopper One"
   "Six Million Dollar Man"
   "Snoop Sisters"
   "Macmillan and Wife"
   **"Mirage"
   "The FBI"

2. Drama
   (14.5 hrs.)
   "Marcus Welby"
   **"Wedding Band"
   "Waltons"
   **"Manchurian Candidate"
   "Emergency"
   "The Magician"
   **"Larry"
   "Chase"
   "Firehouse"
   **"Maybe I'll Come Home in the Spring"
   "Apple's Way"

3. Comedy
   (6.5 hrs.)
   "Happy Days"
   "Maude"
   "Mash"
   "All in the Family"
   "The Odd Couple"
   **"Doctor Dan"
   **"Bobby Parker and Company"
   **"Ready and Willing"
   "Mary Tyler Moore"
   "Bob Newhart"
   "Partridge Family"
   "Brady Bunch"
   "Good Times"

4. Adventure
   (2.5 hrs.)
   **"Planet Earth"
   "Wonderful World of Disney"

5. Western
   (4.5 hrs.)
   "Gunsmoke"
   **"Arrowhead"
   "Kung Fu"
   "Dirty Sally"
ability to follow coding procedures and their reliability as a team though working individually. As a result, the writer chose to use only students who were upper level undergraduate majors in the Department of Communication at Ohio State. Going beyond, the writer surveyed each of the nine coders for two types of information: (1) demographic characteristics and (2) his/her attitude toward organized religion. It was considered a precautionary measure that any extreme bias be recognized before the actual coding began. Demographically, the group composite included four Protestants, one Catholic, one Jew, and three who called themselves "other" (e.g. agnostic). Surprisingly, the nine coders identified their individual religious affiliations and nine different responses were given: Roman Catholic, Baptist, Lutheran, Episcopal, Atheist, Quaker (Society of Friends), Methodist, Jewish, and Unitarian. Six of the group perceived themselves as religious liberals, two as moderates, and one as fundamental. With regard to church attendance, one said he attended "regularly" (at least once per week), two "frequently" (at least twice per month), two "occasionally" (at least one time per quarter), one "seldom" and three "never."

In the second part of the survey each of the coders was instructed to react to sixty polarized semantic scales by underlining which of the two terms in each pair described their "image" of organized religion. The group's image as ascertained where seven of the nine coders responded alike
described as shallow, moderate, repetitive, refined, mythological, moralistic, hollow, organized, visionary, unacceptable, uninteresting, respectable, many, orthodox, faith, and emotional. (Readers are encouraged to review the survey and the composite results included as Appendix A).

3. Development of Coding Instrument

The first concern in the development of the coding instrument was the identification of those categories wherein the information may be classified. The writer's goal was to arrive at a scheme whereby the distinctions between the categories would first be clear and secondly based on the research reviewed in Chapter Two.

So that the coding task might essentially be a clerical one, the literature of religiosity was reviewed toward the development of these categories. Because the Glock-Stark scheme is recognized as one of the more useful breakdowns, the writer sought to alter their five dimensions for use as categories in this study.38

(1) The experiential dimension was used to refer to the individual's sense of contact or direct knowledge of ultimate reality. Lenski and Broen, among others, referred to this facet as the person's orientation, whether this-worldly or other-worldly.39 Another descriptive explanation appropriate for this dimension might be conceived in terms of the individual's perceived psychological distance from an
ultimate reality, i.e. nearness to God vs. far from God. Intuitively the writer felt that this dimension did not lend itself directly to the development of a single category but that it might be included in a broader descriptive dimension.

(2) The ideological dimension as explained by Glock and Stark and as supported by the vast majority of the research is the single most influential factor in a person's religious experience. They forwarded the notion that a person's religion is governed, by and large, by a core of beliefs relative to life-styles, attitudes, and ritualistic behavior. Usually scholars have chosen to plot religious ideology on a continuum ranging from conservative or orthodox through moderate to liberal. Several descriptive dyads may be extracted from these formulations and used as a coding category. Lenski, for instance, discussed the difference between orthodoxy and devotionalism; Thurstone used an orthodox-unorthodox paradigm. In sum, much of the literature suggested a liberal -- moderate -- conservative (fundamentalist) use for the study. Moreover, the writer felt that the dramatic content of television would contain many specific indicators relevant to this dimension and that it might therefore be retained as a category intact. An example might be a situation where a character expresses a sincere obligation to save his/her money so as to tithe on Sunday. As a coder might notice the tithe is a distinctive feature of several conservative religious groups including
(3) The ritualistic like the experiential is theoretically discernible but operationally puzzling. As the reader will recall, this dimension refers to such behaviors as prayer, church attendance, and partaking in the sacraments. There is some relationship between this dimension and the ideological dimension although Glock and Stark felt that the relationship was not so much as to cause confusion. For this study, a category labelled "ritualistic" might be used to code all information about organized religion which took the form of verbal or non-verbal behavior. As a particular television character was shown saying a daily prayer (e.g. The Walton family always prays before its meals) the coder would code this behavior under the category called "ritualism."

(4) The intellectual dimension, according to Glock and Stark, was used to categorize the individual's understanding of his religious philosophy, i.e. the tenets of his faith or his personal theology. Glock and Stark saw a distinction between the intellectual dimension and the ideological dimension in that the former refers to one's personal interpretation of life while the latter connotes the individual's acceptance of certain tenets of an institution's belief system. The writer sees no appreciable difference between the two and chose to collapse them into a broader category which could be called the "intellectual" or "ideological" category.
Here, any information which would alert the coder to a particular religious philosophy (e.g. Fundamentalism) or to a specific religious doctrine (e.g. direct operation of the Holy Spirit) would be coded.

(5) Finally, Glock and Stark conceptualized a consequential dimension of religiosity. Similar to the ritualism dimension, this dimension was seen as inclusive of all behaviors, verbal and nonverbal, and all attitudes which are manifestations of the person's religious philosophy exclusive of those attitudes and behaviors prescribed by a particular religious group. An example might be helpful: in the event that a character is motivated to fast for a period of time so doing because that person felt it was a method of self-discipline beyond that required by his specific religious group or philosophy, such information might be appropriately classified as consequential.

The writer felt that a separation of the consequential and the ritualistic would not lend itself to the purposes of this coding procedure. Both are related to the behavioral effect of the religious person's experience. When collapsed the category that is formed may be thought of as "instrumental" in that it refers to the instrumental effects of the religion on the person.

At this point, it was concluded that the Glock-Stark breakdown might be appropriate for the category scheme in this study if it were altered to produce the three broader
categories described above. So as to validate this assumption the writer surveyed a group of fifteen Communication 105 students at The Ohio State University Mansfield campus and ten adult members of the Indian Springs Church of Christ asking them to respond to two open-ended questions in writing: "What do you like about organized religion (church)?" and "What do you dislike about organized religion (church):" Their responses were collated and appear in Appendix B. Next, these responses were put on note cards, one response per card. Five graduate students at Ohio State were asked to apportion the cards into as many meaningful groups as they thought appropriate. The range of assortments was two to eight. In the case of the two subjects who had six and eight stacks respectively, the high number of groupings was due to the valences of the items, i.e. "going to church on Sunday" was interpreted as distinct from "having to go to church on Sunday" because one was perceived as positive and the other as negative. When the groupings of these two subjects were collapsed by the withdrawal of consideration of the direction of the comment the range became two to five. Further, inspection of these categories as they related to the Glock-Stark analysis substantiated the tri-category scheme suggested above.

As explained to the coders by means of a nominal distinction followed by helpful but not confining bi-polar descriptions the category scheme derived included:
Category One -- Structure (the organizational nature of the religious group depicted; church, denomination, sect, or cult; Baptist, Roman Catholic, Lutheran). 41

Category Two -- Ideology (liberal vs. conservative; fundamentalist vs. progressive; traditional vs. untraditional).

Category Three -- Influence (is the character's religion influential in terms of his overt behavior or non-influential?)

Category Four -- Miscellaneous (any information which the coder could not reasonably apply to the category scheme developed above could be used in this category; the coders would be encouraged to record any unit in this category for later transfer by the writer to the appropriate category).

Before concluding this discussion of the categorization process the critic would observe that the category scheme suggested is not confining and should not be conceived as such. In qualitative content analysis, the researcher is allowed to develop the category system ad hoc or at least to refine those intuitively developed. Such is the rationale for requesting coders to record all statements or visual cues that they believe are relevant to organized religion and the logic for including a miscellaneous category.

A second consideration in the development of the coding instrument is the identification of the types of units to be coded. Kerlinger identified five basic types of content units: words, themes, characters, items, and space-time
Of these, this study analyzed themes and characters within the manifest content of TV drama because it was felt that the two would provide the most appropriate information for the category system earlier discussed. Moreover, these two cues lend themselves handily to the qualitative analyst's desire that the coders record both actual and inferential content. For clarity, the thematic unit may be defined as "a simple sentence i.e. subject and predicate." It is an assertion about a subject matter which may or may not be an abstracted sentence or sentence compound. In other content analyses, the thematic unit has been called a "proposition," "idea," "issue," and "argument." The usefulness of the thematic unit is its applicability to studies wherein public opinion is influenced by the content.

While difficult to justify on the basis of reliability, it is well suited to the study of organized religion in TV drama in light of the writer's earlier observation of dramatic contexts in which religion is discussed on television.

The character unit is herein defined as "any fictional or historical character depicted in prime time drama." On this basis coders were instructed to describe the role played by a clergyman or nun appearing in the plot as per the categories devised. Moreover, coders would be instructed to detail any other information visually available regarding the character: for instance, denomination, approximate age, etc.
The coding instrument which resulted is included as Appendix C.

3. The Coding Process

Having developed the coding instrument and selected the coding team, the coders were asked to meet for a training session on Thursday night, April 18 at which time the coding instrument and coder instructions (See Appendix D) were distributed and explained. Individual coders were alerted to their rotating network affiliate assignment as indicated in Table One below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE ONE</th>
<th>NBC/Ch. 4</th>
<th>ABC/Ch. 6</th>
<th>CBS/Ch. 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/22</td>
<td>1,2,3</td>
<td>4,5,6</td>
<td>7,8,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/23</td>
<td>4,7,5</td>
<td>1,8,9</td>
<td>2,3,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/24</td>
<td>3,6,9</td>
<td>2,7,8</td>
<td>1,4,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/25</td>
<td>1,5,7</td>
<td>3,4,9</td>
<td>6,2,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/26</td>
<td>5,2,8</td>
<td>1,4,6</td>
<td>7,3,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/27</td>
<td>1,4,7</td>
<td>3,5,9</td>
<td>2,6,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/28</td>
<td>1,5,9</td>
<td>2,6,7</td>
<td>3,4,8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Coder Assignments have been designed so as to maintain diversity among trios of coders and among individual network assignments.
Also, the training session yielded adequate need for some method whereby coders might record information more quickly than hand written recording. The writer decided to equip each coder with a cassette recorder and several tapes encouraging the coders to use commercial breaks and other "free" times to record any and all information relevant to the coding process. This proviso proved very useful in that the coders were able to record more information about the context of the program or episode wherein the content about organized religion was contained.

As the coding week progressed, no procedural problems were faced. It was determined that the validity of any particular unit would be substantiated by the recording of any unit by at least two of the three coders watching the particular program. Under such limitations, any unit recorded by only one of the three coders was rejected.

