THE EFFECTS OF PRIVILEGED TELEVISION SHOWS ON EMERGING ADULTS' MATERIALISM AND FUTURE LIFE EXPECTATIONS

by

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Purpose of Current Research

Over the past several years, there has been an increase in the amount of television programming targeted towards young people that revolves around the life of the privileged. This programming ranges from teenage dramas like *Gossip Girl* to celebrity reality shows like *Keeping Up with the Kardashians*, which will collectively be referred to as privileged television. Each of these shows differs in its format, genre, and style, but all revolve around the lifestyles of wealthy people. My goal is to look at materialism related to privileged television show viewing in emerging adults, as opposed to adolescents or children, who are the population of choice for much of the negative media effects research.

The reason for examining emerging adults is because they are one of the primary audiences of privileged television, along with adolescents. Emerging adults are living independently, have more freedom to make choices regarding money, and are making life decisions regarding their careers, which makes them a highly appropriate population to study.

Many of the values that are presented and favored in privileged television shows could be considered questionable. Informal observation suggests that the majority of these television programs show a lifestyle in which affluence and glamour are associated with sex, drugs, and alcohol. Parents are mostly noticeable for their

absence in these programs and risky behaviors (e.g., sex without condoms, drinking and driving, drug use) are shown with few apparent consequences. These types of shows are targeted toward young people (adolescents and emerging adults) who are at impressionable times in their lives as they may be looking to others for how to act, think, and behave. Therefore, privileged television shows may impact this age group the most since they are still in their formative years.

Since privileged television focuses on extremely wealthy lifestyles and glamorizes such lifestyles, there is a risk that such shows encourage young adults to desire a lifestyle which is financially unattainable and unrealistic. Because of this, it seemed logical to look at materialism as a potential outcome of viewing such shows, which was the focus of this study. Privileged television shows may promote materialism and desire for wealthy lifestyles, while also making it appear that there is a much greater proportion of wealthy people than there is in reality.

Materialism has been shown to be positively related to life dissatisfaction, alcoholism, substance abuse, depression, stress, anxiety, neuroticism; and has been shown to negatively related to satisfaction with income, friends, and family, liking of school, and school performance (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2002; Keng, Jung, Jiuan, & Wirtz, 2000; Richins & Dawson, 1992; Roberts & Clement, 2007; Ryan & Dziurawiec, 2001; Sirgy, 1998; Sirgy et al., 1998; Wright & Larsen, 1993). Although there has been research linking materialism to many negative outcomes, research has not examined the relationship between materialism and life goals (e.g. having a high level of wealth, or helping others in need) and importance of those life

goals. It seems logical that those who place a high value on material items may place a high value on attaining wealth in and may place a low value on altruistic goals, like volunteering. Particularly with young adults, who are at a time when they are making decisions that will affect the rest of their lives, examining future life goals and life paths is an interesting outcome to link to level of materialism. Linking materialism and life goal importance can show the relevance of materialism in another outcome, one that is very relevant to those in the emerging adulthood age range.

There are many gaps in the literature regarding the relationship between media content and materialism. Much of the research regarding media effects related to materialism does not take into consideration the processes that may play a role in the effects of such content. The research also rarely accounts for moderating variables, which could determine which populations might be most vulnerable to media effects. Nor does much of the research take into account mediating variables, which could determine the underlying processes of such effects. Furthermore, many studies do not look at specific genres of television that are being watched; rather they look at general television consumption by examining overall television hours watched.

There are many routes through which media effects can take place. With this study in regards to privileged television, I attempted to look at the paths by which such effects may occur. The strength of effects on materialism could vary based on the way in which people view privileged television. For example, whether one

socially compares themselves to the characters in the show or whether they learn from the characters could alter how they interpret the content and therefore how much affect it has on them. The main purpose of this study was to evaluate the different paths of media effects to determine if and how privileged television shows may influence viewers' level of materialism and expectations about the future.

There are several components of the current project. The first task was to demonstrate the validity of the argument that there is a distinct genre of privileged programming, characterized by depictions of extreme affluence and glamorous behaviors. A sample of 114 undergraduate students rated 14 programs on a number of relevant dimensions related to materialism, such as "characters are wealthy" and "shows wealth as desirable." These ratings form the basis for determining which programs can be considered as materialistic for the purposes of this project (see *Appendices B* & *C* for more details).

The second component was an online survey which was used to pre-test measures for the final study. A sample of 58 undergraduate students pre-tested measures related to future life expectations, life goals, entitlement, parents' income, and gave suggestions on improving the measures. Respondents also suggested television shows that focus on depictions of wealthy lifestyles (see see *Appendices D* & *E* for more details).

The final component was an online survey in which those in the emerging adulthood age range of 18 to 29 (N = 323 college sample and N = 410 non-college sample) were asked about their television viewing habits, materialistic values, future

life expectations and life goals, as well as various other socio-demographic questions.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter two presents a conceptualization of what privileged television is, its core elements, prevalence, and popular media concern about its effects. The chapter also conceptualizes materialism and related concepts used in this study. It also reviews research on the negative implications of materialism. The chapter also identifies the population of interest, emerging adults, and offers an overview of this developmental period. The chapter also introduces literature related to media effects on emerging adulthood.

Chapter three synthesizes media effects research related to materialism as well as other media effects research that might be applicable to this population of interest and content area. It also presents variables that might help explain the relationship between privileged television and materialism. Additionally, the theoretical framework is introduced and the research questions and hypotheses are presented.

Chapter four identifies the methods, sampling procedures, and measures used in the primary study.

Chapter five reviews the results of the primary study, including the path analyses used to test the hypotheses and research questions.

Finally, chapter six discusses the findings, offers explanations and implications of findings, limitations, and future directions to expand on this research.

Chapter 2

Privileged Television, Materialism, and Emerging Adulthood

The Core Elements of Privileged Television

Privileged television refers to television shows that depict extremely wealthy lifestyles in a particular fashion. Although some are reality and some are dramas, they all have a common thread in which wealthy lifestyles are glamorized. Such shows depict an unrealistic glamorization of wealthy lifestyles, sometimes with the use of drugs, alcohol, and sex with relatively few consequences. Also, in most cases, the shows portray wealth as ubiquitous (where all or almost all of the characters are wealthy).

In privileged television shows, characters tend to have the newest cars, technology, and gadgets and also wear expensive designer clothing. Although most shows on television revolve around people who are well-off or do not have to worry about finances, privileged shows display uncommonly wealthy people and also incorporate wealth as part of the makeup of the show in a way that regular television shows do not. For example, in a privileged television show, a character drives a sports car that costs one hundred thousand dollars whereas in a regular television show, the car that a person is driving would not even be shown as it would not be relevant to the scene. Another example is that in privileged television shows, characters carry handbags that are clearly designer (sometimes brand labels or

symbols are visible), whereas in regular television shows, one would not be able to tell where the handbag is from.

The Prevalence of Privileged Television

Shows depicting wealthy lifestyles on television are not a recent phenomenon. Television program such as *Dallas* in the 1970's, *Dynasty* in the 1980s, and *Beverly Hills, 90210* in the 1990s followed the lives of fictitious characters that were uncommonly wealthy. However, the success of *The O.C.* in 2003, which depicted the lives of four teenagers in upscale Newport Beach in Orange County, California, spurred the increased production of shows depicting wealthy lifestyles, many of which were targeted toward younger viewers. Examples include *Entourage* (2004), which followed the story of a young celebrity actor and his group of friends in Hollywood and *Laguna Beach: The Real Orange County* (2004), which was a scripted "reality" show that followed a group of wealthy California teenagers. While many privileged television shows target young people and contain mostly young main characters (e.g. *Gossip Girl*), there are also shows that contain older characters (e.g. *Sex & the City*) that are popular among young viewers.

An additional type of privileged television content is the fairly new genre of "celeb-reality" shows. These programs follow celebrities and their families in their day-to-day lives. One of the first celeb-reality shows was *The Osbournes* which started in 2001 on MTV and became its most successful series in the network's 21 year history (Morreale, 2003). After its success, many other celeb-reality shows

started appearing and many became quite popular (e.g. *Newlyweds: Nick & Jessica*) (Lisotta, 2004). Generally these types of shows have limited runs and only last a few seasons, but there are many networks that air these programs, particularly in the summer, when most regular television shows are on hiatus (Andrejevic, 2004).

Popular Media Concern of Privileged Television

Media discussions of these programs often have focused on the hypocrisy of many of the depictions and storylines in the show (Barnes, 2007; Osterhout, 2009; Stanley, 2008; Strachan, 2007). Some article titles include "Gossip Girl takes teen narcissism to new levels" and "Fancy-schmancy kids, now much schmancier" (Strachan, 2007; Stanley, 2008). Stanley (2008, para. 7) observes that "The wealthy on television are now really, really wealthy, and anyone who doesn't have a beach house and a butler might as well be on welfare." She thinks this leads to false perceptions regarding what "normal" young adult life is like. In addition, Stanley (2008, para. 16) argued that such programs impact young people's perceptions and encourage young people to "vote against their own financial interests…because they identify with people who have more money and hope and even assume that someday they too will reach those lofty tax brackets." Her speculation about how these types of shows may influence viewers is relevant to the central question of the current project, which is whether viewing such programs does indeed affect young viewers' materialistic levels and therefore their life goals and expectations.

Conceptualization of Materialism

Materialism has been defined by Belk (1984, p. 291) as "the importance a consumer attaches to worldly possessions." Further, Mukerji (1983, p. 8) describes materialism as "a cultural system in which material interests are not made subservient to other social goals." Materialism as a construct involves a few key components according to Richins and Dawson (1992). One component of materialism is acquisition centrality, which means that materialistic people value acquiring things and that acquisition of things is at the center of their lives. The second component is acquisition as the pursuit of happiness, which means that they perceive the accumulation of possessions essential to emotional well-being. The last is possession-defined success, which is the idea that one's own and others' success is based on the number and quality of possessions they own (Richins and Dawson, 1992). Richins and Dawson (1992) developed the Materials Values Scale (MVS) based on these three components of materialism and the MVS has since been used extensively in research related to materialism (e.g. Chan & Prendergast, 2007; Flouri, 1999; see *Appendix A* for the MVS arranged by subscale).

Negative Implications of Materialism

Prior research repeatedly found negative correlations between materialism and well-being or quality of life (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2002; Keng, et al., 2000; Richins & Dawson, 1992; Roberts & Clement, 2007; Ryan & Dziurawiec, 2001; Sirgy, 1998; Sirgy et al., 1998; Wright & Larsen, 1993). Wright and Larsen's (1993)

meta-analysis examined the connection between materialism and life satisfaction in 39 studies and found a negative correlation between the two (r = -.25, p < .001), such that the higher one's level of materialism, the lower one's level of satisfaction with life. Richins and Dawson (1992) looked at the relationships between materialism and life satisfaction during their development of the MVS and found that materialism scores were negatively related to all aspects of satisfaction, including income (r = -.39), family life (r = -.17), fun (r = -.34), friends (r = -.34), and life as a whole (r = -.32; all p < .01). Belk (1995) found similar patterns with materialism and happiness (r = -.26, p < .01) and materialism and life satisfaction (r = -.24, p < .01).

There have also been studies linking materialism to other negative outcomes. Burroughs and Rindfleisch (2002) found positive relationships between materialism and depression (r = .18), stress (r = .20), anxiety (r = .22), and neuroticism (r = .19). A cross-sectional study on materialism among youth found a modest negative relationship between materialism and liking of school and school performance indicating that those higher in materialism tend to like school less (t(545) = 2.55, p < .01) and report lower grades (t(545) = 3.76, p < .001) (Goldberg, Gorn, Peracchio, & Bamossy, 2003). The authors explain that this relationship could be because the young people are focused on material goals as opposed to other goals, such as those that are related to school.

Although much of the research regarding negative implications of materialism involves cross-sectional surveys and therefore the authors cannot claim that they have demonstrated a causal relationship, the assumption underlying much of this

research is that materialism causes negative outcomes. Much of the research uses language such as “the effects of materialism” (Burroughs and Rindfleisch, 2002, p. 365). However, Richins and Dawson (1992) note that some authors described materialism as leading to dissatisfaction while others have said that materialism is not the real cause of such dissatisfaction. They think that underlying insecurities and dissatisfaction with one’s self are the underlying causes; however, they say that more in-depth research would need to be done to detangle this relationship. Thus far, there has not been a thorough research study of the magnitude needed to straighten out this relationship.

Since much of privileged television programming is aimed at the 18 to 29 age range, emerging adulthood was chosen as a population of interest for the relationship between privileged television and materialism. Additionally, people in this developmental period are making decisions that will affect the rest of their lives and whether those decisions are affected by the media is particularly interesting. The next section explains emerging adulthood as the population of interest for this study.

Population of Interest: Emerging Adulthood

Emerging adulthood was first proposed as a distinct developmental period by Jeffrey Jensen Arnett in 2000 after interviewing and surveying young adults about their perceptions of adulthood. Since then, there have been many articles published about this developmental period as it relates to issues ranging from attitudes toward

romantic relationships to the role of culture in development. Arnett (2000) proposed that emerging adulthood is a period where people are less constrained by social roles or normative expectations and are exploring possible future life directions.

Emerging adulthood is a culturally constructed developmental period between adolescence and adulthood (roughly lasting from 18 to 29 years old), when one is independent, discovering one's self-identity, and making decisions that will affect the rest of one's life (Arnett, 2000, 2001, 2005, 2006, 2007). Arnett (2005) contends emerging adulthood is a time for identity exploration, instability, self-focus, possibilities, and feeling "in between." The hallmark is the freedom to explore and the sense of being in between adolescence and fully-fledged adulthood as many do not feel that they have reached the markers of adulthood (financial independence, responsibility of self, and concrete beliefs and values). Additionally, this is a time in which many potential futures remain possible for an individual.

Emerging adulthood has been conceived as distinctly different from both adolescence and adulthood mainly due to somewhat recent trends in behavior among this age group, such as more young adults attending college and graduate school, entering the workforce later, marrying and having children at a later age, and residence changes (e.g. moving often and sometimes moving back in with their parents after college). This is a period of autonomy between the restrictions of living with parents and the need to establish an adult identity with responsibilities. Not all people experience emerging adulthood. Those who have children at a young age, go to work full-time directly after high school, or get married young tend to feel like

they have achieved adulthood at an earlier age. Arnett (2001) found that when those in this age range were asked if they feel like they have reached adulthood, 60% answered “in some ways yes, in some ways no,” while 30% of those in their late twenties and early thirties answered the same way. By age 35, nearly all responded that they felt like they have reached adulthood. This helped to establish the 18 to 29 year age range as distinctly different from both adolescence and adulthood.

Arnett (2000) regarded emerging adulthood as a crucial time of identity exploration and identity establishment in which risk-taking behavior is likely and can be done more freely than during adolescence due to increased independence. For example, this developmental period has the highest prevalence of drug use, drug abuse, and binge drinking (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2008). Arnett (2005) attributes such behavior to identity exploration, but also ties such behavior to the other characteristics of emerging adulthood: instability, self-focus, optimistic bias, and feeling in-between which makes them think such behavior is acceptable.

Emerging adulthood only exists in cultures that postpone entry to adult roles and responsibilities until after the late teens. Thus, emerging adulthood is more likely to be found in highly industrialized or post-industrial countries, which tend to have a high level of education and have many professions that require college or additional schooling (Arnett, 2000). Additionally, in these cultures, marriage and parenthood generally occur long after schooling has ended.

According to Arnett, emerging adults are socialized in a way that individualism, independence, and self-expression are promoted. Emerging adults have more choice over who they socialize with and the networks to which they belong, than during adolescence. Most emerging adults live away from their parents so family is not as strong of an influence on them as it was during adolescents. Peers are also less important during emerging adulthood than they were during adolescence though they are still important agents of socialization. Arnett (2007) has suggested that emerging adults have fewer friends than adolescents, as well as more control over who their peers are and when they see them. This means that selective association and intimacy in friendships are likely more prominent in emerging adults than in adolescents.

Emerging Adults and Media

Given the pervasiveness of media messages, emerging adulthood and media messages are intricately intertwined. Brown (2006) reviewed how emerging adults use the media by adopting Steele's media practice as an organizing tool, which posits that a young persons' sense of who they are and where they fit in (identity) influences the media they attend to (selection), how they experience and make sense of that media (interaction), and the ways they incorporate or resist media messages (application) in their lives. This circular process of media is used to explain how one's identity determines what type of media one chooses and how one interprets it which is then incorporated back into one's identity. According to Arnett

(2007), emerging adults spend more time alone than almost any other developmental group (except the elderly), which could lead to greater media effects, even though they still look to peer norms for guidance (despite spending less time with peers).

Emerging adults are likely to be vulnerable to sources of distorted perceptions of the "good" life in the media for a few reasons. First, they are trying to determine who they are and what is appropriate, therefore they may be open to media suggestions as well as peer suggestions. Secondly, they often have more independence with their time and money and are on the verge of making lifelong choices. This may make them more likely to act on their media-influenced judgments than during childhood or adolescence. This developmental stage is particularly well-suited to explore media effects resulting from privileged television shows, which is the purpose of the present study. Since emerging adults are at a phase when they are likely to be influenced by others and are simultaneously dealing with their finances for the first time, it is likely that their ideas about money, wealth, and material items are influenced by television ideals, which in the case of privileged television are distorted to reflect the extremely wealthy.

Given that privileged television is targeted toward those in the emerging adulthood age range, and that there are quite a few potential negative outcomes related to materialism, it is critical to establish what other variables might contribute to materialism. Since the goal of this project is to determine if a relationship exists between viewing privileged television, materialism, and life goals and expectations,

the next chapter reviews the research establishing the relationship between television and materialism.

Chapter 3

Research and Theorizing about Television's Role in Materialism

Is Television Viewing Related to Materialism?

Many studies, primarily surveys, have linked television viewing and materialism. Some have focused on effects of television advertisements, others on particular genres, and some on the effects of overall television exposure. One that focused on children (often conceived as particularly vulnerable to advertising) was done by Roberts and Vega (2005) who asked 212 10-14 year olds questions about their television viewing, advertising consumption, and materialism. They used Goldberg et al.'s (2003) Youth Materialism Scale (YMS), which included 10 items, such as "the only kind of job I want when I grow up is one that gets me a lot of money." Despite extremely low reliability for their measure (Cronbach's alpha of .49 for the pre-test and .61 for the post-test), they found that television exposure and advertising recognition predicted materialism.

Other researchers have examined such relationships on cross-sectional adult samples. For example, Shrum, Burroughs, and Rindfleisch (2005) conducted a survey of 314 adults using a shortened version of the MVS (Richins, 2004) and found that television viewing was positively related to materialism (ß = .37, $p < .001$), even after controlling for other media usage, demographics, and social desirability. Harmon (2001) also looked at materialism and television by conducting two secondary data analyses of adults. In the 1996 Simmons Market Research Bureau

data, which included 29 measures regarding materialistic values and questions about frequency of primetime, daytime, and cable television viewing, he found no connection between the two variables. However, in the 1972-1996 General Social Survey data, he found that there was a positive correlation between television viewing and materialism as measured by the ratings of the importance of having nice things and a high income. He suggested that there may be other variables that moderate this relationship, such as age, sex, socioeconomic status, disposable income, and program types, though he did not examine such moderation.

Yang (2007) conducted research for her dissertation to look at how advertising and television exposure might influence materialistic attitudes in an adult population (n = 239). She measured materialism using the six-item version of Richins's (2004) Material Values Scale, which is the shortened version of the original Richins and Dawson's (1992) 18-item scale and includes items such as "I admire people who own expensive homes, cares, and clothes." She found that overall exposure to television was positively related with higher materialism, perceived affluence of others, perceived gaps of affluence between self and others, and less satisfaction with financial situation, which she posited could lead to less life satisfaction.

Television viewing and other negative outcomes. In addition to the connection between television viewing and materialism, many studies have also found a negative correlation between television viewing and life satisfaction, happiness, and other measures of well-being (e.g. Kubey & Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).

For example, in an analysis of data from the General Social Survey, Robinson and Martin (2008) found a negative relationship between happiness and television after controlling for socio-demographic variables.

More recent research has tried to link these two lines of research by looking at the links between viewing, materialism, and life satisfaction. Shrum, Lee, Burroughs and Rindfleisch (2011), assessed materialism, television viewing, and life satisfaction in a cross-sectional adult population (n = 314). They used a shortened version of the MVS (Richins, 2004) and found that there was a significant relationship between television viewing and materialism, even after controlling for demographics and non-television media usage (ß = .36). Additionally, they found that when life satisfaction was regressed on television viewing and materialism, materialism was significant (β = −.28), but television viewing was not (β = −.09), suggesting that materialism fully mediated the relationship between television and life satisfaction.

Another recent study explored the effects of television viewing on materialism and life quality by surveying 225 adults (Yang & Oliver, 2010). Using path analysis, they found that television viewing was positively related to materialism (β = .17) and materialism was positively related to dissatisfaction with life (β = .15) while controlling for the effects of age, education, and income. These studies provide evidence that there is indeed a relationship between television viewing, materialism, and life satisfaction in adult populations.

An Alternative Set of Outcomes: Altruistic and Wealth/Status Life Goals

Rather than looking at the relationship between materialism and life satisfaction, the current project examines the interplay between exposure to television depictions of wealth in privileged television, materialism, and life goals. Life goals include various aspirations that are either driven by a philanthropic or a self-serving interest. These life goals are indicative of the importance that young adults' place on being civic-minded and engaged or pursuing wealth, which has potentially important implications for society as a whole. Though there has been a lot of attention focused on the role of news consumption and civic education in shaping notions of citizenship, it is also possible that depictions of wealth and selfishness are relevant. For example, it may be that those who watch more privileged television shows are attracted to career paths that they think result in making more money.

To my knowledge, no one has examined television or materialism in relation to life goal importance in the media effects literature. This is particularly interesting to consider for those within the emerging adult age range (18 to 29 years old) because they are theorized to be at a developmental phase when they are determining their life's trajectory. The current study is a first attempt to assess whether the relationships exist for this population. Based on the prior research about television viewing and materialism, the hypotheses were:

> H1: Habitual exposure to privileged television shows will be associated with: (a) higher levels of materialism; (b) less importance placed on altruistic life goals; and (c) greater importance placed on wealth/status life goals.

It is important to reiterate how identity exploration is relevant to this topic and population. Identity development is seen as a vital component of the emerging adulthood development period such that those who are in this time period are making decisions that will impact the course of their life. Those in this developmental period also have more freedom to explore who they are and to determine which life courses they want to pursue. Therefore, the relationship between privileged television, materialism, and life goals will be stronger for those who are more actively engaged in identity exploration than for those who have not yet begun to seriously examine their identity or for those who feel that their identity is already established. Identity exploration was examined as a moderating variable on the overall effects of privileged television on materialism therefore, the following hypothesis is proposed:

> H2: The relationship between habitual exposure to privileged television and (a) materialism; (b) altruistic goals; (c) wealth/status goals will be stronger for those who report high levels of identity exploration than for those who report low level of identity exploration.

Past research found that materialism fully mediates the effects of television on life satisfaction (Shrum et al., 2011). The same process could hold true with the effects of privileged television on life goals, therefore the following hypothesis is predicted:

> H3: Materialism will mediate the relationship between privileged television exposure and (a) altruistic goals and (b) wealth/status goals.

Theoretical Explanations of Television Effects on Materialism

If there are relationships between privileged television, materialism, and life goals, the next important theoretical question would involve how viewing privileged television induces materialism. There are many theoretically plausible explanations for the link between television and materialism though most of them have not been explored with this particular topic. Therefore, other areas of media effects research are drawn upon for possible explanations of how the relationship between privileged television and materialism may operate, and under what conditions it may be stronger.

Learning about what is desirable. Social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1977) proposes that we can learn by observation – both how to engage in observed acts and whether it is desirable to engage in them. In the case of materialistic programming, social cognitive theory suggests that viewers could learn about what kind of behavior is exhibited by wealthy people and what type of clothing, cars, houses, etc. they own. They could also "learn" (rather erroneously) that such lifestyles are easily attainable, given how prevalent they are on television. Finally, viewers may learn that such behaviors and possessions are desirable and, as a result, become more materialistic. One implication is that learning about glamorous goods and lifestyles is a mediator of the relationship between exposure to television depictions of wealth and viewers' levels of materialism.

Motivation to learn from specific types of content has been studied in research on adolescents and the relationship between television and body image.

Tiggemann (2005) did not find a relationship between overall television exposure and body image variables for high school students (n = 1,452), but she examined social learning as a mediator of the relationship between television viewing and body image. She found that those who watched television for social learning purposes (e.g. to learn about how people my age behave etc.) had higher levels of internalization, appearance schemas, bulimia, and drive for thinness (.20<*r*s<.41).

Although learning has not been considered as a mediator of the relationship between television viewing and materialism, the same type of logic could be applied, such that the more viewers watch privileged television, the more they learn from the content, which will lead to higher levels of materialism. In the current study, materialistic learning includes learning about new gadgets, cars, hairstyles, fashion etc. Given the content of privileged television shows, the following hypothesis is proposed:

> H4: Materialistic learning will mediate the relationship between habitual exposure to privileged television shows and materialism.

Depth of engagement with content. A number of researchers have examined the effects of viewers' engagement with or evaluation of the program content. Viewers who are more deeply involved in a narrative or find the content more plausible will be less likely to counterargue or reject the implicit messages, hence more likely to imitate the values or actions depicted.

***Identification*.** Nabi (2009), for example, found that identification with program participants (e.g. connecting with the character, perceived similarity etc.)

partially mediated the effects of exposure to reality shows about cosmetic surgery on women's intentions of undergoing cosmetic procedures. The more women watched the programs, the more likely they were to report identifying with the characters undergoing cosmetic surgery. The more they identified with the characters, the more likely they were to say that they would consider engaging in such surgery themselves.

Identification has not been examined in the context of television viewing and materialism though identification with characters in privileged television shows could intensify the effect of exposure on materialism. If viewers identify more with the characters, then they may like them more and also feel more of a connection to them which could lead to greater materialism. Therefore the following hypothesis was predicted:

> H5: Identification will mediate the relationship between habitual exposure to privileged television shows and materialism.

***Transportation*.** A related line of research has focused on the extent to which viewers report being "transported" into a narrative. Shrum et al. (2011) suggested that when viewers are transported into a story (i.e., are deeply immersed), they are less likely to think about real-world facts that might contradict the explicit or implicit messages in the narrative, hence they may be more strongly affected by exposure (Green & Brock, 2000). They randomly assigned 142 undergraduates to watch programming that was low or high in materialistic content and found that viewing condition influenced subjects' levels of materialism, but only

for those participants who reported transportation while viewing (ß = .20, t (91) = 1.99, $p < .05$).

Although Shrum et al. (2011) conceived of self-reported transportation as a moderator, one could also argue that it could be seen as a mediator such that the more one watches materialistic content, the more one gets transported into the narrative, with the result that the viewer may adopt the depicted materialistic values. Both alternatives will be explored, therefore the following research question was asked:

> RQ1: Will transportation mediate or moderate the relationship between privileged television exposure and materialism?

Perceived realism. *As* noted above, transportation is assumed to increase the effects of exposure by reducing counterarguing or skepticism. Given this, perceived realism should operate in the same way as transportation – those who consider the actions of materialistic characters to be plausible and convincing should be more likely to be swayed by the content.

Smith Speck and Roy (2008) examined realism as a mediator of the relationship between television viewing and materialism in an international sample (n = 1211). They found support for partial mediation, such that television viewing and perceived realism were positively related and that perceived realism and materialism were positively related. However, these relationships were only significant for the Far/South East geographical region and not for the other four regions of interest (Western, New Europe, Latin America, and Middle East).

Additionally, a study by Richins (1987) examined perceived realism of advertising as a moderating variable of the effects of advertising on materialism. In a survey (n = 252), she found that an interaction between advertising exposure and perceived realism on the effects on materialism such that perceived realism was a precondition for the relationship between exposure and materialism to occur (Richins, 1987).

Given that realism has been considered both as a mediator and as a moderator, and given the parallels with transportation, therefore the following research question was asked:

> RQ2: Will realism mediate or moderate the relationship between privileged television exposure and materialism?

Social comparison theory. Social comparison theory proposes that individuals have a need to look to outside sources in order to evaluate their own opinions and abilities (Festinger, 1954). The original direction of the theory was that people generally look to similar others to evaluate their progress, because similar others are most relevant. However, the theory also proposes that there may be situations in which individuals compare themselves to dissimilar others – either those performing better or those performing worse. The direction of the comparison is particularly important for attitudinal outcomes. "Downward" comparisons involve comparing oneself to someone who is worse off in a certain respect (less wealthy), which may increase well-being. "Upward" comparisons involve comparing self to someone who is believed to be better off in some aspect (more wealthy) which may damage well-being unless one perceives similarity, in which case it can be ego-

enhancing. In many cases, individuals perform these comparisons without being conscious of it.

With regards to social comparison and media depictions of materialism, Chan and Prendergast (2007) conducted a cross-sectional study looking at high school students (n = 281) in Hong Kong. They found that overall television viewing was not related to materialism but adolescents who reported comparing themselves to their peers (ß = .29, $p < .001$) or to media figures (ß = .12, $p < .05$) and those who were motivated to view advertisements (ß = .40, $p < .001$) had more materialistic values.

In a similar follow-up study of 15 to 24 year olds in Hong Kong, Chan and Prendergast (2008) found that social comparison with peers and celebrities (ß = .28) and imitation of celebrity models (ß = .37) predicted materialism. They also found that general motivation to view advertisements (ß = .38) predicted imitation of celebrity models. These two studies indicated that social comparison theory may be an underlying process that helps to explain the relationship between television viewing and materialism.

A recent study explored the effects of television viewing on materialism and life quality by surveying 225 adults (Yang & Oliver, 2010). They found that perceived social comparison gaps (perceived gap in wealth between self and others) partially mediated the relationship between television viewing, materialism and life satisfaction, such that television viewing was positively related to perceived social comparison gaps (β = .17) which in turn was positively related to dissatisfaction with life (β = .44, $p < .01$) (Yang & Oliver, 2010). The authors suggested that the more

viewers watch television, the more likely they are to see wealth and therefore feel that they do not have enough money, which then leads to dissatisfaction with their own lives.

