

Appendices

Appendix A: Content analysis methods

Sample Identification

The research team identified immigrant characters and their U.S.-born children through online secondary research, keyword-based script searches, and previously coded immigrant characters from past rounds of research.¹ Immigrant characters were defined as foreign-born individuals who are physically in the United States with the intent of staying in the country. Characters visiting the country on vacation or business were not included.

Scripted narrative TV series were selected for inclusion if they featured at least one immigrant character in an episode during the study timeframe: July 1, 2023–June 30, 2025. The children of immigrant characters — defined as U.S.-born offspring of the immigrant parents in our sample— were also included if they appeared in at least one episode during the study period. TV shows that were primarily set outside of the U.S., in science fiction/fantasy universes,² or in the past or future were excluded from our analysis.³

Episodes were selected by identifying the first episode in which an immigrant or child of immigrant character appeared during the timeframe — with preference given to episodes featuring a higher number of immigrant characters. In cases where an identified character appeared, but did not have a speaking role, online secondary research was used to find a replacement episode in which the character plays a more prominent role. If they did not have a speaking role entirely or were uncredited on IMDb, they were eliminated from our sample.

1. Online secondary research sources included news outlets and trade publications (Variety, Hollywood Reporter), as well as fandom and aggregator sites (Wikipedia, Fandom, IMDb Pro). The following immigration-based keywords were used to search Google News, as well as the Springfield script database to identify relevant characters: immigrant, asylum, refugee, undocumented, deported, deportation, border, illegal alien, and citizen.

2. Science fiction or fantasy universes were defined as made-up storyworlds, oftentimes with mythical or superhuman creatures. For example, the immigrant vampire characters from *What We Do in the Shadows* were excluded from this analysis. However, some fictional places, such as Springfield in *The Simpsons* or Gotham in *The Penguin*, were included on the premise that they are based on actual cities with presumed U.S. immigration policy.

3. Shows in the past were defined as those set before the year 2000. In scenarios where a show flashes back and forth between the present, past, and/or future, a case-by-case decision was made as to the primary time setting of the show and whether to include.

Coding Procedure

Content analysis was conducted by trained graduate and undergraduate coders using a structured codebook developed for this study. Coders completed a multi-week training process that included orientation to the codebook, practice coding, and group discussion of discrepancies. The codebook included episode-level variables and character-level variables.

Episode-level variables included series information, setting, and the presence of immigrant characters. These variables were pre-coded by a subset of student coders using secondary research, and verified by Lear Center researchers. As there was no room for variability in these responses, we did not calculate inter-rater reliability.

Character-level variables captured demographics, immigration status, occupation, education, language use, encounters with immigration enforcement, criminalization, and experiences of violence. A majority of these variables were coded by viewing the content, and for those variables we calculated inter-rater reliability (see Appendix D). A smaller subset of these variables were coded through secondary research and verified by Lear Center researchers, and as such, we did not calculate inter-rater reliability for these. These variables include gender, disability, LGBTQ+ status, immigration status, and languages spoken.

Some variables did not achieve reliability, mostly because they rarely, if ever, appeared within our sampled content. These variables were dropped from analysis and include encounters with immigration enforcement outside of ICE or Border Patrol jurisdiction, engaging in sham marriages to attain a visa, marijuana use, alcohol use, and whether current or previous incarceration was specifically related to immigration status.

Reliability

We selected a subset of episodes and characters for double-coding, representative of 10% of our overall character sample, for use in calculating inter-rater reliability using Cohen's Kappa. A Kappa value of 0.60 or higher was considered acceptable. Variables with inadequate reliability were excluded from analysis.

Appendix B: Content Analysis Reliability

Interrater Reliability (Cohen's Kappa) values are shown in the tables below. A Kappa value above 0.60 is considered acceptable.

