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Understanding personality through preferences in popular mass media: An archetypal approach

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UNDERSTANDING PERSONALITY THROUGH PREFERENCES IN POPULAR MASS MEDIA: AN ARCHETYPAL APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

UNDERSTANDING PERSONALITY THROUGH PREFERENCES
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In the Digital Age, it may be possible to assess personality in ways beyond those traditionally employed by psychologists. This work examines individual preferences in popular or mass culture media and what they say about people's psychological processes. For example, knowing that someone likes romantic comedy movies and jazz music arguably paints a more useful picture of personality than saying that one is high in both extraversion and openness. In such cases, a media-based self-description provides a clear and tangible metric of individual interests. Here, we hypothesize that one reason such preferences may reflect personality is because media and the arts make frequent use of prototypical or archetypal themes and characters in the stories they relate to their audiences, and that people resonate—i.e., respond affectively—to these thematic elements in specific ways that reflect their personalities.

Two studies were performed to test the general hypothesis that people's tastes in popular and mass culture media largely inform their overall personalities and behaviors. In Study 1, two similar scales measuring resonance to archetypal media were compared

and a five-factor model of archetypes in mass media was validated. In Study, 2, resonant media preferences were evaluated and compared with participants' self-reported current concerns (including hobbies, group memberships, personal strivings, and possible selves) in order to identify possible archetypal life themes. Results supported the idea of archetypal life themes—that people's mass media preferences are related to their everyday behaviors, goals, social interests, and self-concept. In the future, pop culture-based indicators of personality such as media preferences may be used more often as assessment tools; more pragmatically, they may serve to guide individuals' overall personal development.

UNDERSTANDING PERSONALITY THROUGH PREFERENCES IN POPULAR MASS MEDIA: AN ARCHETYPAL APPROACH

INTRODUCTION

Imagine you meet Jerry, a programmer at a local computer company, at a bus stop and strike up a conversation with him. Jerry, it turns out, likes heavy metal bands, thinks Darth Vader is really cool, watches a lot of horror movies (and even would like to make one someday, though he realizes this is unlikely), and spends much of his free time online playing *World of Warcraft*, killing as many people as he can.

From this brief encounter, you probably can intuit a strong sense of what Jerry's personality is like. In volunteering media-based information about himself, Jerry has provided a clear and highly tangible metric of his own individual characteristics and interests—one that is arguably much more socially useful than if he had described himself, for example, as being competitive, level-headed and extraverted. In this situation, you are performing an informal personality assessment of Jerry, and by using your knowledge and experience of mass media, you will implicitly have some idea of what to expect from him as a person when he says that he likes horror movies and heavy metal; this may not be the case with somewhat remote personality descriptors like trait adjectives. But can that intuitive sense about Jerry be proven correct with psychological scales and measures? Can an inquiry into Jerry's media preferences really tell us something about his personality?

In this paper, I will analyze such personal preferences in modern mass media using a contemporary revision of a near-discredited (though still popular) theory of personality—Jung's theory of archetypes. In doing so, I will illustrate, using a powerful measurement approach, that one's intuitions about another person based on media tastes really do indicate important information about that individual's personality.

With the rapid proliferation of mass media in the 21st century, people are defined increasingly by what they like, not by what they *are* like. What they are like—their personality—can be described as a dynamic network of interacting systems such as motives, cognitive abilities, traits, and mental models of the self and the world. In the Digital Age, however, individual differences in personality may be observed in ways beyond those traditionally measured by psychologists; the informal media-based method of assessment described above is one of these.

Understanding one's own personality is important to an individual for numerous reasons, among them the potential for self-discovery, the solipsistic appreciation of individual uniqueness, the ability to comprehend how we and others behave, and the realization of how psychological processes can influence one's life (Mayer, 2007; Shill & Lumley, 2000). Today, there is a growing interest in learning what we can about personality by observing our preferences for mass communication media such as music, movies, television, literature, and fine art. People have utilized mass media for centuries, but only in the last hundred years have such media exploded into the phenomenon known as "popular culture." As such, some personality researchers have suggested that "liking the things we like" may indicate dominant identity themes and motifs in our lives (cf. Brackett & Mayer, 2007; Jung, 1961-1963/1983; Mark & Pearson, 2001), and may reflect

many other aspects of individuality, such as traits (Gosling, 2008; Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003). This paper will introduce a new scale for the media-based measurement of personality, and provide evidence that things like people's goals, personal and social activities, and self-concept can be predicted in some part from their media preferences.

BACKGROUND

Personal Identity and Identification With Media

The idea of identity—the collection of one's internal models of his or her self and surrounding world—is central to the understanding of personality. Beginning in childhood with the discovery and recognition of the diversifying self (Abound & Skerry, 1983; Harter, 1999), and continuing through the uncertainty over possible roles in adolescence (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1966) to the tentative self-redefining of what it means to be an adult (Arnett, 2000), each individual must develop an identity (or multiple identities) over the lifespan so as to fill specific social roles, establish beliefs and goals, and have a sense of self-worth. This can be a life-long project of discerning and filtering ideas of who one is, who one is not, who one wants to be and wants to avoid becoming (Higgins, 1987; Markus & Nurius, 1986). The identification process is thus one of the most important undertakings in personality development, occurring when an individual aspires to be the kind of person he/she perceives another as being, and subsequently attempts to take on that person's values, attitudes, and behaviors as his or her own (Block & Turula, 1963; see also Appendix A). Although some identifications may take place out of envy, many occur with regard to the simple admiration of others. These others may be fictional as well as real people, and an increased generational exposure to pop culture entertainment media increases the chances of an admired other