For my study regarding privileged television exposure, I would expect that those who watch more privileged television will be more likely to report comparing themselves to the characters, which will affect their level of materialism. Due to the nature of this genre of programming, the characters on privileged television are extremely wealthy and attractive; therefore viewers will (presumably) mostly be engaging in upward comparison relative to the characters. As suggested by Yang and Oliver (2010), such comparisons may make them feel dissatisfied when it comes to possessions and money, which may increase their level of materialism. Therefore, I predicted the following hypothesis:

> H6: Upward social comparison will mediate the relationship between habitual exposure to privileged television shows and materialism.

The influence of presumed influence. An additional, complementary possibility is that the effects of materialistic content may operate at least in part by influencing viewers' beliefs about the extent to which other viewers are influenced by the content.

Third-person effect research has repeatedly found individuals perceive that others are more affected negatively and less positively by media content than oneself (Davison, 1983; Sun, Pan, & Shen, 2008). A related finding is when people perceive that others are affected by the media; they may act accordingly by

conforming to media ideals out of desire to conform to peers who are presumed to hold those ideals (Gunther & Storey, 2003). Therefore the media affects the audience but it does so through the presumed influence on others.

The processes of presumed influence have been studied most widely with adolescents as this population tends to be concerned with peer norms and looks to peers for attitude and behavior norms (Gunther, Bolt, Borzekowski, Liebhart, & Dillard, 2006). Indirect media effects have been observed with smoking behavior, sexual attitudes, and body image (Chia, 2006; Gunther et al., 2006; Park, 2005). In the study that is most relevant to the current project, Chia (2008) assessed the link between media and materialism in middle and high school students, examining whether presumed peer influence played a role. She found that there were no direct effects of advertising on materialism, but there was an effect of presumed peer influence of advertising on materialism, such that those who thought that their peers' level of materialism was being affected by such content were themselves more materialistic.

Because emerging adults are still concerned with peer norms, this same process may also occur with this population. In accordance with the influence of presumed influence, the following hypotheses are proposed:

> H7: Respondents' perception of peer norms about materialism/life goals will mediate the relationship between exposure to privileged television and participants' (a) levels of materialism; (b) altruistic life goals; (c) wealth/status life goals.

In fact, the model further specifies a series of intervening steps between the participants' exposure to privileged television and their perceptions of their peers' norms. These hypotheses are laid out here:

> H8: (a) Participants' own exposure to privileged television shows will be positively associated with their estimates of how often their friends/peers watch such programs.
>
> (b) Estimated peer exposure will be positively associated with participants' estimates of how strongly their friends/peers are influenced by such content.
>
> (c) Perceived influence on peers will be positively associated with participants' estimates of their friends'/peers' materialism and life goals.

Summary. Taken together, prior research and theorizing suggests that there will be a positive association between amount of exposure to privileged television content and viewers' levels of materialism, and that this relationship can at least be partly explained by the extent to which and the ways in which viewers engage with the material. Such engagement may take the form of identifying with the characters, being emotionally transported into the content, learning from the characters, engaging in social comparison with the situations and characters depicted, or focusing on the possible influence on peers. Additionally, the way that presumed media effects on others may give insight into the relationship between privileged television content and levels of materialism.

Overarching Structure of the Project

The primary project involved an online survey to determine the relationship between privileged television shows and materialism in emerging adults. However,

two small preliminary pre-tests were conducted. Pre-test one (see *Appendices B* & *C*) data was collected to establish privileged television shows as distinctly different from regular television shows by having respondents rate television shows based on materialistic characteristics. Pre-test two (see *Appendices D* & *E*) was used to determine any issues that might be related to newly created measures and measures that may be hard for students to answer (e.g. parents' income).

Chapter 4

Methods for Survey of Privileged Television, Materialism, and Life Goals

Sample and Procedure

This study involved a survey to examine numerous aspects of materialism in emerging adulthood and viewing of privileged television shows. The survey was given online and took approximately 25 minutes to complete with a total of 733 completed surveys. Respondents were recruited if they were in age range of the emerging adulthood developmental period (18 to 29 years of age). The sample included 44.1% (*N* = 323) respondents that were enrolled in college and 55.9% (*N* = 410) that were not enrolled in college. The young adults who were currently enrolled in college were recruited through the Department of Communication Arts subject pool for extra credit and the others were recruited via Qualtrics, which is an independent company that offers data collection services. Although the recruitment was not a random sample, I was able to recruit a more diverse sample than what I was able to get from purely an undergraduate student sample particularly with my limited resources. The guidelines that I provided to Qualtrics were to recruit people who were in the 18 to 29 age range and who were not currently enrolled in college. Out of the 501 people that were recruited, 410 people completed the questionnaires (see *Appendix F* for full questionnaire).

In this study, respondents were 67.5% (*N* = 495) female and 32.5 % (*N* = 238). In total, 77.2% (*N* = 565) identified themselves as Caucasian, 4.9% (*N* = 36)

African American, 3.7% (*N* = 27) Latino/Latina, 7.0% (*N* = 51) Asian, 0.3% (*N* = 2) Native American, 0.3% (*N* = 2) Pacific Islander, 1.6% (*N* = 12) other, and 5.1% (*N* = 37) identified as multi-ethnic (see *Table 9* for more socio-demographic characteristics).

Variables of Interest

Exogenous variable measures.

Sex. As mentioned previously, respondents were asked their sex with 67.5% (*N* = 495) being female and 32.5 % (*N* = 238) being male.

Overall television exposure. Respondents were asked how many hours of television they watched during four time periods (6 a.m.-12 p.m., 12 p.m.-6 p.m., 6 p.m.-12 a.m., 12 a.m.-6 a.m.) both on weekdays and weekends. A measure of average number of television watched per day was created by adding the total number of hours watched per weekday and weekend and then weighting those numbers by 5 or 2 and dividing by 7 (*M* = 4.81, *SD* = 4.13).

Income. Respondents were asked what their estimated monthly income was (both earned by self and given to them by parents). Another variable was parents' income which asked respondents to estimate the joint income of the parents' and/or guardians', who contributed to their well-being during high school with responses of $0-$25,000; $25,000-$50,000; $50,000-$75,000; $75,000-$100,000; $100,000-$150,000; $150,000-$200,000; and over $200,000. From these two items, an index

of income was created to capture respondents' current income as well as the income that they were raised with (*M* = 56,520.06, *SD* = 31,496.71).

Age. Participants were asked to record their age. All respondents were in the emerging adulthood age range of 18 to 29 years of age (*M* = 23.64, *SD* = 3.62).

Education. Respondents were asked what their education level and could choose from the following options: less than high school (.1%, *N* = 1), high school/GED (16.1%, *N* = 118), some college (44.9%, *N* = 329), 2-year college degree (5.7%, *N* = 42), 4-year college degree (26.61%, *N* = 195), Masters degree (4.8%, *N* = 135), Doctoral degree (.3%, *N* = 2), or professional degree (1.5%, *N* = 11).

Inventory of the Dimensions of Emerging Adulthood (IDEA). The Inventory of the Dimensions of Emerging Adulthood (IDEA) (Reifman & Arnett, 2002; Reifman, Arnett, & Colwell, 2007) measures different dimensions of emerging adulthood. In this assessment, a stem question asks "Is this period of your life a…" and is followed by 28 short phrases (e.g. time of many possibilities, a time of exploration) (see *Appendix D*). There are six subscales in the IDEA, but Identity Exploration was seen as the most central to the hypothesis about the possible moderating effects of developmental stage. Identity Exploration (*M* = 3.10, *SD* = .56) had a reliability of .84.

Endogenous variable measures.

Privileged television exposure. The amount of exposure to privileged television shows was also measured. Respondents were given a list of 28 television

shows that depicted wealthy characters and were asked how frequently they watched or had watched that particular show. The responses were measured on a four-point scale where 0 meant "never watch," 1 meant "watch rarely," 2 meant "watch sometimes," and 3 meant "watch frequently." Scores for each of the privileged television shows listed were summed to create an overall privileged television exposure variable (M = 14.90, SD = 16.97). Nabi (2009) used this approach to assess exposure to cosmetic surgery makeover programs in her study and this seemed like the best approach for measuring exposure to a specific sub-genre of television.

Materialistic attitudes. Materialism was measured utilizing the Material Values Scale (MVS), which was originally developed by Richins and Dawson (1992). Participants answered the 15-item version which has been used widely in other research on materialism (e.g. Chan & Prendergast, 2007; Flouri, 1999; Shrum et al., 2011). Sample items include, "I admire people who own expensive homes, cars, and clothes," "I like a lot of luxury in my life," and "My life would be better if I owned certain things" (see *Appendix A* for the full list of items). The items were measured with a five-point *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree* scale. A scale was created to measure overall materialism (*M* = 2.99, *SD* = .57, α = .83), by averaging scores on the subscales of success, centrality, and happiness.

Life goals. The importance of various life goals was measured. The measures for the importance of various goals were adapted from Roberts and Robins (2000) who looked at the importance of 25 major life goals in relation to

personality characteristics. The goals of interest to this study were wealth/status (e.g. the importance of having a high-level of wealth) and altruistic (e.g. helping others in need) (for full list, see *Appendix D*). These items were measured on a five-point importance scale. Both sets of goals were averaged to create two scales of goals. The wealth/status goals scale (M = 4.40, SD = .91) had an alpha of .88 while the altruistic goals scale (M = 3.54, SD = .82) had an alpha of .82.

Future life expectations. Future life expectations were measured by asking respondents to give monetary estimations of various items. Respondents were asked to think 15 years in the future and report what they thought their salary, the worth of their home, the amount they would spend each year on travel, clothing, and entertainment, and other financial situations would be. Despite the items being pretested, there was an overwhelming amount of missing data on this item and the items were not used in further analyses.

Endogenous moderating and mediating variables of interest. The different theoretical accounts considered earlier suggested a number of possible mediators and/or moderators of the hypothesized direct effect of exposure to privileged television on the outcome variables. These include learning, transportation, identification, social comparison, realism, and the influence of presumed influence. These vary based on the different models that are being tested: learning from privileged television, transportation during viewing of privileged television, identification with privileged television, reality of privileged television, upward comparison to privileged television, perceived peer exposure to privileged

television, perceived media effects of privileged television on peers, perceived peer norms about materialism, perceived peer norms about altruistic life goals, and perceived peer norms about wealth/status goals.

Learning from privileged television. Respondents were told to continue to think about their chosen privileged television show and were asked various questions concerning learning that were also used by Nabi (2009). The nine items included: "I learn what might be possible for me," "I get ideas about what clothes and hairstyles are in fashion," and "I learn how people my age behave." The items were asked on a four-point *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree* scale. After doing an exploratory factor analysis, it was determined, that there were two dimensions of learning: general learning (e.g. "I learn what might be possible for me") and materialistic learning (e.g. "I get ideas about what clothes and hairstyles are in fashion"). Materialistic learning was more central to my hypotheses and was used while general learning was not. The four items for materialistic learning were averaged together (M = 2.36, SD = .73, α = .80).

Transportation during privileged television. Respondents were told to continue to think about their chosen privileged television show and were asked 12 questions from the Transportation Scale that was created by Green and Brock (2000), as modified by Shrum et al. (2011) to apply to television viewing. Some of the items included: "I find myself imagining what I would do if I went the main character in the story," and "I try to imagine what it would be like to really be in this situation." The items were asked on a four-point *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*

scale. The 12 items were averaged together to create a scale of transportation (*M* = 2.41, *SD* = .49, α = .78).

Identification with privileged television. Respondents were told to keep their chosen privileged television show in mind while answering six items regarding identification with the show, based on those used by Nabi (2009) in her study of effects of cosmetic makeover shows. The six items were measured on a four-point *strongly disagree* to *strongly* agree scale (e.g. "I feel I am watching people like myself," "I can identify with the people on the program"). The six items were averaged together to create a scale (*M* = 2.28, *SD* = .70, α = .89) of identification.

Reality of privileged television. While still thinking of their chosen privileged television show, respondents were asked about the reality of the show using five questions developed by Nabi (2009). The questions asked them to rate their chosen television show on a five-point scale (*not at all* to *very much)* whether they believed that the show was "realistic," "true-to-life," "accurate," "plausible," and "unrealistic." The four items were averaged together to create a scale (*M* = 2.60, *SD* = .70, α = .99) of realism.

Upward comparison to privileged television. After being asked to think about the particular television show of their choosing, participants were asked six items that measured social comparison (same as those used by Nabi, 2009). Participants rated their agreement on a four-point *strongly disagree* to *strongly* agree scale with items such as, "I find myself wishing that I could be one of the people on the program," I find myself comparing my clothes to the people on the program."

The six items were averaged together to create a scale (*M* = 2.30, *SD* = .70, α = .87) of upward comparison.

Perceived peer exposure to privileged television. After estimating their own exposure to privileged television, respondents were asked to estimate how often their friends and peers watch television shows with similar content, and responses were measured on the same 4-point scale that was used previously (0 meant *"never watch,"* 1 meant *"watch rarely,"* 2 meant *"watch sometimes,"* and 3 meant *"watch frequently")* (*M* = 1.81, *SD* = .97).

Perceived media influence on peers. A measure that had been used previously in influence of presumed influence research (Chia & Gunther, 2006) was to ask respondents whether exposure to privileged television content affected their friends' and peers' attitudes towards an attitude object. This method was used in this study with materialism (*M* = 3.03, *SD* = 1.12) and life goals (*M* = 3.06, *SD* = 1.12) as the attitude object of interest. The two items took the form of a 5-point scale (*not at all* to *very* much).

Perceived peer norms about materialism. Respondents' perceptions of their friends' and peers' levels of materialism were assessed by adapting the 15-item version of the MVS to ask about peers rather than one's own opinions. For example, item one was adapted from "I admire people who own expensive homes, cars, and clothes" to "They admire people who own expensive homes, cars, and clothes." These items were measured with a five-point *strongly agree* to *strongly*

disagree scale (*M* = 3.05, *SD* = .39). These items were averaged together to measure peer norms about materialism (α = .88).

Perceived peer norms about altruistic goals. Respondents' perceptions of their friends' and peers' levels of altruistic goal importance were assessed by asking participants to rate how important goals were to their friends/peers. The same items that were used for the self-evaluation of these goals (e.g. importance of helping others in needs, being a community leader etc.) were utilized but the instructions were changed to ask about their friends/peers. The items were ranked on a five-point importance scale and were averaged together to create one measure (*M* = 3.32, *SD* = .85, α = .82).

Perceived peer norms about wealth/status goals. Respondents' perceptions of their friends' and peers' levels of wealth/status goal importance were assessed by asking participants to rate how important goals were to their friends/peers. The same items that were used for the self-evaluation of these goals (e.g. importance of having a high standard of living, high level of wealth etc.) were utilized but the instructions were changed to ask about their friends/peers. The items were ranked on a five-point importance scale and were averaged together to create one measure (*M* = 3.76, *SD* = .83, α = .87).

Chapter 5

Results for Survey of Privileged Television, Materialism, and Life Goals

Analytic Approach

A series of path analyses using maximum likelihood estimation were conducted to test the hypotheses. Model fit was assessed using various goodness of fit measures, such as the chi-square goodness-of-fit test, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), the Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), the comparative fit index (CFI) and the Bayesian Information Criteria (BIC). The chi-square goodness of fit test is conservative for large sample sizes (Kaplan, 2009) and it was expected that this would not be a good indication of model fit. The cutoff criteria recommended by Hu and Bentler (1999) indicate that a cutoff value greater than or equal to .95 for TLI and CFI and less than or equal to .06 for RMSEA signify good model fit. Browne & Cudeck (1993) suggest that RMSEA between .05 and .08 indicates fair fit and between .08 and .10 indicates mediocre fit. There was very little missing data in the dataset and therefore it was assumed that the data was missing completely at random. The missing data was therefore handled through Mplus, which was the statistical modeling program used for analyses. Mplus estimates the models based on all available data and does not impute values for the missing data.

Prior to running any analyses, it was determined that certain variables would be considered exogenous for this particular study: sex, income, age, education, and overall television exposure. All of these variables are important and have been

shown in the past to predict differences in the way media affect people. In order to strengthen the claim that privileged television has unique effects on materialism and life goals, it was particularly important to control for overall television exposure to strengthen the claim that the relationships are with privileged television and not overall television exposure.

Privileged Television, Materialism, and Life Goals

H1: Direct effects of privileged television. Hypothesis 1 predicted that there were would be a) a positive relationship between privileged television and materialism, b) a negative relationship between privileged television and altruistic goals, and c) a positive relationship between privileged television and wealth/status goals.

Before running the main analyses, I first examined the relevant bivariate correlations related to H1 (see *Tables 11* and *12*). The correlations between privileged television and materialism (r = .23, p < .01), and wealth/status life goals (r = .29, p < .01) were significant and in the hypothesized direction, though they were fairly small. However, the relationship between exposure to privileged television and altruistic goals was not negative as predicted but was, in fact, positive (r = .21, p < .01). Those who watched more privileged television were somewhat more likely to want to have jobs in which they helped others and promoted the welfare of others. The correlations also indicated that wealth/status goals and altruistic goals were positively correlated (r = .28, p < .01) rather than negatively related as anticipated.

Rather than seeing wealth/power/goods and helping others/community involvement as life choices that are somewhat opposed to one another and require a choice, the young adults in my sample appeared to want them both.

To test hypothesis 1 further, I performed two path analyses: One to examine the relationship between privileged television and materialism (see *Figure 1a*) and one to examine the relationships between exposure to privileged television and life goals (see *Figure 2a*).

Privileged television & materialism. As shown in Table 13 and Figure 1a, a model was fitted which used the set of exogenous variables as predictors of exposure to privileged television which in turn was used to predict participants' levels of materialism.

The tests indicated only fair fit of the model on the data: $\chi^2 = 21.31$, $p < .01$; RMSEA = .07 (90% confidence interval = .04 to .10), TLI = .84, CFI =.93 (see *Figure 1a* and *Table 13*). The hypothesis that privileged television would be positively related to materialism even after controls was supported (β = .23).

Privileged television and life goals. Hypothesis1b predicted that exposure would be negatively related to altruistic goals and hypothesis 1c predicted that exposure to privileged television would be positively related to wealth/status goals. As can be seen in Figure 2a, the relationship between privileged television and wealth/status goals was positive and significant as hypothesized (β = .28). However, the relationship between altruistic goals, though significant, was not in the

predicted direction (β = .22). In this model, I allowed both life goals to be related to each other as I expected a negative relationship between the two, however, as noted earlier, there was a positive relationship between the two variables (β = .20). Overall, there was only fair to mediocre fit of the model: χ^2 = 59.02, p < .01; RMSEA = .08 (90% confidence interval = .06 to .10), TLI = .72, CFI =.84 (see *Table 13*).

H2: Moderating Effects of Identity Exploration. Hypothesis 2 predicted that participants' levels of identity exploration (i.e., the degree to which they report actively trying to figure out who they are) would moderate the effects of exposure to privileged television, such that the relationships would be stronger for those who were higher on identity exploration.

To test H2, a low and high group of identity exploration was created using a median split, and multiple group path models were estimated. First, a constrained model was estimated, which requires path coefficients to be equal for both groups. The path coefficients in the resultant constrained model were then compared to their unconstrained counterparts, where the path coefficients for each group were freely estimated, based on the data for those groups. In order to argue that the two groups differ, the unconstrained models needed to produce a significantly better model fit over the constrained models as determined by the chi-square difference test. This process was conducted first for the path analysis predicting materialism and then for the path analysis predicting life goals.

Moderation of effects on materialism. The model of privileged television predicting materialism comparing those low and high in identity exploration fit well: χ^2 = 20.96, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .05 (90% confidence interval = .02 to .09), TLI = .90, CFI =.95 (see *Table 13*). Moreover, the chi-square test comparing the fit of the constrained and unconstrained models was significant (χ^2 difference= 6.13, *df* difference = 1, $p < .05$), indicating that identity development moderated the relationship between privileged television exposure and materialism as hypothesized.

As can be seen from Figures 3b and 3c, the relationship between privileged television and materialism was stronger for those high in identity exploration (β = .31) than for those low in identity exploration (β = .13), as predicted in H2.

Moderation of effects on life goals. The chi square test, comparing the model fit of the constrained and unconstrained models predicting life goals, did not achieve significance (χ^2 difference= 4.50, *df* difference = 4, ns) (see *Table 16*). Thus, there did not appear to be significant moderation of the relationship between privileged television and life goals by levels of identity exploration. Overall, there was partial support of H2.

H3: Materialism as Mediator of Effects on Life Goals. Hypothesis 3 predicted that materialism would mediate the relationship between privileged television and life goals (see *Figure 3a)*. To test this, a path analysis was run adding materialism as a mediating variable between privileged television and each life goal,

while still predicting a direct relationship between privileged television and each life goal.

The model indicated only fair fit of the data: $\chi^2 = 66.44$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .07 (90% confidence interval = .05 to .09), TLI = .87, CFI =.92 (see *Table 15*). There was indication of partial mediation of life goals by materialism, as described further below.

Mediating altruistic goals. The indirect path from privileged television to altruistic goals via materialism was significant though very weak (β = -.03, $p < .01$). As can be seen in Figure 3a, the indirect path between privileged television and altruistic goals was more consistent with H1 than the direct path. That is, privileged television was positively related to materialism in turn which was negatively (though weakly) related to altruistic goals (β = -.12). Thus, although the direct path between privileged television and altruistic goals is positive (contrary to H1b), there is also an indirect relationship such that more exposure to privileged television is associated with more materialism and more materialism is associated with lower ratings of the altruistic life goals.

Mediating wealth/status goals. The indirect path from privileged television to wealth/status goals via materialism was significant (β = .13, $p < .01$). As can be seen from Figure 3a, privileged television was positively related to materialism (β = .23) which in turn was positively related to wealth/status goals (β = .55).

The direct path between privileged television and wealth/status goals was also significant though it shrank from β = .28 to β = .15 with the inclusion of

materialism as a mediator (compare Figure 2a and Figure 3a). Taken together, these findings indicate partial mediation.

Moderation by identity exploration. To examine whether the indirect effect of materialism varied by level of identity exploration (H2), the coefficients for those who were low in identity exploration were compared with those high in identity exploration. As noted previously, in order for identity exploration to be considered a moderating variable, the unconstrained (freely estimated model) must fit better than the constrained model (the model requiring equal path coefficients for each group).

The unconstrained model fit significantly better than the constrained model (χ^2 difference= 286.11, *df* difference = 8, $p < .05$). This indicated that adding identity exploration as a grouping variable significantly helped the model fit. Overall, the model fit was fair: $\chi^2 = 77.05$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .07 (90% confidence interval = .05 to .08), TLI = .89, CFI =.94.

As can be seen in the comparison of Figures 3b and 3c, the relationships were somewhat stronger for those who were high in identity exploration (consistent with H2), though the primary difference is in the relationship between privileged television and materialism (high exploration $\beta = .31$ vs. low exploration $\beta = .13$).

An alternative approach: Materialism as a moderator. Given that most of the previous models examined thus far showed only fair fit, materialism was considered post-hoc as a moderator of the relationships between privileged television and life goals. Materialism is generally conceived of as the endogenous

variable, but there is some prior research (Moschis & Moore, 1982) with adolescents, suggesting that prior materialism as an individual trait affects responses to materialistic content. In that study, the authors found a stronger correlation between television advertising and negative consumer activity (the ability to buy and use products in a rational and efficient way, such as planning how to spend money, comparing prices, reading labels, etc.) for those who scored high on previous levels of materialism (r = .23, p < .05) than for those who scored low on previous levels of materialism (r = .12, ns).

A median split was done to categorize participants in to low or high materialism groups. Then, the model using privileged television to predict life goals was re-run. The model fit was mediocre to poor: χ^2 = 78.16, p < .001; RMSEA = .09 (90% confidence interval = .08 to .11), TLI = .72, CFI =.85. Additionally, the chi-square difference test between the constrained and unconstrained models revealed that the two groups were not significantly different. This suggested that materialism worked better as a mediator rather than as a grouping variable in this data set.

Summary. There was support for hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 to varying degrees. Hypothesis 1a and 1c were supported in that there was a positive relationship between privileged television and materialism and privileged television and wealth/status goals. However, H1b, that there would be a negative direct relationship between privileged television and altruistic goals, was not supported.

Hypothesis 2 also received partial support such that some of the models had better fit with identity exploration used as a moderator (privileged television

predicting materialism, materialism as a mediator of privileged television and life goals) while one did not (privileged television predicting life goals). The relationships between privileged television, materialism and life goals were stronger for those who were higher in identity exploration than for those lower in identity exploration.

Consistent with H3, materialism partially mediated the relationship between privileged television and wealth/status goals and functioned as an indirect path for altruistic goals. This suggests that materialism is part of the effect that privileged television has on life goals.

The post-hoc analysis examining materialism as a moderator on the effects of privileged television on life goals did not fit the data.

Mediators of Materialism

H4: Materialistic learning as mediator of relationship between privileged television and materialism. Hypothesis 4 predicted that materialistic learning would mediate the relationship between privileged television and materialism (see *Figure 4a*).

The model fit statistics indicated fair model fit: $\chi^2 = 41.27$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .06 (90% confidence interval = .05 to .09), TLI = .85, CFI = .92 (see *Table 14*). The indirect path from privileged television to materialism via materialistic learning was significant (β = .10, $p < .001$). As can be seen from Figure 4a, the relationships between privileged television and materialistic learning (β = .39), materialistic learning and materialism (β = .25) were positive and significant as predicted.

The direct path between privileged television and materialism was also significant though it shrank from β = .23 to β = .13 with the inclusion of materialistic learning as a mediator (compare Figure 1a and Figure 4a). This indicates partial rather than complete mediation by materialistic learning (see *Table 15)*.

Moderation by identity exploration. A chi-square difference test revealed that the unconstrained model of the materialistic learning mediator model fit better than the constrained models indicating that the strength of the relationships varied by participants' level of identity exploration (χ^2 difference= 20.90, *df* difference = 4, $p < .05$). Model fit indices indicated fair fit of the unconstrained model: $\chi^2 = 46.54$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .06 (90% confidence interval = .04 to .08), TLI = .88, CFI = .93 (see *Table 14*). As can be seen in Figures 4b and 4c, the direct path between privileged television and materialism was stronger for those who were high in identity exploration (β = .21) than for those who were lower in identity exploration (β = .06, ns).

As can be seen from the comparison of Figure 1b and Figure 4b, for those low in identity exploration, the direct path between privileged television and materialism shrank from β = .13 to β = .06 (ns) when the indirect path was included. Among those who were high in identity exploration, the coefficient for the direct path shrank from β = .31 to β = .21 when the indirect path was included (Figures 1c and 4c). Additionally, the indirect path from privileged television to materialism via materialistic learning was slightly stronger for those higher in identity exploration (β =

.11) than for those low in identity exploration (β = .07) (see *Table 15*). Thus, both the direct and indirect paths were stronger for those high in identity exploration.

H5: Identification as mediator of relationship between privileged television and materialism. H5 predicted that participants' identification with characters would mediate the relationship between exposure to privileged television and materialism (see *Figure 5a*).

The model fit statistics indicated only fair model fit for the whole sample analysis: χ^2 = 42.96, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .07 (90% confidence interval = .05 to .09), TLI = .82, CFI = .90 (see *Table 13*). Consistent with hypothesis 5, the indirect path from privileged television to materialism via identification was significant and in the expected direction (β = .07, $p < .001$). As can be seen in Figure 5a, privileged television exposure was positively related to identification (β = .35) which in turn was positively related to materialism (β = .19).

The direct path between privileged television and materialism was also significant though it shrank from β = .23 to β = .16 with the inclusion of identification as a mediator (compare Figure 1a and Figure 5a). This indicates partial rather than complete mediation by identification (see *Table 15)*.

Moderation by identity exploration. The unconstrained model predicting materialism with identification as the mediator fit better than the constrained model using identity exploration as the grouping variable (χ^2 difference= 12.35, *df* difference = 4, $p < .05$) (see *Figures 5b* and *5c*). Again, this indicated that the strength of the

relationships varied by participants' level of identity exploration. Overall, the tests indicated fair fit of the unconstrained model: $\chi^2 = 53.28$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .07 (90% confidence interval = .05 to .09), TLI = .83, CFI = .91 (see *Table 14*).

As can be seen from the comparison of Figure 1b and Figure 6b, for those low in identity exploration, the direct path between privileged television and materialism shrank from β = .13 to β = .06 (ns) when the indirect path was included. Among those who were high in identity exploration, the coefficient for the direct path shrank from β = .31 to β = .26 when the indirect path was included (Figures 1c and 6c). Additionally, the indirect path from privileged television to materialism via identification was slightly stronger for those high in identity exploration (β = .07) than for those low in identity exploration (β = .05) (see *Table 15*).

H6: Upward comparison as mediator of relationship between privileged television and materialism. H6 predicted that upward comparison would mediate the relationship between privileged television and materialism (see *Figure 6a*).

The tests indicated fair fit of the model on the data: $\chi^2 = 41.95$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .07 (90% confidence interval = .05 to .09), TLI = .85, CFI = .92 (see *Table 14*). As hypothesized, the mediating path from privileged television to upward comparison to materialism was significant and in the expected direction (β = .12, $p < .01$), such that privileged television was positively related to upward comparison (β = .39) which was positively related to materialism (β = .11).

The direct path between privileged television and materialism was also significant though it shrank from β = .23 to β = .11 with the inclusion of upward

comparison as a mediator (compare Figure 1a and Figure 6a). This indicates partial rather than complete mediation by upward comparison (see *Table 15)*.

Moderation by identity exploration*.* As with the other mediating models, the model with upward comparison as the mediator had better fit with the unconstrained model than the constrained model (χ^2 difference= 34.82, *df* difference = 4, $p < .05$) (see *Figures 6b* and *6c*). The model fit statistics indicated fair model fit: $\chi^2 = 48.29$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .06 (90% confidence interval = .04 to .08), TLI = .88, CFI = .93 (see *Table 14*).

As can be seen from the comparison of Figure 1b and Figure 6b, for those low in identity exploration, the direct path between privileged television and materialism shrank from β = .13 to β = .03 (ns) when the indirect path was included. Among those who were high in identity exploration, the coefficient for the direct path shrank from β = .31 to β = .19 when the indirect path was included (Figures 1c and 8c). Additionally, the indirect path from privileged television to materialism via upward comparison was slightly stronger for those high in identity exploration (β = .12) than for those low in identity exploration (β = .10) (see *Table 15*).