Variable	Reliability Score
Role Size	0.91
Race	0.81
Age	0.93
Class	0.87
Education	0.87
Occupation	0.83
Parental status	0.88
Interaction with ICE/CBP	0.83
Immigration raid	0.87
Threatened enforcement	0.90
Crime	0.89
Substance use	0.83
Drug dealing	0.85
Physical violence (perp)	0.91
Verbal violence (perp)	0.83
Vandalism (perp)	0.82
Physical violence (vic)	0.90
Verbal violence (vic)	0.84
Vandalism (vic)	0.78
Sexual violence (vic)	0.83
Identity struggle	0.85
Bridge cultures	0.82
Model minority pressure	0.87

Appendix C: Content Analysis

List of Shows and Episodes

TV Series	Season	Episode #	Episode Name
#1 Happy Family USA	1	1	NINE TEN
9 - 1 - 1	7	5	You Don't Know Me
911: Lone Star	5	10	All Who Wander
Acapulco	3	1	Just the Two of Us
Adults	1	1	Pilot
And Just Like That...	2	7	February 14th
Beauty in Black	1	5	Unraveling Threads
Bob Hearts Abishola	5	3	The Devil's Hot Tub
Bob Hearts Abishola	5	8	My Michelle Obama
Bob Hearts Abishola	5	1	The Dead Eyes of a Respectful Son
Brilliant Minds	1	2	The Bodiless Woman
Chicago Fire	12	6	Port in the Storm
Chicago Med	9	7	Step on a Crack and Break Your Mother's Back
Chicago Med	9	4	These are not the Droids You are Looking for
Cobra Kai	6	2	The Prize
Cobra Kai	6	1	Peacetime in the Valley
Countdown	1	3	Happy Birthday Final
CSI: Vegas	3	1	The Reaper
Deli Boys	1	3	Delhi Boys
FBI	6	5	Sacrifice
FBI	7	11	Shelter
FBI: Most Wanted	6	21	Souls on ICE
Fear The Walking Dead	8	7	Anton
Found	2	15	Missing While Seeking Asylum
Good American Family	1	1	Almost Like a Prayer
Grey's Anatomy	20	9	I Carry Your Heart
Happy's Place	1	1	Pilot
High Potential	1	10	Chutes and Murders
How I Met Your Father	2	18	Parent Trap
Interior Chinatown	1	1	Generic Asian Man
Interior Chinatown	1	4	Kung Fu Guy
Killing It	2	1	What You Sow
Law & Order	24	19	Play with Fire Part 1
Law & Order: Organized Crime	4	5	Missing Persons
Law & Order: SVU	25	1	Tunnel Blind
Magnum P.I.	5	11	Hit and Run

<i>Matlock</i>	1	16	The Johnson Case
<i>Matlock</i>	1	12	This is That Moment
<i>Mo</i>	2	3	Yes Chef, No Chef
<i>Mo</i>	2	7	Field of Dreams
<i>Mo</i>	2	8	A Call from God
<i>Mo</i>	2	2	Gone Fishing
<i>NCIS</i>	21	1	Algun Dia
<i>Nobody Wants This</i>	1	2	A Shiksa Walks Into a Temple
<i>Outer Banks</i>	4	1	The Enduro
<i>Parish</i>	1	5	Kumba
<i>Parish</i>	1	6	A Good Man
<i>Run the World</i>	2	7	A Rage in Harlem
<i>Special Ops: Lioness</i>	1	3	Bruise Like a Fist
<i>Special Ops: Lioness</i>	2	5	Shatter the Moon
<i>Station 19</i>	7	10	One Last Time
<i>Survival of the Thickest</i>	1	7	Let It Out, Bitch!
<i>The Bear</i>	3	3	Doors
<i>The Boys</i>	4	1	Department of Dirty Tricks
<i>The Brothers Sun</i>	1	2	Favor for a Favor
<i>The Brothers Sun</i>	1	1	Pilot
<i>The Changeling</i>	1	1	First Comes Love
<i>The Cleaning Lady</i>	3	7	Velorio
<i>The Cleaning Lady</i>	3	1	Arman
<i>The Four Seasons</i>	1	1	Lake House
<i>The Good Doctor</i>	7	1	Baby, Baby, Baby
<i>The Irrational</i>	2	4	Formal Ties
<i>The Irrational</i>	2	11	Ghost Ship
<i>The Lincoln Lawyer</i>	2	8	Covenants and Stipulations
<i>The Night Agent</i>	2	5	A Family Matter
<i>The Night Agent</i>	2	3	Government Property
<i>The Night Agent</i>	2	4	Desperate Measures
<i>The Penguin</i>	1	2	Inside Man
<i>The Penguin</i>	1	5	Homecoming
<i>The Pitt</i>	1	1	7:00 A.M.
<i>The Pradeeps of Pittsburgh</i>	1	1	Interrogation Log #1
<i>The Residence</i>	1	2	Dial M for Murder
<i>The Righteous Gemstones</i>	3	4	I Have Not Come to Bring Peace, But a Sword
<i>The Rookie</i>	6	2	The Hammer
<i>The Sex Lives of College Girls</i>	3	1	Welcome Back to Essex
<i>The Simpsons</i>	35	8	Ae Bonny Romance
<i>Tracker</i>	1	7	Chicago
<i>Tulsa King</i>	2	4	Heroes and Villains
<i>Watson</i>	1	1	Pilot
<i>Your Friends & Neighbors</i>	1	5	This Tourist Has Balls