4. Post Coding Data Collection and Classification

Following the week's activity, the coders were convened and asked to respond to four questions which were derived from the list of research questions articulated in Chapter One:

(1) In what type of program would you expect to find information about organized religion?

(2) Which prime-time series would you predict to contain information about organized religion over a
period of a season? Rank them below listing the episode in the first position which you would predict to contain more.

(3) On the basis of your coding, describe the image of organized religion in prime time television drama.

(4) What specific organized religious groups are treated in prime-time television drama?

Each of these questions was answered by each of the coders based on his/her own coding experience. These and other results are contained in the first section of Chapter Four which follows.
NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE


4Ibid.


6Ibid., p. 40.

7Berelson, op. cit., p. 19.

8Gregg, op. cit., p. 41.


11Ibid.
12 Sydney Head, "Content Analysis of Television Drama Programs," Quarterly of Film, Radio, and Television, Volume IX (1954-55); Melvin DeFleur op. cit.; and Marting, op. cit.

13 Berelson, op. cit., p. 20.

14 Ibid., p. 114.


16 Ibid., p. 116.

17 Ibid.


20 DeFleur, op. cit., and Katzman, op. cit.


22 Ibid., p. 119.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., pp. 120-21.

25 Ibid., p. 121.

26 Ibid., p. 122.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., p. 123.

30 Head, op. cit.; DeFleur, op. cit., Katzman, op. cit.; Seggar and Wheeler, op. cit.; Marting, op. cit.; and Colle, op. cit.

31 Berelson, op. cit., p. 125.

33Ibid.

34Berelson, op. cit., p. 126.

35Ibid.


37Ibid., Bormann.

38Glock and Stark, Religion and Society in Tension, op. cit.

39Lenski, op. cit.; and Broen, op. cit.

40This crude pilot test was constructed so as to assist the writer in the verification of the category scheme described earlier. A similar technique was used by Jean Johenning, "The Rhetoric of Self-Vindication, 1950-70" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1971). The cluster method itself was developed by Thurstone and was the basis for the development of his attitude scale.

41The church -- denomination -- sect -- cult typology may be conceived as an overlay on this continuum, as sects tend to be more conservative ideologically and churches more liberal.
CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

From the forty-four programs coded during the period of Monday, April 22 to Sunday, April 28, fifty-seven units of information relevant to organized religion were recorded by the team of coders (These data are reproduced in terms of their category classifications: Appendix E). Cursory analysis of this breakdown quickly reveals that several statements or objects coded do not on first glance seem directly related to the topic at hand i.e. organized religion. While this observation will be treated in greater detail in a later discussion, it is important to note that according to the restrictions of this study any unit recognized and coded by at least two of the three coders watching a particular program was included in this listing. Moreover, coders were permitted to use the miscellaneous category for placement of any unit which at that particular moment he/she was unable to assign. This allowance was made on the provision that the writer would at a later date re-assign those units coded in "miscellaneous" to the appropriate category. At the end of the study, only four units were treated under this
arrangement prompting the writer to conclude that the category scheme had, in fact, been useful and meaningful for the coders.

Further, it should be observed that the collation and reporting of these data as transferred from the approximately one hundred thirty coding sheets and over twelve hours of cassette recorded remarks produced much information about the context of the programs wherein the units were found. Moreover, frequent appearance and coding of non-verbal religious symbols used in television drama, i.e. clerical clothing, crosses, church buildings, habits, etc. was unexpected. The overwhelming majority of these non-verbal units were coded in Category One (Structure) because they did provide some information about the organizational nature of the particular religious group. For instance, in one program all three coders recognized a cathedral setting in the background. All three wrote "Catholic" in front of cathedral even though, according to the trio, there were no signs identifying the affiliation of the structure nor was there any dialogue between the two central characters in the drama which indicated the same.

A second crucial dimension of this study is the analysis of the collective responses of the coders to the questions posed at the conclusion of the week's coding. The results of this exercise have been collated as Appendices F - I and have been used as data in this study. As outlined in
Chapter Three, the coders were instructed to base their responses solely on the insights and information gained during the project period. As a result, these data may be used as partial substantiation for those conclusions drawn on the basis of the coded information.

Having looked in overview fashion at the manner of data collection and the results of the coding procedure, the research questions posed in Chapter One will be addressed relative to these data.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Is organized religion treated in the content of prime time television drama?

The answer to this question appears to be "yes." Reviewing Appendix E, the data obtained in this study would seem to indicate that information about organized religion was contained in twenty-one of the forty-four programs, or forty-eight per cent of the presentations. These were:

"Adam 12"
"All in the Family"
"Arrowhead"
"Barnaby Jones"
"Bobby Parker"
"Dirty Sally"
"Emergency"
"Gunsmoke"
"Happy Days"
"Ironsode"
"Kojak"
"Kung Fu"
"Macmillan and Wife"
"Mannix"
"Marcus Welby"
All but four of these programs were regular series during the 1973-74 season. Three of the four exceptions were feature length movies made for television and each had a distinctively unique plot. "Planet Earth" was set as a science fiction epic sometime beyond the year 2000; "Arrowhead" depicted the life of an Indian brave in the wild wild west; and "Wedding Band" documented the ups and downs of a new marriage set in the now. The diversity of these settings and of the entire group of twenty-one is rich and telling. That such a high percentage of the prime time programs should contain such information would certainly seem to reveal at least a willingness on the part of the various program producers to include the institution of organized religion as an ingredient in the environment of their particular programs. Admittedly, there are no studies which might allow a comparison; the data in Appendix E must stand on their own merit. Implied by the frequency of information in each of the categories is a tendency on the part of prime time programming to deal with religious concepts more often than with specific organized religious groups. This assumption is derived from the total number of units assigned to each of the categories: Structural (11), Ideological (24), and
Instrumental (17).

The second research question is related to the first in that the writer sought to determine which type of prime time drama contained more information about organized religion. It was hoped that a typology of dramatic programming might be developed relevant to weight of religious content.

2. If so, in what circumstances (program types)?

Two sources of data are relevant to this question. First, as noted in the preceding response, twenty-one programs were found to contain information about organized religion. They may be classified as follows:

Crime Drama:  "Adam 12"
"Barnaby Jones"
"Ironside"
"Kojak"
"Mannix"
"Macmillan and Wife"
"Snoop Sisters"

Drama:       "Emergency"
"Marcus Welby"
"Walton's"
"Wedding Band"

Comedy:      "All in the Family"
"Bobby Parker"
"Happy Days"
"M.A.S.H."
"Maude"

Adventure:   "Planet Earth"

Western:     "Arrowhead"
"Dirty Sally"
"Gunsmoke"
"Kung Fu"

The above list would seem to indicate that no particular
type of program would predictably have contained more information than any other type. In terms of the statistical percentages represented in this list: the seven crime dramas represent fifty per cent of all crime drama programming; the general drama programming above represents thirty-six per cent of all the programs of this type; comedy included thirty-eight per cent; adventure included fifty per cent; and westerns one hundred per cent. Because these last two types of programming are infrequent in the normal week of programming (i.e. there were only four westerns and two adventures offered during the coding week) and because the information from the four westerns and the adventure was coded in the ideological and instrumental categories, the writer would assert that no particular type of program was indicated by the data as revealing more information about organized religion.

The coders, however, responded to this research question indicating that information about organized religion was most often found in programs which (1) sought to comment on social values do say more or (2) in programs which used a religious symbol as a way of legitimizing a particular part of the drama (See Appendix F). On both accounts, a word of explanation is in order since this conclusion runs counter to the coding data itself.

That programs such as "All in the Family" and "The Walton's" did contain proportionately more data was attested
by five of the nine coders. As Coder Six responded, "Any program which possesses a moralistic flavor will inevitably contain information about organized religion -- after all, the church has traditionally provided moral incentive which programs like "The Walton's," "All in the Family" and "Maude" portray."

Secondly, the majority of the coders suggested that religion would be used in any program designed for the entire family. Coder Three commented:

I would say that, as a general rule, one would not expect to find this type of information confined to a particular type of program. It infiltrates all programming because religion is a part of every aspect of life. In programs designed for family viewing, it was apparent that religion was treated more directly; in most programming, however, it is treated as an element in the overall social context.

Similarly, Coder Two wrote:

Throughout the week I began to expect to find information about organized religion in programs usually thought of as family-type and usually aired between 8 and 9 pm.

This comment prompted the writer to investigate the relationship between time of day and amount of information about organized religion as obtained by comparing Appendix E with the time and day of each of the twenty-one programs listed in response to question one. In terms of the time of day, it would appear that programs aired between eight and ten p.m. contain equivalent amounts of information while the ten to eleven period contains much less. The eight to nine
p.m. programs contained twenty-six units or forty-six per cent of the total number. Similarly, the nine-to-ten period revealed twenty-seven units, or forty-six per cent. The remaining four units were representative of only eight per cent of the data. (See Table Two below)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Block</th>
<th>Series</th>
<th>Units</th>
<th>% Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8-9 p.m.</td>
<td>&quot;Adam-12&quot; (1)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;All in the Family&quot; (5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Bobby Parker&quot; (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Dirty Sally&quot; (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Emergency&quot; (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Gunsmoke&quot; (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Happy Days&quot; (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Ironside&quot; (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;M.A.S.H.&quot; (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Maude&quot; (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The Waltons&quot; (5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-10 p.m.</td>
<td>&quot;Arrowhead&quot; (3)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Barnaby Jones&quot; (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Kung Fu&quot; (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Macmillan and Wife&quot; (6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Mannix&quot; (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Planet Earth&quot; (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Snoop Sisters&quot; (5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Wedding Band&quot; (5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-11 p.m.</td>
<td>&quot;Kojak&quot; (2)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Marcus Welby&quot; (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Programs were assigned according to the time of day when they come on the air. Number is units coded is listed in parentheses.

With regard to the day on which one might find more information, the data reveal that Saturdays (by virtue of "All in the Family" and "M.A.S.H."), Thursdays, ("The Walton's") and Sundays ("Macmillan and Wife" and "Apple's Way") would be the nights more loaded with these data. Obviously, this would depend upon the particular plot of the episodes, the
frequency of pre-emption by specials, and several other external factors. The particular thrust of the program would seem to be the dominant variable in the identification of relevant programs. (See Table Three)

### TABLE THREE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day/Program</th>
<th>Total/%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Gunsmoke&quot; (3)</td>
<td>3/6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Marcus Welby,&quot; (2)</td>
<td>8/17.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Snoop Sisters,&quot; (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Maude&quot; (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Kojak,&quot; (2)</td>
<td>5/10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Adam 12,&quot; (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Happy Days&quot; (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The Waltons,&quot; (5)</td>
<td>9/19.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Kung Fu,&quot; (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ironside&quot; (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Dirty Sally&quot; (2)</td>
<td>2/4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;All in the Family,&quot; (5)</td>
<td>10/22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Emergency,&quot; (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;M.A.S.H.&quot; (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Barnaby Jones,&quot; (2)</td>
<td>9/19.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Macmillan and Wife,&quot; (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Mannix&quot; (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Feature length and Made-for TV Movies not included)
(Percentages based on N = 46; 11 units not included because derived from movies)

So as to check these observations, at the end of the week's work the writer asked each coder to list in rank order the five series which they felt contained more information about organized religion. These responses are included as Appendix G.

According to these data, the following programs should be the most relevant to this project:
Without exception "the Walton's" was listed and all but one coder included "All in the Family." It is clear, then, that these two programs are examples of series which are both value oriented and family type entertainment.