An alternative approach: Materialistic learning, identification, and upward comparison as moderators. Given the lack of good model fit for materialistic learning, identification, and upward social comparison as mediators for the whole sample, I also explored these variables as moderators explaining materialism (see *Table 22*). The model fit for materialistic learning as the moderator was: $\chi^2 = 766.27$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .29 (90% confidence interval = .27 to .31), TLI

= .11, CFI = .36 which indicated poor model fit. The model fit for identification as the moderator was: χ^2 = 710.13, p < .001; RMSEA= .28 (90% confidence interval = .66 to .30), TLI = .11, CFI = .36 indicated poor model fit. The model fit for upward comparison as the moderator was: χ^2 = 722.02, p < .001; RMSEA = .28 (90% confidence interval = .26 to .30), TLI = .09, CFI = .38 indicated poor model fit. Therefore that it was concluded that although model fit of these variables as mediators was only fair, it was rather better than the model fit when these variables were used as moderators.

Summary. There was partial mediation of the direct relationship between privileged television and materialism by materialistic learning (H4), identification (H5) and social comparison (H6). In addition, H2 received further support, in that using identity exploration as a moderator made all three mediating models fit better.

Transportation and Realism as Mediators or Moderators of Materialism

RQ1: Transportation and materialism. RQ1 asked whether transportation (getting "lost" in the narrative) would act as a mediator or moderator of the relationship between privileged television and materialism.

Transportation as mediator. The first analysis treated transportation as a mediator (see *Figure 7a*). The model fit statistics indicated mediocre to poor model fit: χ^2 = 50.22, p < .001; RMSEA = .07 (90% confidence interval = .05 to .09), TLI = .75, CFI = .86 (see *Table 14*). The relationship between privileged television and

transportation (β = .26), transportation and materialism (β = .20), and privileged television and materialism (β = .18), were positive and significant (see *Table 14*).

The direct path between privileged television and materialism was also significant though it shrank from β = .23 to β = .18 with the inclusion of transportation as a mediator (compare Figure 1a and Figure 7a). This indicates partial rather than complete mediation by transportation (see *Table 15)*.

Transportation as moderator. Next, the model using transportation as a moderator was examined (see *Table 22*). The model fit for transportation as the moderator was: χ^2 = 296.25, *p* < .001; RMSEA = .18 (90% confidence interval = .16 to .20), TLI = .01, CFI = .44 indicating poor model fit. There is some indication that transportation acted as a mediator and no indication that it acted a moderator in this data.

Moderation by identity exploration. The unconstrained model with transportation as a mediator between privileged television and materialism fit better than the constrained model according to the chi-square difference test (χ2 difference= 16.49, df difference = 4, p < .05) (see Figures 7b and 7c). The tests still indicated mediocre to poor fit of the model on the data: χ2 = 67.50, p < .001; RMSEA = .08 (90% confidence interval = .06 to .10), TLI = .75, CFI = .86 (see Table 14).

RQ2: Realism and materialism. The next research question was whether realism acted as a mediator or moderator.

Realism as mediator*.* First, realism was examined as a mediator between privileged television and materialism (see *Figure 8a*). The model fit statistics indicate fair to mediocre model fit: $\chi^2 = 48.11$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .07 (90% confidence interval = .05 to .09), TLI = .77, CFI = .87 (see Table 14). The relationship between privileged television and realism (β = .23), realism and materialism (β = .13), and privileged television and materialism (β = .20), were positive and significant as expected (see *Table 14*). The direct path between privileged television and materialism was significant but it shrank only very slightly from β = .23 to β = .20 with the inclusion of realism as a mediator (compare Figure 1a and Figure 8a, Table 15).

Realism as moderator*.* The model fit for realism as the moderator was: $\chi^2 = 1164.23$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .36 (90% confidence interval = .34 to .38), TLI = .36, CFI = .34 indicating even poorer model fit (see *Table 22*). Although neither the mediating nor moderating model fit the data well, the mediating model fit the data quite a bit better than the moderating model. There is not much indication that perceived realism was a mediator and no indication that it was a moderator in this data.

*Moderation by identity exploration****.*** For the model of privileged television predicting materialism with realism as a mediator, the constrained model fit the data better than the unconstrained model (χ^2 difference= 6.34, *df* difference = 4, $p > .05$) (see *Table 15*). This indicated that identity exploration did not moderate this relationship.

Summary. The third set of analyses examined research questions 1 and 2 regarding whether transportation and realism operate as mediators or moderators. For research question 1, regarding transportation, the model fit statistics indicated fair to mediocre model fit for the mediating model and poor model fit for the moderating model. This indicates that transportation works more as a mediator than a moderator regarding the relationship between privileged television and materialism. Likewise, the same relationship held true for research question 2 regarding realism as a mediator or moderator. The model fit statistic indicated fair to mediocre model fit for the mediating model and poor model fit for the moderating model. This also indicates that realism works better as a mediator of the relationship between privileged television and materialism than a moderator. Both transportation and realism acted as partial mediators of the relationship between privileged television and materialism.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that using identity exploration as a moderator of the model of the relationship between privileged television and materialism would provide better model fit. The unconstrained model fit better for transportation as a mediator, though the constrained model fit better for realism as a mediator, indicating that identity exploration does moderate the relationship for transportation, but not for realism. For those low in identity exploration, transportation more fully mediated the relationship between privileged television and materialism, whereas for those high in identity exploration, transportation only partially mediated this relationship.

Influence of Presumed Influence as a Mediator of Materialism and Life Goals

H7a: Peer norms as mediator of the relationship between privileged television and materialism. To test H7a, I ran a path analysis with peer norms as the mediating variable between privileged television exposure and materialism per the exemplification idea behind presumed influence (see *Figure 9*).

The model fit statistics indicate fair model fit: $\chi^2 = 34.22$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .06 (90% confidence interval = .04 to .08), TLI = .85, CFI = .92 (see *Table 16*). As predicted the indirect path from privileged television to materialism via perceived peer norms was significant and in the expected direction (β = .04, $p < .001$), such that privileged television was positively related to materialistic peer norms (β = .14) which was positively related to materialism (β = .19). The direct path between privileged television and materialism was also significant though it shrank from β = .23 to β = .19 with the inclusion of the indirect path via peer norms (see *Table 17)*.

Moderation by identity exploration. Identity exploration was also used a grouping variable for the model using peer norms as a mediating variable between privileged television and materialism (see *Figures 9b* and *9c*). The unconstrained model fit the data better indicating moderation by identity exploration (χ^2 difference= 63.66, df difference = 4, $p < .05$). The model fit the data well: $\chi^2 = 32.78$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .04 (90% confidence interval = .01 to .07), TLI = .93, CFI = .96 (see *Table 16*). As expected, the direct path from privileged television to materialism was stronger for high identity exploration emerging adults (β = .25) than for low identity

exploration emerging adults (β = .11). The indirect path from privileged television to materialism via peer norms was only significant for those high in identity exploration (β = .06, $p < .01$), which indicates that there was partial mediation with those high in identity exploration but not significant mediation for those low in identity exploration (see *Table 17*).

H7b: Peer norms as mediator of the relationship between privileged television and altruistic life goals. Next, I ran a path analysis with peer norms as the mediating variable between privileged television exposure and altruistic life goals (see Figure 12a)

The model fit the data well: $\chi^2 = 27.41$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .05 (90% confidence interval = .03 to .07), TLI = .92, CFI = .95 (see *Table 18*). Hypothesis 7b was supported as the mediating path from privileged television to altruistic life goals via perceived peer norms was significant and in the expected direction (β = .09, $p < .001$), such that privileged television was positively related to altruistic life goal peer norms (β = .24), which were positively related to altruistic life goals (β = .45). The direct path between privileged television and altruistic life goals was also significant (β = .20), which indicates partial mediation (see *Table 19)*.

Moderation by identity exploration. The same model was examined using level of identity exploration as the grouping variable. The unconstrained model had better fit than the constrained model, indicating significant moderation (χ^2 difference= 99.74, *df* difference = 4, $p < .05$). The unconstrained model fit the data well: χ^2 =

29.92, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .04 (90% confidence interval = .00 to .06), TLI = .96, CFI = .98 (see *Table 18*).

As in previous models, the direct relationship between privileged television and altruistic goals was somewhat stronger for those high in identity exploration (β = .13) than low in identity exploration (β = .08), however the indirect path was somewhat stronger for those low in identity exploration (β = .11) compared to those higher in identity exploration (β = .08).

H7c: Peer norms as a mediator of the relationship between privileged television and wealth/status life goals. Next, I ran a path analysis with peer norms as the mediating variable between privileged television exposure and wealth/status life goals per the exemplification effect which has been used as an alternative to presumed influence. The exogenous variables predicted privileged television which predicted wealth/status life goals and peer norms, and peer norms predicted wealth/status life goals.

The tests indicated fair fit of the model on the data: $\chi^2 = 43.19$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .07 (90% confidence interval = .05 to .09), TLI = .83, CFI = .91 (see *Table 20*). Hypothesis 7c was supported as the mediating path from privileged television to wealth/status life goals via wealth/status life goal peer norms was significant and in the expected direction (β = .11, $p < .001$). As hypothesized, the relationship between privileged television and wealth/status life goal peer norms (β = .23), wealth/status life goal peer norms and wealth/status life goals (β = .38), and privileged television and wealth/status life goals (β = .20) were positive and

significant (see *Figure 15a* and *Table 20*). The direct path between privileged television and wealth/status life goals was also significant (β = .11 $p < .001$), which indicates partial mediation (see *Table 21)*.

Moderation by identity exploration. The same model was considered with identity exploration as the grouping variable. Although there was significant moderation (χ^2 difference= 46.14, *df* difference = 4, $p < .05$) (see *Figures 15b* and *15c*), the model fit statistics indicated only fair to mediocre fit: $\chi^2 = 63.62$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .08 (90% confidence interval = .06 to .10), TLI = .81, CFI = .90 (see *Table 20*). The path from privileged television to wealth/status goals was stronger for high identity exploration emerging adults (β = .23) than for those with low identity exploration (β = .16). The indirect path from privileged television to peer norms to wealth/status goals was stronger for those who were high in identity exploration (β = .11) than for those low in identity exploration (β = .04), which indicates that there is partial mediation for both groups (see *Table 21*).

H8: The influence of presumed influence of privileged television on materialism, altruistic life goals, and wealth/status life goals. The next step was to analyze the complete influence of presumed influence model as indicated in hypothesis 8 and as illustrated in Figures 10a (materialism), 13a (altruistic life goals), and 16a (wealth/status goals). The exogenous variables were used to predict privileged television which predicted materialism and peer exposure, which predicted media influence, which predicted peer norms, which predicted materialism/life goals.

Influence of presumed influence and materialism. When materialism was the outcome variable, the model indicated mediocre to poor fit of the data: χ^2 = 197.92, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .10 (90% confidence interval = .08 to .11), TLI = .65, CFI = .75 (see *Table 16*) though the relationships were in the expected direction. However, the relationship between privileged television and perceived peer exposure was significant (β = .36), as was the relationship between peer exposure and media influence (β = .36), media influence and peer norms (β = .39), and peer norms and materialism (β = .29) were in the expected directions and were significant which support hypotheses 8a, 8b, and 8c.

Moderation by identity exploration. The full influence of presumed influence model predicting materialism had better model fit with the unconstrained model using identity exploration as the grouping variable (χ^2 difference= 68.81, *df* difference = 6, $p < .05$) (see *Figures 10b* and *10c*), but the overall model still did not fit the data: χ^2 = 13864.16, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .63 (90% confidence interval = .63 to .64), TLI = .17, CFI = .04 (see *Table 16*).

Privileged television and altruistic life goals. To test the influence of presumed influence model predicting altruistic life goals (H8), I first performed a path analysis to examine the relationship between exposure to privileged television and altruistic life goals (see *Figure 11a*). The overall model fit for the path analysis of privileged television and altruistic life goals indicated fair fit: χ^2 = 19.51, $p < .001$;

RMSEA = .06 (90% confidence interval = .04 to .09), TLI = .84, CFI = .93 (see *Table 18*).

Moderation by identity exploration. For the model of privileged television predicting altruistic life goals, the constrained model fit the data better than the unconstrained model (χ^2 difference= .05, *df* difference = 1, $p < .05$) (see *Table 18*). This indicated that identity exploration did not moderate this relationship.

Influence of presumed influence and altruistic life goals. The next step was to analyze the full influence of presumed influence model for the whole sample as predicted in hypothesis 8 (see *Figure 13a*). The fit statistics indicated poor fit of the data: $\chi^2 = 223.86$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .10 (90% confidence interval = .09 to .12), TLI = .71, CFI = .59 (see *Table 18*). However, the relationships between privileged television and peer exposure (β = .35), peer exposure and media influence (β = .33), media influence and peer norms (β = .16), and peer norms and altruistic life goals (β = .45) were in the expected directions and were significant, which supported hypotheses 8a, 8b, and 8c. The indirect path of privileged television to peer exposure to media influence to peer norms to altruistic life goals was significant (β = .00, $p < .001$) though non-existent (see *Table 19*). The direct path between privileged television and altruistic life goals was also significant and in the expected direction (β = .11).

Moderation by identity exploration. The full influence of presumed influence model predicting altruistic goals also had better model fit with the unconstrained model using identity exploration as the grouping variable (χ^2 difference= 77.55, *df*

difference = 6, $p < .05$) (see *Figures 13b* and *13c*). The overall model did not fit the data: $\chi^2 = 13889.70$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .64 (90% confidence interval = .63 to .64), TLI = .18, CFI = .04 (see *Table 18*).

Privileged television and wealth/status life goals. To test the influence of presumed influence model predicting wealth/status life goals, I first performed a path analysis to examine the relationship between exposure to privileged television and wealth/status life goals (see *Figure 14a*). The overall model fit for the path analysis of privileged television and wealth/status life indicated mediocre to poor model fit: $\chi^2 = 36.80$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .09 (90% confidence interval = .06 to .12), TLI = .70, CFI = .09 (see *Table 20*).

Moderation by identity exploration. Using identity exploration as the grouping variable, the model that examined was the basic relationship between privileged television and wealth/status life goal (see *Figures 14b* and *14c*). The unconstrained was a better fit than the constrained model according to the chi-square difference test (χ^2 difference= 4.31, *df* difference =1, $p < .05$) although the fit was still poor: $\chi^2 = 43.92$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .10 (90% confidence interval = .07 to .13), TLI = .73, CFI = .88 (see *Table 20*). The path between privileged television and wealth/status goals was stronger for those high in identity exploration ($\beta = .34$) than for those low in identity exploration ($\beta = .19$).

Influence of presumed influence and wealth/status life goals. The next step was to analyze the full influence of presumed influence model with wealth/status goals as the outcome variable (see *Figure 16a*). The exogenous

variables predicted privileged television which predicted wealth/status goals and peer exposure, which predicted media influence, which predicted peer norms, which predicted wealth/status goals.

The model did not fit the data: $\chi^2 = 251.30$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .11 (90% confidence interval = .09 to .12), TLI = .59, CFI = .71 (see *Table 20*). However, the relationships between privileged television and peer exposure (β = .35), peer exposure and media influence (β = .33), media influence and peer norms (β = .37), and peer norms and wealth/status life goals (β = .38) were in the expected directions and were significant, which support hypotheses 8a, 8b, and 8c. The indirect path of privileged television to peer exposure to media influence to peer norms to wealth/status life goals was significant (β = .02, $p < .001$) though quite small (see *Table 21*). The direct path between privileged television and wealth/status life goals was also significant and in the expected direction (β = .20, $p < .001$).

Moderation by identity exploration. The full influence of presumed influence model predicting wealth/status life goals also had better model fit with the unconstrained model using identity exploration as the grouping variable (χ^2 difference= 100.60, *df* difference = 6, $p < .05$) (see *Figures 16b* and *16c*). The overall model did not fit the data: $\chi^2 = 13742.52$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .67 (90% confidence interval = .66 to .68), TLI = .20, CFI = .04 (see *Table 20*). As in other models, the relationship between privileged television and wealth/status goals was stronger for high identity exploration emerging adults (β = .24) than for low identity

exploration emerging adults (β = .16). Additionally, neither the mediating path for the low identity exploration emerging adults (β = .00, $p < .05$) nor the high identity exploration emerging adults (β = .01, $p < .001$) was strong indicating that the paths of presumed influence did not mediate the relationship between privileged television and wealth/status goals (see *Table 21*).

Summary. The results indicated that perceived peer norms provided partial mediation of the relationships between privileged television and materialism, altruistic life goals, and materialistic life goals, consistent with Hypotheses 7a, 7b, and 7c.

Hypothesis 8 involved the full influence of presumed influence models with materialism, altruistic life goals, and wealth/status life goals as the outcome variables. The model fit statistic for all three models indicated mediocre to poor model fit indicating that these models do not fit this data well. Although there was some indication of moderation by identity exploration, the models still showed very poor fit.

Summary of Identity Exploration as a Moderator

In conclusion, thirteen of the sixteen models fit better with the grouping variable of identity exploration added to the path analyses. The effects of privileged television were stronger for those who were high in identity exploration than those who were low in identity exploration. For those who were low in identity exploration, mediating variables, such as materialistic learning, transportation, identification

became important as to whether privileged television has an effect on their level of materialism, which indicates that they must be engaged with, learn from, and identify with the characters of the show in order for it to affect their level of materialism.

Chapter 6

Discussion

Overview

Although prior research has examined the link between television viewing and materialism, this study focuses on a specific genre of television (labeled "privileged television") which glamorizes extremely wealthy lifestyles. The central questions were whether exposure to this type of content would be related to young adults' level of materialism and life goal importance, as well as how the strength of the relationships might vary by developmental stage, and what processes might explain this relationship.

Privileged Television, Materialism, and Life Goals

Consistent with H1, there was a positive relationship between exposure to privileged television and materialism, even after controlling for education, income, sex, age, and overall television exposure. Controlling for overall television exposure helped support the argument that the relationships were with the particular genre itself and not just overall television exposure. This much is consistent with prior research (e.g., Yang & Oliver, 2010) but what is novel in the study is the examination of this particular genre with this particular age group as well as linking materialism to a new outcome, importance of life goals. Establishing privileged television as different from regular television was vital to this study, which was supported in the first pre-test. Additionally, it seemed particularly interesting to examine this relationship in people who are making decisions that will affect the rest of their lives, which is why is was important to examine

those in the emerging adulthood age range (18-29 years of age). By doing so, I was able to see how levels of materialism might affect life goal importance in a population who are making choices about their own life and setting goals for themselves.

Furthermore, there was also a relationship established between exposure to privileged television and the importance of wealth/status life goals, which had not been established previously. Additionally, examining the relationship between materialism brings in to question whether materialism can have an effect on the importance of various life goals and the trajectory of one's life. The relationship between privileged television and wealth/status goals was positive indicating that those who watched more privileged television also placed more importance on wealth/status life goals such as having a prestigious career and having a high standard of living. These relationships were expected due to the fact that many of the portrayals on privileged television shows glamorize wealth and material goods.

The relationships between privileged television, materialism, and altruistic life goals proved to be more complicated than originally anticipated. There was an unanticipated finding of a positive direct path between privileged television and altruistic life goals, such that those who watched more privileged programming also gave higher ratings of the personal importance of helping others, promoting the welfare of others, etc. In addition, however, there was a negative indirect path from privileged television exposure to altruistic goals via materialism. This suggests that privileged television programming may operate in two ways for this population. One, the direct path, may encourage those in this integral phase of their life to feel that they can have it all – help

others, participate in communities, *and* be wealthy and have a prestigious career. The second is to foster materialism and, in doing so, decrease interest in altruistic life goals.

Past research has linked materialism to other negative outcomes (life dissatisfaction, depression, etc.); however this study was novel because it linked materialism to importance of life goals. The relationship between materialism and both wealth/status and altruistic life goals was in the expected direction, such that those with higher levels of materialism place greater importance on wealth/status goals and less importance on altruistic life goals. This indicates that materialism as a value is related to the importance that one places on future life goals and could potentially influences the paths that one decides to take. This is particularly interesting for emerging adults who are making decisions that will affect the rest of their lives. For example, emerging adults who have high levels of materialism may choose a career path or major in college that will lead them to fulfill their wealth/status life goals. This is fascinating because this research shows that materialism may not only affect one's current aspirations and life satisfaction, but may also influence what one chooses to do in one's future. Though we cannot be sure this is the case with a cross-sectional study, it seems logical and would be an interesting study to do in the future.

Of course, a counterargument could be made that exposure to privileged television does not have these effects but rather, that those who are already materialistic tend to watch such programming because it resonates with their pre-existing beliefs and attitudes. Unfortunately the current study, like virtually all prior research in this area, simply involves a cross-sectional survey rather than a longitudinal

study or an experiment, which would allow us to untangle such issues about the direction of causality. However, materialism was examined in this study as a moderator of the relationship between privileged television and life goals. Respondents were categorized as being low or high in materialism (based on a median split) and the model was run using materialism group as the moderator. The model adding materialism as a moderator had poor model fit. While this does not mean that pre-existing materialistic values do not exist, they did not affect the relationships between privileged television and life goals in a significant way.

This study was novel in its focus on emerging adulthood as the population of interest. Not only are young adults (aged 18 to 29) one of the main target audiences of this type of programming, but as described earlier, they are also making decisions about the trajectory of their lives, are still exploring their self-identity. It was hypothesized that the relationships between privileged television, materialism, and life goals would be stronger for those who report high levels of identity exploration and weaker for those who report low levels of identity exploration.

Identity exploration was measured by how much respondents agreed with whether they felt that this time in their lives was for planning the future, finding out who they are, deciding their own beliefs and values etc. As hypothesized, the relationships between privileged television, materialism, and life goals were stronger for those who rated themselves high on these items than for those who were low in identity exploration. Low identity exploration could indicate individuals who have not yet really begun to think about these issues or those who feel that they have already committed to

a particular identity - given this, it makes sense that depictions of particular lifestyles might have less influence on their goals. In contrast, the relationships between media, materialism, and life goals for those in emerging adulthood who are actively exploring their identity may be similar to those in adolescence, who use television as a super peer (Brown, Halpern, & L'Engle, 2005).

Mediators of Materialism

This study fills a gap in media research by using social cognitive, social comparison, depth of engagement with content, and the influence of presumed influence as theoretical frameworks to investigate the potential relationship between habitual exposure to privileged television shows, materialism, and life goals. Past research has tested some of these relationships, but not together and not with the goal of trying to understand which mediating psychological processes might be explain the relationship between television exposure (in this case privileged television exposure) and levels of materialism. It is possible that general television viewing activates different processes than privileged television viewing, given the nature of the content of privileged television programming. Therefore, I cannot claim that watching regular television programming operates in the same way as the mediating processes that I examined in this study.

Materialistic learning, upward comparison, transportation, identification, realism, and peer norms were all tested separately as mediators, and all provided partial mediation of the relationship between privileged television and materialism. However,

some of the mediating models had better model fit than others and appeared to be stronger mediators of the relationship. Materialistic learning, upward comparison, and peer norms had the best overall model fit out of the above models with fair model fit (based on the RMSEA, TLI, CFI, and Chi-square), while materialistic learning and upward comparison mediated the relationship between privileged television and materialism most strongly. However, according to the BIC, which is used to compare different models with the same outcomes, the mediating model with peer norms as the mediator has the best fit out of all of the mediating models. Therefore it appears that in this data set, the processes underlying social cognitive theory and social comparison theory contributed more to the relationship between privileged television and materialism when looking at the models individually, however, when looking at the models comparatively, peer norms was the best mediating model of materialism.

In addition to looking at these variables as mediators, I also examined each of these variables as moderators. There was no support that these variables worked as moderators in this data in contrast to prior research (Richins, 1987; Shrum et al., 2011). Perhaps this could be because the previous research that found moderation was done experimentally with immediate responses to the content that was viewed rather than recollections of habitual responses as was examined in this study. Additionally, it could be that although realism and transportation have been viewed as moderators in the past, they also could be conceptualized as mediating processes, such that the more one watches television (or a particular television show), the more that they find the content to be realistic and also the more that they feel transported by the narrative of

the program. This also seems to make sense logically, as the more one watches a particular television show, the more they get to know the characters and environment of that television show, which could make them feel it is more realistic and also make them feel more transported when they view

It is also possible that these findings may reflect poorer measurement of some of the depth of engagement variables. For example, in order to examine transportation more thoroughly, it would have been preferable to have a measure of counterarguing to determine if this was related to the relationship between privileged television and materialism. Transported viewers are less likely to counterargue with the portrayals being shown and are also more likely to think the narrative experience is like a real experience and are therefore more likely to be affected by the portrayals (Green & Brock, 2000). Additionally, perhaps if perceived realism items measured realism specifically about the materialistic content, rather than general realism (e.g. true-to-life, accurate etc.), it could have been more useful in the analyses.

With regard to the presumed influence models, perceived peer norms, perceived exposure, and perceived influence of materialistic programs on peers, were tested as mediators of the relationship between privileged television and the three outcome variables (materialism, altruistic life goals, and materialistic life goals). Peer norms partially mediated the relationship between privileged television and each of the outcome variables. All three peer norms mediating models fit better than the full influence of presumed influence models. It appears that it might be more worthwhile to use peer norms to predict materialism, altruistic, and wealth/status life goals, rather than

the full presumed influence model, which includes peer exposure and media influence on peers. It could be that the full influence of presumed influence model works similarly to people's perceptions of peer norms, such that people perceive that their peers' norms are influenced by the media but may be are not aware that they feel that their peers' norms are influenced by the media. Since influence of presumed influence is a fairly new concept, more research is certainly needed to explore this idea and untangle the potential underlying processes.

Additionally, using emerging adults as a population of interest is novel for the influence of presumed influence research. This makes for an interesting comparison to the presumed influence work done with adolescent, which shows that the influence of presumed influence processes are strong for adolescents as they tend to be very concerned about what their peers think. As some have described emerging adulthood as an extension of adolescence, perhaps this is true with regards to peer norms and how emerging adults value their peers' norms. This study builds on the research in this field by adding a potentially new population of interest that may be susceptible to the processes of influence of presumed influence.

Identity exploration as a moderator. All of the mediating relationships above were also examined using identity exploration as a moderator. Identity exploration was significant as a moderator for the models including materialistic learning, upward comparison, identification, transportation, and peer norms. Across all of these models, the pattern of results was consistent. First, as noted earlier, the direct path between viewing and materialism was stronger for those high in identity exploration than for

those who were low in identity exploration. Second, for those high in identity exploration, both the direct and indirect paths (via the mediator) were significant, indicating partial mediation. For those low in identity exploration, the indirect path was significant and the direct path was not significant (with the exception of the model using peer norms as mediator).

It is possible that those who are low in identity exploration must learn from the characters, identify with the characters, be transported by the narrative, or upward compare themselves to the characters in order for privileged television to have an effect on their levels of materialism. This could be because those who are high in identity exploration are actively seeking out information to help shape their identity while those who are low in identity exploration need to learn from, identify with, or compare to the characters or be transported by the narrative in order for there to be a relationship between privileged television and materialism.

In the same way, the relationship between privileged television and materialism and privileged television and altruistic life goals was mediated by peer norms for those low in identity exploration, but only partially mediated for those high in identity exploration. This suggests that for those who are low in identity exploration, there must be an exemplification effect of their peer's norms about materialism in order for privileged television to affect the level of materialism. Likewise, for those who are low in identity exploration, exemplification of peer norms about altruistic goals must occur in order for privileged television to have an effect on the importance of altruistic goals to themselves. This is interesting as peer norms acts similarly to materialistic learning,

identification, upward comparison, and transportation for those who are low in identity exploration.

Future Research

One line of future research that would be interesting and important would be to examine the relationship between privileged television, materialism, and life goals experimentally. One way to do this would be to conduct an experiment in which participants are assigned to view privileged programming or regular television programming and then measure levels of materialism and life goal importance.

Another line of future research that would be interesting would be to see how materialism levels change over time by conducting longitudinal research regarding television, materialism, and life goals. A study that starts during adolescence and follows participants through emerging adulthood and examines how media, materialistic values, and life goals change over time would be interesting. By measuring these variables throughout adolescence and emerging adulthood, one would be able to see how aspirations and materialism change over time and how they vary based on exposure to privileged television. Experimental and longitudinal research could build on the current project and would allow one to make claims about causality that were beyond the scope of this cross-sectional project.

Given the findings that identity exploration moderated the relationships between privileged television, materialism, and life goals, it would be interesting to see what other characteristics of emerging adulthood might alter this relationship, such as

instability, experimentation, feeling “in-between” etc. It might be that identity exploration is the most relevant characteristic to this particular relationship, but it might also be the case that instability and experimentation might also make the relationship between privileged television and its outcomes stronger. Additionally, although the IDEA has been thoroughly tested and was great for measuring different dimensions of emerging adulthood, it would be ideal to have an overall measure for stages of emerging adulthood to indicate whether people were in the beginning of that developmental period, in the middle of it, or towards the end (reaching full adulthood).

Conclusion

Despite the limitations of this study, this research offers important insights into the relationships between privileged television, materialism, and life goals. In particular, the project is novel in examining how those in the emerging adult age range might be affected by television programming that focuses on wealthy lifestyles. Past research has shown that television can affect one’s level of materialism; however, this study indicates that a specific genre of television, privileged television, is positively related to materialism and that this relationship is most strongly mediated by materialistic learning and upward comparison. Additionally, my results suggested that young adults who are actively exploring their identities are more likely to be affected by the materialistic content portrayed in privileged television whereas those who are low in identity exploration are affected by privileged television content through mediating processes, such as materialistic learning, identification, upward comparison, transportation, and

peer norms. This study showed that privileged television predicts materialism and life goals above and beyond exposure to regular television programming among those in the emerging adulthood age range.

Much attention has focused on the role of news media (both “new” and “old”) in socializing adolescents into citizenship. The current project suggests that it is also important to consider the messages conveyed about the “good” life (in all senses of the word) in fictional narratives as well as in news depictions of society. Moreover, it suggests that adolescents may not be the only population vulnerable to messages about what is desirable in life and that emerging adults may be an interesting population to study with regards to media effects and influence of presumed influence.

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Table 1. Means, standard deviations, and sample size for student ratings of overall materialism for each T.V. show in pre-test 1.