Appendix D: Content Analysis

List of Characters

Character	TV Series	Immigrant or Child of Immigrant (COI)
Grandma	#1 Happy Family USA	Immigrant
Grandpa	#1 Happy Family USA	Immigrant
Uncle Ahmed	#1 Happy Family USA	Immigrant
Hussein Hussein	#1 Happy Family USA	Immigrant
Sharia Hussein	#1 Happy Family USA	Immigrant
Rumi Hussein	#1 Happy Family USA	COI
Mona Hussein	#1 Happy Family USA	COI
Howie 'Chimney' Han	9 - 1 - 1	Immigrant
Jee-Yun Buckley Han	9 - 1 - 1	COI
Waleed Marwani	911: Lone Star	Immigrant
Nasreen Marwani	911: Lone Star	Immigrant
Mateo Chavez	911: Lone Star	Immigrant
Marjan Marwani	911: Lone Star	COI
Maximo Gallardo Ramos	Acapulco	Immigrant
Paul Baker	Adults	Immigrant
Giuseppe	And Just Like That...	Immigrant
Angel	Beauty in Black	Immigrant
Chukwuemeka Mborata	Bob Hearts Abishola	Immigrant
Goodwin Olayiwola	Bob Hearts Abishola	Immigrant
Kemi	Bob Hearts Abishola	Immigrant
Kofo Olanipekun	Bob Hearts Abishola	Immigrant
Ogechi	Bob Hearts Abishola	Immigrant
Pastor Falade	Bob Hearts Abishola	Immigrant
Abishola Wheeler	Bob Hearts Abishola	Immigrant
Ebunoluwa Odegbami	Bob Hearts Abishola	Immigrant
Olu Olatunji	Bob Hearts Abishola	Immigrant
Tunde Olatunji	Bob Hearts Abishola	Immigrant
Dele	Bob Hearts Abishola	COI
Roman Fedorov (John Doe)	Brilliant Minds	Immigrant
Javi Cruz	Chicago Fire	Immigrant
Liliana Wapniarski	Chicago Med	Immigrant
Nellie Cuevas	Chicago Med	Immigrant
Carmen Diaz	Cobra Kai	Immigrant
Rosa Diaz	Cobra Kai	Immigrant
Miguel Diaz	Cobra Kai	COI
Borys Volchek	Countdown	Immigrant
Dmitry Kotov	Countdown	Immigrant

<i>Mikhail Durko</i>	<i>Countdown</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Timur Nabokov</i>	<i>Countdown</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Ahalya "Allie" Rajan</i>	<i>CSI: Vegas</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Arshad "Baba" Dar</i>	<i>Deli Boys</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Feraz Khan</i>	<i>Deli Boys</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Patika</i>	<i>Deli Boys</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Latika</i>	<i>Deli Boys</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Ahmad</i>	<i>Deli Boys</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Lucky Auntie (Navida)</i>	<i>Deli Boys</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Mir Dar</i>	<i>Deli Boys</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Raj Dar</i>	<i>Deli Boys</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Nandika</i>	<i>Deli Boys</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Maria Ramirez</i>	<i>FBI</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Hector Ramirez</i>	<i>FBI</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Emma (Maria's friend)</i>	<i>FBI</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Inés Madera</i>	<i>FBI</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Miguel (Inés's son)</i>	<i>FBI</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Nestor Cruz (El Diablo)</i>	<i>FBI</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Alonzo Alvarez</i>	<i>FBI: Most Wanted</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Miguel Morales</i>	<i>FBI: Most Wanted</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Maria Ayala</i>	<i>FBI: Most Wanted</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Eduardo Ayala</i>	<i>FBI: Most Wanted</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Winston LaRay</i>	<i>FBI: Most Wanted</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Francisco Perez</i>	<i>FBI: Most Wanted</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Daniel Salazar</i>	<i>Fear The Walking Dead</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Arsema</i>	<i>Found</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Adam Lawrence (prev. Johnson)</i>	<i>Found</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Lawrence Johnson</i>	<i>Found</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Enrico Teodoro (Teddy)</i>	<i>Found</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Alejandra Rojas</i>	<i>Found</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Natalia Grace</i>	<i>Good American Family</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Zola Grey Shepherd</i>	<i>Grey's Anatomy</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Steve</i>	<i>Happy's Place</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Oksana Petrov</i>	<i>High Potential</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Charlie Winthrop</i>	<i>How I Met Your Father</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Ellen</i>	<i>How I Met Your Father</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Sid</i>	<i>How I Met Your Father</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Joe Wu</i>	<i>Interior Chinatown</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Lily Wu</i>	<i>Interior Chinatown</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Nail Salon Co-Worker</i>	<i>Interior Chinatown</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Willis Wu</i>	<i>Interior Chinatown</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Jonathan Wu</i>	<i>Interior Chinatown</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Jillian Glupp</i>	<i>Killing It</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>