It would be misleading to read into these findings more than that which might be verified by the data. For this reason, the writer would not say that the programs listed above are popular or successful because they contain information about religion. Nor can it be presumed that any new program, in order to be successful, must involve religion either directly or indirectly. Rather, it does seem that programs generally recognized as value oriented programming (i.e. "The Waltons" seeks to review the values of the Depression era; "All in the Family" seeks to re-examine the values of the current era) contain more information proportionately than non-value oriented programming. To clarify, consider the difference between two comedy series which have

*listed alphabetically
been very successful for CBS and their respective production companies: "Mary Tyler Moore" (MTM Enterprises) and "M.A.S.H." (Twentieth Century Fox TV). Both are Saturday night favorites enjoying audiences of over twenty-five million viewers weekly.¹ Both productions cost approximately $110,000 per episode and have been on the CBS network agenda for several years.² Yet, the regular viewer would quickly notice a distinct difference between the two: "Mary Tyler Moore" is a comedic spoof on life in a big city television station newsroom. Each week the plot centers on some problem of such gravity as 'who should Mary date' or 'why is Lou depressed.' The effect is light hearted entertainment, pure and simple. On the other hand "M.A.S.H." is set in the midst of the Korean War. Each week Hawkeye and Trapper in lighthearted G.I. attire proceed to challenge the very institutions on which the country was built. They question war, the bureaucracy of the Federal Government, the validity of religious piety and the sanctity of marriage. Though the vehicle is comedy the effect goes beyond entertainment only. The difference, therefore, is one of thrust. The hypothesis which has been forwarded by the coders in this study is that a value-oriented program like "M.A.S.H." would contain more religious information than a program similar to "Mary Tyler Moore."

Before concluding this discussion, the writer would footnote the entirety of these statements with two cases
in point: the very popular CBS series "Bridget Loves Bernie" cancelled for the 1973-74 season after ranking as the fifth most popular television series of the 1972-73 season, and the "Maude may get an abortion" controversy of 1973. Both programs are comedy types and both may be classified as value-oriented.

In the '72-'73 season, "Bridget Loves Bernie" held an average weekly audience of twenty-four and a half million viewers. Any program in its first season would be considered an impressive success with such telling statistics. By way of comparison, "The Waltons," also a novice production, only managed twenty-million viewers and ranked twenty-ninth on the list for the year. However, public reaction to the very volatile on-screen marriage of a Catholic daughter of a well-to-do broker to the only son of a Jewish grocer eventually caused the program to be cancelled. Case in point: the program infuriated leaders of both religious groups, though the program itself was a comedy. Nevertheless, by design the program had a value orientation and in this unique case, organized religion functioned as a key variable in the on-going drama.

Secondly, the reader may recall the 1973 "Maude" episode wherein Maude, suspecting her own pregnancy, sought an abortive remedy. The Catholic Church responded by exerting pressure on local CBS affiliate personnel to show a "Maude" rerun in place of this particular episode. It reasoned that
the program contained offensive material which would not be in the "public's interest, convenience, and necessity." Several program directors around the country assented to the pressure; others allowed the program to be shown despite the loud protests. The case in point was that even though the series is recognized as comedic, the underlying value orientation of this particular episode and the well-known anti-abortion stance held by the spokesmen of the Catholic church came into sharp contrast.

The next question raised concerned the way in which the information itself related to the drama i.e. the characters, plot, etc. This question will be discussed next.

3. What is the nature of the religious information in this programming?

As mentioned at the outset of this chapter, many of the units which were coded are not directly attachable to a particular religious group or philosophy. For instance, in the ABC movie "Wedding Band" the female lead character commented at one point that she felt she was being punished for her sins as a result of a rather confused adolescence. (Refer back to Appendix E, Ideological Unit 1). Surface inspection would lead one to reject the statement for use in this study. However, after listening to the three coders' taped descriptions of the context of the program the writer understood the coders' rationale. It seems that throughout the program, the element of religion had played a very important
part in her background. The coders volunteered that the
girl's very conservative religious background had resulted
in a severe guilt complex on her part. The unit, therefore,
was coded as an ideological unit because the coders attached
her attitude to a very conservative (fundamental) theology.

A similar example of an indirect unit was Michael's re-
flection in "All in the Family" that Sunday was a day
"allerest." The writer recovered from the coders' tapes
that Michael was responding to Edith's remark 'that Sunday
was a day of rest.' Correctly, the three coders saw a the-
ological component in the exchange in which Edith expressed
a very traditional (fundamental) position while Michael es-
poused a non-religious stand.

Two dimensions of the question are relevant: whether
information is verbal or non-verbal and whether the informa-
tion is directly or indirectly involved in the drama. These
considerations were framed as part of Question Three and will
be discussed next.

a. Is information about organized religion in
prime time television predominantly verbal
or nonverbal?

Inspection of the units listed in Appendix E re-
vealed that of the fifty-seven total units, only twenty-four
of these units (forty-one per cent) were nonverbal units.
(See Table Four below) According to the coders, most of
these units were appropriated to the structural category
because they revealed the structural identity of the
TABLE FOUR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Verbal (Themes)</th>
<th>Nonverbal (Characters)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>5/9%</td>
<td>12/21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideological</td>
<td>26/46%</td>
<td>3/5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>2/4%</td>
<td>9/15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33/59%</td>
<td>24/41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentages indicate cell weight N = 57)

religious group (church, denomination, sect, or cult) or even the particular group (Roman Catholic etc.). For example, in the science fiction movie "Planet Earth," a character was shown dangling a cross on a necklace. The trio of coders viewed this scene as a structural cue explaining that the symbol of the cross within the context of that program indicated either a Catholic or Protestant religious affiliation or theology. Cautiously, the coders chose to code this information as structural rather than ideological. Other examples of these nonverbal structural symbols were the Catholic priest's clothing in "M.A.S.H.," the non-Catholic minister conducting the funeral in the "Snoop Sisters" and the black non-Catholic minister who presided at the wedding ceremony in "Happy Days." The writer would conclude that much more information about specific organized religious groups in prime time drama is gained through nonverbal symbols while information about organized religion as a belief system (ideological) or as a stimulus to action (influence)
is obtained through verbal symbols.

It is the writer's conviction that the religious nonverbal symbols used in television function in a unique capacity. Not only do they contribute meaning to the plot of the drama, they reinforce the values of the viewing audience. Stated differently, the use of nonverbal religious symbols in television (1) add meaning to the drama without necessitating verbal explanation and (2) are sufficiently ambiguous and esoteric so as to reinforce the public culture. For these reasons, the reader should not be surprised to see the heroine pray prior to being molested or see the Christian's cherished ikon 'the cross' hanging around the neck of the female lead.

b. Is this information directly or indirectly involved in the plot?

Of the forty-four programs viewed, only three programs yielded sufficient data whereby a positive response might be made. These included "Kung Fu," "Wedding Band," and "Macmillan and Wife." In each of these cases, the religious philosophy or affiliation of one or several of the characters was the stasis for the plot. "Kung Fu" depicts young David Carradine as a nomad priest of an Oriental sect. Every movement and word bespeak Caine's background. Periodic flashbacks to Caine's tutelage under Master Kan cement the cause-effect relationship between Caine's religion and his behavior.
Secondly, "Wedding Band" was the story of the perils of marriage when complicated by the birth of a malformed child. Throughout the program one is sensitized to the negative influence the young mother's religion had on her, for the drama is centered on her coping with the child's deformity. As it turns out, she is unable to cope because her religious training had taught her to believe that God was punishing her through the child. Again, the conduct of drama is inextricably bound to the cause-effect relationship which exists between religion and her self-rejecting attitude.

Finally, the "Macmillan and Wife" episode depicted Sally's capture and subsequent recovery from a Satannic cult. It seems that one of Mac's friends was a member of the cult and had been driven to the kidnapping incident by the wishes of the cult. In each of these programs, three very unique and different organized religious orientations were depicted. It may not be concluded that these organized religions are cast in a positive or negative light because first the religious groups themselves are far from being "mainline" United States churches, and secondly because such generalizing on the grounds of three examples seems invalid.

It may be concluded then, that for the most part, organized religion is treated indirectly in prime time drama. This is substantiated when one analyzes the data composite: of the fifty-seven coded units, only eleven (or nineteen percent) of these were classified as instrumental. As the
reader will recall, coders were instructed to use this category only where the character's religious conviction had a definite effect on his/her behavior. This stipulation meant that the religious factor had to be connected to the course of events depicted. As readers will notice in a later discussion of the coder's image of organized religion, on the basis of their week's experience, by consensus the group felt that the religious factor was not directly involved in the plot. The eleven units coded in the instrumental category, therefore, must be treated as information about the people in the programs apart from the action or activities of the particular story. By way of clarification, the character "Dirty Sally" may be used.

The coding team expressed the following sentiment: Dirty Sally's whole personality is permeated by her frequent references to God and what He would have her do. At the same time, this personality portrait is not the focal point of the series but a facet of the context in which the series is set. The line of distinction is perhaps fine but the data coupled with the coder's remarks would seem to substantiate the point.

In reference to whether information directly involved in the plot is found in a particular type of program, a negative response must be made. The diversity of the three programs wherein there was a direct involvement substantiates the conclusion as "Kung Fu" is a western, "Wedding Band" a
drama, and "Macmillan and Wife" a crime drama. With regard to time of program, again a negative response would have to be made. It has already been stated that most of the information about religion is found between eight and ten p.m. The three programs above spanned the period from 8:30 to 11 p.m.

It must be concluded, then, that organized religion's direct involvement in the plot of a prime time program is not a function of the program type or a time of broadcast. Rather, the data would indicate that organized religion will be directly involved in the plot on an infrequent basis so as to avoid the overworking of this as a program type.

The next question was raised as a direct implication of the writer's search for any existing bias in prime time for or against specific religious groups or types of groups.

4. What specific organized religious groups are treated in prime time television drama?

All of the coders were asked to respond to this question at the end of the coding week. Their responses are included as Appendix H. Curiously absent from their responses was any answer indicating that they would expect to view programming which dealt directly or indirectly with Judaism. Even though the Jewish religion claims over six million adherents in this country, no coder would have expected to see anything resembling this religion which is one of the three major religious groups in America.
Further, each coder was asked to identify which type of religious group (church, denomination, sect, cult) was treated more frequently in the content of prime time television drama. Their responses are included in the next section.

a. Of churches, sects, denominations, and cults, which is treated more frequently?

By consensus, the coders felt that the church-type religious group was treated more frequently followed next by the denomination, then the cult, and finally the sect. More specifically, the coders predicted that the Roman Catholic Church would be the most frequently exposed group followed by a conservative denomination very suggestive of the Southern Baptist church. A review of the coding data substantiates each of these conclusions. In the structural category, for instance, five of the seventeen units clearly are symbols of the Roman Church. Examples of these range from the verbal transaction in "M.A.S.H." that the cook used to be an altar boy to the Catholic hospital setting wherein Marcus Welby labors.

Similarly, the coders indicated that the Baptist church would receive a considerable amount of coverage though not as much as the Catholic church. Of the seventeen units, only three of the bits were associated with the Baptist denomination leading the writer to the conclusion that the coders' perception was essentially accurate.
Finally, the coders indicated that cults did receive frequent exposure though they did not identify the particular type of cult which was popularized. Again, the structural categorization would at least suggest that the coders' perceptions were plausible. Of the seventeen units, three were of the cult type. One coder suggested that the reason was simply the mystique which the public attaches to the concept of the cult. He went on in a conversation with the writer to explain that the recent upsurge of interest in such non-traditional religious organizations was in some part due to the box-office success of "The Exorcist" -- a 1974 release which stimulated great controversy and interest in the concept of Satanism, the evil world and mysticism generally.