Television show name	Mean	SD	N
NYC Prep	4.60	.41	25
My Super Sweet 16	4.52	.63	56
Gossip Girl	4.50	.44	89
Keeping Up with the Kardashians	4.36	.53	34
Laguna Beach	4.33	.63	47
Kourtney & Khloe Take Miami	4.28	.56	27
The Hills	4.28	.64	52
The Girls Next Door	4.22	.81	42
90210	4.20	.64	33
Entourage	4.14	.55	73
The O.C.	4.05	.70	51
Sex & the City	3.91	.78	56
Brooke Knows Best	3.80	1.04	23
Desperate Housewives	3.69	1.01	26
One Tree Hill	2.46	.90	19
Glee	1.82	.89	19
House	1.51	1.07	20
Grey's Anatomy	1.37	.78	30
The Office	1.16	.70	35
Dexter	.93	.80	10
True Blood	.89	.69	14
Lost	.74	.71	16

Table 2. Total variance explained for exploratory factor analysis in pre-test 1

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	10.447	74.624	74.624	10.447	74.624	74.624
2	.693	4.950	79.574			
3	.483	3.453	83.028			
4	.392	2.797	85.825			
5	.343	2.451	88.275			
6	.290	2.072	90.348			
7	.256	1.830	92.178			
8	.220	1.572	93.750			
9	.195	1.393	95.143			
10	.173	1.239	96.382			
11	.162	1.158	97.540			
12	.134	.955	98.495			
13	.116	.832	99.326			
14	.094	.674	100.000			

Table 3. Final exploratory factor analysis variance explained in pre-test 1

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	10.447	74.624	74.624	10.192	72.802	72.802
2	.693	4.950	79.574			
3	.483	3.453	83.028			
4	.392	2.797	85.825			
5	.343	2.451	88.275			
6	.290	2.072	90.348			
7	.256	1.830	92.178			
8	.220	1.572	93.750			
9	.195	1.393	95.143			
10	.173	1.239	96.382			
11	.162	1.158	97.540			
12	.134	.955	98.495			
13	.116	.832	99.326			
14	.094	.674	100.000			

Table 4. Final exploratory factor analysis solution in pre-test 1

	Factor 1
glamorizes wealth	.926
wealth as desirable	.906
wealthy characters	.901
glorifies wealthy life	.901
money to attain goals	.900
characters wear designer clothes	.898
characters are materialistic	.878
characters have new gadgets/cars	.871
possessions lead to happiness	.843
discuss their own wealth	.834
possessions lead to success	.830
shows wealth as normal	.821
contains product placement	.731
talk negatively about non wealthy	.662

Table 5. Descriptive statistics for future life expectations in pre-test 2.

	Mean	SD	Min-Max	N	Reliability
Current Importance (1-7) of:					.89
High-status career	5.34	1.47	1-7	58	
Influential occupation	5.59	1.35	2-7	58	
Prestigious occupation	5.12	1.61	1-7	58	
High standard of living	5.84	1.04	3-7	58	
High level of wealth	5.40	1.32	2-7	58	
					.61
Estimates of:					
Own salary	$174,035	$408,036.94	$40,000-$3,000,000	58	
Partner's salary	$130,306	$107,719.78	$40,000-$500,000	50	
House	$542,593	$533,755.60	$60,000-$3,000,000	55	
Possessions	$314.574	$470,657.30	$5,000-$2,000,000	48	
Vehicle(s)	$89,755	$162,436.70	$5,000-$1,000,000	52	
Investments	$339,103	$665,384.61	$0-$3,500,000	40	
Travel per year	$9,798	$10,426.33	$1,000-$50,000	53	
Entertainment/Leisure	$8,843	$14,989.43	$500-$100,000	50	
Clothing	$9,210	$17,782	$250-$100,000	51	

Table 6. Descriptive statistics for entitlement scale in pre-test 2.

	Mean	SD	Min-Max	N
I honestly feel like I'm just more deserving than others.	3.40	1.57	1-7	58
Great things should come to me.	4.07	1.72	1-7	58
If I were on the Titanic, I would deserve to be on the first lifeboat.	3.07	1.50	1-7	58
I demand the best because I'm worth it.	3.83	1.80	1-7	58
I do not necessarily deserve special treatment.	4.81	1.43	1-7	58
I deserve more things in my life.	3.60	1.44	1-6	58
People like me deserve an extra break now and then.	3.91	1.54	1-7	58
Things should go my way.	4.09	1.48	1-7	58
I feel entitled to more of everything.	2.79	1.28	1-7	58

Table 7. Means, standard deviations, sample size, and reliability for student ratings of materialism for each show in pre-test 2.

Television show name	Mean	SD	N	Reliability
NYC Prep	4.92	.37	9	.36
My Super Sweet 16	4.84	.57	35	.45
Basketball Wives	4.80	.47	5	.74
Gossip Girl	4.72	.67	36	.44
Cribs/Teen Cribs	4.72	.69	36	.52
Kimora: Life in the Fab Lane	4.72	.72	11	.81
Kourtney & Khloe Take Miami	4.71	.64	25	.69
Keeping Up with the Kardashians	4.67	.66	41	.62
The Hills	4.62	.57	33	.87
Entourage	4.54	.73	36	.76
The T.O. Show	4.45	.66	8	.82
The City	4.45	.81	21	.93
Holly's Word	4.43	.89	7	.60
90210	4.39	.85	10	.91
Sex & the City	4.35	.84	41	.85
Laguna Beach	4.33	.84	31	.82
The Girls Next Door	4.29	.85	23	.81
The O.C.	4.22	.97	34	.89
Beverly Hills, 90210	3.98	1.03	10	.96
Kendra	3.79	.95	16	.88
One Tree Hill	3.07	.97	23	.90

Table 8. Means, standard deviations, and sample size for student ratings of popularity for each show in pre-test 2.

Television show name	Mean	SD	N
NYC Prep	2.43	1.40	58
My Super Sweet 16	3.22	1.51	58
Basketball Wives	2.26	1.21	58
Gossip Girl	5.53	1.62	57
Cribs/Teen Cribs	3.57	1.40	58
Kimora: Life in the Fab Lane	2.55	1.30	58
Kourtney & Khloe Take Miami	4.45	1.48	58
Keeping Up with the Kardashians	5.02	1.30	58
The Hills	4.97	1.65	58
Entourage	5.83	1.20	58
The T.O. Show	2.83	1.50	58
The City	4.10	1.71	58
Holly's Word	2.84	1.37	58
90210	3.64	1.56	58
Sex & the City	5.60	1.38	58
Laguna Beach	4.40	1.65	58
The Girls Next Door	3.57	1.46	58
The O.C.	5.07	1.54	58
Beverly Hills, 90210	2.62	1.41	58
Kendra	3.26	1.48	58
One Tree Hill	4.31	1.58	58

Table 9. Sample demographic characteristics for primary study.

	Overall		College		Non-College	
	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N
Sex						
Male	32.5	238	22.9	74	40.0	164
Female	67.5	495	77.1	249	60.0	246
Race/Ethnicity						
White/Caucasian	77.2	565	83.0	268	80.2	329
African American	4.9	36	2.2	7	1.7	7
Hispanic	3.7	27	5.3	17	7.6	31
Asian	7.0	51	9.6	31	6.6	27
Native American	0.3	2	0.3	1	1.2	5
Pacific Islander	0.3	2	0.6	2	0.0	0
Other	1.6	12	2.8	9	1.5	6
Multiple	5.1	37	3.7	12	6.1	25
Education Status						
Currently enrolled in college	44.1	323	100.0	323	0.0	0
Not currently enrolled in college	55.9	410	0.0	0	100.0	410
Education Level						
Less than High School	0.1	1	0.0	0	0.2	1
High School/GED	16.1	118	17.33	56	15.1	62
Some College	44.9	329	71.8	232	23.7	97
2-year College Degree	5.7	42	2.8	9	8.0	33
4-year College Degree	26.6	195	7.4	24	41.7	171
Masters Degree	4.8	35	0.6	2	8.0	33
Doctoral Degree	0.3	2	0.0	0	0.4	2
Professional Degree	1.5	11	0.0	0	2.7	11
Current employment status						
Not employed	25.8	189	39.3	127	15.1	62
Part-time employment	29.6	217	57.6	186	7.6	31
Full-time employment	44.6	327	3.1	10	77.3	317
Marital Status						
Single, never married	70.0	513	96.3	311	49.3	202
Married without children	11.3	83	0.9	3	19.5	80
Married with children	11.3	83	0.6	2	19.8	81
Divorced	1.0	7	0.3	1	1.5	6
Separated	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
Widowed	0.2	2	0.0	0	0.4	2
Living with Partner	5.4	45	1.9	6	9.5	39

Table 10. Descriptive statistics of variables of interest for primary study.

	Mean	SD	Min-Max	N
Age	23.64	3.62	18-29	729
Income	56,401.30	31,426.43	6,250-142,250	662
Overall TV Exposure	4.80	4.11	0-24	723
Privileged TV Exposure	14.86	16.89	0-84	739
Identity Exploration (IDEA)	3.11	.56	1-4	744
Exploration/Possibilities (IDEA)	3.18	.58	1-4	745
Negativity/Confusion (IDEA)	2.85	.57	1-4	745
Other-focused (IDEA)	2.65	.70	1-4	745
Self-focused (IDEA)	3.12	.50	1-4	745
Feeling in-between(IDEA)	2.92	.75	1-4	744
Materialism	3.01	.56	1-5	748
Altruistic Goals	3.56	.82	1-5	748
Wealth/Status Goals	3.45	.88	1-5	748
Materialistic Learning	2.36	.73	1-4	732
Transportation	2.41	.48	1-4	732
Identification	2.28	.69	1-4	732
Realism	2.58	.98	1-5	732
Upward Comparison	2.30	.70	1-4	732
Perceived Peer Norms-Materialism	3.05	.38	1-5	744
Perceived Peer Norms-Altruistic Goals	3.32	.85	1-5	744
Perceived Peer Norms-Wealth/Status Goals	3.76	.83	1-5	744

Table 11. Correlations of exogenous variables with endogenous variables for primary study.

	Sex	Age	Edu-cation	Income	Overall TV	Identity Explore
Mediating variables						
Privileged TV exposure	.26**	-.17**	-.03	.15**	.30**	.15**
Materialistic Learning	.12**	-.15**	-.09*	.09*	.14**	.24**
Transportation	.02	-.13**	.58	.09*	.13**	.22**
Identification	.04	-.08*	-.03	.14**	.15**	.20**
Realism	-.04	-.09*	-.03	.02	.20**	.10**
Upward Comparison	.13**	-.18**	-.08*	.10*	.16**	.20**
Peer Norms-materialism	.02	-.15**	-.13**	.03	.02	.16*
Peer Norms-altruistic goals	.10*	.15**	-.07	.13**	.08*	.26**
Peer Norms-wealth/status goals	.02	.25**	-.10**	.14**	-.02	.32**
Outcome variables						
Materialism	-.04	-.17**	-.07	.13**	.05	.12**
Altruistic Goals	.16**	-.21**	-.09*	.06	.05	.36**
Wealth/Status Goals	-.05	-.25**	-.09*	.26**	.05	.26**

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 12. Correlations of endogenous variables with outcome variables for primary study.

	Materialism	Altruistic Goals	Wealth/ Status Goals
Mediating variables			
Privileged TV Exposure	.23**	.21**	.29**
Materialistic Learning	.32**	.23**	.23**
Transportation	.30**	.23**	.32**
Identification	.27**	.21**	.34**
Realism	.16**	.07	.20**
Upward Comparison	.38**	.19**	.37**
Peer Norms-materialism	.35**	.01	.26**
Peer Norms-altruistic goals	.04	.47**	.25**
Peer Norms-wealth/status goals	.22**	.26**	.42**
Outcome variables			
Materialism	1.00	-.06	.58**
Altruistic Goals	-.06	1.00	.28**
Wealth/Status Goals	.58**	.28**	1.00

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 13. Standardized path coefficient estimates and standard errors for direct and indirect paths and model fit indices for initial models predicting life goals and materialism for primary study.

	Full Data			Low Explore		High Explore		
	β	SE	Fit	β	SE	β	SE	Fit
Privileged TV predicting both life goals								
Sex → Privileged TV	.26***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.39***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.17***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.30***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.06	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Altruistic goals	.22***	.04		.19***	.05	.21***	.05	
Privileged TV → Wealth/Status	.28***	.03		.19***	.05	.34***	.05	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			59.02**					69.13***
CFI			.84					.86
TLI			.72					.74
RMSEA			.08					.08
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.06-.10					.05-.10
BIC			9916.55					6393.05
Privileged TV predicting materialism†								
Sex → Privileged TV	.26***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.39***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.17***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.30***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.06	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Materialism	.23***	.03		.13*	.05	.31***	.05	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			21.31**					20.96*
CFI			.93					.95
TLI			.84					.90
RMSEA			.07					.05
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.04-.10					.02-.09
BIC			7482.37					4023.67
Privileged TV and materialism predicting both life goals†								
Sex → Privileged TV	.26***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.39***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.17***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.30***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.06	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Materialism	.23***	.03		.13*	.05	.31***	.05	
Privileged TV → Altruistic goals	.24***	.04		.21***	.05	.25***	.05	

	Full Data			Low Explore		High Explore		
	β	SE	Fit	β	SE	β	SE	Fit
Privileged TV → Wealth/Status	.15***	.03		.12**	.04	.17***	.04	
Materialism → Altruistic goals	-.12***	.04		-.16***	.05	-.15***	.04	
Materialism → Wealth/Status	.55***	.03		.56***	.04	.53***	.04	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			66.44 ***					77.05***
CFI			.92					.94
TLI			.87					.89
RMSEA			.07					.07
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.05-.09					.05-.08
BIC			10821.41					7313.96

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

† *indicates unconstrained model better than constrained model for identity exploration*

Table 14. Standardized path coefficient estimates and standard errors for direct and indirect paths and model fit indices for mediating models predicting materialism for primary study.

	Full Data			Low Explore		High Explore		
	β	SE	Fit	β	SE	β	SE	Fit
Materialistic Learning Mediator†								
Sex → Privileged TV	.26***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.39***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.17***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.30***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.06	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Mat. Learning	.39***	.03		.36***	.05	.39***	.04	
Mat. Learning → Materialism	.25***	.04		.19***	.05	.27***	.05	
Privileged TV → Materialism	.13***	.03		.06	.05	.21***	.05	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			41.27***					46.54***
CFI			.92					.93
TLI			.85					.88
RMSEA			.06					.06
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.05-.09					.04-.08
BIC			9129.31					5634.72
Transportation Mediator†								
Sex → Privileged TV	.26***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.39***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.17***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.30***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.06	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Transportation	.26***	.04		.25***	.05	.22***	.05	
Transportation → Materialism	.20***	.04		.19***	.05	.19***	.05	
Privileged TV → Materialism	.18***	.03		.08	.05	.27***	.05	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			50.22***					67.50***
CFI			.86					.86
TLI			.75					.75
RMSEA			.07					.08
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.05-.09					.06-.10
BIC			8806.55					5300.84
Identification Mediator†								
Sex → Privileged TV	.26***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.39***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.17***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.30***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.06	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Identification	.35***	.03		.34***	.05	.32***	.05	
Identification → Materialism	.19***	.04		.19***	.05	.17***	.05	

	Full Data			Low Explore		High Explore		
	β	SE	Fit	β	SE	β	SE	Fit
Privileged TV → Materialism	.16***	.03		.06	.05	.26***	.05	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			42.96***					53.28***
CFI			.90					.91
TLI			.82					.83
RMSEA			.07					.07
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.05-.09					.05-.09
BIC			9114.94					5621.69
Realism Mediator								
Sex → Privileged TV	.26***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.39***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.17***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.30***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.06	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Realism	.23***	.03		.21***	.05	.23***	.05	
Realism → Materialism	.13***	.04		.14**	.05	.11*	.05	
Privileged TV → Materialism	.20***	.03		.10	.05	.29***	.05	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			48.11***					58.70***
CFI			.87					.87
TLI			.77					.77
RMSEA			.07					.07
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.05-.09					.05-.09
BIC			9616.08					6147.53
Upward Compare Mediator†								
Sex → Privileged TV	.26***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.39***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.17***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.30***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.06	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Upward Compare	.39***	.03		.35***	.05	.41***	.04	
Upward Compare → Materialism	.31***	.04		.29***	.05	.30***	.05	
Privileged TV → Materialism	.11***	.03		.03	.05	.19***	.05	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			41.95***					48.29***
CFI			.92					.93
TLI			.85					.88
RMSEA			.07					.06
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.05-.09					.04-.08
BIC			9045.06					5559.74

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

† *indicates unconstrained model better than constrained model for identity exploration*

Table 15. Standardized path coefficient estimates, standard errors, and R-square for of total indirect and specific indirect paths of interest mediating models predicting materialism for primary study.

	Full Data		Low Explore		High Explore	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Materialistic Learning Mediator†						
Privileged TV → Materialism total	.23***	.03	.13**	.05	.31***	.05
Privileged TV → Mat. Learning → Materialism specific indirect	.10***	.02	.07***	.02	.11***	.02
Privileged TV → Materialism direct	.13***	.03	.06	.05	.21***	.05
R-Square						
Privileged TV	.23***	.03	.26***	.04	.19***	.04
Materialism	.11***	.02	.05*	.02	.16***	.04
Materialistic Learning	.15***	.03	.13***	.03	.15***	.03
Transportation Mediator†						
Privileged TV → Materialism total	.23***	.03	.13*	.05	.31***	.05
Privileged TV → Transportation → Materialism specific indirect	.05***	.01	.05**	.02	.04**	.01
Privileged TV → Materialism direct	.18***	.03	.08	.05	.27***	.05
R-Square						
Privileged TV	.23***	.03	.06**	.04	.19***	.04
Materialism	.09***	.02	.05*	.02	.13***	.03
Transportation	.07***	.02	.06**	.03	.05*	.02
Identification Mediator†						
Privileged TV → Materialism total	.23***	.03	.13**	.05	.31***	.05
Privileged TV → Identification → Materialism specific indirect	.07***	.01	.07***	.02	.05**	.02
Privileged TV → Materialism direct	.17***	.03	.06	.05	.26***	.05
R-Square						
Privileged TV	.23***	.03	.26***	.04	.19***	.04
Materialism	.09***	.02	.05*	.02	.12***	.03
Identification	.12***	.02	.12***	.03	.10***	.03
Realism Mediator						
Privileged TV → Materialism total	.23***	.03	.13	.05	.31***	.05
Privileged TV → Realism → Materialism specific indirect	.03**	.01	.03*	.01	.03	.01
Privileged TV → Materialism direct	.20***	.03	.10	.05	.29***	.05
R-Square						
Privileged TV	.23***	.03	.26***	.04	.19***	.04
Materialism	.07***	.02	.03	.02	.11***	.02
Realism	.06***	.02	.05*	.02	.05*	.02
Upward Compare Mediator†						
Privileged TV → Materialism total	.23***	.03	.13*	.05	.31***	.05
Privileged TV → Upward Compare → Materialism specific indirect	.12***	.02	.10***	.02	.12***	.02

	Full Data		Low Explore		High Explore	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Privileged TV → Materialism direct	.11***	.03	.03	.05	.20***	.05
R-Square						
Privileged TV	.23***	.03	.26***	.04	.19***	.04
Materialism	.07***	.02	.09***	.03	.17***	.04
Upward Compare	.16***	.03	.12***	.03	.17***	.04

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

† indicates unconstrained model better than constrained model for identity exploration

Table 16. Standardized path coefficient estimates and standard errors for direct and indirect paths and model fit indices for influence of presumed influence models predicting materialism for primary study.

	Full Data			Low Explore		High Explore		
	β	SE	Fit	β	SE	β	SE	Fit
Privileged TV predicting materialism†								
Sex → Privileged TV	.26***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.39***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.17***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.30***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.06	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Materialism	.23***	.03		.13*	.05	.31***	.05	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			21.31**					20.96*
CFI			.93					.95
TLI			.84					.90
RMSEA			.07					.05
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.04-.10					.02-.09
BIC			7482.37					3960.17
Peer Norms Mediator predicting materialism†								
Sex → Privileged TV	.26***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.39***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.17***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.30***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.06	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Peer Norms	.14***	.03		.06	.05	.17***	.05	
Peer Norms → Materialism	.29***	.04		.24***	.05	.37***	.05	
Privileged TV → Materialism	.19***	.03		.11*	.05	.25***	.04	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			34.22***					32.78*
CFI			.92					.96
TLI			.85					.93
RMSEA			.06					.04
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.04-.08					.01-.07
BIC			8331.44					4704.73
Full presumed influence model predicting Materialism†								
Sex → Privileged TV	.27***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.38***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.16***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.32***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.07	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Peer Exposure	.35***	.04		.34***	.05	.35***	.05	

	Full Data			Low Explore		High Explore		
	β	SE	Fit	β	SE	β	SE	Fit
Peer Exposure → Media Influence	.36***	.04		.26***	.05	.37***	.05	
Media Influence → Peer Norms	.39***	.03		.28***	.05	.41***	.04	
Peer Norms → Materialism	.29***	.04		.24***	.05	.37***	.04	
Privileged TV → Materialism	.19***	.03		.11*	.05	.26***	.05	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			197.92***					13864.16***
CFI			.75					.04
TLI			.65					.17
RMSEA			.10					.63
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.08-.11					.63-.64
BIC			12449.12					19752.18

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

† indicates unconstrained model better than constrained model for identity exploration

Table 17. Standardized path coefficient estimates, standard errors, and R-square for of total indirect and specific indirect paths of interest for influence of presumed influence models predicting materialism for primary study.

	Full Data		Low Explore		High Explore	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Privileged TV predicting materialism†						
R-Square						
Privileged TV	.23***	.03	.26***	.04	.20***	.04
Materialism	.05***	.01	.02	.01	.10***	.03
Peer Norms Mediator predicting materialism†						
Privileged TV → Materialism total	.23***	.03	.13**	.05	.31***	.05
Privileged TV → Peer Norms → Materialism specific indirect	.04***	.01	.02	.01	.06**	.02
Privileged TV → Materialism direct	.19***	.03	.11*	.05	.25***	.05
R-Square						
Privileged TV	.23***	.03	.26***	.04	.19***	.04
Materialism	.14***	.03	.07**	.03	.23***	.04
Peer Norms	.20***	.00	.00	.00	.03	.02
Full IPI model predicting materialism†						
Privileged TV → Materialism total	.21***	.03	.12*	.05	.27***	.05
Privileged TV → Peer Exposure → Media Influence → Peer Norms → Materialism specific indirect	.01***	.00	.00**	.00	.02***	.00
Privileged TV → Materialism direct	.19***	.03	.11*	.05	.25***	.05
R-Square						
Privileged TV	.23***	.03	.26***	.04	.19***	.04
Materialism	.13***	.03	.07**	.03	.21***	.04
Peer Exposure	.13***	.03	.11***	.03	.12***	.03
Media Influence	.15***	.03	.07**	.03	.13***	.03
Peer Norms	.13***	.03	.08**	.03	.17***	.04

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

† indicates unconstrained model better than constrained model for identity exploration

Table 18. Standardized path coefficient estimates and standard errors for direct and indirect paths and model fit indices for influence of presumed influence models predicting altruistic goals for primary study.

	Full Data			Low Explore		High Explore		
	β	SE	Fit	β	SE	β	SE	Fit
Privileged TV predicting altruistic goals								
Sex → Privileged TV	.26***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.39***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.17***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.30***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.06	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Altruistic goals	.22***	.04		.19***	.05	.21***	.05	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			19.51**					19.60*
CFI			.93					.96
TLI			.84					.90
RMSEA			.06					.05
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.04-.09					.01-.08
BIC			8052.30					4535.21
Peer Norms mediator predicting altruistic goals†								
Sex → Privileged TV	.26***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.39***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.17***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.30***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.06	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Peer Norms	.24***	.03		.24***	.05	.20***	.05	
Peer Norms → Altruistic goals	.45***	.04		.44***	.04	.40*	.04	
Privileged TV → Altruistic goals	.11***	.03		.08	.05	.13***	.04	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			27.41***					29.92***
CFI			.95					.98
TLI			.92					.96
RMSEA			.05					.04
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.03-.07					.00-.06
BIC			9819.33					6275.04
Full presumed influence model predicting altruistic goals†								
Sex → Privileged TV	.27***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.38***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.16***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.32***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.07	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Peer Exposure	.35***	.04		.34***	.05	.35***	.05	

	Full Data			Low Explore		High Explore		
	β	SE	Fit	β	SE	β	SE	Fit
Peer Exposure → Media Influence	.33***	.04		.26***	.05	.31***	.05	
Media Influence → Peer Norms	.16***	.04		.07	.05	.11*	.05	
Peer Norms → Altruistic Goals	.45***	.04		.44***	.04	.40***	.04	
Privileged TV → Materialism	.11***	.03		.08	.05	.13**	.05	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			223.86***					13889.70***
CFI			.59					.04
TLI			.71					.18
RMSEA			.10					.64
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.09-.12					.63-.64
BIC			14088.48					21477.79

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

† indicates unconstrained model better than constrained model for identity exploration

Table 19. Standardized path coefficient estimates, standard errors, and R-square for of total indirect and specific indirect paths of interest for influence of presumed influence models predicting altruistic goals for primary study.

	Full Data		Low Explore		High Explore	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Privileged TV predicting altruistic goals						
R-Square						
Privileged TV	.23***	.03	.03	.02	.04*	.02
Altruistic Goals	.05**	.02	.26***	.04	.19***	.04
Peer Norms mediator predicting altruistic goals†						
Privileged TV → Altruistic Goals total	.28***	.03	.19***	.05	.21***	.05
Privileged TV → Peer Norms → Altruistic Goals specific indirect	.09***	.02	.11***	.02	.08***	.02
Privileged TV → Altruistic Goals direct	.20***	.03	.08	.05	.13**	.05
R-Square						
Privileged TV	.23***	.03	.26***	.04	.19***	.04
Peer Norms	.05***	.01	.06*	.02	.04*	.02
Altruistic Goals	.21***	.03	.22***	.04	.19***	.04
Full IPI model predicting altruistic goals†						
Privileged TV → altruistic goals total	.12***	.03	.08	.05	.13**	.05
Privileged TV → Peer Exposure → Media Influence → Peer Norms → altruistic goals specific indirect	.00**	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
Privileged TV → altruistic goals direct	.11***	.03	.08	.05	.13**	.05
R-Square						
Privileged TV	.23***	.03	.26***	.04	.19***	.04
Altruistic goals	.22***	.03	.20***	.04	.18***	.03
Peer Exposure	.13***	.03	.11***	.03	.12***	.03
Media Influence	.03	.01	.07**	.03	.09**	.03
Peer Norms	.11***	.02	.00	.00	.01	.01

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

† indicates unconstrained model better than constrained model for identity exploration

Table 20. Standardized path coefficient estimates and standard errors for direct and indirect paths and model fit indices for influence of presumed influence models predicting wealth/status goals for primary study.

	Full Data			Low Explore		High Explore		
	β	SE	Fit	β	SE	β	SE	Fit
Privileged TV predicting wealth/ status goals†								
Sex → Privileged TV	.26***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.39***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.17***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.30***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.06	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Wealth/Status	.28***	.03		.19***	.05	.34***	.05	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			36.80***					43.92***
CFI			.86					.88
TLI			.70					.73
RMSEA			.09					.10
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.06-.12					.07-13
BIC			8137.63					4656.82
Peer Norms mediator predicting wealth/status goals†								
Sex → Privileged TV	.26***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.39***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.17***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.30***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.06	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Peer Norms	.23***	.03		.11*	.05	.30***	.05	
Peer Norms → Wealth/Status	.38***	.04		.34***	.05	.36***	.05	
Privileged TV → Wealth/Status	.20***	.03		.16***	.05	.23***	.05	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			43.19***					63.62***
CFI			.91					.90
TLI			.83					.81
RMSEA			.07					.08
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.05-.09					.06-.10
BIC			9933.47					6373.41
Full presumed influence model predicting wealth/status goals†								
Sex → Privileged TV	.27***	.03		.32***	.05	.24***	.05	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.38***	.05		.39***	.04	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.16***	.03		.15***	.05	.17***	.05	
Age → Privileged TV	-.32***	.04		-.42***	.06	-.22***	.06	
Education → Privileged TV	.07	.04		.15*	.06	.00	.06	
Privileged TV → Peer Exposure	.35***	.04		.34***	.05	.35***	.05	

	Full Data			Low Explore		High Explore		
	β	SE	Fit	β	SE	β	SE	Fit
Peer Exposure → Media Influence	.33***	.04		.26***	.05	.31***	.05	
Media Influence → Peer Norms	.37***	.04		.23***	.05	.37***	.05	
Peer Norms → Materialism	.38***	.04		.34***	.05	.37***	.05	
Privileged TV → Materialism	.20***	.03		.16***	.05	.24***	.05	
Model Fit								
Chi-square			251.30***					13742.52***
CFI			.71					.04
TLI			.59					.20
RMSEA			.11					.67
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.09-.12					.66-.68
BIC			14173.26					15170.50

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

† indicates unconstrained model better than constrained model for identity exploration

Table 21. Standardized path coefficient estimates, standard errors, and R-square for of total indirect and specific indirect paths of interest for influence of presumed influence models predicting wealth/status goals for primary study.

	Full Data		Low Explore		High Explore	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Privileged TV predicting wealth/ status goals†						
R-Square						
Privileged TV	.23***	.03	.26***	.04	.19**	.04
Wealth/Status Goals	.08***	.02	.04	.02	.12***	.03
Peer Norms mediator predicting Wealth/Status goals†						
Privileged TV → Wealth/Status total	.22***	.04	.19***	.05	.34***	.05
Privileged TV → Peer Norms → Wealth/Status specific indirect	.11***	.02	.04*	.02	.11***	.02
Privileged TV → Wealth/Status direct	.11***	.03	.16***	.05	.23***	.05
R-Square						
Privileged TV	.23***	.03	.26***	.04	.19***	.04
Peer Norms	.06***	.02	.01	.01	.09**	.03
Wealth/Status Goals	.24***	.03	.15***	.03	.23***	.04
Full IPI model predicting wealth/status goals†						
Privileged TV → wealth/status total	.22***	.03	.16***	.05	.25***	.05
Privileged TV → Peer Exposure → Media Influence → Peer Norms → wealth/status specific indirect	.02***	.00	.00*	.00	.01***	.00
Privileged TV → wealth/status direct	.20***	.03	.16***	.05	.24***	.05
R-Square						
Privileged TV	.23***	.03	.26***	.04	.19***	.04
Wealth/status goals	.19***	.03	.14***	.03	.19***	.03
Peer Exposure	.13***	.03	.11***	.03	.12***	.03
Media Influence	.11***	.02	.07**	.02	.09***	.03
Peer Norms	.13***	.03	.06*	.02	.14***	.03

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

† indicates unconstrained model better than constrained model for identity exploration

Table 22. Standardized path coefficient estimates and standard errors for direct and indirect paths and model fit indices for moderating models predicting materialism for primary study.