<i>Maria Recinos (aka 'Sofia')</i>	<i>Law & Order</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Ana Machado</i>	<i>Law & Order</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Carlos</i>	<i>Law & Order</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Edgar (Nephew of Gloria Ortega)</i>	<i>Law & Order</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Girl in Bedroom</i>	<i>Law & Order</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Rita Lasku</i>	<i>Law & Order: Organized Crime</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Joe Velasco</i>	<i>Law & Order: SVU</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Juliet Higgins</i>	<i>Magnum P.I.</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Isabel Sanchez</i>	<i>Matlock</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Paloma Deleon</i>	<i>Matlock</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Tenoch Cortez</i>	<i>Matlock</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Guy Rosen</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Nick's Mother (Ginika)</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Nick</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Nadia Najjar</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Bob Robinson</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Rhonda Modad</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Osama</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Mustafa Najjar</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Hameed</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Jorge</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Maria</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Mo Najjar</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Sameer Najjar</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>The Cat (Meow Man)</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Yusra Najjar</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Nicholas Torres</i>	<i>NCIS</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Aida Torres</i>	<i>NCIS</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Lucia Campbell</i>	<i>NCIS</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Marta De Leon</i>	<i>NCIS</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Reymundo De Leon</i>	<i>NCIS</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Bina Roklov</i>	<i>Nobody Wants This</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Ilan Roklov</i>	<i>Nobody Wants This</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Noah Roklov</i>	<i>Nobody Wants This</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Sasha Roklov</i>	<i>Nobody Wants This</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Cleo Anderson</i>	<i>Outer Banks</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Shamiso Tongai</i>	<i>Parish</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Shepherd Tongai</i>	<i>Parish</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Zenzo Tongai</i>	<i>Parish</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Tambu Moyo</i>	<i>Parish</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Luke Tongai</i>	<i>Parish</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Baba Tongai</i>	<i>Parish</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>