The data would indicate that information about churches and denominations will be found in programs of all types while cultic cues would be confined to mystery, drama, or crime drama. Moreover, the data about cults seem to be more directly involved in the plot than that of churches or denominations. An example would be Caine's activities as a priest of an oriental cult ("Kung Fu") and the criminal behavior of members of a Satanic cult in the episode of "Macmillan and Wife" included in the sample. As the writer will recall, these two programs compose two-thirds of the programs identified as those wherein organized religion is treated as a direct factor in the plot. Both depicted the
behavioral effect brought to bear on persons who had affiliated themselves with cults and both episodes reflected that these behaviors were non-conforming.

With regard to the assumption above that churches and then denominations receive more treatment, the writer would suggest that this is realistic in terms of the dominance of these groups in society. One might begin with the observation that the Roman Catholic Church and the Baptist church are the two largest religious bodies in the United States and prototypical of the church and denominational structures respectively. The Roman church is itself the largest single body of Christian believers enrolling almost fifty million members. The second largest religious group, the Baptist church, boasts over twenty-seven million members. Together, they comprise more than half the religious membership in the United States. Beyond this surface explanation there are perhaps several other explanations which may be advanced.

First, that the Roman Catholic Church receives more treatment than any other religious group may be attributed to three factors: (1) The Catholic Church is the most influential single religious body in America; (2) It is one of the most "symbolic" of the religious groups in America; and (3) It is the most visible religious group in America. Although hard data in support of these assumptions are lacking, the writer would draw upon several recent publications for
backing.

According to a study sponsored by Americans United for Separation of Church and State, organized religious groups in this country hold "visible assets" -- land and buildings of all kinds -- valued at over eighty billion dollars: almost double the combined assets of the country's five largest industrial corporations. Of this treasure, approximately forty-five billion dollars worth is held by the Roman Catholic Church. Responding to this, a Catholic priest was quoted as saying:

The Catholic Church must be the biggest corporation in the United States. We have a branch office in almost every neighborhood. Our assets and real estate holdings must exceed those of Standard Oil, A.T. and T., and U.S. Steel combined. And our roster of dues-paying members must be second only to the tax rolls of the United States Government.

In its New York diocese alone, the church spent $17,000,000 on goods and services in 1970. The three hundred million dollars of assets of the Knights of Columbus -- the Catholic fraternal, insurance, and evangelizing group -- includes a steel-tube factory, several department stores, and the land under Yankee Stadium in New York City. Finally, over twenty-two thousand parishes in the United States are regulated by the Vatican assembly and His Holiness Pope Paul VI. In sum, there is no group in America which can boast such impressive credentials.

With regard to the symbolic richness of the Catholic
tradition, the writer would refer the reader to the hundreds of volumes which have addressed themselves to the nature of the Roman Catholic Church over its 2000 year period of development. It is generally accepted that the roots for the symbolic richness of the Catholic religion lie in its doctrinal positions regarding the sacraments and church organization. The church reasoned that Christ granted to His Church the power to administer the sacraments; consequently the early church leaders developed numerous forms, icons, etc. whereby its ceremonies and prayers might be enhanced. At the same time the church's doctrine contributed to the creation of other visible symbols, such as the habits worn by the clergy, the traditional cross, ornate cathedrals, and many other distinguishing features. Again, our society is hard pressed to match the tradition and symbolic richness of the Catholic Church.

Finally, the writer would assert that in all probability, the Catholic Church is the most visible religious group in America. It is significant that, on foreign soil, American political leaders have often scheduled audiences with the Pope. And the Kennedy family continues to command the attention of the world and its identification with the Catholic church. It came as no surprise, then, that the Roman Church is the most conspicuous of television's prime time settings.

It could be reasoned that the Baptist church receives
secondary attention by virtue of its tradition as a large, fundamentalist, Protestant mainline image. It is appropriately the backwoods religion of the Waltons and a frequent reference in other content.

The data, finally, indicate that the treatment of cults (i.e. Satanic) or sects (Jehovah's Witnesses, Oriental, Pentecostals) is occasioned in prime time only in circumstances where they are used as primary factors in the plot. It could be reasoned that these religious groups are not "mainline" religious philosophies. As mentioned earlier, the language of television is not a language of change, it is the language of the status quo.

b. Of churches, denominations, sects, and cults, which is treated more favorably?

The data did not indicate that any group or type of group is treated more favorably. Two reasons may explain this negative conclusion: (1) the sample was not large enough, or (2) the religious information is only peripherally related to the drama and is, therefore not subject to positive or negative treatment.

The last question to which the data are responsive was framed so as to gather an overview of the prime time treatment of organized religion as perceived by the coding team on the basis of their work in this project. This discussion follows in the next section.
5. What are the dimensions of the image of organized religion as inferred from its treatment in prime time television drama?

At the outset, the image of organized religion in prime time television drama is one which a viewer might perceive over an extended viewing period and not as the result of a single evening's viewing. Moreover it is certain that the particular viewer's image will be subjected to the his/her value system which is undoubtedly predisposed or related to religion. So as to circumvent the writer's value system in responding to this question, the responses of the coders were sought. Each was encouraged to base his/her response on the experience of the coding project. Moreover, each was encouraged to identify these dimensions in concert with the category scheme used in the study. As a result the majority of the group chose to comment on a structural dimension, an ideological dimension, and an instrumental dimension. Their responses are compiled and presented as Appendix I.

By way of extracting a consensual image of organized religion from their responses and from the data itself, the resulting characteristics are (1) a structurally church-orientation by means of its frequent use of Catholic symbols; (2) an ideologically conservative (toward a fundamentalist) theology; and (3) instrumentally irrelevant to the patterns of behavior which are portrayed in the programming.

The structural facet of this image was discussed in the
last section and will not be reviewed. The second merits some discussion.

Eight of the nine coders commented on the ideological dimension of this image with one or more of the following terms: "conservative," "fundamental," "traditional," or "reinforces the status quo." The twenty-nine ideological units do support such a dimension by way of their climate of traditionalism. For instance, the doctrine of hell fire and eternal agony as noted in the "Snoop Sisters," the propensity of television drama to equate the natural pattern of things with such ritual observances as weddings and funerals, the everpresent practice of prayer, "Wedding Band's" whole statement about sin in the life of the individual — all of these and more are symbols of a pattern of religious thought which has come to be known as fundamentalism. As presented in Chapter One, this philosophy of religion is the religion of middle America. One does not find any information in Appendix E which contradicts the major tenets of this philosophy but support is evident, particularly in programs identified earlier as value-oriented ("The Walton's," "Apple's way").

Finally, as seven of the coders recounted, the instrumental dimension of organized religion is essentially neutral, that is, one is not given enough information to warrant the assertion that, for instance, Dirty Sally is a humanitarian given to many good deeds because she attends
church regularly. To the contrary, one is influenced to infer from the activities of such religious characters as Frank ("M.A.S.H.") and Maude's husband Arthur (who goes to mass only when a meal is served immediately after) that the organized religious experience, is in fact, a shallow experience not given to serving the needs of mankind but rather self-serving.

These five questions and the components thereof lead the study to the two far-reaching discussions framed as Research Questions Six and Seven: What is the significance of this image? and What are the implications of this study? Because the data do not permit a response based thereon, they will be discussed in the concluding chapter of this dissertation. Prior to these discussions, a summary statement is cast so as to recollect the motivation for and findings of this study!
NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR


2 Estimated per episode costs as reported in Variety, September 12, 1973.

3 Ibid.


6 Ibid.

7 "Religion" Reader's Digest Almanac 1974 (Pleasantville, New York: Reader's Digest Association, 1974). These figures were current to date 1973.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.


11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid., p. 11.

CHAPTER FIVE

SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary

The expressed purpose of this study was to explore the region of network television programming described as prime time drama with special interest paid to its treatment of organized religion. In Chapter One, it was noted that television and organized religion have played influential roles in the development and change of Western society. Definitions of key terms used in this study were suggested including "prime time drama" as any programming aired between eight and eleven p.m. wherein the actors are depicted as fictitious characters and not as themselves, and "organized religion" as any structured code of theology taking the form of church, denomination, sect, or cult. Chapter Two was devoted to a review of theoretical and empirical studies relevant to the topic of this dissertation. These were categorized according to their focus, whether a study of an aspect of organized religion or a study of a television mediated image. Next, the major tenets of the qualitative analytic method were presented in Chapter Three, followed
by an outline of the procedures of this study.

The results of the study itself were presented in Chapter Four based on the data obtained through the coding process and through a survey of the coders at the conclusion of the study. Among the conclusions were these: (1) organized religion is treated in the content of prime time television drama frequently though seldom as a direct influence on the behavior of the characters or direction of the plot; (2) programs having a value-orientation (a moralistic thrust) contain more information about organized religion regardless of the time or day of the telecasting; (3) most of the information about specific religious groups or types of groups is made available to the viewer through visual, nonverbal symbols; (4) in order of frequency treatment, churches, denominations, cults, then sects were included in the content of the dramatic programming; (5) in order of frequency of treatment, the Roman Catholic Church, the Baptist denomination, and a variety of non-specific cults were included in the content of the dramatic programming; (6) no specific organized religious group or type of group was found to be treated more favorably in the study though a specific group and a type of group did receive more frequent treatment; and (7) the image of organized religion in prime time television drama is characterized by three dimensions: a structural church-orientation, a conservative ideology, and an inconsequential role in the lives of the characters.
in most of the programs.

Each of these conclusions is based on the interpretation of the data collected in this study. However, there remain two very important questions which go beyond the data to the writer's interpretive perspective: 'What is the significance of this image?' and 'What are the implications of this study?' In the original list of research questions, these were questions six and seven, and will be discussed next.

What is the significance of this image?

It would exceed the scope of this paper to suggest that the image of organized religion revealed in this study is cause for immediate concern on the part of devoted churchgoers the world over. It is certainly worth future consideration, however, in light of changing patterns of national religiosity and as television redresses its programming to stay in style.

It is interesting to compare the conclusions of this study and the image derived as its result with the observations forwarded several years ago by Matthew Fox who suggested that in the 1950's organized religion's role in prime time was essentially one of ritual involvement via esoteric symbols and sacraments.\(^1\) He further suggested that the image was popularly related to "best" choirs, preachers, and buildings -- a finding which runs counter to that of this study.\(^2\) It would seem by way of contrast that organized
religion, as with all major Western institutions, has been called to the witness stand of social accountability by the media. Television in these last few years has boldly treated new concerns: rape, pacifism, extra-marital sex, and political socialism. Suffice it to say that the change in programming though gradual is evident. And as this change has occurred, the image of organized religion has been amalgamated into a broader image of "secular social concerns" for a better life of love, peace, and human understanding. It may be that a similar study five years from now would have difficulty finding anything in prime-time remotely related to the concept of church as is conceived today. At the same time, it may be that this society will no longer know "church" or "religion" as thought of and practiced today.