	Full Data		
	β	SE	Fit
Transportation Moderator			
Sex → Privileged TV	.27***	.03	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.16***	.03	
Age → Privileged TV	-.32***	.04	
Education → Privileged TV	.07	.04	
Privileged TV → Transportation	.26***	.04	
Privileged TV*Transportation → Materialism	.07	.13	
Transportation → Materialism	.19***	.05	
Privileged TV → Materialism	.12	.13	
Model Fit			
Chi-square			296.25 ***
CFI			.44
TLI			.01
RMSEA			.18
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.16-.20
BIC			8714.40
Realism Moderator			
Sex → Privileged TV	.27***	.03	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.16***	.03	
Age → Privileged TV	-.32***	.04	
Education → Privileged TV	.07	.04	
Privileged TV → Realism	.23***	.03	
Privileged TV*Realism → Materialism	-.04	.10	
Realism → Materialism	.13**	.05	
Privileged TV → Materialism	.23*	.09	
Model Fit			
Chi-square			1164.23***
CFI			.23
TLI			.34
RMSEA			.36
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.34-.38
BIC			9564.20
Materialistic Learning Moderator			
Sex → Privileged TV	.27***	.03	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.16***	.03	
Age → Privileged TV	-.32***	.04	
Education → Privileged TV	.07	.04	

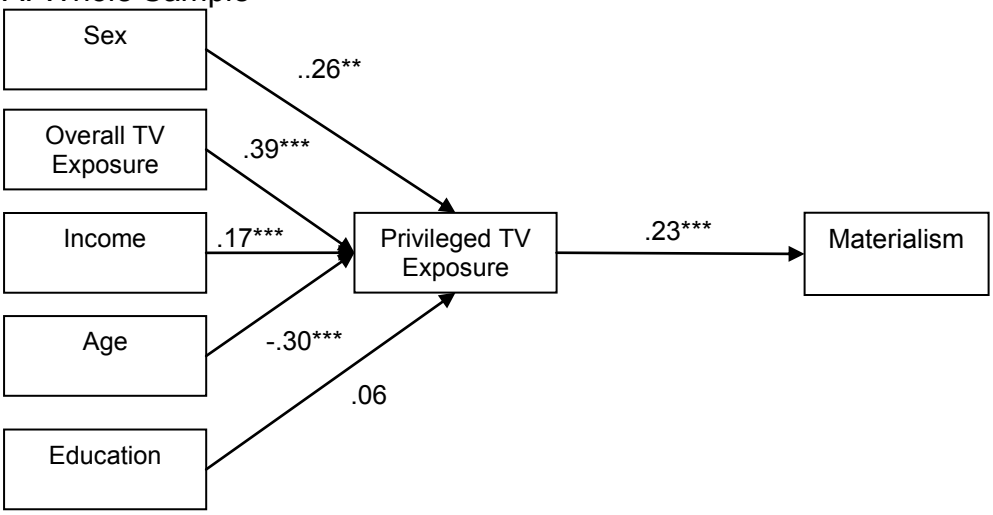
	Full Data		
	β	SE	Fit
Privileged TV → Materialistic Learning	.39***	.03	
Privileged TV*Materialistic Learning → Materialism	.18	.12	
Materialistic Learning → Materialism	.22***	.05	
Privileged TV → Materialism	-.02	.11	
Model Fit			
Chi-square			766.27***
CFI			.36
TLI			.11
RMSEA			.29
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.27-.31
BIC			9081.12
Identification Moderator			
Sex → Privileged TV	.27***	.03	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.16***	.03	
Age → Privileged TV	-.32***	.04	
Education → Privileged TV	.07	.04	
Privileged TV → Identification	.34***	.03	
Privileged TV* Identification → Materialism	.00	.10	
Identification → Materialism	.19***	.04	
Privileged TV → Materialism	.16	.10	
Model Fit			
Chi-square			710.13***
CFI			.36
TLI			.11
RMSEA			.28
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.26-.30
BIC			9064.36
Upward Comparison Moderator			
Sex → Privileged TV	.27***	.03	
Overall TV → Privileged TV	.38***	.05	
Income → Privileged TV	.16***	.03	
Age → Privileged TV	-.32***	.04	
Education → Privileged TV	.07	.04	
Privileged TV → Upward Comparison	.39***	.03	
Privileged TV*Upward Comparison → Materialism	.17	.13	
Upward Comparison → Materialism	.28***	.05	
Privileged TV → Materialism	-.04	.12	
Model Fit			
Chi-square			722.02***
CFI			.38
TLI			.09
RMSEA			.28

	Full Data		
	β	SE	Fit
RMSEA Confidence Interval			.26-.30
BIC			8950.96

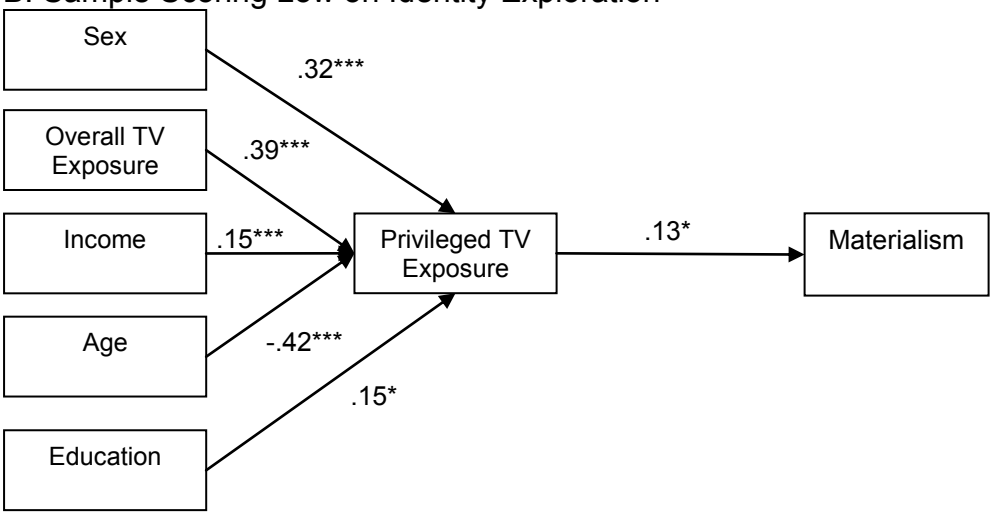
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 1. Path diagram: Privileged TV exposure predicting materialism.

A. Whole Sample



B. Sample Scoring Low on Identity Exploration



C. Sample Scoring High on Identity Exploration

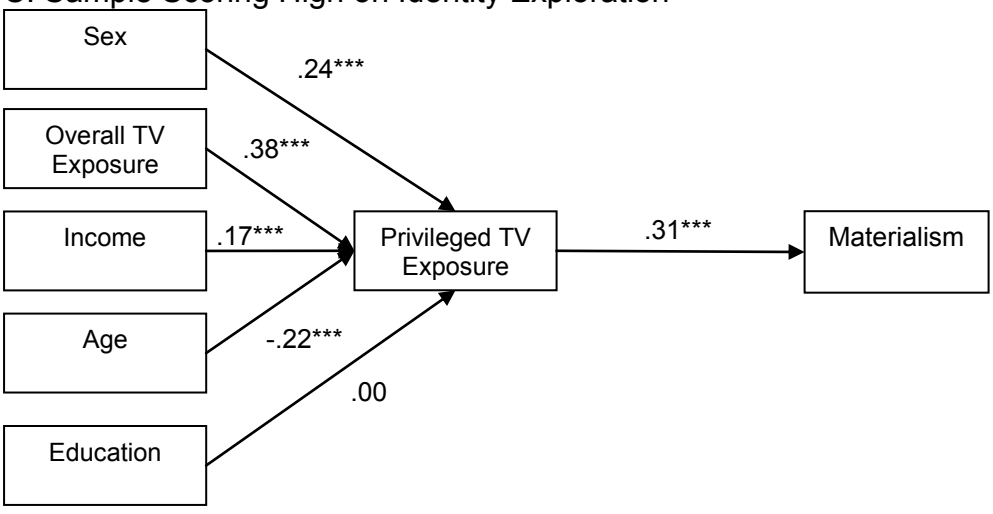


Figure 2. Path diagram: Privileged TV exposure predicting life goals.

A. Whole Sample

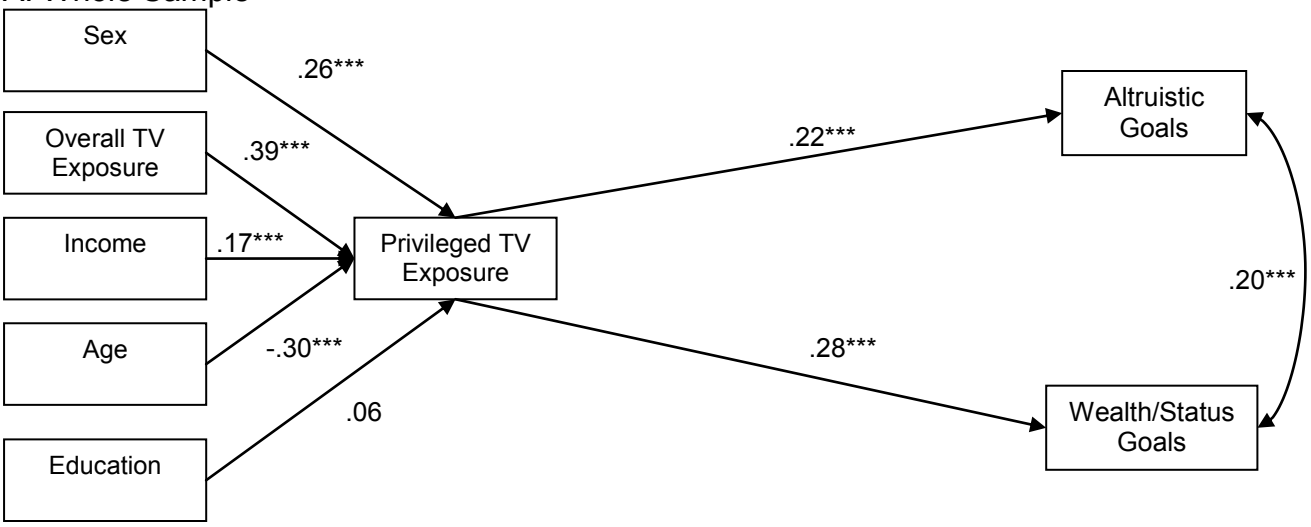
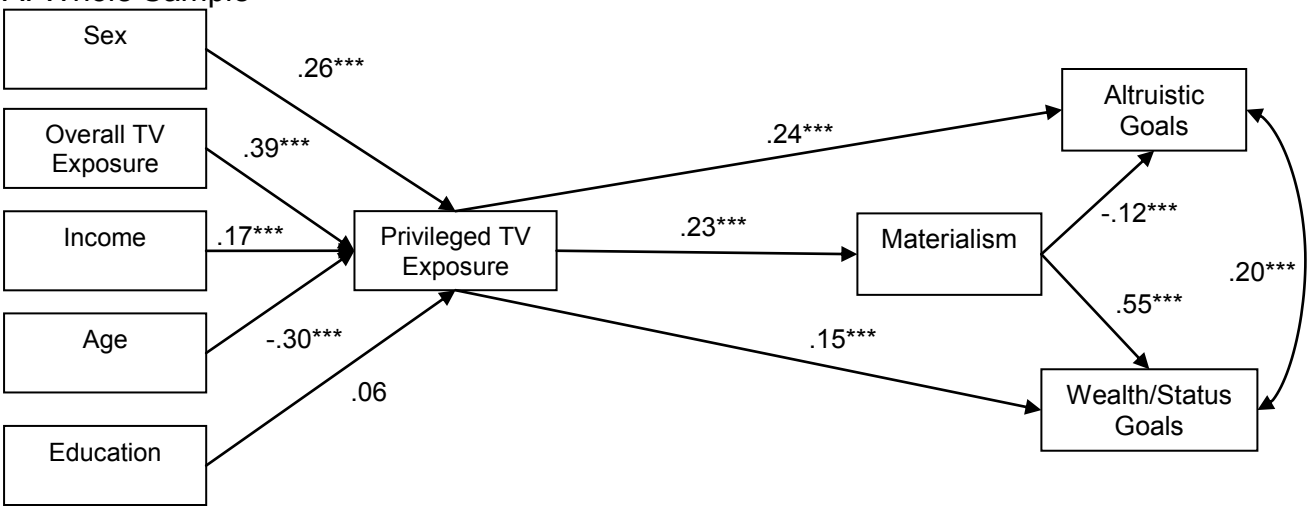
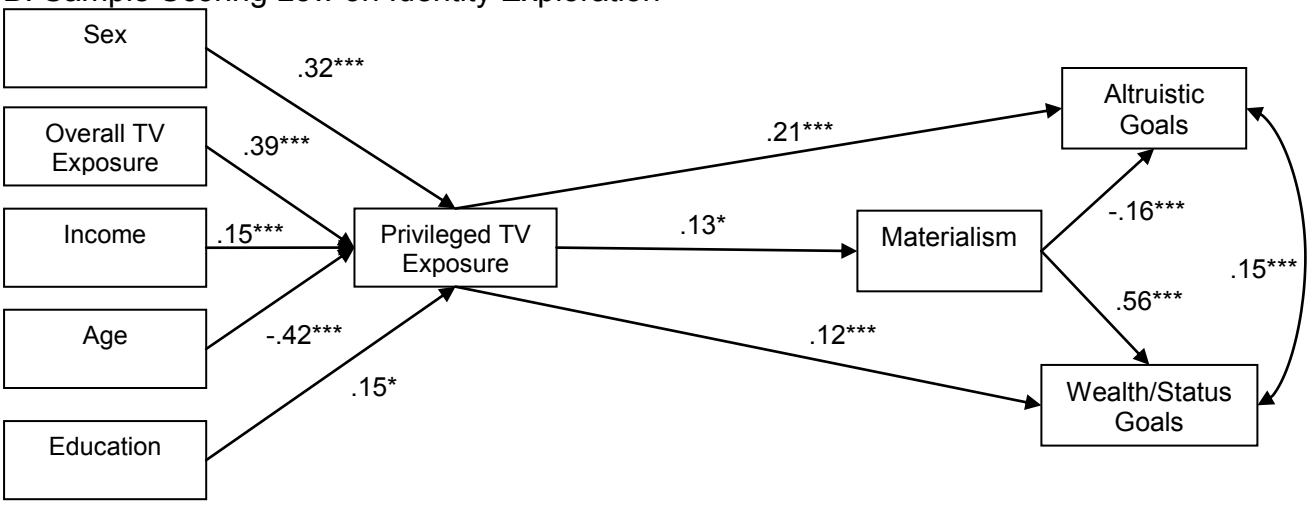


Figure 3. Path diagram: Privileged TV exposure and materialism predicting life goals.

A. Whole Sample



B. Sample Scoring Low on Identity Exploration



C. Sample Scoring High on Identity Exploration

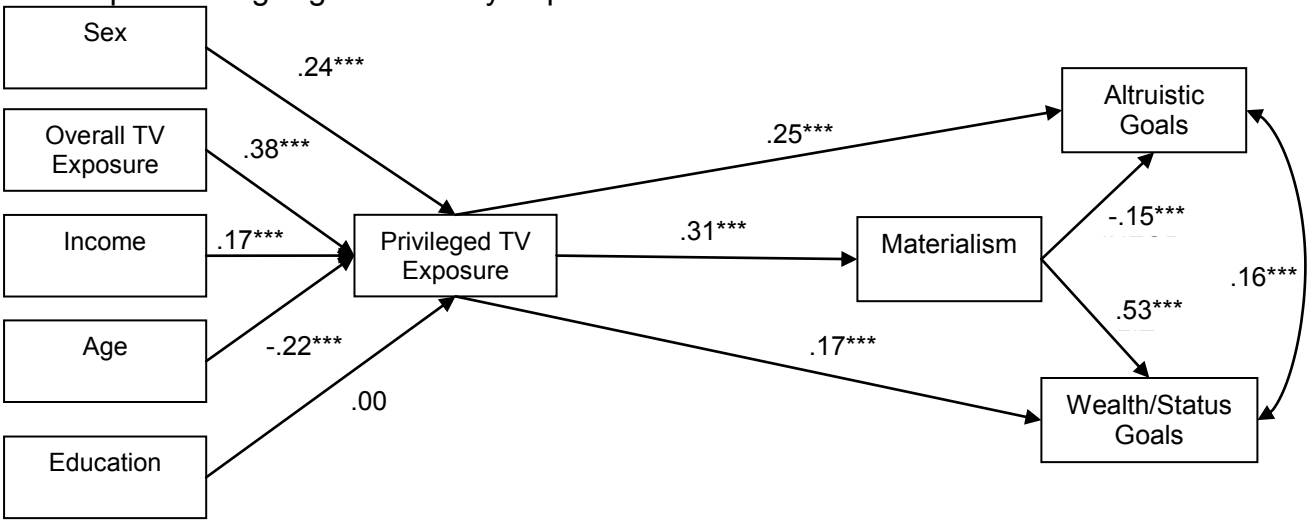
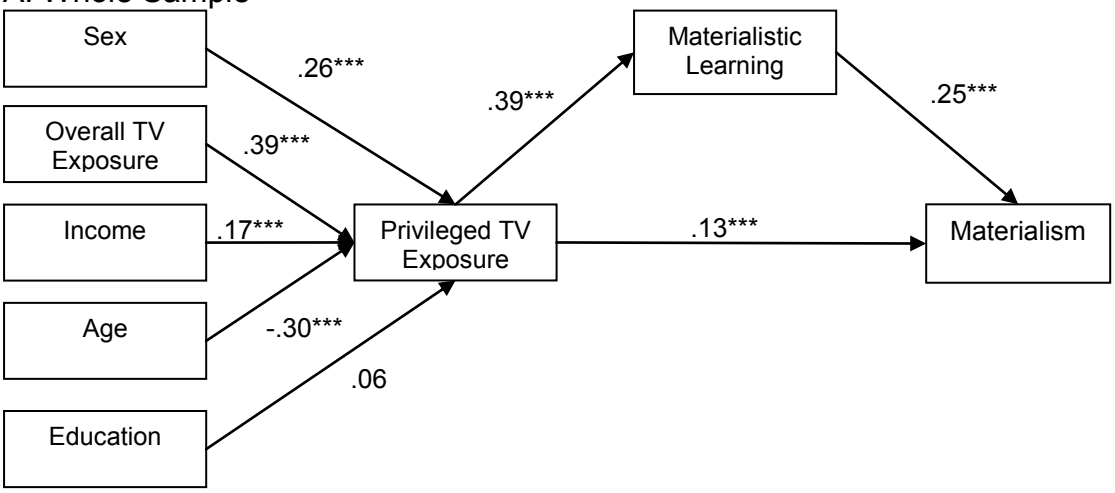
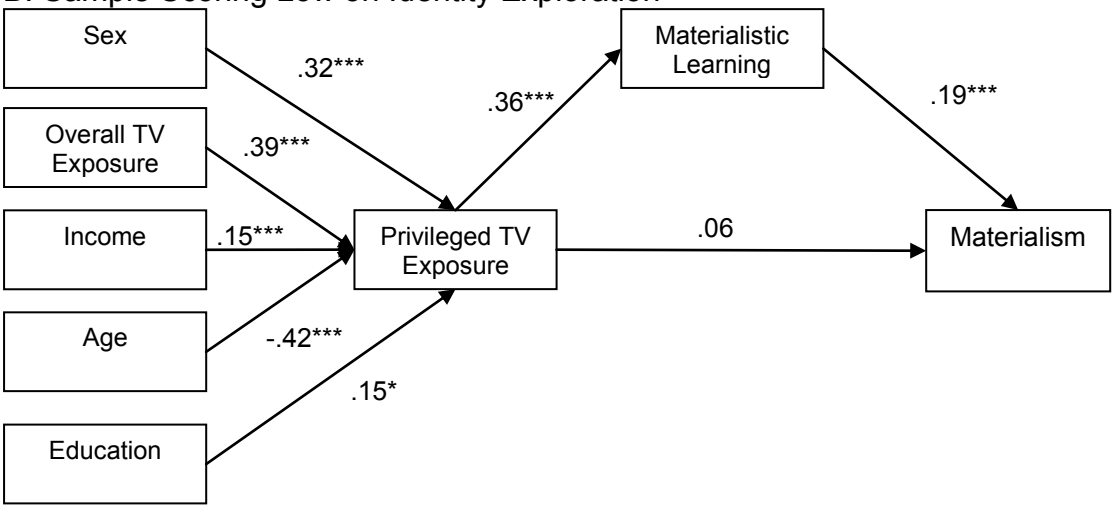


Figure 4. Path diagram: Privileged TV exposure predicting materialism with materialistic learning as a mediator.

A. Whole Sample



B. Sample Scoring Low on Identity Exploration



C. Sample Scoring High on Identity Exploration

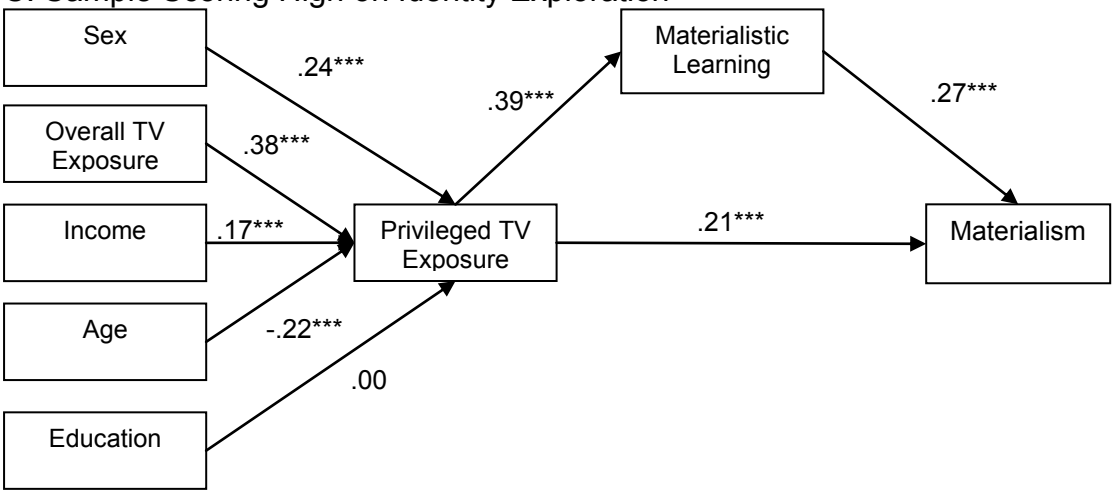
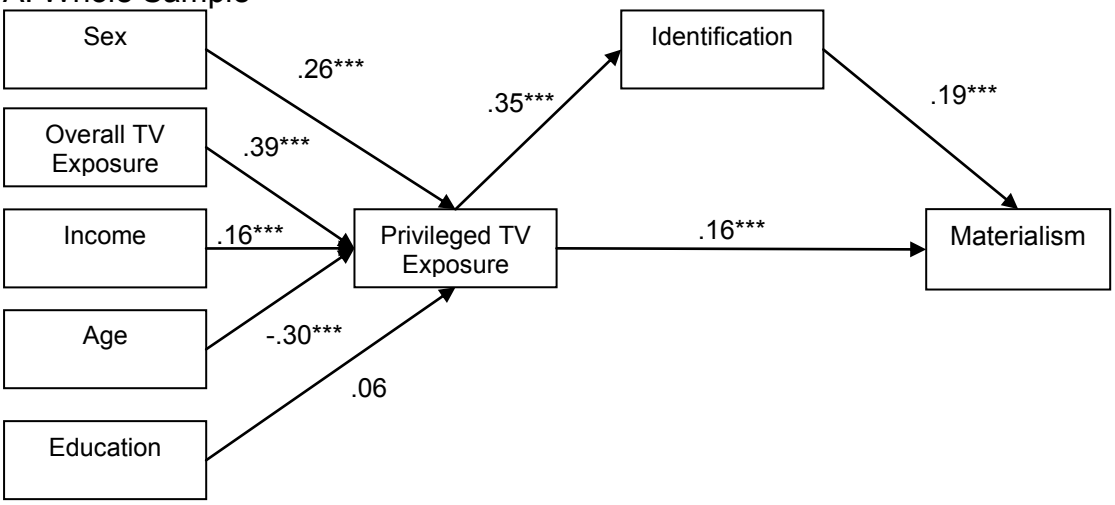
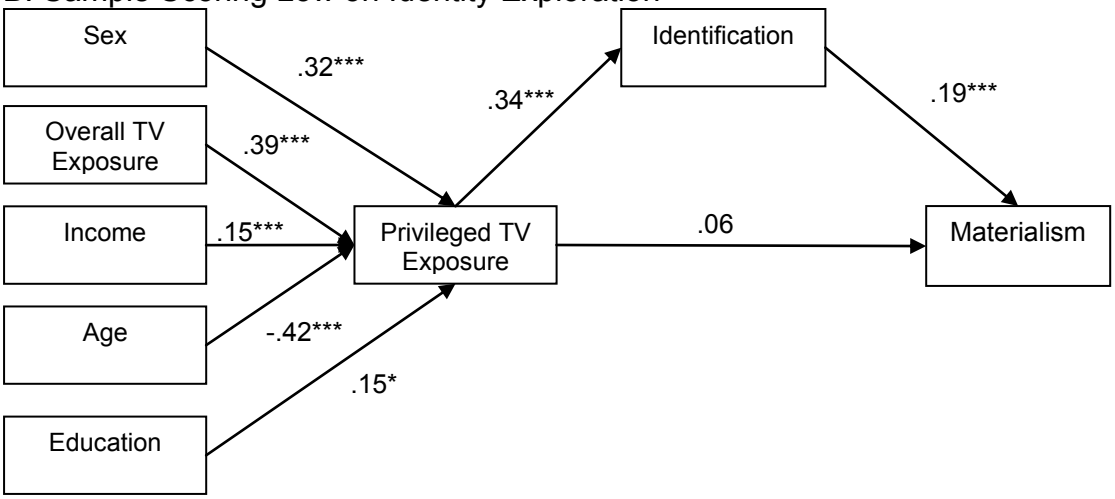


Figure 5. Path diagram: Privileged TV exposure predicting materialism with identification as a mediator.

A. Whole Sample



B. Sample Scoring Low on Identity Exploration



C. Sample Scoring High on Identity Exploration

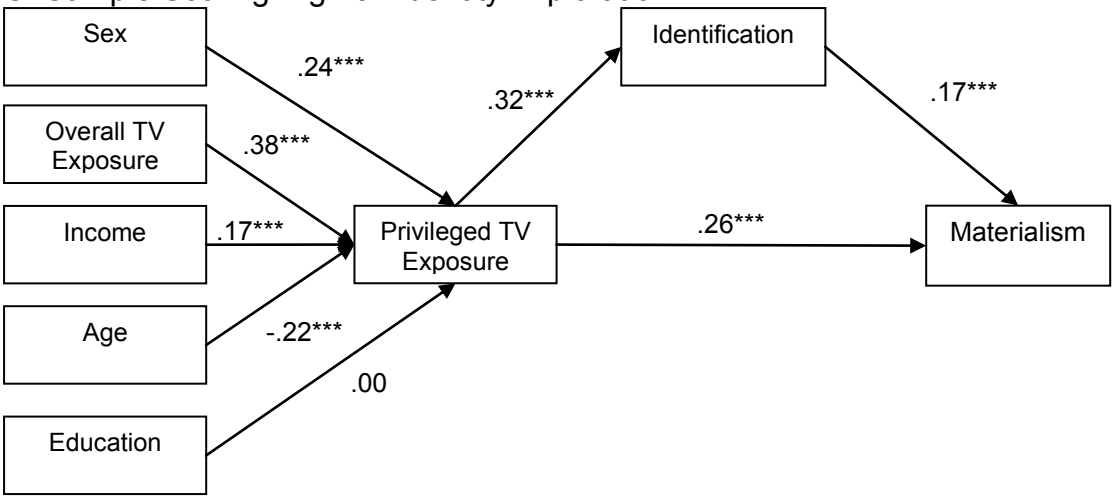
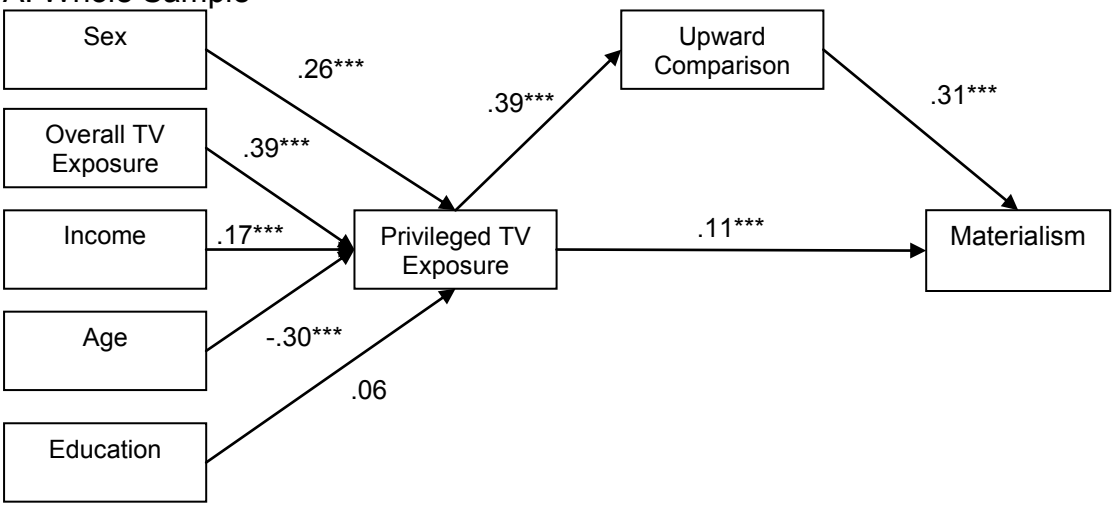
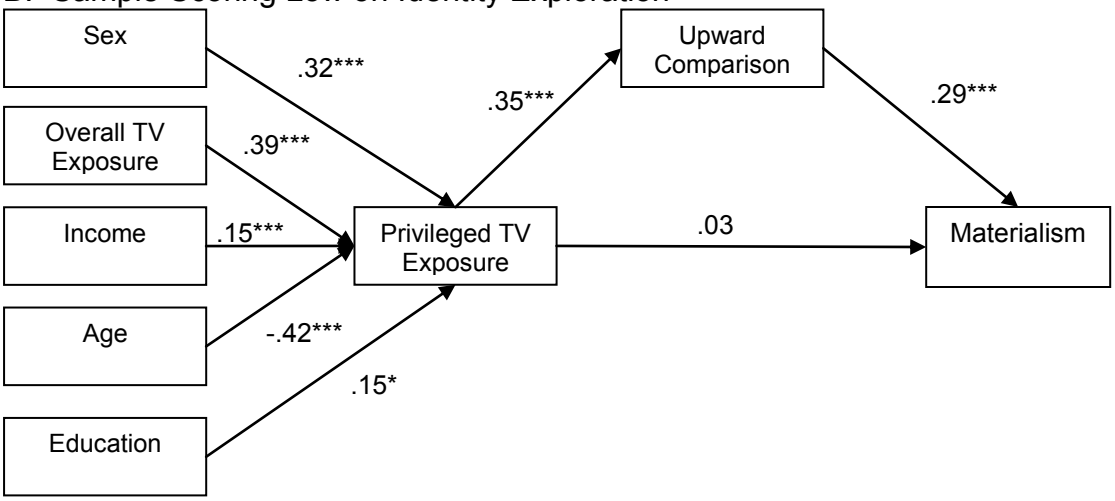


Figure 6. Path diagram: Privileged TV exposure predicting materialism with upward comparison as a mediator.