<i>Nyasha Mambo</i>	<i>Parish</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Ola</i>	<i>Run the World</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Phillip Houston</i>	<i>Run the World</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Kamal Al Rashdi</i>	<i>Special Ops: Lioness</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Ehsan Al Rashdi</i>	<i>Special Ops: Lioness</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Pablo Carrillo</i>	<i>Special Ops: Lioness</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Josephina "Josie" Carillo</i>	<i>Special Ops: Lioness</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Carina DeLuca</i>	<i>Station 19</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Andrea DeLuca-Bishop</i>	<i>Station 19</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Liam DeLuca-Bishop</i>	<i>Station 19</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Gianna DeLuca-Bishop</i>	<i>Station 19</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Emmanuel</i>	<i>Survival of the Thickest</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Loretta</i>	<i>Survival of the Thickest</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Luca</i>	<i>Survival of the Thickest</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Mavis Beaumont</i>	<i>Survival of the Thickest</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Ebraheim</i>	<i>The Bear</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Billy Butcher</i>	<i>The Boys</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Serge "Frenchie"</i>	<i>The Boys</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Kimiko Miyashiro</i>	<i>The Boys</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Klara Vought 'Stormfront'</i>	<i>The Boys</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Ryan Butcher</i>	<i>The Boys</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Alexis Kong</i>	<i>The Brothers Sun</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Bruce Sun</i>	<i>The Brothers Sun</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Charles Sun</i>	<i>The Brothers Sun</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Eileen 'Mama' Sun</i>	<i>The Brothers Sun</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Lillian Kagwa</i>	<i>The Changeling</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Apollo</i>	<i>The Changeling</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Jaz De La Rosa</i>	<i>The Cleaning Lady</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Chris De La Rosa</i>	<i>The Cleaning Lady</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Arman Morales</i>	<i>The Cleaning Lady</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Fiona De La Rosa</i>	<i>The Cleaning Lady</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Isabel Barsamian</i>	<i>The Cleaning Lady</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Luca De La Rosa</i>	<i>The Cleaning Lady</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Thony De La Rosa</i>	<i>The Cleaning Lady</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Claude</i>	<i>The Four Seasons</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Audrey Lim</i>	<i>The Good Doctor</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Cosmo</i>	<i>The Irrational</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Bruno Conti</i>	<i>The Irrational</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Matteo</i>	<i>The Irrational</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Yvette</i>	<i>The Irrational</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Vasia Dimitrius</i>	<i>The Irrational</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Nichol Velos</i>	<i>The Irrational</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Marco</i>	<i>The Irrational</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>

<i>Quan Le</i>	<i>The Irrational</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Bao Le</i>	<i>The Irrational</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Hieu</i>	<i>The Irrational</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Elena</i>	<i>The Lincoln Lawyer</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Mickey Haller</i>	<i>The Lincoln Lawyer</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Haleh</i>	<i>The Night Agent</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Azita Taheri</i>	<i>The Night Agent</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Bijan</i>	<i>The Night Agent</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Abbas Mansuri</i>	<i>The Night Agent</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Hamza</i>	<i>The Night Agent</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Javad Rahmani</i>	<i>The Night Agent</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Noor Taheri</i>	<i>The Night Agent</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Sloane Killory</i>	<i>The Night Agent</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Tomás Bala</i>	<i>The Night Agent</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Nadia Maroni</i>	<i>The Penguin</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Taj Maroni</i>	<i>The Penguin</i>	<i>COI</i>
<i>Minu</i>	<i>The Pitt</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Bhanu Pradeep</i>	<i>The Pradeeps of Pittsburgh</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Kamal Pradeep</i>	<i>The Pradeeps of Pittsburgh</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Mahesh Predeep</i>	<i>The Pradeeps of Pittsburgh</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Sudha Pradeep</i>	<i>The Pradeeps of Pittsburgh</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Vinod Pradeep</i>	<i>The Pradeeps of Pittsburgh</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Alden Tamridge</i>	<i>The Residence</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Martin Imari</i>	<i>The Righteous Gemstones</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Randy Spitz (Skip Tracer Randy)</i>	<i>The Rookie</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Taylor</i>	<i>The Sex Lives of College Girls</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Groundskeeper Willie</i>	<i>The Simpsons</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Sun Mai</i>	<i>Tracker</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Apple Mai</i>	<i>Tracker</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Jackie Ming</i>	<i>Tulsa King</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Dr. Sasha Lubbock</i>	<i>Watson</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Shinwell Johnson</i>	<i>Watson</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Elena Benavides</i>	<i>Your Friends & Neighbors</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Grace's Mother (Sandra)</i>	<i>Your Friends & Neighbors</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Grace's Father (Kwan)</i>	<i>Your Friends & Neighbors</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>
<i>Grace Choi</i>	<i>Your Friends & Neighbors</i>	<i>COI</i>

Appendix E: Survey Methodology

Sample

This study employed an experimental survey design to examine audience responses to a storyline from the Netflix series *Mo*. Survey recruitment and data collection were administered online by Pure Spectrum, and survey responses were collected via an online survey platform from December 22nd to 29th, 2025.

The total sample consisted of adult participants aged 18 and older residing in the United States. Quotas were used during recruitment to approximate U.S. census proportions for key demographic variables, including age, gender, and race/ethnicity. Completion monitoring by Pure Spectrum ensured that the two groups stayed balanced on these criteria. (See Quotas and Counts table on last page).