This image is becoming more peripheral and more secularized through time. As the viewing masses concern themselves with the conditions of life as opposed to their condition at death, television will follow suit and the image will change. McLuhan's thought seems to make these points best:

The TV image ... is an extension of the sense of touch. Where it encounters a literate culture, it necessarily thickens the sense-mix, transforming fragmented and specialist extensions into a seamless web of experience. Such transformation is, of course, a "disaster" for a literate, specialist
culture. It blurs many cherished attitudes and procedures. It dims the efficacy of the basic pedagogic techniques, and the relevance of the curriculum. If for no other reason, it would be well to understand the dynamic life of these forms as they intrude upon us and upon one another.

Finally, this study must be cast against the events of the future. In asking this final question concerning the implications of this study, the writer wishes to put it into the perspective of not only the research which has predated it, but of that which is to follow. In so doing the relevance and contribution of these findings is anchored.

What are the implications of this study?

In superimposing television and organized religion in a systematic attempt such as this, the researcher is confronted with a wide variety of divergent directions which might be followed. At the outset, any one of the conclusions is fertile for individual research and follow-up. As pointed out in the writer's interview with Dr. Russell Dynes, Professor of Religious Sociology at The Ohio State University, these conclusions are consistent with the vast majority of religious research but unique to the setting of television. (A complete transcript of this interview is included as Appendix J). However, in the course of this study there were several implications which occurred to the writer as it progressed. Six of these warrant the immediate attention of the reader and are outlined below.
First, the writer would encourage continued research in the vast wasteland of prime time television. It is apparent that academic curiosity about the process whereby television viewing affects relationships between people and objects will continue. The momentum achieved by studies of television violence and aggressive behavioral effects will undoubtedly continue to spawn literature even more explanatory of the bewildering relationship. However, it seems that research of this nature must be taken to its logical outcome by willing and enthusiastic viewers. For instance, what makes a particular prime time program a winner? Producers readily admit that the answer has not been provided. More directly related to this study, the value orientations of particular programs as perceived by the viewing audience are points for research excursions. Directly related to this line of thinking would be research projects designed to study the changes in the value-orientations of television programming with special emphasis on the sociological effects that accrue.

Secondly, the writer would hope to read more definitive works addressed to the functional analysis of the medium of television as affected by changes of time and public attitudes. Not only are the functional theories behind time in their experimental application, they are mutually contradictory when one seeks mutual agreement on the question: does the medium of television convert or inform?
Third, the writer sees a promise in the analysis of the television producer's role as a rhetorician. Stated differently, the producer's role should be subjected to the scrutiny of rhetorical and communication theorists toward an interpretation of the social impact of the decisions made by his office in the course of the making of a particular program. By way of explanation, some background information may be helpful.

Of the forty-seven regular programs which composed the prime-time menu offered by the networks at the beginning of the 1973-1974 season, there were thirty-four production companies working behind the scenes — less producers for movies used for television.⁴ (See Appendix K and L). One might use his rhetorical-critical tools toward the Bud Yorkin-Norman Lear Production Company, who produce "All in the Family" and "Sanford and Son." What behind-the-scenes rationale was envisioned by this team? Were their directives to writers based on an intuitive view of what the public needed, or were surveys done and the programs developed thereafter.

From a rhetorical standpoint, the Burkeian approach might be a fruitful starting mark for studies such as this.⁵ His pentad, and particularly the purpose component, warrant an investigation of this nature. Toulmin's model also emphasized the motivation on the part of the message source while quite a different road might be taken using Bitzer's
"rhetorical situation" theory.⁶

Extending this line of thinking, one might investigate the team of writers responsible for particular programs heretofore characterized as value oriented. In the interview with Dr. Russell Dynes, it was suggested that the socialization process undergone by a particular writer or producer may reflect itself in the development of a particular episode or entire series. Referring to some of the conclusions drawn in this study, Dynes hypothesized that the lack of exposure to any Judaistic symbol may be an outgrowth of the demographic composite of the writers.

Similarly, the writer feels that excursions such as these may lead to a deeper understanding of the "what the public wants, the public gets" axiom. Returning to the list of forty-four programs, the reader will notice that nineteen of these programs were cancelled by the networks. The question that follows is "what are the ingredients of a popular television program?" It could be postulated that an understanding of the value orientations of these programs might provide impetus for the development of such a success formula.

A fourth implication of this study is drawn from the methodology -- that the use of the qualitative analytic method is warranted and effective in that research situation where the object of the analysis is of an institutional nature and shrouded in the entanglement of the medium itself.
Such was the case with this study. Television is itself both medium and message a la McLuhan. Prime time television is a traffic jam of reality vs. Disney World, of crime in the wild, wild west and rape in the asphalt jungle -- and all are available in a typical evening's viewing. In this environment, information about America's biggest and most powerful institutions is scattered. The qualitative content analytic method is adaptable to the process of extracting these bits of information and thereafter, allowing interpretation of these data. It is, therefore, conceivable that one might study the image of the Federal Government, America's insurance empire or its institutions of higher education, the various liberation movements, and other social forces in the context of television programming by way of the same qualitative content analytic method.

A fifth inquiry of interest to the writer, as generated in this study, is the concept of religious symbolism, both verbal and nonverbal. From Plato's pondering of "what is truth" to the present, researchers have concerned themselves with the theoretical questioning of religious symbols such as "faith," "worship," "redemption," the "gospel," the cross, the covered head, altars, candles, weddings, funerals, and the concept of God. The findings of this study lead to the writer to concur with Fawcett who wrote:

There can be little doubt that it is in the sphere of religion that this symbolic process is most obviously in evidence. It is
the primary concern of religion to get beyond the appearances to the reality, but the language of religion has always found it necessary to make use of the language of appearances in order to speak of that reality. 'A religion,' says Wright, 'is the structuring of a certain group of symbols which are understood to portray ultimate reality and the manner in which meaningful life is to be lived in relation to it.'

It is the writer's conviction that religious symbols, verbal and nonverbal, function in a unique capacity in television drama. Not only do they contribute meaning to the plot of the drama, they seem to reinforce the values of the viewing audience. Stated differently, the use of nonverbal and verbal religious symbols in television (1) adds meaning to the drama without contributing to the alteration thereof and (2) helps to perpetuate the ambiguity of the public's image of these symbols. For these reasons, the reader should not be surprised to see the heroine pray prior to being molested or see the Christian's cherished ikon 'the cross' dangle on a chain around his/her neck. It is toward the verification or invalidating of these presumptions that the writer sees as a significant implication of this study.

Finally, this study has implications for concerned individuals and groups who are members of or sympathetic to any organized religious group. In this age of accountability wherein public esteem for the President of the United States, the television network news industry, and of organized religion have reached all time lows, it should be
a genuine concern of all patrons of these issues to raise the public esteem and, thereby, restore a positive image.

Specifically, organized religion must concern itself with popular conceptions of the church as a middle-class American institution visibly related to beautiful, expensive buildings and professional clergymen. Research supports the conclusions that the pulpit in America is perceived as a soapbox for any number of causes sometimes championed by Elmer Gantry's whose sincerity was only surface. In short, this study concludes that the image of organized religion in television is subject to its redefinition by the society itself. The public, and particularly the unchurched public, has witnessed the secularization of that institution which itself gave rise to this country.

This study has proposed an image of organized religion in prime time television drama which seems to suggest that the institutionalized church no longer functions as a vital American moral security agent. The force seems hardly akin to the secularized, suburban, economic empire of today. In short, the study seeks the readership of church leaders of all varieties. It does so not to induce the massing of support for an anti-television crusade but so that the church may engage in the painful process of introspection toward the exorcising of a theology which may be perceived as morally, socially, and intellectually relevant and constructive.
NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE


2Ibid., p. 217.


4Variety, op. cit.


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APPENDIX A

CODER SURVEY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>Cumulative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CODER ID</td>
<td>1 - 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CODER SURVEY

1. Class
   - 0 A. Freshman
   - 2 B. Sophomore
   - 1 C. Junior
   - 6 D. Senior
   - 0 E. Graduate Student
   - 0 F. Continuing Education

2. Age
   - 0 A. 18 or under
   - 3 B. 19-20
   - 2 C. 21-22
   - 4 D. 23-29
   - 0 E. 30-39
   - 0 F. 40

3. College
   - 0 A. Agriculture
   - 1 B. Education
   - 7 C. Arts
   - 1 D. Humanities

4. Occupational Plans
   - 4 A. Business
   - 1 B. Science, Engineering
   - 2 C. Education
   - 1 D. Arts
   - 1 E. Government Technical or Law

5. Matital Status
   - 7 A. Single
   - 0 B. Engaged
   - 1 C. Married
   - 0 D. Married with Children
   - 1 E. Divorced

6. High School GPA
   - 3 A. 3.5-4.0
   - 0 B. 3.0-3.5
   - 6 C. 2.5-3.0
   - 0 D. 2.0-2.5
   - 0 E. Below 2.0

7. College GPA
   - 1 A. 3.5-4.0
   - 3 B. 3.0-3.5
   - 3 C. 2.5-3.0
   - 2 D. 2.0-2.5
   - 0 E. Below 2.0

8. Watch TV most often for
   - 3 A. News, weather, sports
   - 1 B. Talk shows
   - 1 C. Educational programming
   - 2 D. Situation comedies
   - 2 E. Drama and adventure
   - 0 F. Variety

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APPENDIX A (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 9. Source of news about world (Rank your responses from 1 to 5: 1 = most used source) | 1 A. Television  
2 B. Newspaper  
3 C. Radio  
5 D. Magazine  
4 E. People |
| 10. Source of news about state and city (Rank as above)                  | 1 A. Television  
3 B. Newspaper  
2 C. Radio  
5 D. Magazine  
4 E. People |
| 11. In case of conflicting reports about world affairs, which source would you be most inclined to believe? | 1 A. Television  
3 B. Newspaper  
2 C. Radio  
4 D. Magazine  
5 E. People |
| 12. In case of conflicting reports about state or local affairs, which source would you be more inclined to believe? | 1 A. Television  
3 B. Newspaper  
2 C. Radio  
4 D. Magazine  
5 E. People |
| 13. When do you watch television most?                                   | 0 A. Early morning (7-10 a.m.)  
0 B. Mid-day (10-2 p.m.)  
0 C. Afternoon (2-6 p.m.)  
3 D. Early evening (6-8 p.m.)  
3 E. Prime time (8-11 p.m.)  
3 F. Late night (11 p.m.-2 a.m.) |
5 B. Almost daily  
0 C. Every other day  
0 D. Seldom  
0 E. Never |
| 15. Religious preference                                                 | 4 A. Protestant  
1 B. Catholic  
1 C. Jewish  
3 D. Other  
0 E. None |
16. Religious affiliation
   Catholic, Baptist, Quaker, Atheist, Lutheran, Episcopal, Methodist, Unitarian, Jewish

17. Religious attitude
   1 A. Fundamental
   3 B. Conservative
   2 C. Moderate
   3 D. Liberal
   0 E. Radical, reform

18. Attend church or synagogue
   1 A. Regularly (at least once/week)
   2 B. Frequently (at least twice/mo.)
   2 C. Occasionally (at least once/qtr.)
   1 D. Seldom
   3 E. Never

19. Religious background
   3 A. Family is very religious
   5 B. Family marginally religious
   0 C. Family not religious but close friend are)
   1 D. Not religious

From each pair of terms below, underline the term which best describes your image of organized religion.