A. Whole Sample



B. Sample Scoring Low on Identity Exploration



C. Sample Scoring High on Identity Exploration

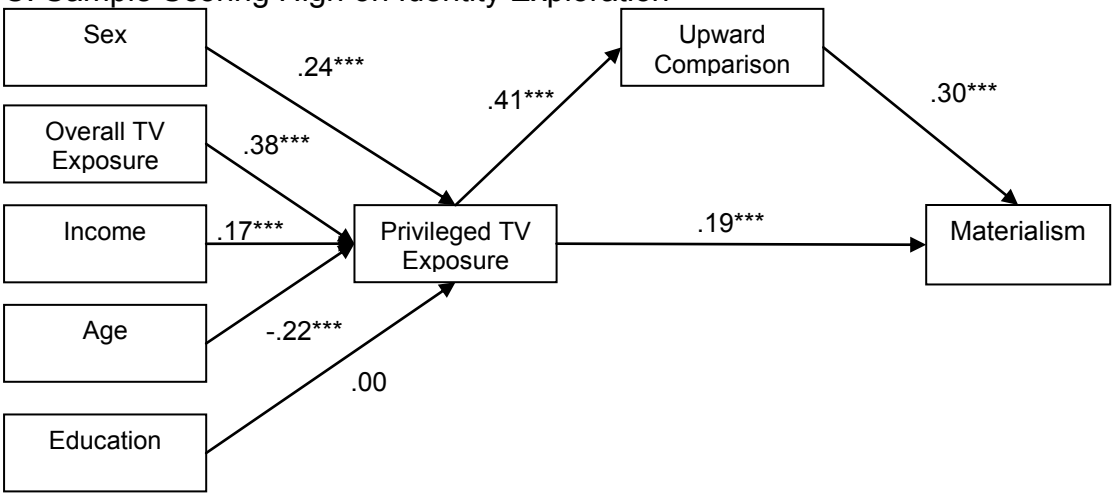
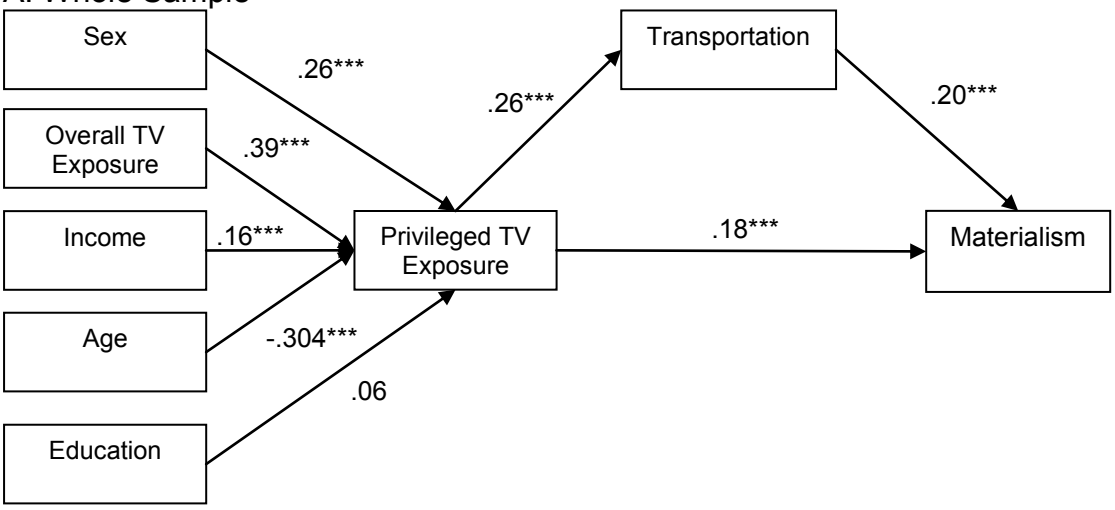
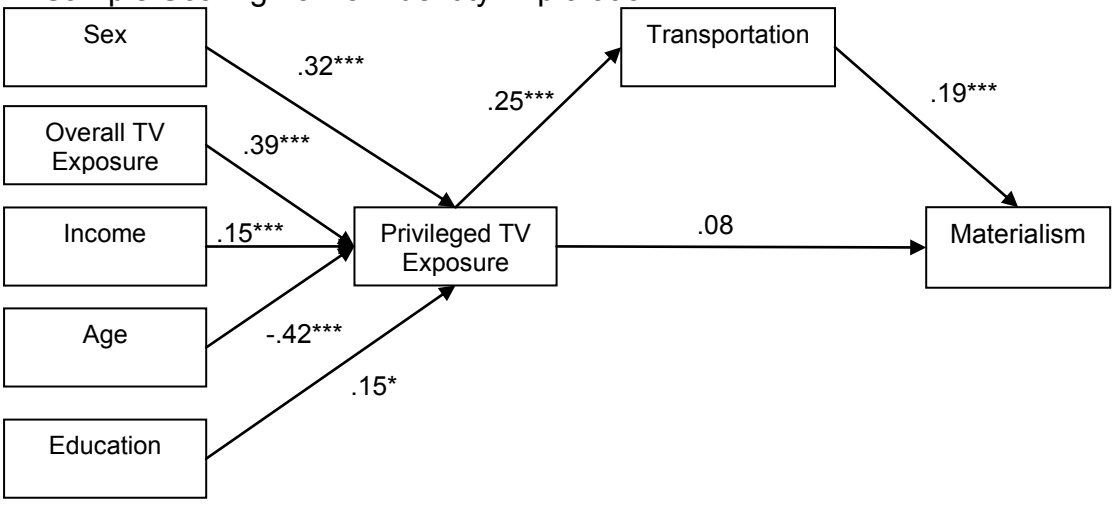


Figure 7. Path diagram: Privileged TV exposure predicting materialism with transportation as a mediator.

A. Whole Sample



B. Sample Scoring Low on Identity Exploration



C. Sample Scoring High on Identity Exploration

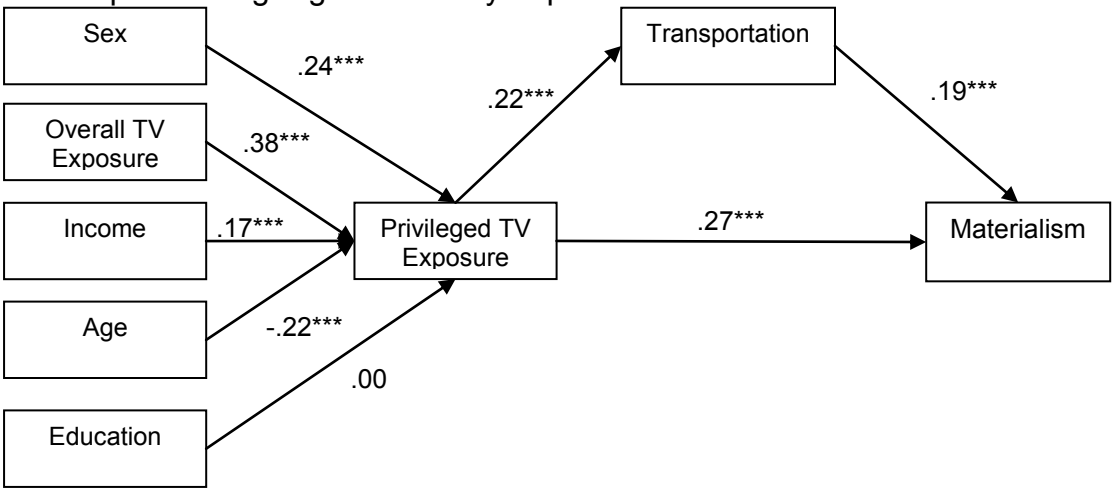


Figure 8. Path diagram: Privileged TV exposure predicting materialism with realism as a mediator.

A. Whole Sample

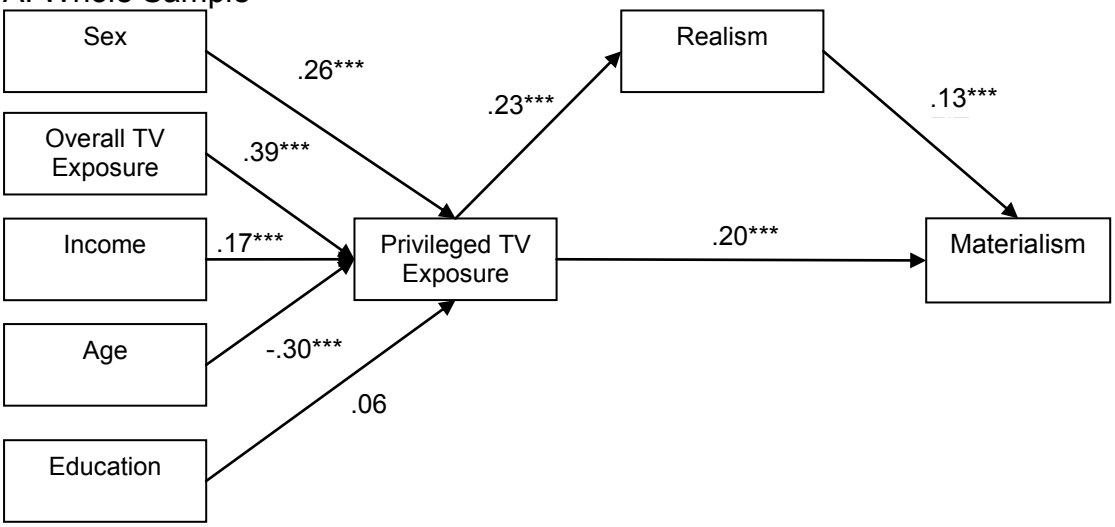
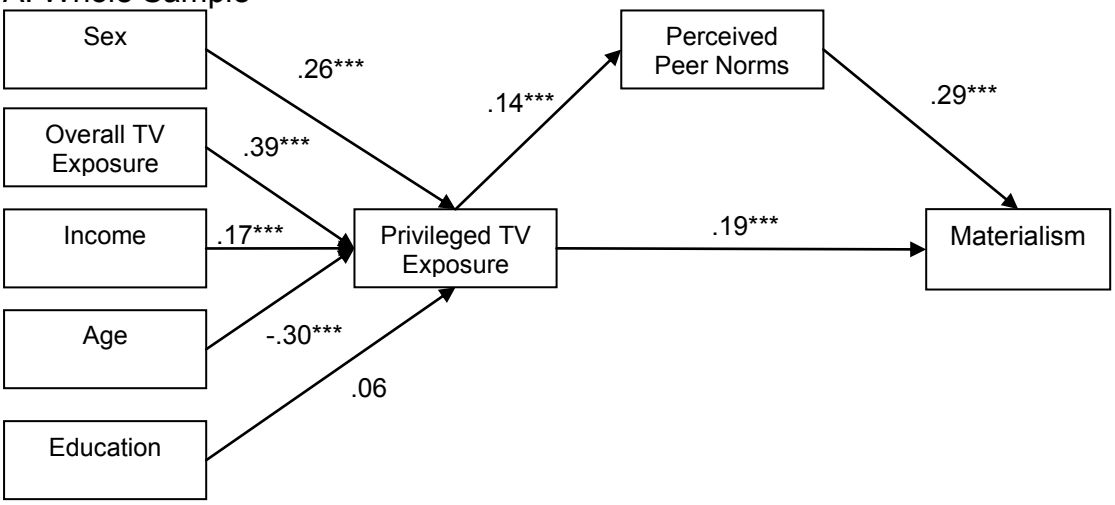
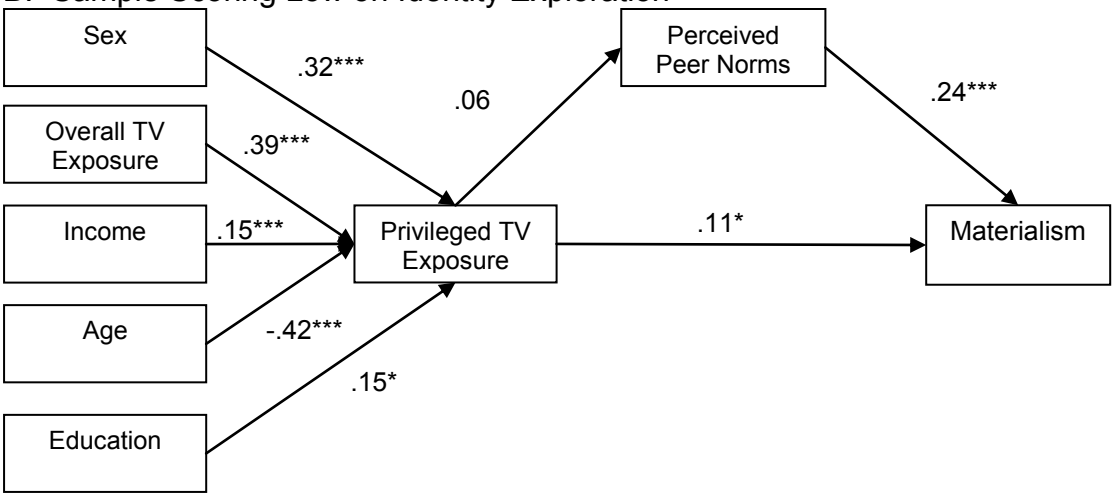


Figure 9. Path diagram: Privileged TV exposure predicting materialism with perceived peer norms as a mediator.

A. Whole Sample



B. Sample Scoring Low on Identity Exploration



C. Sample Scoring High on Identity Exploration

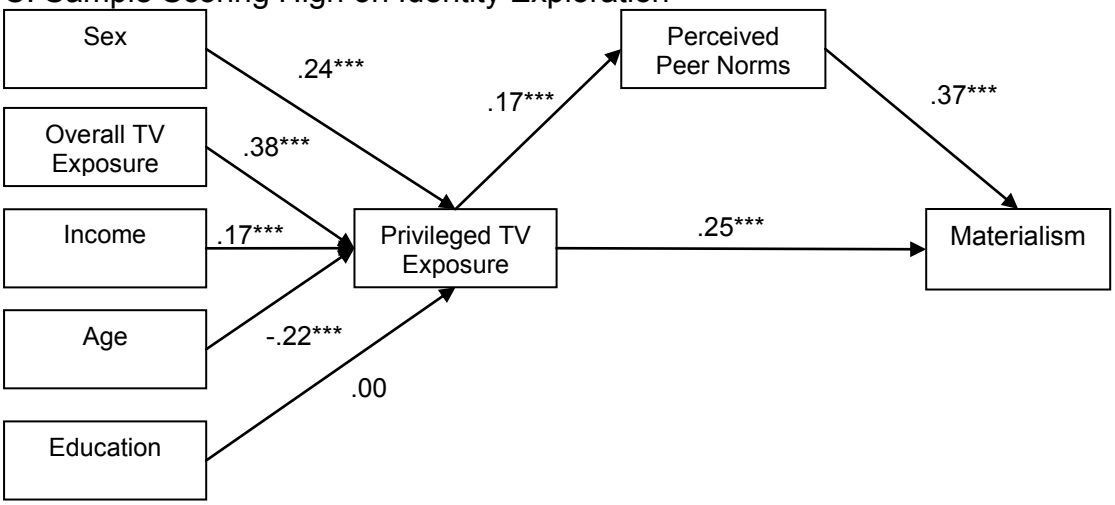
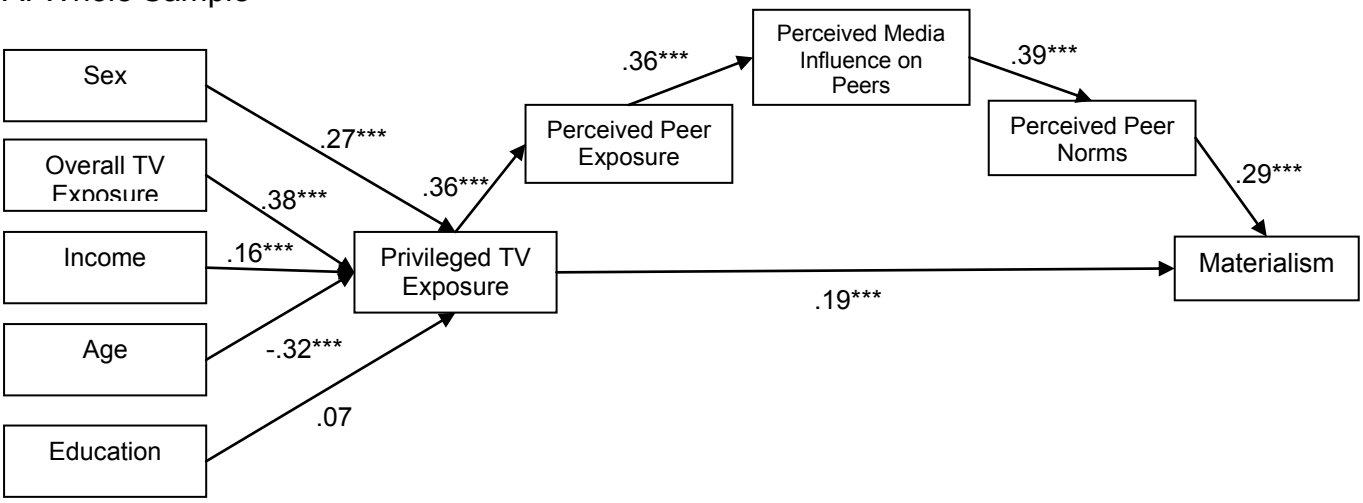
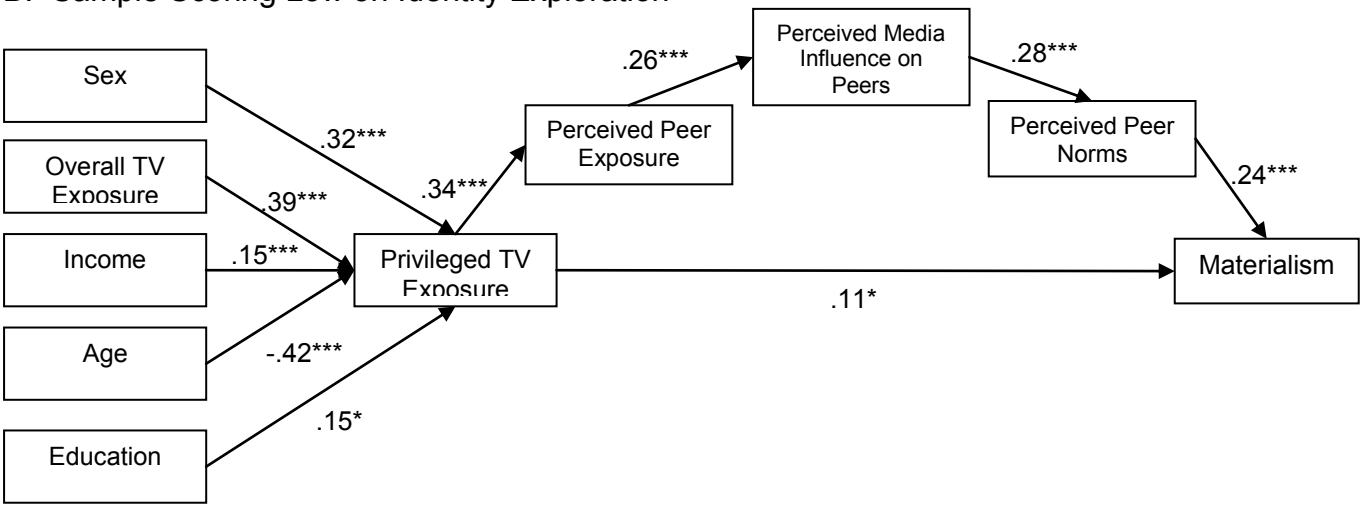


Figure 10. Path diagram: Influence of presumed influence model predicting materialism.

A. Whole Sample



B. Sample Scoring Low on Identity Exploration



C. Sample Scoring High on Identity Exploration

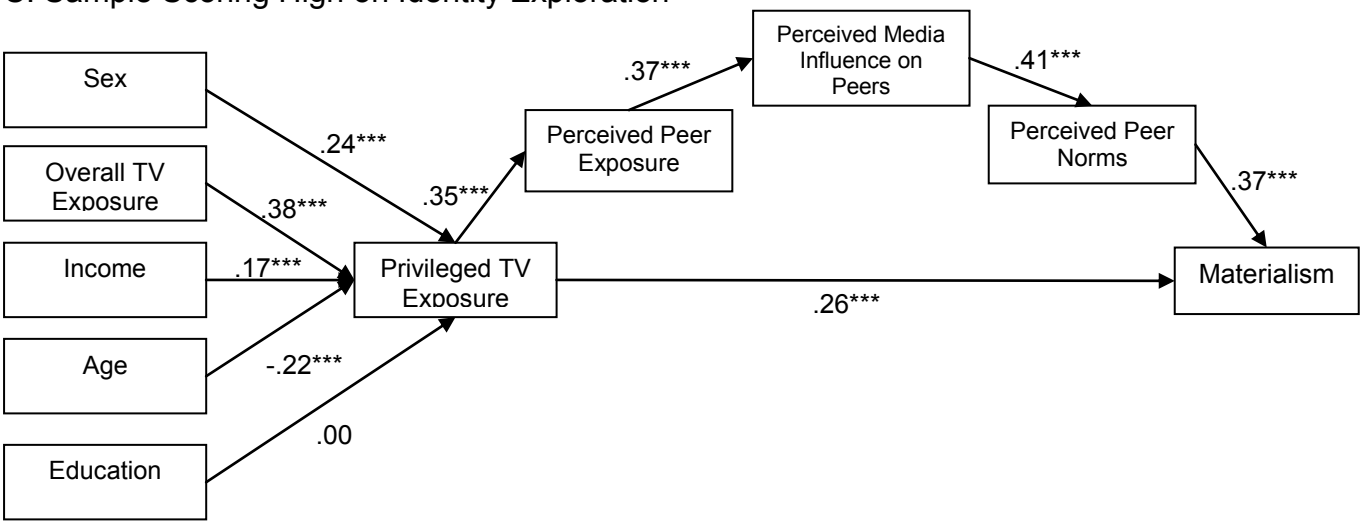


Figure 11. Path diagram: Privileged TV exposure predicting altruistic goals.
A. Whole Sample

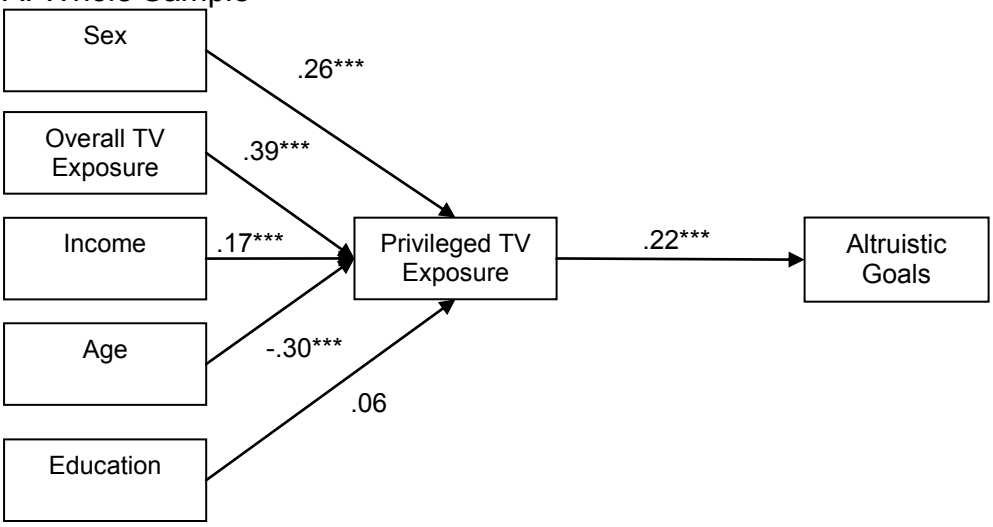
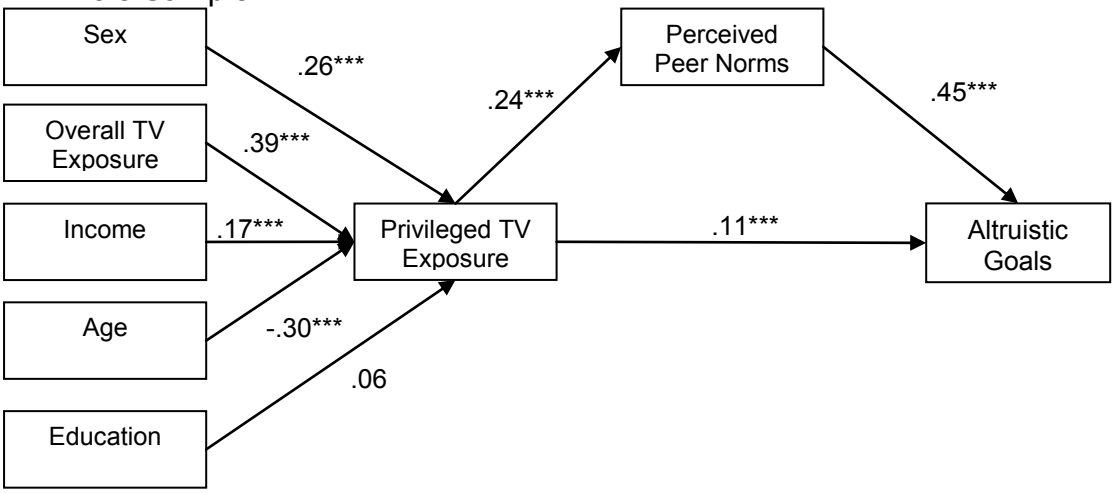
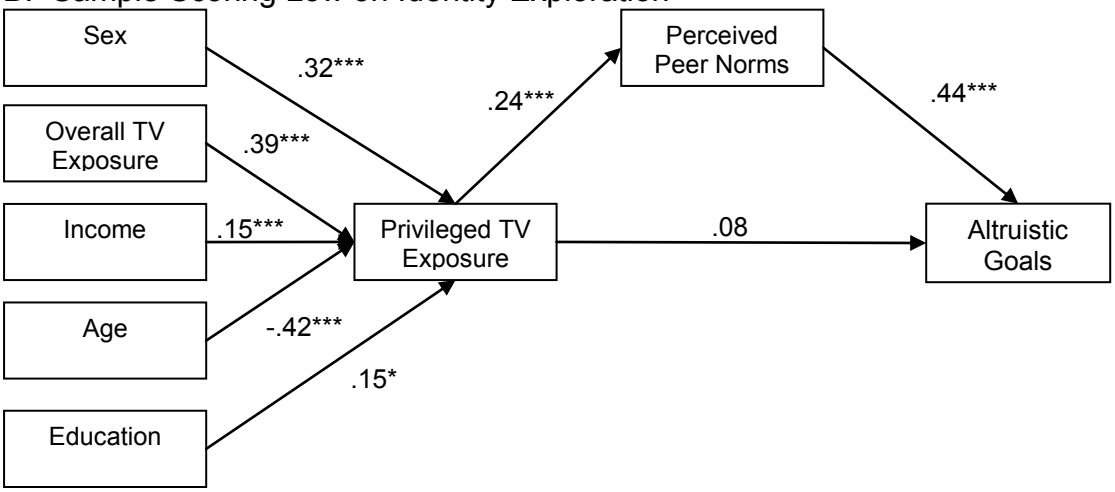


Figure 12. Path diagram: Privileged TV exposure predicting altruistic goals with perceived peer norms as a mediator.