Procedure

Before entering the full survey, participants completed screening questions to determine eligibility. All participants were required to be at least 18 years old and living in the United States. Participants were also asked about their television viewing habits and access to streaming platforms in order to recruit a sample with sufficient familiarity with scripted television content, who had not previously watched *Mo*, but did have access to Netflix within the time period⁴ which the series was available for viewing.

Participants who met eligibility criteria were randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions:

- ✦ Immigration condition (n=520), in which participants viewed a video clip from *Mo* that included immigration-related narrative content after reading the following text making *Mo*'s immigration status explicit: In the next section, you will watch a video from the Netflix series "*Mo*." *Mo* Najjar is seeking asylum in the US with his family. After accidentally leaving the country, he struggles to return without documentation, misses an asylum hearing, and is placed under court supervision. He has also had a falling out with his girlfriend, Maria, after which they broke up. *Mo* seeks to make amends and invites her to Thanksgiving dinner.

4. *Mo* premiered in August of 2022, and remains available on Netflix as of current date (February of 2026) as per Internet Movie Database: See https://www.imdb.com/title/tt15875168/?ref_=fn_t_1 for series details and episode descriptions.

- ✦ Control condition (n=505), in which participants viewed a video clip from the same episode of *Mo* that did not include immigration-related narrative content after reading the following text: ***In the next section, you will watch a video from the Netflix series “Mo.” Mo Najjar has had a falling out with his girlfriend, Maria, after which they broke up. Mo seeks to make amends and invites her to Thanksgiving dinner.***

Random assignment and monitoring⁵ were used to ensure balanced demographic characteristics between conditions (See Quotas and Counts below).

Prior to viewing either clip, participants received standardized instructions regarding audio, screen settings, and attentiveness. Viewing time was controlled to ensure participants watched the full clip before proceeding.

To assess attention and narrative recall, participants were asked a series of recall questions about the clip they had just viewed. Participants were required to correctly answer a minimum number of recall questions in order to proceed with the survey. To ensure a clean dataset in which questions were answered mindfully and consistently⁶ by respondents, the online survey was programmed to automatically exit respondents who:

- ✦ Straightlined 2 of our key matrices,⁷ OR
- ✦ Straightlined 1 key matrices and missed the attention check item
- ✦ Speeders who finished in less than 30% of the median time (exclusive of video)
- ✦ Laggards who finished in over 500% of the median time (exclusive of video)

Respondents who successfully completed the attention check were asked a series of questions about their reactions to the video (e.g., emotional response, parasocial connection to Mo, empathy for Mo), immigration beliefs and attitudes, and demographic information (e.g., political ideology, education, income, religiosity).

Respondents who viewed the immigration clip were asked additional specific questions about whether the clip increased their understanding of immigrants' challenges and motivated them to support refugees/asylum seekers. Respondents registered to vote in US elections were asked about their likelihood of voting for a candidate based on their support for immigration-relevant policies.

All respondents were asked about what personal connection(s) they have to immigrants in their lives (e.g., self, family, friends, work relationships).

5. Continuous monitoring by MIP and the panel provider ensured that both groups maintained census proportions (i.e., dropout/non-completion rates did not vary by age, gender, or race/ethnicity between conditions).

6. Items reverse coded in matrices to prevent "straightlining" (i.e., selecting same answer all the way down); flagging respondents who select the same response for mutually incompatible items.

7. Key matrixes are: 7 (10 items), 15 (8 items), 16 (6 items), 18 (6 items), 19 (6 items, 1 is attention check), 20 (6 items), 21 (9 items).