1. shallow - deep
2. relevant - irrelevant
3. failing - succeeding
4. persuasive - unpersuasive
5. inconsistent - consistent
6. social - individual
7. traditional - progressive
8. liberal - conservative
9. radical - moderate
10. logical - illogical
11. optimistic - pessimistic
12. effective - ineffective
13. innovative - repetitive
14. refined - coarse
15. sensitive - insensitive
APPENDIX A (continued)

16. right - wrong
17. trivial - vital
18. solid - hollow
19. change - stability
20. disorganized - organized

21. sincere - insincere
22. formal - informal
23. impractical - practical
24. patriotic - unpatriotic
25. destructive - constructive
26. concealing - revealing
27. rational - irrational
28. realistic - visionary
29. threatening - supportive
30. meaningful - meaningless

31. acceptable - unacceptable
32. complex - simple
33. passive - simple
34. cognitive - affective
35. social - spiritual
36. interesting - uninteresting
37. divisive - unified
38. God - man
39. many - one
40. clergy - laity

41. urban - rural
42. disrespectful - respectable
43. orthodox - unorthodox
44. national - international
45. rich - poor
46. eternal - mortal
47. unnatural - natural
48. comforting - disturbing
49. intercultural - cultural
50. bad - good

51. heaven - hell
52. shallow - deep
53. institutional - ideological
54. faith - works
55. mythological - nonmythological
56. life - death
57. outer directed - inner directed
58. reason - emotion
59. philosophical - unphilosophical
60. moralistic - legalistic
APPENDIX B

Survey of Perceptions About Organized Religion

I am doing research on attitudes toward organized religion and would very much appreciate your candid response to the following questions. Your responses will be kept confidential and cumulative responses made available to you on request. Thank you. P.S. Please be specific.

1. What do you like about organized religion? Why?
   A. security
   B. having things decided for me
   C. belonging
   D. social contacts
   E. fellowship
   F. common belief
   G. work done collectively
   H. structure
   I. guidelines for behavior
   J. organization itself
   K. forces me to do things
   L. conscience
   M. knowledge of Bible
   N. sharing of feelings
   O. opportunities to observe other Christians at work
   P. effect of behavioral habits
   Q. continuous relationship of worship
   R. certainty
   S. non-threatening environment
   T. collective relationship with God
   U. sincerity of a few
   V. religious values instilled in the young people

2. What do you dislike about organized religion? Why?
   A. organization itself
   B. neglect of concern for others
   C. neglect of collective search for God
APPENDIX B (continued)

D. lack of free expression
E. structured worship
F. lack of interaction with other religious groups
G. regulations
H. rule by the few over the many
I. ignorance of the Bible
J. too structured overall
K. lengthy sermons
L. too much emphasis on buildings
M. too much emphasis on church attendance
N. preachers who preach one thing and live another
O. lack of individual recognition
P. denial of individual's right to choose between acceptable and unacceptable forms of behavior
Q. enthusiasm over form without concern for substance of religion
R. preaching of hell, fire, and damnation
S. irrelevant preaching
T. continual neglect of spiritual climate in lieu of physical facilities
U. impersonal
V. lack of open, honest communication
W. lack of social concern
X. tendency to avoid controversy
APPENDIX C

CODING SHEET

The Image of Organized Religion

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**STRUCTURAL:**

--church/sect
--authoritative/
   unauthoritative
--defensive communication
   climate/supportive
   communication climate

**IDEOLOGICAL**

--inner direction/
   outer direction
--orthodox/unorthodox
--traditional/progressive
--liberal/conservative
--logical/emotional

**INSTRUMENTAL**

--social concern/
   individual concern
--this worldly/other
   worldly
--attitude/action
--consistent/inconsistent

**MISCELLANEOUS**

If you have any questions, call Paul Keckley...471-6659.
APPENDIX D

CODER INSTRUCTIONS

1. Consult the coding schedule daily for your network and programming assignments. This schedule will be posted in Derby 204 each Monday morning of the week to be coded.

2. Do not collaborate with other coders on any specific units.

3. Watch each program completely. Any rest breaks should be taken before or after the prime time period, during commercials, or during any non-dramatic programming. Be alert and ready to record all information. Consult TV Guide for episode title and fill in identification items at top of coding sheet before the program begins.

4. Coding Units: Two types of content units will be recorded in this study:

A. Themes--A theme may be defined as a joint occurrence of a subject, transitive verb, and object. The subject, verb, and object could be either explicit or implicit in nature (implied by the structure or by other content of a sentence). It may be helpful to think of the thematic unit as the verbal unit in this study and to associate it with the idea of a sentence pertaining to the concept of "organized religion" (church as an institution). Record your coding in the appropriate space on the coding sheet as it relates to any of the categories (to be explained later). After recording the unit, indicate the person or group which acted as the source of the theme and the suspected object of the theme.

B. Characters--The character unit may be thought of as the visual unit in this analysis. This would include any person, place, or thing which might be perceived as relevant to the concept of organized religion i.e. a priest, nun, church building, etc.). For the most part, the character unit will demand keen observation powers on the coders' parts. Coding should include application to the categorization scheme as per the coding sheet as
well as a brief description of the visual event.

So that a maximum amount of information may be obtained through this analysis, coders should be ready to record/describe any all content units. Whenever possible, quote themes.

5. Categories: Through previous data, it has been determined that three categories are useful in analyzing organized religion:

A. Structural: The organizational nature of the specific organized religious group. Traditionally a distinction has been made between churches, denominations, sects, and cults. (Churches are thought to be formalized, highly structured and usually associated with hierarchic-type power structure. An example is the Catholic church. Denominations are less structured usually characterized by local government i.e. church boards, elders. Examples are: Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal and Lutheran. Sects are characterized as gaining members by conversion, little emphasis of a formal order of worship, and strict behavioral codes for its members. Examples are Apostolic, Holiness, etc. Cults are loosely organized usually non-Western groups often espousing complete withdrawal from a society). Authoritative/nonauthoritative (does the church tell the members what to do, how to act, etc.), defensive communication climate/supportive communication climate (do the members feel they have the opportunity to express themselves or are they intimidated by the organized church).

B. Ideological: The belief factor. Traditional scales are inner direction/outer direction (the concern for internal purity or external works or actions as signs of dedication), orthodox/unorthodox (ritualistic or unritualistic), traditional/progressive, liberal/conservative, logical/emotional, fundamentalist/liberal.

C. Instrumental: The effect factor. Such scales as social concern/individual concern (does the dedicated believer pursue social concerns i.e. poverty,
APPENDIX D (continued)

war, hunger, to show the effect of his religion or
does he seek higher spiritual states through medi­
tation as his true sign of religiosity), this
worldly/other worldly (is his perspective focused
on earthly matters as a result of his religion or
on heavenly), attitude/action (does the religion
lead him to the doing of deeds or toward the at­
taining of a more positive, devoted attitude).

D. Miscellaneous: If you have difficulty assigning a
particular unit to a category, record the unit and
all other relevant information under this category
and it will be appropriated at a later date by the
project director.

6. Call Paul Keckley for coding information...471-6659.

7. So that this analysis may generate the most informa­
tion, each coder will be provided with a casette re­
corder to record his/her reactions to the content
deemed appropriate. This is best accomplished at com­
ercial break times. Also, coders should record the
audio portion of any program that he/she feels is es­
pecially relevant to the subject of this research.
More instruction will be given in this regard.

8. CODING SCHEDULE:

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<tr>
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<td>Sunday, April 28</td>
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APPENDIX D (continued)

9. MEETING OF ALL CODERS AT 8:00 am, MONDAY, APRIL 29 IN DERBY 205 CONFERENCE RM. YOU MUST BE THERE—NO EXCEPTIONS.

10. Consult the attached agenda for the specific programs you will be viewing as per the schedule above.

NOTE: These instructions were distributed to the coders on Thursday evening, April 18 at which time they were explained and coding practice supervised.

CODING SCHEDULE

Monday, April 22 - Sunday, April 28

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<td>Monday 4/22</td>
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<td>9 &quot;Three in One&quot; M</td>
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<td>9 &quot;Arrowhead&quot; M</td>
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<td>(Coders 4,5,6)</td>
<td>(Coders 7,8,9)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tuesday 4/23</td>
<td>8 &quot;Adam-12&quot;</td>
<td>8 &quot;Happy Days&quot;</td>
<td>8 &quot;Maude&quot;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>8:30 &quot;Snoop Sisters&quot;</td>
<td>8:30 &quot;Planet Earth&quot; M</td>
<td>8:30 &quot;Hawaii Five-O&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 &quot;Police Story&quot;</td>
<td>10 &quot;Marcus Welby&quot;</td>
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<td>(Coders 4,7,5)</td>
<td>(Coders 1,8,9)</td>
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<td>Wednesday 4/24</td>
<td>8 &quot;Chase&quot;</td>
<td>9 &quot;Wedding Band&quot; M</td>
<td>9 &quot;Cannon&quot;</td>
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<td>9 &quot;Mirage&quot; M</td>
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<td>10 &quot;Kojak&quot;</td>
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<td>8 &quot;Chopper One&quot;</td>
<td>8 &quot;The Waltons&quot;</td>
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<td>9 &quot;Kung-Fu&quot;</td>
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<td>8 &quot;Dirty Sally&quot;</td>
<td>8:30 &quot;Six Million Dollar Man&quot;</td>
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<td>8:30 &quot;Good Times&quot;</td>
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<td><strong>Saturday</strong> 4/27</td>
<td>8 &quot;Emergency&quot;</td>
<td>8 &quot;Partridge Family&quot;</td>
<td>8 &quot;All in the Family&quot;</td>
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<td>9 &quot;Manchurian Candidate&quot; M</td>
<td>9 &quot;Partridge Family&quot;</td>
<td>9 &quot;Mary Tyler Moore&quot;</td>
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<td>9:30 &quot;Bob Newhart&quot;</td>
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<td>7:30 &quot;FBI&quot;</td>
<td>7:30 &quot;Apple's Way&quot;</td>
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<td>8:30 Movie</td>
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<td>(Coders 1,5,9)</td>
<td>(Coders 2,6,7)</td>
<td>9:30 &quot;Barnaby Jones&quot;</td>
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<td>(Coders 1,5,9)</td>
<td>(Coders 2,6,7)</td>
<td>(Coders 3,4,8)</td>
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APPENDIX E

CODING DATA

Category classification of units

1. Structural Units . . . 17

a. "Adam-12"--Catholic cathedral setting
b. "Snoop Sisters"--Protestant minister conducted funeral service
c. "Snoop Sisters"--cemetery crosses
d. "Marcus Welby"--Catholic hospital setting
e. "Happy Days"--black Protestant minister conducted wedding ceremony
f. "Planet Earth"--man holding cross
g. "Wedding Band"--Protestant prayer meeting with hymn-singing
h. "Wedding Band"--Herman to mother re: Lucy "Lucy will probably meet a First Baptist and not a tycoon."
i. "Wedding Band"--rundown black Baptist church setting; hymns, folding chairs, dingy walls, old people predominant
j. "Kojak"--"Maybe the Pope smokes grass."
k. "Kung Fu"--eastern Oriental sect depicted as background of Caine
l. "Waltons"--grandma mentioned Baptist heritage of family
m. "Mash"--Catholic priest depicted in various activities i.e. watching a movie, performing a wedding ceremony
n. "Mash"--Hawkeye commented that "the cook used to be an altar boy."
o. "Macmillan and Wife"--Satanic cult setting for drama; worship activities depicted
p. "Macmillan and Wife"--Satanic symbols depicted
q. "Barnaby Jones"--"that lady doctor's a Quaker. That's like being a bloody nun."
APPENDIX E (continued)