A. Whole Sample



B. Sample Scoring Low on Identity Exploration



C. Sample Scoring High on Identity Exploration

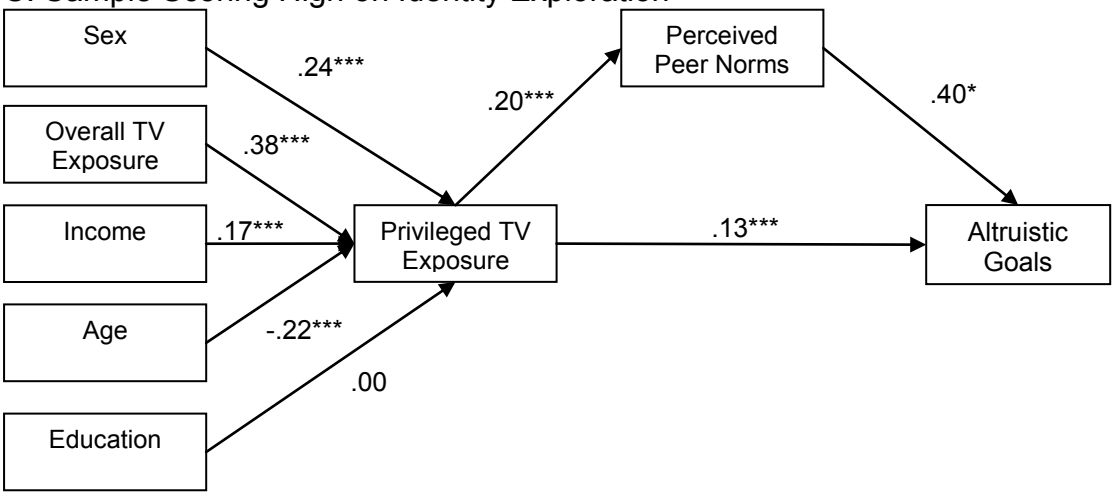
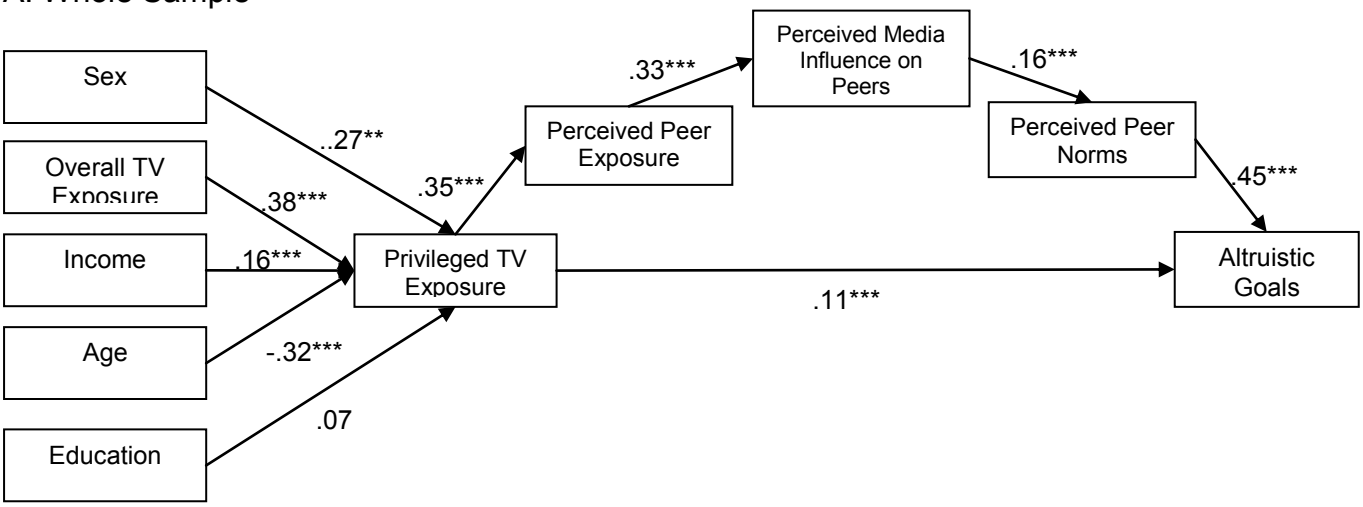
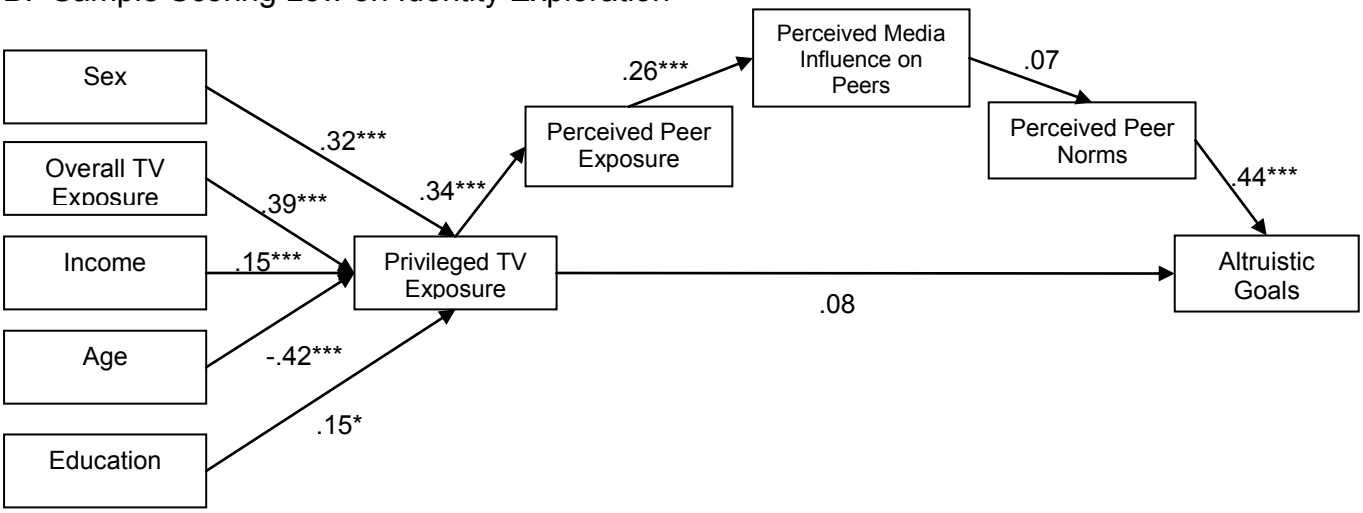


Figure 13. Path diagram: Influence of presumed influence model predicting altruistic goals.

A. Whole Sample



B. Sample Scoring Low on Identity Exploration



C. Sample Scoring High on Identity Exploration

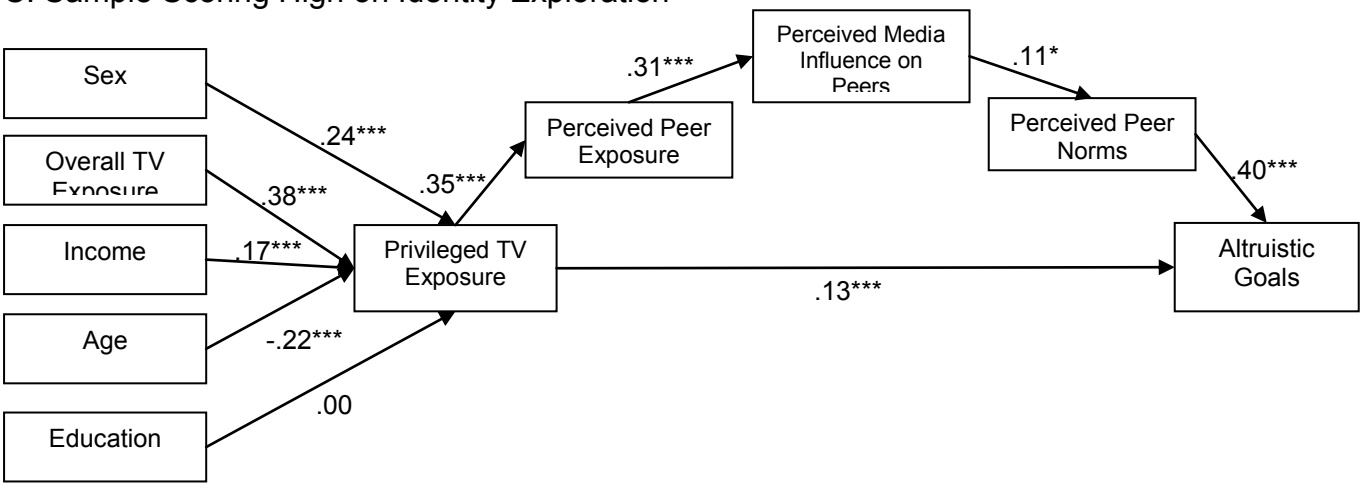
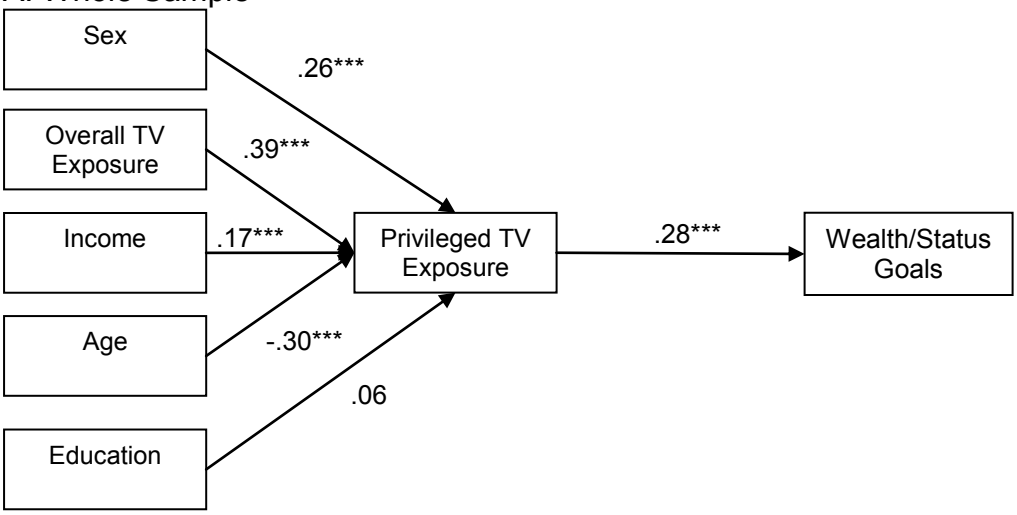
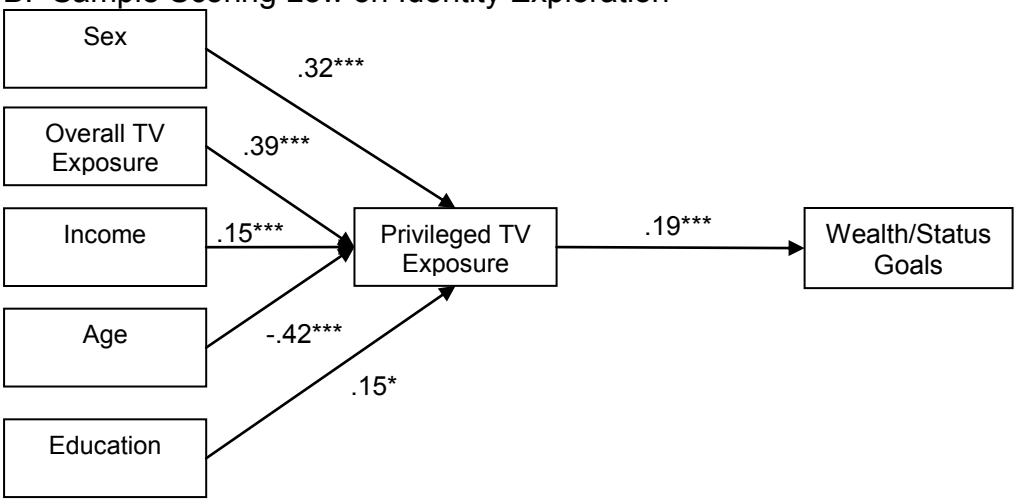


Figure 14. Path diagram: Privileged TV exposure predicting wealth/status goals.

A. Whole Sample



B. Sample Scoring Low on Identity Exploration



C. Sample Scoring High on Identity Exploration

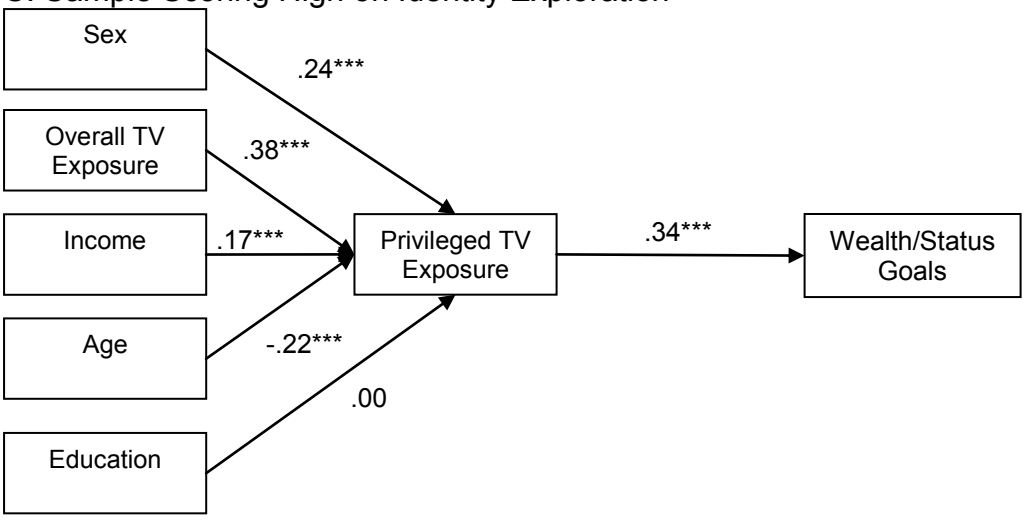
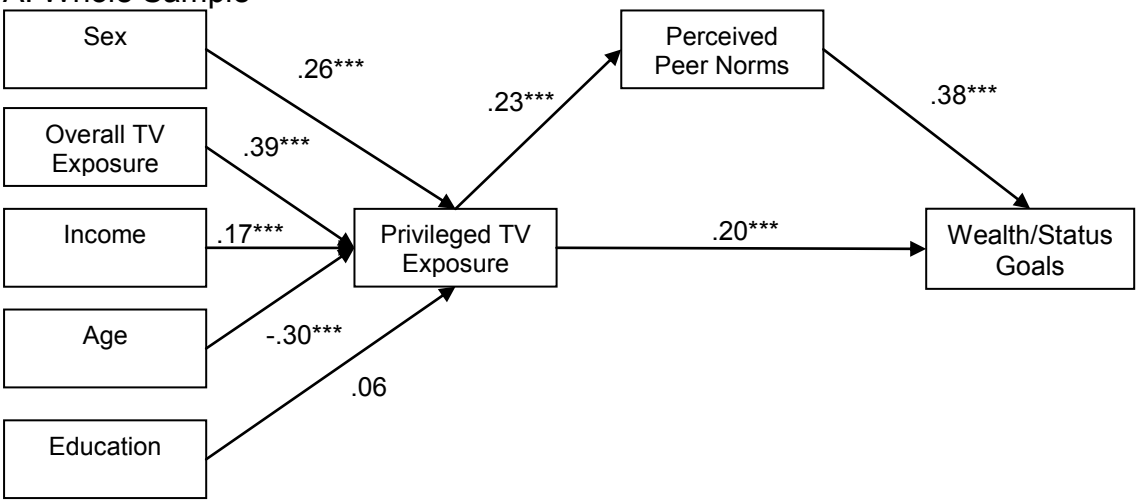
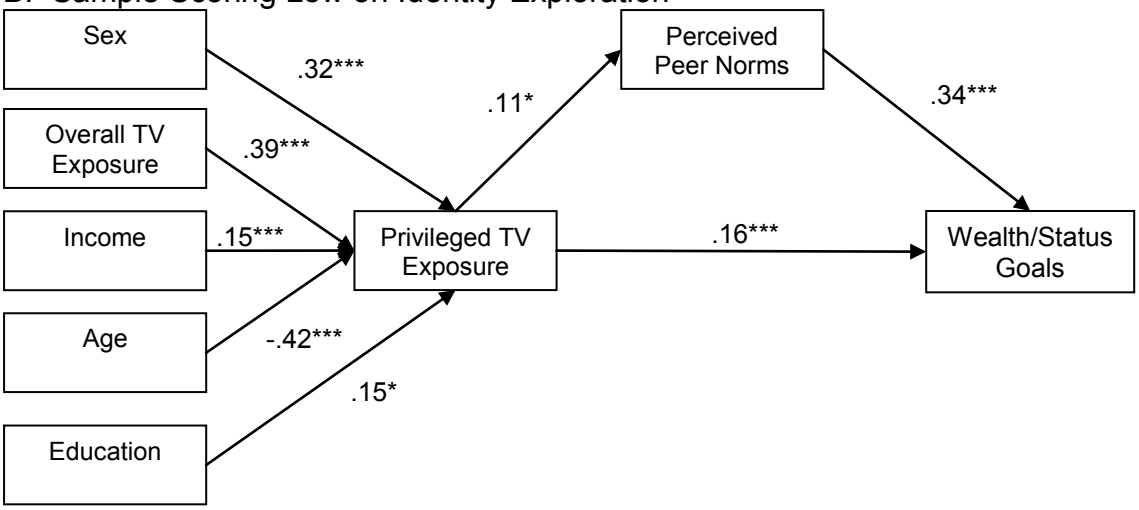


Figure 15. Path diagram: Privileged TV exposure predicting wealth/status goals with perceived peer norms as a mediator.

A. Whole Sample



B. Sample Scoring Low on Identity Exploration



C. Sample Scoring High on Identity Exploration

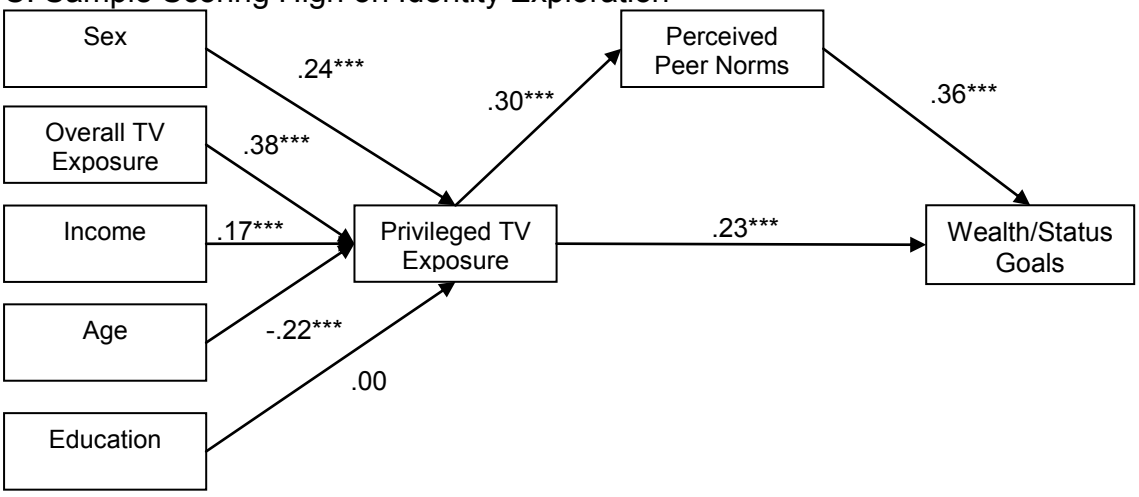
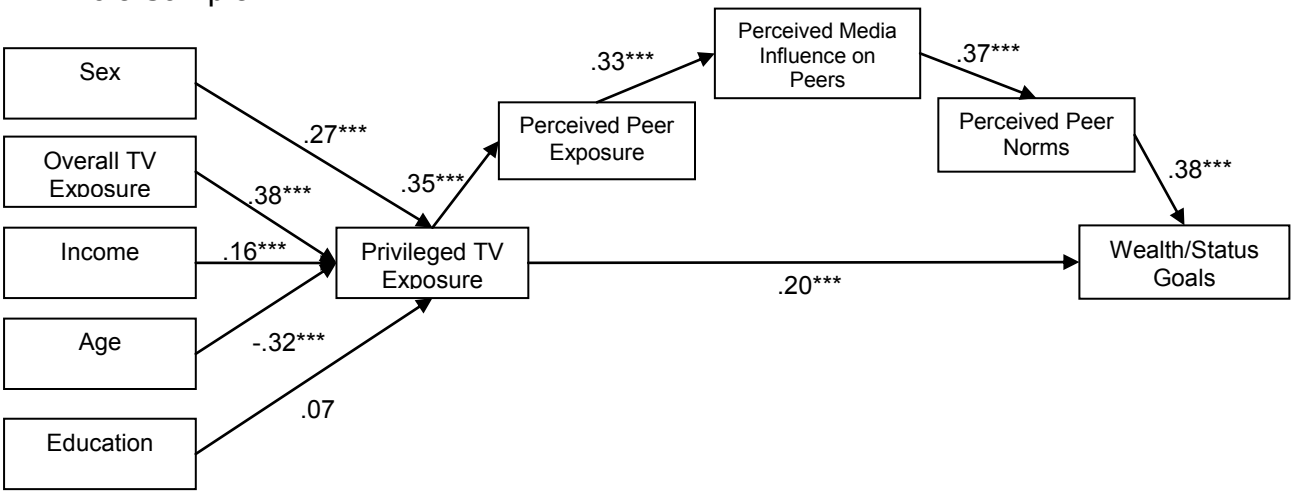
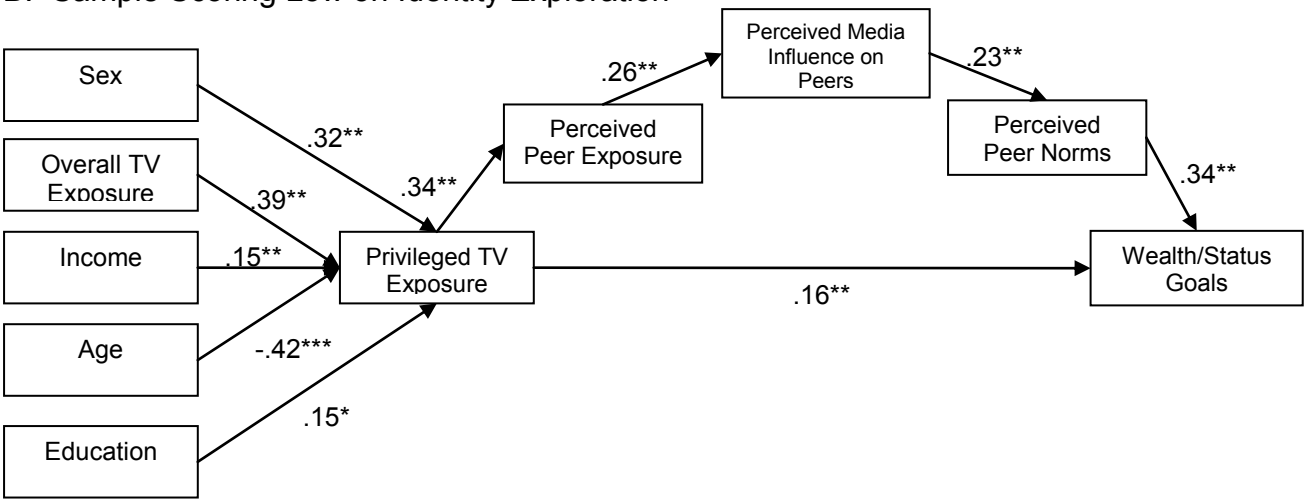


Figure 16. Path diagram: Influence of presumed influence model predicting wealth/status goals.

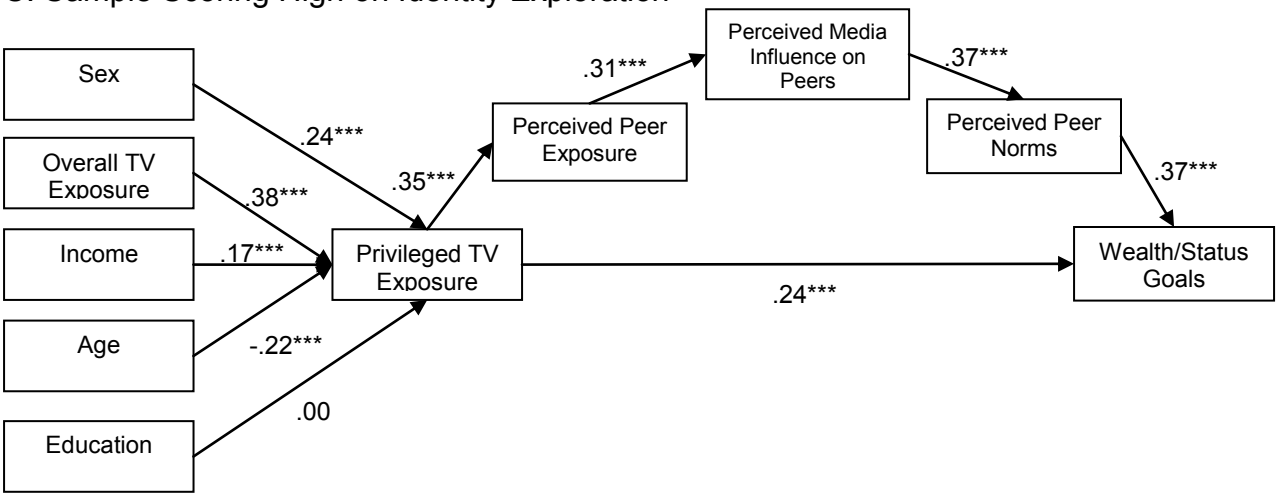
A. Whole Sample



B. Sample Scoring Low on Identity Exploration



C. Sample Scoring High on Identity Exploration



Appendices

Appendix A. Material Values Scale arranged by subscale (Richins & Dawson, 1992; Richins, 2004) [1]

Success

1. I admire people who own expensive homes, cars, and clothes. (15, 9, 6, 3)
2. Some of the most important achievements in life include acquiring material possessions. (15)
3. I don't place much emphasis on the amount of material objects people own as a sign of success. (15) (R)
4. The things I own say a lot about how well I'm doing in life. (15, 9, 6)
5. I like to own things that impress people. (15, 9)
6. I don't pay much attention to the material objects other people own. (R)

Centrality

7. I usually buy only the things I need. (R)
8. I try to keep my life simple, as far as possessions are concerned. (15, 9) (R)
9. The things I own aren't all that important to me. (15) (R)
10. I enjoy spending money on things that aren't practical.
11. Buying things gives me a lot of pleasure. (15, 9, 6)
12. I like a lot of luxury in my life. (15, 9, 6, 3)
13. I put less emphasis on material things than most people I know. (15) (R)

Happiness

14. I have all the things I really need to enjoy life. (15) (R)
15. My life would be better if I owned certain things I don't have. (15, 9, 6)
16. I wouldn't be any happier if I owned nicer things. (15) (R)
17. I'd be happier if I could afford to buy more things. (15, 9, 6, 3)
18. It sometimes bothers me quite a bit that I can't afford to buy all the things I'd like. (15, 9)

[1] Numbers in parentheses after each item indicate the alternative scale versions to which the item belongs; (R) denotes a reverse scaled item.

Appendix B. Pre-test 1 survey of ratings of television shows on materialism.

Television Show Ratings
Please rate the following television shows based on the prevalence or extremity of the characteristics listed. If you do not watch the show, circle "don't watch" and continue to the next page.

Gossip Girl							Don't watch
	0 Not at all	1	2	3	4	5 Very much so	Don't know
characters are materialistic							
glamorizes wealth							
suggests that possessions lead to happiness							
glorifies the life of the wealthy							
shows the use of money to attain goals							
characters have newest gadgets and/or cars							
characters talk negatively about those who are not wealthy							
shows that possessions lead to success							
characters are wealthy							
characters wear designer clothing							
contains product placement							
characters discuss their own wealth							
shows wealth as normal							
shows wealth as desirable							

Appendix C. Methods and results of pre-test 1 of ratings of television shows on materialism.

Pre-test 1: Evaluations of Specific Television Programs

Sample. The data from this study was collected from a paper-and-pencil survey conducted at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Anonymous questionnaires were completed by 114 undergraduate students who participated for extra credit in the Fall of 2009 (see *Appendix B* for full survey).

Procedure. Respondents were asked to rate 18 different television shows on various aspects related to materialism (see Measures). If they did not watch the show, they were asked to circle "do not watch" and move on to rating the next show. Each survey consisted of some shows that were considered to be privileged (depicting wealthy lifestyles) and some shows that were considered to be regular shows (not depicting wealthy lifestyles), with two different forms given out for a total of 33 different shows being rated. The shows were chosen based on their perceived popularity among the emerging adult age group and their portrayal of either a wealthy lifestyle or a regular lifestyle. Two shows were taken out of the analyses, as they were canceled mid-way through data collection. Some older television shows that were in syndication were included if they fit the criteria.

Measures. The television shows that were initially thought to fit under the privileged category were: *Gossip Girl, Entourage, The Hills, The O.C., Laguna Beach, Khole & Kourtney Take Miami, Keeping Up with the Kardashians, 90210, Beverly Hills 90210, Brooke Knows Best, The Girls Next Door, Daddy's Girls, Privileged, Melrose Place (2009), My Super Sweet 16, NYC Prep, Desperate Housewives*, and *Sex & the*

City. The television shows that were considered to be regular television shows were: *One Tree Hill, Grey's Anatomy, House, How I Met Your Mother, Fringe, Mad Men, The Big Bang Theory, True Blood, Dexter, Bones, Lost, Heroes, Glee, The Office, and Flash Forward.*

The 14 materialism-related variables used to rate each show were adapted from Richins and Dawson's (1992) Material Values Scale (MVS) and re-worded to apply to the characters on the television or the show in general (see *Appendix B*). The MVS is an 18 item, three factor scale that evaluates possessions defining success, acquisition centrality, and acquisition as a pursuit to happiness. The scale has been shown to have good reliability (α =.85) as determined by a meta-analysis of 32 studies which used the MVS (Richins, 2004). Some of these items were: "characters are materialistic," "characters have the newest gadgets and/or cars," "possessions lead to happiness," and "shows the use of money to attain goals." Some other items of interest were added that related to materialism but were not directly taken from the MVS, such as "the show glamorizes wealth," "characters talk negatively about those who are not wealthy," and "shows wealth as normal." All items were measured on a scale from 0 to 5 (*not at all* to *very much so*).

Overall materialism was a scale created to measure materialism across all of the above materialistic variables. It consisted of all 14 items related to materialism averaged together and a score was given for each television show included in the analysis.