Quotas and Counts

Count (Percentage) of Each Group Within Overall Sample: <small>Quotas per condition: Age, Gender, Race/ethnicity only</small>	Immigration Condition (n=520)	Control Condition (n=505)	Total Sample: (n=1025)
Age Group:			
18 to 24: 60 (12%)	61 (11.7%)	57 (11.3%)	118 (11.5%)
25 to 34: 90 (18%)	95 (18.3%)	93 (18.4%)	188 (18.3%)
35 to 44: 85 (17%)	89 (17.1%)	84 (16.6%)	173 (16.9%)
45 to 54: 80 (16%)	83 (16%)	82 (16.2%)	165 (16.1%)
55 to 64: 85 (17%)	87 (16.7%)	87 (17.2%)	174 (17%)
65+: 100 (20%)	105 (20.2%)	102 (20.2%)	207 (20.2%)
Gender identity:			
Man: 245 (49%)	253 (48.7%)	242 (47.9%)	495 (48.3%)
Woman: 255 (51%)	262 (50.4%)	260 (51.5%)	522 (50.9%)
Trans man: No quota	3	1	4 (0.4%)
Trans woman: No quota	0	1	1 (0.1%)
Nonbinary: No quota	2	1	3 (0.3%)
Race/ethnicity:			
American Indian/Alaskan Native: 4.5 (1%)	4 (0.8%)	4 (0.8%)	8 (0.8%)
Asian: 32 (6%)	29 (5.6%)	30 (5.9%)	59 (5.8%)
Black/African American: 89.5 (18%)	67 (12.9%)	71 (14.1%)	138 (13.5%)
Hispanic or Latino: 95 (19%)	95 (18.3%)	90 (17.8%)	185 (18%)
Middle Eastern/North African: 2	3 (0.6%)	2 (0.4%)	5 (0.5%)
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander: 1.5	6 (1.2%)	4 (0.8%)	10 (1%)
White/Caucasian: 260.5 (52%)	316 (60.8%)	304 (60.2%)	620 (60.5%)
Immigrant contacts (binary):			
None:	177 (50.3%)	175 (49.7%)	352 (34.3%)
Immigrant &/or 1+ relationship:	343 (51%)	330 (49.0%)	673 (65.7%)

Count (Percentage) of Each Group Within Overall Sample: <small>Quotas per condition: Age, Gender, Race/ethnicity only</small>	Immigration Condition (n=520)	Control Condition (n=505)	Total Sample: (n=1025)
Immigrant contacts (scale):			
0=None of these:	177 (50.3%)	175 (49.7%)	352 (34.3%)
1=Immigrant acquaintance, neighbor, community member, and/or at work (non-immigrants w/o immigrant parents, family, acquaintances...):	146 (54.1%)	124 (45.9%)	270 (26.3%)
2=Immigrants in extended family, spouse, and/or close friends (non-immigrants without immigrant parent):	134 (49.4%)	137 (50.6%)	271 (26.4%)
3=One or more immigrant parent (non-immigrants only):	42 (51.2%)	40 (48.8%)	82 (8%)
FILTERED OUT: I am an immigrant:	21 (42%)	29 (58.0%)	50 (4.9%)

NOTE: Any Immigration + Control condition percentages that do not sum to total sample proportion are due to rounding to the first decimal.

Appendix F: Survey Instrument

Survey Items Asked of All Participants (unless otherwise specified)

Screening Items

- ✦ Age → screen out under 18 year olds
- ✦ Gender identity
- ✦ Primary race/ethnicity
 - ◇ Other race(s)/ethnicity(-ies)
- ✦ Viewership of *Mo* and/or similar shows → screen out *Mo* viewers
 - ◇ *Awkwafina is Nora from Queens*
 - ◇ *Fleabag*
 - ◇ *Killing It*
 - ◇ *Mr. Iglesias*
 - ◇ *Mo* → screen out
 - ◇ *Ramy*
 - ◇ None of these
- ✦ Screening platform access → screen out if no Netflix access currently to within the past 1 to 4 years

Viewing Preferences

Motivations for consuming entertainment ([Oliver & Raney, 2011](#))

- ✦ Hedonic (4 items)
- ✦ Eudaimonic (6 items)

Randomization to viewing condition followed by attention check items

General Reactions

Which of the following emotions did you experience while watching the video? (Select all that apply)

- ✦ Angry
- ✦ Hopeful
- ✦ Sad
- ✦ None of these

Parasocial interaction with *Mo* ([Rubin & McHugh, 1987](#)) - 8 items

Empathy for *Mo* ([Shen et al., 2024](#)) - 6 items

Immigration Beliefs and Attitudinal Outcomes

How comfortable would you feel in each of the following situations? [1=Very uncomfortable to 5=Very comfortable]

- ✦ Meeting a refugee/asylum seeker
- ✦ Moving to a neighborhood where many refugees/asylum seekers are living

Please indicate which of the following statements comes closest to your own view for each of the following pairs, though neither may be exactly what you believe: [1=Strongly agree with A to 4=Strongly agree with B]