2. Ideological Units . . . 29

a. "Bobby Parker and Company"—sign on doctor's office door, "Honor thy Father and Mother."
b. "Gunsmoke"—Festus: "The Almighty put some things on earth so man could eat."
d. "Arrowhead"—Charlton Heston as Brannon: "Did you hear the singing of the wise men?"
e. "Arrowhead"—Toriano: (Son of the Indian Chief) "The Great One put us on earth first."
f. "Snoop Sisters"—Protestant minister at funeral "Beloved friends we are here today to pay our last respects to one who has passed from us into a better world."
g. "Snoop Sisters"—Protestant minister at same funeral frequently referred the grievers to accept the concept of eternal life (the viewer hears the minister's remarks while the camera follows the Snoop Sisters' eyes as they pan the assembly for suspicious-looking persons).
h. "Marcus Welby"—in his clinic home, Welby discussed the pending marriage of his young female patient. (Coders indicated that she spoke of her upcoming 'big church wedding with great excitement and that Welby nodded reinforcement).
i. "Happy Days"—a traditional wedding sermon stressing what 'God hath joined together' spoken by a black Protestant minister.
j. "Planet Earth"—man was depicted praying for the release of one of his friends from the captivity of the female war-lords (The coders felt that the symbol of the cross in the context of the science-fiction program warranted coding).
k. "Maude"—at one point, Maude exclaimed, "God please let her (her daughter) bring home a new husband." (The coders indicated that the statement was relevant because earlier in the program she had identified herself as a Catholic and now she was speaking callously using the expletive 'God').
1. "Wedding Band"—the new bride explained her recent dissonance as a sign from God that she had erred and going to hell as a result.

m. "Wedding Band"—a little girl commented that "Jesus is the President of Philadelphia" (The coders explained that throughout the program, the element of fundamentalist-style religion affects the perceptions of all the characters in the immediate family of the female lead).

n. "Kojak"—graffiti on wall behind Kojak "Jesus saves! Repent! The end is near!" (The statement itself is definitely a fundamentalist scenario. The coders indicated that the cameras zoomed in on the graffiti before fading to black thereby calling the audience's attention to the thought. Two of the coders commented that the statement sounded like something a religious fanatic might utter.).

o. "Ironside"—Protestant minister conducted the funeral of a slain police officer. (Coders consistently indicated that scenes such as weddings and funerals are distinctly church oriented).

p. "Kung Fu"—Caine continually attests to his religious heritage as a priest of an Oriental cult through periodic flashbacks to his training in the cult as "Grasshopper" and through his frequent recall or the moralisms gathered there.

q. "Walton's"—before every meal the entire family bows in a prayer of thanksgiving for their food.

r. "Walton's"—John Boy read a poem about human relations quoting "earth to heaven"

s. "Walton's"—Mother: "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone!"

t. "Dirty Sally"—Dirty Sally: "Lord, maybe I'm just getting old and suspicious!"

u. "Emergency"—couple's new baby born with a cleft palate and wife blamed God for punishing her; woman depicted as coming from a religious home.
v. "All in the Family"—Edith had been encouraging Archie to accomplish several house chores. Archie replied "Sunday is a day of rest." Overhearing, the dialogue Michael replied: "Sunday is a day of allerest." The audience laughed vigorously in reaction to the statement. (The coders included this exchange commenting that it was ironic that Archie, whose wife is depicted as a devout Catholic and he himself as a pious bigot, should retort with such a statement. The response by Michael connoted that Sunday was a day when people like his mother-in-law go to mass only to be put to sleep by the irrelevance of the service.).

w. "All in the Family"—Archie's friend, the mortician observed: "When loved ones go to their eternal rest, Whitehead funerals do their very best." (The mortician's response came at a point in the plot where Edith and Archie were contemplating the costs of a funeral vs. the necessity of having one. The coders, again indicated that the Western tradition of the funeral is a manifestation of the influence of the church.).

x. "All in the Family"—Mike called himself an atheist

y. "Macmillan and Wife"—"Satanism is a form of worship, nothing more!"

z. "Macmillan and Wife"—"Belief in the reincarnation is a principal tenet of Satanism."

a. "Macmillan and Wife"—"Worship of the devil was man's first religion."

b. "Mannix"—A blind thief when apprehended described stolen jewels as "beautiful as God's light."

c. "Barnaby Jones"—Murphy singing "Onward Christian Soldiers."

3. Instrumental Units . . . 11

a. "Gunsmoke"—Billy taught preservation of life angered by Festus' killing of game for food

b. "Arrowhead"—Brannon, played by Charlton Heston, depicted as courageous as characteristic of Indian moral training
c. "Snoop Sisters"—Funeral service depicted that people attending believed in the institution of the funeral.

d. "Wedding Band"—Set in the early twentieth-century South wherein the tenor of behavior motivation was the church. The traditional black Baptist church had great influence on behavior of its members.

e. "Kung Fu"—Caine's oriental sectarian backdrop continually influences his behavior.

f. "Walton's"—Strong family unit and Baptist heritage lend themselves to prayer at dinner table and in times of stress.

g. "Dirty Sally"—Her rustic nature is permeated by references to God and what He would have her do.

h. "M.A.S.H."—A major character in the series is a Catholic chaplain whose week-to-week escapades lend themselves to the image of his function as the unofficial negotiator in times of misunderstanding and the role of social chairman for the camp. Frequently, he is shown to be easily misled and excessively naive.

i. "M.A.S.H."—Frank is pious, religious, and hypocritical.

j. "All in the Family"—Edith places great faith in the church; Archie does not.

k. "Macmillan and Wife"—In this particular segment, a priest of the Satanic cult was motivated by his religious conviction to kidnap Sally and offer her as a sacrifice to the Devil.
APPENDIX F

In What Type Programming Would You Expect to Find Information About Organized Religion?

Coder One: "It seems to me that one might expect to retrieve information about organized religion in two types of situations: either it is used in its traditional stance of weddings, funerals etc. in programs of the crime-adventure sort or it is used as a moral factor in family type programming i.e. "The Walton's".

Coder Two: "Throughout the week I began to expect to find information about organized religion in programs usually thought of as family-type and usually aired between 8 and 9 pm."

Coder Three: "I would say that, as a general rule, one would not expect to find this type of information confined to a particular type of program. It infiltrates all programming because religion is a part of every aspect of life. In programs designed for family viewing, it was apparent that religion was treated more directly; in most programming, however, it is treated as an element in the overall social
context. For instance, when Joe Mannix killed a man in self-defense, he attended the man's funeral so as to gather clues as to why the victim had attacked him in the first place. The funeral was being conducted by a priest, presumably Catholic. The viewer is introduced to the setting as the mourners and friends of the deceased were hearing the concluding graveside remarks of the clergyman. Mannix pans the small gathering as the group begins to disperse. What information there is about organized religion is only contained at the level of indirect observation -- the producer probably did not intend for the viewer to infer anything about religion, organized or otherwise. So, information about organized religion is probably going to be found in every type of programming but highlighted in few if any."

Coder Four: "I found most information about organized religion in two types of programs: value-oriented programs like "All in the Family" and programs wherein organized religion provides the backstop for the action."

Coder Six: "Any program which possesses a moralistic flavor will inevitably contain information about organized religion -- after all, the church has traditionally provided moral incentive which programs like "The Waltons," "All in the Family," and "Maude" portray."
Coder Seven: "One might expect to find information about organized religion in any program which aims at the realism of daily life. Sometimes this information will be directly involved in the course of events. At other times the information is only marginally related to the plot. It might be argued that those programs which confront social values i.e. "All in the Family" will contain more information in this regard."

Coder Eight: "I would expect to find information about organized religion in programs whose flavor is moralistic."

Coder Nine: "Information about organized religion is sprinkled throughout all types of prime time fictional dramatic programming. I would think it more applicable to programs designed as human interest as opposed to detective type crime drama."
**APPENDIX G**


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APPENDIX H

What Specific Organized Religious Group(s) Are Treated in Prime Time Television Drama?

[Identify the Type (Church, Denomination, Sect, and Cult) and the Group (Roman Catholic, Lutheran, etc.)]

Coder One: I think the only predictable groups are the Roman Catholic Church (a church) and any of a number of religious cults. Usually these cults will be depicted as a group of deviants, religious fanatics, or perverts.

Coder Two: The Roman Catholic Church comes to mind first, second I would expect to view programs that were very fundamentalist (denominational) and finally, several cults such as the one Caine discipled (Kung Fu) would be seen.

Coder Three: In order of how I would expect to see them in terms of volume: churches, cults, denominations, and sects. Specific groups would be Roman Catholic, then the Baptist Church.

Coder Four: I guess the Roman Catholic church gets the
most coverage and Judaism the least if any. Close behind the Catholic Church I would expect to see material from any one of the cults especially as "The Exorcist" has made Satanic cults so fashionable.

Coder Five: Well, obviously the Catholic Church gets the most coverage -- after it I really don't know.

Coder Six: The programming I viewed accentuated two groups the Baptist Church and the Roman Catholic Church. After them, Satan cults get good exposure while sects and the whole Jewish religion is omitted completely.

Coder Seven: First the Catholic Church (church) then a general fundamentalist-conservative type church (denomination). All the others are pretty much left out.

Coder Eight: In order, they would be Churches (especially the Roman Catholic) denominations (especially Baptist) then cults, then sects. I don't know where the Jews fit into this scheme but they are left out completely.

Coder Nine: Roman Catholic first, any denomination that is very conservative second and then almost anything except Judaism.
APPENDIX I

What is the Image of Organized Religion in Prime Time Television Drama?

Coder One: "Essentially Catholic in terms of nonverbal symbols but Protestant by its conservative and fundamentalist theology. Moreover it is irrelevant to positive behavior though sometimes the stimulous for deviant behavior."

Coder Two: Organized religion in prime time television is basically (1) fundamentalistic as opposed to a liberal theology (2) church oriented as opposed to sect, and (3) nonverbally symbolic.

Coder Three: I would say that organized religions image is characterized by a philosophical system rather than as a way of life. By this I mean that religion is used in television programs more as a system of thought occasionally revealed through particular words or actions as opposed to a system of actions i.e. a set of rules about one's behaviors. Secondly, I think organized religion itself is treated as a mechanism of status quo reinforcement and perpetuation. I believe this reveals an image dimension which may be
called traditional, and would suggest that the frequent use of wedding and funeral functions substantiate this image. Finally, I believe organized religion's image in television is irrelevant essentially on the basis of the two dimensions explained earlier.

Coder Four: "Organized religion in television seems to be traditional in form and structure, conservative in its ideology, and unimportant as far as its influence on the attitudes and actions of the people involved in the plot."

Coder Five: I would have a difficult time identifying the dimensions of the image of organized religion in television drama were it not for the insights I have gained this past week. First, it is not important to the plot . . . Secondly, most of the time it is used by the program as a way of stamping status quo values on the public for instance the many cases where love between two people was presented as legitimate only when marriage is the result. Here the symbol of the church is used to step in and apply the institutional sanction to the union . . . This leads me to believe that the image is negative, especially if a viewer like me is negative toward organized religion in the first place.

Coder Six: I think organized religion is not treated
either positively or negatively but neutrally. However, it did seem to me that religion is presented rather conservatively but constructively so as to associate church attendance and the practice of prayer with the good guys like "Dirty Sally" and "John Boy."