Results. The ratings were analyzed to determine if privileged television shows varied significantly from regular television shows on the various materialism variables of

interest. Shows that were rated by fewer than 10% of respondents were not considered to have been rated by enough people to ensure reliability and were not used in the rest of the analyses. These included four privileged shows (*Beverly Hills, 90210*, *Daddy's Girls*, *Privileged*, *and Melrose Place*) and seven regular shows (*How I Met Your Mother*, *Fringe*, *Mad Men*, *The Big Bang Theory*, *Dexter*, *Bones*, and *Heroes*). This left 14 privileged shows and eight regular shows.

The privileged television shows scored over 3.69 on the overall materialism scale while all of the regular shows scored under 2.46 (on a scale from 0 to 5) indicating that there was a difference on overall materialism for these two types of shows (see *Table 1)*. It is clear by the means that across all materialism variables, those shows that were previously thought to be materialistic do indeed score high on all of the materialism variables.

A principal components analysis and exploratory factor analysis were conducted with all of the materialism variables across all shows to determine if there are different factors of materialism. After running a principal components analysis, examining the scree plot and criteria of having an eigenvalue over one, only one factor was extracted (see *Table 2*). Then an exploratory factor analysis with principal axis extraction and promax rotation was run. The one factor solution accounted for 72.80% of the variance (see *Table 3)*. All of the materialism variables loaded highly on the one factor of materialism (see *Table 4)*.

Appendix D. Pre-test 2 survey of television shows and measures.

In this study, we are interested in the opinions of people, like you, regarding television programming that is popular in your age group. The survey takes approximately 20-30 minutes to complete. You will receive ½ hour of research participation credit in exchange for completing this survey. By completing the questionnaire, you are giving consent for participation in the study and use of the data. Please remember that your participation is voluntary and you may stop at any time without prejudice.

Instructions: For each of the statements below, please tell us how important the following goals are to you, using the following scale:

	1=not important to me				**5**=very important to me
a. Having a high-status career	1	2	3	4	5
b. Having an influential occupation	1	2	3	4	5
c. Having a prestigious occupation	1	2	3	4	5
d. Having a high standard of living	1	2	3	4	5
e. Having a high level of wealth	1	2	3	4	5

How well do you feel you were able to answer the above question? Did it make sense? Do you have suggestions on wording?

Think about your life 15 years in the future. Although it is hard to make predictions, tell me your expectations about the following items. If you think you won't have some of these things, just leave them blank. Please answer in today's dollars.
your own salary: _____
your partner's salary: _____
the worth of your home:_____
the value of the possessions in your home: _____
the worth of your vehicles: _____
the amount you would spend each year on travel: _____
the amount you would spend on entertainment and leisure: _____
the amount you would spend on your clothing: _____
the worth of your investments: _____
How well do you feel you were able to answer the above question? Did it make sense? Do you have suggestions on wording?

Instructions: For each of the statements below, please tell us your beliefs about the following statements, using the following scale:

SD=strongly disagree **D**=disagree **N**=neither disagree nor agree **A**=agree **SA**=strongly agree

a. I honestly feel I'm just more deserving than others.	SD	D	N	A	SA
b. Great things should come to me.	SD	D	N	A	SA
c. If I were on the Titanic, I would deserve to be on the first lifeboat!	SD	D	N	A	SA
d. I demand the best because I'm worth it.	SD	D	N	A	SA
e. I do not necessarily deserve special treatment.	SD	D	N	A	SA
f. I deserve more things in my life.	SD	D	N	A	SA
g. People like me deserve an extra break now and then.	SD	D	N	A	SA
h. Things should go my way.	SD	D	N	A	SA
i. I feel entitled to more of everything.	SD	D	N	A	SA

How well do you feel you were able to answer the above question? Did it make sense? Do you have suggestions on wording?
Have you ever seen *Gossip Girl*?
__ yes
__no (skip to next show)

Please rate the following television show based on the prevalence or extremity of the characteristics listed.
Gossip Girl

	0=not at all				**4**=very much so
a. characters are materialistic	0	1	2	3	4
b. shows the use of money to attain goals	0	1	2	3	4
c. characters have the newest gadgets and/or cars	0	1	2	3	4
d. characters are wealthy	0	1	2	3	4
e. characters wear designer clothing	0	1	2	3	4
f. shows wealth as normal	0	1	2	3	4
g. shows wealth as desirable	0	1	2	3	4

How popular do you think the following television shows are with your peers?

	1 = extremely unpopular						**7** = extremely popular
a. *Gossip Girl*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b. *Entourage*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c. *90210* (2008)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d. *Keeping Up With the Kardashians*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e. *Kourtney & Khloe Take Miami*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f. *One Tree Hill*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
g. *The Girls Next Door*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
h. *Kendra*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
i. *Holly's World*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
j. *Kimora: Life in the Fab*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
k. *The Hills*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
l. *The O.C.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
m. *Beverly Hills, 90210* (1990)	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
n. *My Super Sweet 16*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
o. *Sex & the City*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
p. *Laguna Beach: The Real Orange County*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
q. *The City*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
r. *Cribs/Teen Cribs*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
s. *The T.O. Show*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
t. *Basketball Wives*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
u. *NYC Prep*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*

Please name any other television shows that fit in with the types of shows that you were just asked about (shows depicting wealthy lifestyles):

Please let us know anything that you would like to change about the survey? Any suggestions on wording? Were questions easy enough to answer? Thank you for your feedback?

What is your sex?
__male
__female

What is your age? _____

What is your year in school?
__Freshman
__Sophomore
__Junior
__Senior/5th year
__Graduate Student

What is your best estimate of your parents'/guardians' joint income while you were in high school? (please only factor in adults who contributed financially to your well-being).

a. 0-$25,000
b. $25,000-$50,000
c. $50,000-$75,000
d. $75,000-$100,000
e. $100,000-$150,000
f. over $150,000

How well do you feel you were able to answer the question regarding your parents' income? Do you have any suggestions on how to make it better?

What is your best estimate of your monthly disposable income?
$_____

How well do you feel you were able to answer the question regarding your disposable income? Do you have suggestions on how to make it better?

Do you currently have a job? Please select the answer that best applies to you.
__No
__Yes: part-time job
__Yes: full-time job

Appendix E. Methods and results of pre-test 2 of television shows and measures.

Pre-test 2: Assessing Measures and Television Show Ratings

Sample and procedure. The second study involved replicating and extending the findings about which shows feature high levels of materialism and pre-testing measures that were to be used for the main study (see *Appendix D*). The data from this study were collected from an online survey conducted at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Anonymous questionnaires were completed by 58 undergraduate students who participated for extra credit. The students answered questions related to future life expectations, entitlement, disposable income, and parents' income in order to determine the usefulness, and ease of answering such questions. Additionally, after each question, respondents were asked whether they felt they could easily answer the questions and were asked to give suggestions on wording. Respondents were also asked questions related to a list of television shows which depicted wealthy lifestyles.

Measures.

Disposable income and parents' income. Respondents were asked, "What is your best estimate of your monthly disposable income?" and were also asked whether they felt that they could easily answer the question. Respondents were also asked, "What is your best estimate of your parents'/guardians' joint income while you were in high school? (Please only factor in adults who contributed financially to your well-being)" and were given six options to choose from: *0-$25,000; $25,000-$50,000; $50,000-$75,000; $75,000-$100,000; $100,000-$150,000*; and *over $150,000*. After this question, respondents were asked to assess how well they felt they could estimate their

parents' income and were asked for suggestions about how to make the question easier to answer.

About 15% of respondents said that they had a hard time answering the question regarding parents' income while in high school or had to guess. Most respondents said that they knew the answer from filling out financial aid forms and found it easy to answer. One respondent suggested adding a $150,000-$200,000 income category, which I did add for the final survey. For the disposable income question, some people seemed confused about what disposable income was and suggested explaining disposable income in a bit more detail. Therefore, I changed the question to include two questions regarding monthly expenses. The first question asks: "Approximately how much money do you live off each month (all money spent-for bills, rents, groceries, clothing, and entertainment)? Enter either the amount you earn per month at your job or the amount that your parents give you each month to live off or the combined total of your own income and money given by your parents" and the second question is: "What is your best estimate of the amount of money you have left over after paying for rent, bills, groceries, and other essential items?"

Life goals. The measures for the importance of various values and goals were adapted from Roberts and Robins (2000) who looked at the importance of 25 major life goals in relation to personality characteristics. The goals of interest to this study were economic (e.g. the importance of having a high standard of living) and altruistic (e.g. the importance of helping others in need). The goals were pretested for comprehensibility and to assess whether there would be sufficient variability in responses.

The descriptive statistics for life goal importance indicated that all five measures showed variability in responses. The averages ranged from 5.12 to 5.84 (on a 1-7 scale of importance) (see *Table 5*). After reading the comments about suggestions on wording and ease of answering the questions, it did not appear that there were any issues regarding the wording or ease of answering questions however, some respondents did indicate that they had a hard time understanding the difference between prestigious and influential.

Future life expectations. Future life expectations were measured based on estimates of the monetary value of certain items. This was adapted from Kasser and Sheldon (2000), who examined materialism and consumption behavior. They asked respondents to think 15 years in the future and answer questions related to their expected financial status. Respondents were asked to report what they thought their salary, the worth of their home, the value of their possessions, the worth of their investments, and various other financial situations would be in 15 years (for full list, see *Appendix D*). These same questions were asked of respondents in my study, as was a question regarding clarity of the questions and ease of answering them.

The descriptive statistics for estimates about monetary expectations also indicated good variability (see *Table 5*). After reading the comments from respondents regarding the question, it appeared that although about one-third of the respondents said that it was hard to answer and some suggested giving average amounts for each category (e.g. in 2010, the average house costs $220,000). Some respondents suggested indicating a time period for the amount spent on clothing and entertainment/leisure, which was added to the next study.

Entitlement scale. Since entitlement is an idea which is related to materialism and wealth, I wanted to look at a pre-existing entitlement scale to determine if there would be variability in the scale prior to utilizing it in the main study, possibly as an outcome variable. Although the scale had been thoroughly tested and found to be reliable, valid, and not related to social desirability (Campbell, Bonacci, Shelton, Exline, and Bushman, 2004), there was some doubt as to whether there would be variability in such a scale with a sample of undergraduates. The nine items were measured on a *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree* scale and included items such as, "I honestly feel like I'm just more deserving than others," "Great things should come to me," and "I demand the best because I'm worth it."

The descriptive statistics for the entitlement scale indicated that there was some variability with average values ranging from 2.79 to 4.81 on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), however about one-third of respondents chose the *neither agree or disagree* option (see *Table 6*). The Cronbach's reliability coefficient of the items was α=.86. Many respondents commented about how they thought that the questions were "awkward," and that they were hard to answer without feeling "selfish or silly" or that it "made me feel guilty if I put agree." Given these issues, I decided to take out the entitlement scale from the final study.

Materialistic characteristics of television shows. The first pre-test had already looked at many television shows and their materialistic characteristics, therefore this study asked a six-item version of the previous questions related to the level of materialism of television shows and included some new shows to evaluate their level of materialism. The television shows that were asked about in the second pre-test were:

Gossip Girl, Entourage, 90210, Keeping Up With the Kardashians, Kourtney & Khloe Take Miami, One Tree Hill, The Girls Next Door, Kendra, Holly's World, Kimora: Life in the Fab Lane, The Hills, The O.C., Beverly Hills 90210, My Super Sweet 16, Sex & the City, Laguna Beach: The Real Orange County, The City, Cribs/Teen Cribs, The T.O. Show, Basketball Wives, and NYC Prep. It was first asked whether the respondent had ever seen each television show (if not, the respondent skipped to the next show, rather than rating the show). If they had seen the show, they were asked to rate the show on six materialistic characteristics, which were all modified from the Richins and Dawson's (1992) Material Values Scale. The items that were asked about each show were: *characters are materialistic, shows the use of money to attain goals, characters have the newest gadgets and/or cars, characters are wealthy, characters were designer clothing, shows wealth as normal, and shows wealth as desirable.*

The television show ratings were used to confirm previous data regarding high levels of materialism of various shows that portrayed wealthy lifestyles. All of the shows listed were rated at least an average of 3 out of 5 on extremity of materialistic characteristics (see *Table 7)*.

Perceived popularity of each television show. A list of all 22 shows was presented and respondents were asked "how popular do you think the following television shows are with your peers?" Respondents were asked to rate the level of popularity from *1* (*extremely unpopular*) to *7* (*extremely popular*). Respondents were also asked to suggest any other television shows that fit in with these types of shows (those that depict wealthy lifestyles) in order to determine if my initial list had failed to include any new television shows or those that were unfamiliar to me.

The perception of popularity among peers for privileged television shows was not high for all of the included shows, however since perceived peer popularity is not relevant for the final study, all shows were kept for the final list (see *Table* 8). In the suggestions made by respondents about other television shows that depicted wealthy lifestyles, almost all respondents suggest *The Real Housewives* series of shows, therefore those shows were added to the final list of television shows used for the next study. Another television show *The Bad Girls Club* was suggested by several respondents and was also added to the final television show list for the primary study.

Appendix F. Full survey questionnaire for primary study on television viewing, materialism and future life expectations.

Introduction/Consent Form:
Title of Study: Popular TV shows and expectations about life

Thank you so much for considering doing this survey! As I mentioned in the email, it's about television shows that are popular with your age group. We are interested in how you feel when you watch the shows as well as what your expectations about life are. You have been asked to participate because you within the 18-29 year old age range, which is the population of interest.

It should take you approximately 30 minutes to complete the questionnaire and there are no risks involved. Of course, you can skip any questions you like, though it's most useful to us if you answer all of them.

Here are some important reminders:

- You will earn extra credit for participating; however your participation is completely voluntary. You will receive one half hour of extra credit for participating in the online survey.

- Your participation in this research is ***confidential***. You'll write your name at the end of the survey, but we will erase this once we've recorded the extra credit.

- You should feel free to contact me, Marie-Louise Mares, if you have questions or complaints about the research. I can be contacted by phone at (608) 263-2350 (office) or (608) 233-3273 (home) or by email at mares@wisc.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research respondent, or you have concerns or general questions about the research, contact the University of Wisconsin-Madison's Institutional Review Board at (608) 263-2320. You may also call this number if you cannot reach the research team or wish to talk to someone else.

- You must be at least 18 years of age to participate in this project.

By continuing with this survey, you are indicating that you have read the above and agree to participate.

Thank you very much! We hope you enjoy it and we look forward to hearing your opinions.

Principal Investigator: Marie-Louise Mares (phone: 608-263-2350) (email: mares@wisc.edu)
Student Researcher: Emily Acosta Lewis (phone: 608-263-3999) (email: emily.acosta.lewis@gmail.com)

Instructions: Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the statements below, using the following scale:
SD=strongly disagree **D**=disagree **N**=neither disagree nor agree **A**=agree **SA**=strongly agree

a. I admire people who own expensive homes, cars, and clothes.	SD	D	N	A	SA
b. Some of the most important achievements in life include acquiring material possessions.	SD	D	N	A	SA
c. I don't place much emphasis on the amount of material objects people own as a sign of success.	SD	D	N	A	SA
d. The things I own say a lot about how well I'm doing in life.	SD	D	N	A	SA
e. I like to own things that impress people.	SD	D	N	A	SA
f. I try to keep my life simple, as far as possessions are concerned.	SD	D	N	A	SA
g. The things I own aren't all that important to me.	SD	D	N	A	SA
h. Buying things gives me a lot of pleasure.	SD	D	N	A	SA
i. I like a lot of luxury in my life.	SD	D	N	A	SA
j. I put less emphasis on material things than most people I know.	SD	D	N	A	SA
k. I have all the things I really need to enjoy life.	SD	D	N	A	SA
l. My life would be better if I owned certain things I don't have.	SD	D	N	A	SA
m. I wouldn't be any happier if I owned nicer things.	SD	D	N	A	SA
n. I'd be happier if I could afford to buy more things.	SD	D	N	A	SA
o. It sometimes bothers me quite a bit that I can't afford to buy all the things I'd like.	SD	D	N	A	SA

Instructions: First, please think about this time in your life. By "time in your life," we are referring to the present time, plus the last few years that have gone by, and the next few years to come, as you see them. In short, you should think about a roughly five-year period, with the present time right in the middle. For each phrase shown below, please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree that the phrase describes this time in your life using the following scale:

SD=strongly disagree **D**=disagree **N**=neither disagree nor agree **A**=agree **SA**=strongly agree

Is this period of your life a…				
1. time of many possibilities?	SD	D	A	SA
2. time of exploration?	SD	D	A	SA
3. time of confusion?	SD	D	A	SA
4. time of experimentation?	SD	D	A	SA
5. time of personal freedom?	SD	D	A	SA
6. time of feeling restricted?	SD	D	A	SA
7. time of responsibility for yourself?	SD	D	A	SA
8. time of feeling stressed out?	SD	D	A	SA
9. time of instability?	SD	D	A	SA

10. time of optimism?	SD	D	A	SA
11. time of high pressure?	SD	D	A	SA
12. time of finding out who you are?	SD	D	A	SA
13. time of settling down?	SD	D	A	SA
14. time of responsibility for others?	SD	D	A	SA
15. time of independence?	SD	D	A	SA
16. time of open choices?	SD	D	A	SA
17. time of unpredictability?	SD	D	A	SA
18. time of commitment to others?	SD	D	A	SA
19. time of self-sufficiency?	SD	D	A	SA
20. time of many worries?	SD	D	A	SA
21. time of trying out new things?	SD	D	A	SA
22. time of focusing on yourself?	SD	D	A	SA
23. time of separating from parents?	SD	D	A	SA
24. time of defining yourself?	SD	D	A	SA
25. time of planning for the future?	SD	D	A	SA
26. time of seeking a sense of meaning?	SD	D	A	SA
27. time of deciding on your own beliefs and values?	SD	D	A	SA
28. time of learning to think for yourself?	SD	D	A	SA
29. time of feeling adult in some ways but not others?	SD	D	A	SA
30. time of gradually becoming an adult?	SD	D	A	SA
31. time of being not sure whether you have reached full adulthood?	SD	D	A	SA

Instructions: For each of the statements below, please tell us how important the following goals are to you, using the following scale:

	1=not important to me				**5**=very important to me
a. Having a high-status career	1	2	3	4	5
b. Working to promote the welfare of others	1	2	3	4	5
c. Having an influential occupation	1	2	3	4	5
d. Helping others in need	1	2	3	4	5
e. Having a prestigious occupation	1	2	3	4	5
f. Taking part in volunteer community and public service.	1	2	3	4	5
g. Having a high standard of living	1	2	3	4	5
h. Becoming a community leader	1	2	3	4	5
i. Having a high level of wealth	1	2	3	4	5
j. Devoting attention to my spiritual life	1	2	3	4	5

Think about your life 15 years in the future. Although it is hard to make predictions, tell me your expectations about the following items for 15 years in the future. If you think you won't have some of these things, just leave them blank. Please answer in today's dollars.

your own salary: _____
your partner's salary: _____
the worth of your home:_____
the value of the possessions in your home: _____
the worth of your vehicles: _____
the amount you would spend each year on travel: _____
the amount you would spend on entertainment and leisure per year: _____
the amount you would spend on your clothing each year: _____
the worth of your total investments: _____

Instructions: For each of the statements below, please estimate your friends'/peers' beliefs about the following statements, using the following scale:

SD=strongly disagree **D**=disagree **N**=neither disagree nor agree **A**=agree **SA**=strongly agree

a. They admire people who own expensive homes, cars, and clothes.	SD	D	N	A	SA
b. They think some of the most important achievements in life include acquiring material possessions.	SD	D	N	A	SA
c. They don't place much emphasis on the amount of material objects people own as a sign of success.	SD	D	N	A	SA
d. The things they own say a lot about how well they're doing in life.	SD	D	N	A	SA
e. They like to own things that impress people.	SD	D	N	A	SA
f. They try to keep their lives simple, as far as possessions are concerned.	SD	D	N	A	SA
g. The things they own aren't all that important to them.	SD	D	N	A	SA
h. Buying things gives them a lot of pleasure.	SD	D	N	A	SA
i. They like a lot of luxury in their lives.	SD	D	N	A	SA
j. They put less emphasis on material things than most people I know.	SD	D	N	A	SA
k. They have all the things they really need to enjoy life.	SD	D	N	A	SA
l. Their lives would be better if they owned certain things they don't have.	SD	D	N	A	SA
m. They wouldn't be any happier if they owned nicer things.	SD	D	N	A	SA
n. They'd be happier if they could afford to buy more things.	SD	D	N	A	SA
o. It sometimes bothers them quite a bit that they can't afford to buy all the things they'd like.	SD	D	N	A	SA

Instructions: For each of the statements below, please tell us how important the following goals are to your friends'/peers', using the following scale:

	1=not important to them				**5**=very important to them
a. Having a high-status career	1	2	3	4	5
b. Working to promote the welfare of others	1	2	3	4	5
c. Having an influential occupation	1	2	3	4	5
d. Helping others in need	1	2	3	4	5
e. Having a prestigious occupation	1	2	3	4	5
f. Taking part in volunteer community and public service.	1	2	3	4	5
g. Having a high standard of living	1	2	3	4	5
h. Becoming a community leader	1	2	3	4	5
i. Having a high level of wealth	1	2	3	4	5
j. Devoting attention to my spiritual life	1	2	3	4	5

Instructions: Below is a list of TV programs. On the line next to each program, please indicate how frequently you watch/have watched that show, using the following scale:
0 = never watch **1**=watch rarely **2**=watch sometimes **3**=watch frequently

1. _____Entourage
2. _____ Gossip Girl
3. _____ 90210 (2008)
4. _____ Desperate Housewives
5. _____ Keeping Up with the Kardashians
6. _____ One Tree Hill
7. _____ Kourtney & Khloe Take Miami
8. _____ NYC Prep
9. _____ Kimora: Life in the Fab Lane
10. _____ Cribs/Teen Cribs
11. _____ Beverly Hills, 90210 (1990)
12. _____ The City
13. _____ The O.C.
14. _____ The Hills
15. _____ My Super Sweet 16
16. _____ Sex & the City
17. _____ Laguna Beach
18. _____ Kendra
18. _____ The Girls Next Door
19. _____ Holly's World
20. _____ The T.O. Show
21. _____ Football Wives
22. _____ Basketball Wives
23. _____ Bad Girls Club
24. _____ The Real Housewives of Orange County
25. _____ The Real Housewives of New York City
26. _____ The Real Housewives of D.C.
27. _____ The Real Housewives of New Jersey
28. _____ The Real Housewives of Atlanta
29. _____ The Real Housewives of Beverly Hills

Please select **1 program** that you have watched from the above list, and answer the next few sets of questions with that program in mind. PLEASE NAME THE PROGRAM THAT YOU HAVE SELECTED HERE:_____

How often do you think your friends/peers watch this show?
never watch watch rarely watch sometimes watch frequently

If you have never seen any of these shows, then please skip to question #XX

In general, I find the above-named program to be:

	not at all				very much
enjoyable	1	2	3	4	5
entertaining	1	2	3	4	5
pleasurable	1	2	3	4	5
captivating	1	2	3	4	5
realistic	1	2	3	4	5
true-to-life	1	2	3	4	5
accurate	1	2	3	4	5
plausible	1	2	3	4	5
unrealistic	1	2	3	4	5

Instructions: For the statements below, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement as it applies to the show you selected, using the following scale:

SD=strongly disagree **D**=disagree **N**=neither disagree nor agree **A**=agree **SA**=strongly agree

FOR THE PROGRAM THAT I SELECTED…

a. The people I see playing parts are just like their characters when they are off camera in real life.	SD D N A SA
b. The people who like nice things on this show, like nice things in real life.	SD D N A SA
c. The people who value material items in this show, also value material items in their real lives.	SD D N A SA
d. The people who use money to attain goals in this show, also do so in their real lives.	SD D N A SA
e. The people who have the newest gadgets/cars on this show, also have the newest items in their real lives.	SD D N A SA
f. The people who are wealthy on this show are also wealthy in real life.	SD D N A SA

PLEASE REMEMBER TO ANSWER THE NEXT SETS OF QUESTIONS WITH ONLY THE SHOW THAT YOU SELECTED ABOVE IN MIND.

Instructions: For the statements below, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement as it applies to the show you selected, using the following scale:
SD=strongly disagree **D**=disagree **N**=neither disagree nor agree **A**=agree **SA**=strongly agree
WHEN WATCHING THE PROGRAM THAT I SELECTED…

a. …I feel I am watching people like myself.	SD	D	N	A	SA
b. …I can identify with the people on the program.	SD	D	N	A	SA
c. … I feel I really understand what the program participants are feeling.	SD	D	N	A	SA
d…. I have respect for the program participants.	SD	D	N	A	SA
e. …I feel I understand the reasons why the program participants do what they do.	SD	D	N	A	SA
f. …I want the program participants to succeed.	SD	D	N	A	SA
g. …I find myself wishing that I could be one of the people on the program.	SD	D	N	A	SA
h. …I find myself comparing my clothes to the people on the program.	SD	D	N	A	SA
i. …I compare their decisions to the ones I would make.	SD	D	N	A	SA
j. …I find myself comparing the amount of money I have to the people on the program.	SD	D	N	A	SA
k. …I judge how attractive I am by comparing myself with the people on the program.	SD	D	N	A	SA
l. …I evaluate the choices made by people on the program.	SD	D	N	A	SA
m. …I learn what might be possible for me.	SD	D	N	A	SA
n. …I get ideas about what clothes and hairstyles are in fashion.	SD	D	N	A	SA
o. …I learn how people my age behave.	SD	D	N	A	SA
p. …I feel like I can learn about life's problems and situations.	SD	D	N	A	SA
q. …I get useful ideas about how I should act around my family and friends by watching.	SD	D	N	A	SA
r. … The characters I see help give me ideas about how to solve my own problems.	SD	D	N	A	SA
s. …I learn about the lifestyles of wealthy individuals.	SD	D	N	A	SA
t. …I learn how to use money to achieve success.	SD	D	N	A	SA
u. …I learn about new gadgets/cars that are on the market.	SD	D	N	A	SA
v. …I judge the people for the choices they make.	SD	D	N	A	SA
w. …I find myself thinking about what I would want to change about myself.	SD	D	N	A	SA
x. …I feel better about my own life.	SD	D	N	A	SA
y. … I find myself wishing that I could be one of the people on the program.	SD	D	N	A	SA

PLEASE REMEMBER TO ANSWER THE NEXT SETS OF QUESTIONS WITH ONLY THE SHOW THAT YOU SELECTED ABOVE IN MIND.

Instructions: For the statements below, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement as it applies to the show you selected, using the following scale:
SD=strongly disagree **D**=disagree **N**=neither disagree nor agree **A**=agree **SA**=strongly agree
WHEN WATCHING THE PROGRAM THAT I SELECTED…

a. …I find myself imagining what I would do if I were the main character in the story.	SD	D	N	A	SA
b. …I try to sit back and just enjoy it, and not think too much about what I am watching.	SD	D	N	A	SA
c. …I wonder what brought the main character to this point	SD	D	N	A	SA
d…. I keep thinking what it would be like to live the life of the main character.	SD	D	N	A	SA
e. …I find my mind wandering while watching the television program.	SD	D	N	A	SA
f. …I try to imagine what it would be like to really be in this situation.	SD	D	N	A	SA
g. …I keep trying to anticipate where the plot is going.	SD	D	N	A	SA
h. …I find myself thinking of ways the story could have turned out differently.	SD	D	N	A	SA
i. …I want to learn how the story will end.	SD	D	N	A	SA
j. …After I finish watching the television program, I find it easy to put it out of my mind.	SD	D	N	A	SA
k. …I am mentally involved in the storyline while watching the program.	SD	D	N	A	SA
l. …While watching the television program, I picture myself in the middle of the scene of events taking place.	SD	D	N	A	SA

What is your best estimate of the percent of the US population who are similar to the main characters of the **show you selected** in regards to these variables?
Annual salary: _____%
Attractiveness: _____%
Size of house: _____%
Worth of house: _____%
Worth of investments: _____%
Worth of possessions in house: _____%
Worth of vehicles: _____%
Money spent on clothes: _____%
Money spent on travel: _____%
Money spent on entertainment and leisure: _____%
Having a high-status career: _____%
Having an influential occupation: _____%
Having a prestigious occupation: _____%
Having a high standard of living: _____%
Having a high level of wealth: _____%

Now, we would like to ask you some questions about your general television viewing habits.

On the **average week day**, how many hours of TV do you watch between the hours of :

a.	6am – noon?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
b.	noon – 6 pm?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
c.	6 pm - midnight?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
d.	midnight – 6 am?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

On the **average week-end day**, how many hours of TV do you watch between the hours of:

a.	6am – noon?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
b.	b. noon – 6 pm?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
c.	6 pm - midnight?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
d.	midnight – 6 am?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

How often do you think your friends/peers watch TV shows that depict wealthy characters?

never watch watch rarely watch sometimes watch frequently

Does exposure to TV shows depicting wealthy lifestyles affect friends'/peers' attitudes towards materialism?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Very much so

Does exposure to TV shows depicting wealthy lifestyles affect friends/other students' attitudes towards future life expectations?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Very much so

So that we have information about the mix of people in our sample, would you please answer the following demographic questions?

1. Are you (please circle): Male Female

2. Age? _____

3. Circle as many as apply to you:
   - a. African-American
   - b. Asian-American/Asian
   - c. Caucasian
   - d. Latina/o
   - e. Native American
   - f. Other

4. Year in school?

a. Freshman	d. Senior
b. Sophomore	e. graduate student
c. Junior	f. not in school

5. What is your best estimate of your parents'/guardians' joint income during your last two years of high school? (please only factor in adults who contributed financially to your well-being).

a. 0-$25,000	d. $75,000-$100,000	g. over $200,000
b. $25,000-$50,000	e. $100,000-$150,000	
c. $50,000-$75,000	f. $150,000-$200,000	

If you know the exact amount or would prefer to estimate an amount, enter it here: _____

6. Do you currently have a job?

a. Yes b. No

7. If you do have a job, is it full-time or part-time?

a. full-time b. part-time

8. Approximately how much money do you live off each month (all money spent for bills, rent, groceries, clothing, and entertainment)? Enter either the amount you earn per month at your job or the amount that your parents give you each month to live off or the combined total of your own income and money given by your parents. _____

9. What is your best estimate of the amount of money you have left over after paying for rent, bills, groceries, and other essential items? _____

Thank you very much for all your help! Please close your web-browser so that your answers are not visible to anyone else who uses this computer to take the survey.