- ◆ **A1:** The growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs & values.
 - ◇ **B1:** The growing number of newcomers from other countries strengthens American society.
- ◆ **A2:** Overall, immigration is good for the country.
 - ◇ **B2:** Overall, immigration is bad for the country.
- ◆ **A3:** In general, it should be hard for people to legally immigrate to the United States.
 - ◇ **B3:** In general, it should be easy for people to legally immigrate to the United States.
- ◆ **A4:** The U.S. has a moral responsibility to grant asylum to refugees so they can live in the U.S.
 - ◇ **B4:** The U.S. does not have a moral responsibility to grant asylum to refugees so they can live in the U.S.
- ◆ **A5:** Immigrants take American jobs and resources.
 - ◇ **B5:** Immigrants contribute to the American economy and resources.
- ◆ **A6:** Immigrants should keep to themselves.
 - ◇ **B6:** Immigrants should be welcomed into American society.

Indicate to what extent you disagree or agree with the following statements: [1=Strongly disagree to 5=Strongly agree]

- ◆ An increase in immigration leads to an increase in crime.
- ◆ Immigrants who are living in the US illegally should be deported.
- ◆ Refugees/asylum seekers are dangerous.

- ◆ Refugees/asylum seekers should not be placed in detention.
- ◆ Refugees/asylum seekers who have helped the US should be able to stay.

Please indicate how likely are you to take the following actions in the next year: [1=Extremely unlikely to 5=Extremely likely]

- ◆ Speak with a friend, co-worker, or family member in support of immigrants.
- ◆ Write a social media post or comment in support of immigrants.
- ◆ Sign a petition in support of immigrants.
- ◆ Attend a pro-immigration rally, protest, or march.
- ◆ Learn more about laws affecting immigrants.
- ◆ Donate to a program that supports immigrants.
- ◆ Contact your member of Congress to advocate for immigrants.

Do you vote in US elections? [Yes/No]

- ◆ *If Yes* → How likely would you be to vote for a candidate who supports the following policies? [1=Extremely unlikely to 5=Extremely likely]

Experimental Condition Only

Indicate to what extent you disagree or agree with the following statements: [1=Strongly disagree to 5=Strongly agree]

- ◆ This video increased my understanding of the challenges immigrants seekers face in the US.
- ◆ This clip made me more likely to support refugees/asylum seekers in my community.

Demographics

What U.S. state or territory do you live in? If you live on a Native American reservation, please select the U.S. state that the reservation is located in. [Drop-down menu with 50 states, Washington D.C., and Puerto Rico]

Which of the following best represents where you live?

- ◆ Large city (100,000 or more)
- ◆ Small city (less than 100,000)
- ◆ Suburbs
- ◆ Rural area

Overall, which description best represents your political ideology? [1=Very liberal to 5=Very conservative]

Which is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

- ◆ Less than high school degree
- ◆ High school graduate (high school diploma or equivalent, including GED)
- ◆ Some college but no degree
- ◆ Associate's degree in college (2-year)
- ◆ Bachelor's degree in college (4-year)
- ◆ Master's degree
- ◆ Doctoral degree/Professional degree (JD, MD, PhD)
- ◆ Other (please specify) [text box]
- ◆ Decline to state

What is your household income? Please indicate the answer that includes your entire household income in 2024 before taxes.

- ◆ \$0 to 9,999

- ◆ \$10,000 to 14,999
- ◆ \$15,000 to 19,999
- ◆ \$20,000 to 34,999
- ◆ \$35,000 to 49,999
- ◆ \$50,000 to 74,999
- ◆ \$75,000 to 99,999
- ◆ \$100,000 to 199,999
- ◆ \$200,000 or more
- ◆ Not sure/decline to answer

How religious do you consider yourself? [0=Not at all religious to 10=Very religious]

Do you personally know any immigrants? (Select all that apply)

- ◆ I am an immigrant - *please specify country/countries of origin [text box]*
- ◆ One or more of my parents are immigrants - *please specify country/countries of origin [text box]*
- ◆ Extended family (grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, etc) - *please specify country/countries of origin [text box]*
- ◆ Spouse or significant other - *please specify country/countries of origin [text box]*
- ◆ Close friends
- ◆ Acquaintances
- ◆ Neighbors
- ◆ Community members
- ◆ Coworkers
- ◆ Employees
- ◆ Employers
- ◆ None of these



Acapulco / Apple TV



The Pradeeps of Pittsburgh / Prime Video