Coder Seven: "Organized religion in television to me seems to come across as old-fashioned and very traditional. The very fact that so often it is associated with weddings or funerals makes me believe that it use is to present a picture of society at least as it was several years ago. I was particularly sensitive to the over-play on the Catholic Church. As you have mentioned on occasion of discussions in your office Paul, the Catholic Church is having problems getting people to come to mass and participate in local parish projects. I know that several of my friends reject the Vatican's stand on birth control and abortion -- why does this view of the Catholic Church not come through. At any rate, I don't think organized religion is used in any program in an offensive way excepting people are members of organized religious cults. They always seem to be treated as wierdo's."

Coder Eight: "In my opinion, organized religion has no image in prime time drama -- at least for most viewers."
APPENDIX I (continued)

According to my coding structurally, the image is definitely Catholic or Protestant; ideologically, the image is conservative or fundamental; and influentially, it is negatively related to the behavior of the people."

Coder Nine: "I was really surprised at how traditional organized religion was depicted, especially the many instances of prayer, funerals, and weddings. A very conservative theology is evident in the overall programming but it seems that the only visible effect on the part of the people involved in the organized religious activities is their lip-service to the existence of God and a concept of eternal life."
APPENDIX J

Transcript of Interview with Dr. Russell Dynes, Professor of Religious Sociology at The Ohio State University, Conducted Thursday, May 16 at the Faculty Club of The Ohio State University.

[Following discussion of recent developments in the field of the sociology of religion, the writer proceeded to ask for Professor Dynes' comments on several questions and apparent conclusions drawn from this study.]

Keckley: I have a couple of questions. First of all, How is organized religion treated in television programming usually not thought of as religious programming?

Dynes: Well, I think you are talking about programming, the whole range from dramas to "talk" shows to situation comedies. The question is how is it treated generally not thought of in terms of organized religion -- is that your question?

Keckley: The concept of organized religion: how is it treated?

Dynes: Well, there are probably two of them: one is a symbolic way, the use of simple fictional characters, and the other is also used as a setting for a particular person -- i.e. the church is a setting for something that is really only intangibly related. The bank robber pulls up at church or something like that.
APPENDIX J (continued)

Keckley: The soldier comes in to pray his last prayer.

Dynes: Right. Of course, the other thing is when you would have simply a verbal reference.

Keckley: I would like your reaction to this situation. The other night on the Johnny Carson Show there was a girl (Joanne Flug). As soon as she came out on the set, Carson asked what she had been doing. She responded that she had met a fellow, a Jesus freak. One thing led to another and I was baptized in Pat Boone's swimming pool. She went on at some length to explain with great exuberance the change that her new-found faith had brought about in her own life. It was very obvious that Carson was not going to talk about this topic. He quickly changed the direction of the dialogue by asking her about her latest movie. How does this strike you?

Dynes: Well, I feel it is fairly common among talk shows. The host will steer guests -- that is not necessarily true of all talk shows like Dick Cavett or the Tomorrow program. On conventional talk shows, other than classic references (to religion), when someone gets into a more detailed description it causes the host to become uncomfortable. Obviously, the climate set by the host will determine whether
the topic will be discussed or not.

Keckley: We often say that religion and politics are two things on which no two people agree.

Dynes: Another dimension to this situation, although I had never thought of it this way before, is the degree of intensity with which the guest is talking. Her intensity probably bothered Carson. If she had described it matter of factly, it might have gone on.

Keckley: Do you feel that some religious groups are more favorably treated as far as television programming is concerned?

Dynes: To a certain extent, the Protestants might get somewhat worse treatment. Our country has an image of an evangelist as a con-man -- the Catholic church has no parallel for the evangelist. There is a degree of skepticism of commitment in the Protestant realm particularly in terms of some religious leaders and in part because of the traditional antiblack segregationist stance they have supposedly taken.

Keckley: Brings to my mind the recent popularity of Marjoe as a dramatic actor. In fact, someone told me recently that he is appearing on campuses as a lecturer. From what I read, he is explaining the
techniques he used as an evangelist and then suggesting that his new ministry is in the realm of social action. It's a very interesting case study.

Dynes: Yes, I think Marjoe might exemplify what people might sometimes suspect: the Gantry's, the Armstrong's. There is an element of distrust in terms of Protestants. That would be my impression. Part of it relates to the nature of authority within various churches. The Catholic priest holds institutional authority; the Protestant minister has charismatic authority.

Keckley: So you're saying that the Protestant minister's role is defined more by the personality of the individual than by the organization of the church itself.

Dynes: Right.

Keckley: Let me bounce several hypotheses off you and see what your reaction is. These are several which I have developed in the course of my work on the dissertation. First, in television drama symbolic information regarding organized religion is gained through church-type structures as opposed to denominations, sects, and cults.

Dynes: Yes, primarily because there is a richer symbolic
life in the Catholic church. The Church of Christ is a good example of a poor symbolic life. If you strip symbolism there is nothing left with which to identify. Both Catholicism and Judaism have rich liturgical symbolism.

Keckley: Via symbolic information, Catholicism is given more treatment but not necessarily more favorable treatment in prime time television programming.

Dynes: Here is where another dimension of the radio and television industry -- the whole question of the background and experiences of the decision-makers in the production departments. I would guess that a fairly high percentage of these folks, especially the writers of the various series, are either Catholic or Catholic sympathizers. Then there are several who probably have no organized religious background and, therefore, view all organized religion in terms of the most visible of them all, the Catholic church. Our experiences, our socialization has a lot to do with the way we view the world. These production people who were raised in an urban background are probably more familiar with either Catholic or Jewish symbolism. What puzzles me, now that I think about it, is why the drought as far as
Jewish symbolism on TV. Maybe it all goes back to the old Sid Caesar show. I don't know. My best explanation would be that since Jewish symbolism is rather private and since the religion itself is relatively closed as far as conversions are concerned, writers and production people would have to be Jewish or be married to a Jew in order to write from this perspective.

Keckley: Would you comment on the statement that we would get more information about organized religion via visual cues as opposed to verbal cues.

Dynes: Well, I think there may be some generational differences. It seems to me that many people favor a primarily symbolic visual world, particularly younger people. Youth may respond to nonverbal symbolic cues more than older people. There has been so much emphasis on visual images, mainly through television and movies. You even find in teaching greater emphasis placed on symbolic images -- words aren't enough. As a culture, we are almost symbolically spoiled, particularly in terms of younger people. There may be one catch -- very often people may have an incorrect conception of symbols they are not familiar with. Young people perhaps more
respond ecstatically to symbols rather than to content. This is a side issue, but there are even some differences between American Catholicism and Catholicism in other countries. I suppose an interesting conclusion here would be that American religious life is rich in symbolism, but whether it communicates religious meaning -- I'm not sure!

Keckley: The more value oriented (moralistic) the program, the more polarized the statements including those about the concept of organized religion -- would you comment on this?

Dynes: Well, I would only say that I agree with the statement because the underlying assumption is logical. That is, when you start talking morals and ethics you will get around to some sort of religious philosophy. Obviously statements of opinion will be positive or negative.

Keckley: Seldom, if ever, is organized religion treated as a direct stimulus leading to a specific behavioral response. In other words, can I ever associate somebody's behavior (in a television drama) with his/her religious conviction?

Dynes: I think there is a certain instrumental element which pervades a lot of the television programming.
Of course, there will be instances but they will be infrequent and probably not the same type of reaction consistently. If the church was shown affecting people the same way all the time people would get tired of the program just like they get tired of the same type preacher program every Sunday morning on TV.

Keckley: The image of organized religion in prime time television is essentially fundamentalist in terms of its ideology.

Dynes: I would be afraid to comment on this except to react that I'm a little surprised, especially since so much of the information about organized religion is Catholic-oriented. If fundamentalism as you are using it means belief in a tri-une deity, in the Bible as the inspired word of God, and in eternal life then I think the idea is plausible. I'll withhold final judgement until I read your dissertation. How's that for an escape!

Keckley: I know you have a 2:00 p.m. appointment so I'll not detain you. I am very grateful for your cooperation and time. Thank you.
APPENDIX K

Prime Time Television Programs and Producers for the 1973-74 Season (Excepting Feature Movie Productions and News Programs)

Monday
- **ABC**
  - The Rookies (Spelling-Goldman Productions)
- **CBS**
  - Gunsmoke (CBS-TV)
  - Here's Lucy (Lucille Ball Productions)
  - The New Dick Van Dyke Show (Cave Creek Enterprises)
  - Medical Center (Alfa Productions)
- **NBC**
  - Lotsa Luck (Concept II Productions)
  - Diana (Talent Associates, Norton Simon Incorporated)

Tuesday
- **ABC**
  - New Temperatures Rising Show (Screen Gems)
  - Marcus Welby, M.D. (Universal TV)
- **CBS**
  - Maude (Tandem Productions)
  - Hawaii Five-O (Leonard Freedman Productions)
- **NBC**
  - Chase (Mark VII Limited)
  - The Magician (Paramount)
  - Police Story (David Gerber Productions)

Wednesday
- **ABC**
  - Bob and Carol and Ted and Alice (Screen Gems)
  - Owen Marshall: Counselor at Law (Groverton)
- **CBS**
  - Sonny and Cher Comedy Hour (Blyke-Beard Productions)
  - Cannon (QM Productions)
  - Kojak (Universal TV)
- **NBC**
  - Adam-12 (Mark VII Limited)
  - Love Story (Paramount TV)

Thursday
- **ABC**
  - Toma (Universal TV; Public Arts Incorporated)
  - Kung-Fu (Warner Brothers TV)
  - Streets of San Francisco (QM Productions)
- **CBS**
  - The Waltons (Loriman Productions)
- **NBC**
  - Flip Wilson (Clerow Productions)
  - Ironside (Harbour Productions)
  - NBC Follies (NBC-TV)
## APPENDIX K (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Network</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Production Company</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Brady Bunch</td>
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<td>Odd Couple</td>
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<td>Room 222</td>
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<td>Adam's Rib</td>
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<td>Love, American Style</td>
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<td>Sullivan Productions</td>
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<td>Roll Out</td>
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<td></td>
<td>NBC</td>
<td>Sanford and Son</td>
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<td>Girl with Something Extra</td>
<td>Thornhill Productions</td>
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<td>Needles and Pins</td>
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<td>Brian Keith Show</td>
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<td>Dean Martin Comedy Hour</td>
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<td>Saturday</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Partridge Family</td>
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<td>CBS</td>
<td>All in the Family</td>
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<td>M.A.S.H.</td>
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<td>Emergency</td>
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<td>Sunday</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<td>NBC</td>
<td>Wonderful World of Disney</td>
<td>Walt Disney Productions</td>
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APPENDIX L

Producers for Prime Time Television Programs for
1973-74 (Less Feature Movies and News Productions)

Spelling Goldman
CBS-TV
Lucille Ball Productions
Cave Creek Productions
Alfa Productions
Concept II Productions
Talent Associates
Screen Gems
Universal TV
Tandem Productions
Leonard Freedman
Mark VII Limites
Paramount TV
David Gerber Productions
Groverton
Blye-Beard Productions
QM Productions
Warner Brothers TV
Loriman Productions
Clerow Productions
Harbour Productions
NBC-TV
Redwood Productions
Gene Reynolds Productions
Bud Yorkin-Norman Lear Productions
Claude Productions
MTM Enterprises
Punkin Productions
Paisano Productions
Walt Disney Productions