originating from these channels (Meyrowitz, 1985, 2008a). Either way, the act of personal identification is a strengthening agent for an individual's personality, providing security for the person's sense of significance in the world. Unlike identification with peer groups, which usually involves assimilation and homogenization established along demographic or membership characteristics (e.g., socioeconomic status, activities/interests, political affiliations, ethnic/religious groups, stigmatized groups, etc.; Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi, & Ethier, 1995), personal or individual identification more clearly involves an internal comparison and a judgment of the individual's possible selves: It validates the individual's uniqueness rather than marginalizing it.

As children, the identification process begins when a child begins to understand some of the elements of personality—general typologies of individuals both real and fictional—and then gradually shapes them into more realistic images of themselves and understandings of others as a he or she grows older (Mayer & Faber, in press). In the case of typological characters in media, healthy development is guided in part by whether the person thoughtfully identifies with a media figure (i.e., through empathy and a mental transferral of the desired characteristic) or simply idealizes them (i.e., observes and imitates their behaviors in search of similar desired consequences; Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961; see also Cohen, 2001; Gewirtz & Stingle, 1968; Greenwood, 2007; Kohlberg, 1963, and Appendix A). Even if we must consistently deal with the pain of falling short in the comparisons we make between ourselves and admired others—the indestructible action heroes and the brilliant, gorgeous and witty doctor/scientists of movies and television, for example—identification with fictional media characters is believed to reduce the discrepancy between people's actual and ideal selves, at the same

time keeping them cognitively grounded in reality (Bessière, Seay, & Kiesler, 2007; McDonald & Kim, 2001; McKenna & Bargh, 1998).

Whether real or imagined, mass media characters help to teach us the existence of individual differences and the many disparate forms personality can take. As people mature, however, the character types to which we are exposed shift considerably—in real life as well as in media—from adolescence to the working force to middle age to retirement and beyond. We therefore retain identification as a constant process and, in doing so, continue to refine ourselves through it. In the case of popular and mass media (or what I will call "rich culture"—encompassing music, movies, television, books and magazines, and even art and video games), the process is largely implicit or automatic, thus making it of interest to personality assessment techniques. The goal of this research is to investigate more closely people's attraction to and identification with typological characters in media, thus illuminating a pop culture-based aspect of how we construct our lives.

Media Preferences and Personality

As human beings, we are bound together in history by common experience. One practical result of the surge in the amount of rich culture media being produced in the age of the Internet is that it creates a heightened sense of connection and shared experience among those who consume that media. Furthermore, the ubiquity of such media allows the lines to blur between the real-life audience and the fantasy world of the medium (Meyrowitz, 1985; see also Appendix B). We begin not only to identify with the characters contained therein, but also to view them as an integral part of our lives, since, after all, they seem to be with us at all times. The constant exposure also precipitates a

feeling of parasocial interaction with these characters, or the illusion of a personal relationship with them (Eyal & Rubin, 2003). In short, media characters are now so much a part of our emotional lives that we often feel we have become friends with them (Meyrowitz, 2008a; Raney, 2004; and Appendix B). This feeling that such figures are part of our "life space"—i.e., the comprehensive environment that surrounds an individual (Brackett & Mayer, 2007)—allows them to have a great effect on our personalities. Research on the life space suggests that people "select and create (sometimes unintentionally) social and physical environments that reinforce and reflect elements of their personalities, self-views, and values" (Rentfrow & McDonald, in press, p. 7; see also Gosling, 2008; Mayer, Carlsmith, & Chabot, 1998). This, of course, includes people's preference for and selection of media for use in their everyday lives. As we will see, these media usage patterns can be quite revealing indeed about how personality is expressed.

The bulk of existing research concerning the study of personal preferences in rich culture media involves comparing people's media preferences to discrete personality traits, such as those of the Big Five (e.g., Furnham & Bunyan, 1988; A. Hall, 2005; Rawlings, Barrantes i Vidal, & Furnham, 2000; Rawlings & Ciancarelli, 1997; Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003, 2006; Weaver, 1991), or to a specific attitude or behavior, such as sensation-seeking or adolescent risk-taking (Arnett, 1991, 1992; Dollinger, 1993; Litle & Zuckerman, 1986). For example, music is a very common topic of discussion among strangers getting acquainted, and people are able to use it to gain fairly accurate impressions of others. Rentfrow and Gosling (2006) note that in these situations, personal preferences in music are more revealing of personality traits than most other

available cues (i.e., taste in clothing or food); they are especially telling of openness, agreeableness, and neuroticism. Not surprisingly, people tend to form and maintain better friendships when their musical tastes are similar than when they are not (Selfhout, Branje, ter Bogt, & Meeus, 2009). In such studies, however, typically only one type of media is used (e.g., music), and, in restricting themselves to a trait approach, the researchers refrain from making any generalizations about the personality system as an integrated whole.

However, some research (e.g., Faber & Mayer, 2009) indicates that preferences in rich culture media are far more pervasive within the personality system than has been generally assumed, especially among people living in highly industrialized societies. In such cultures, people's recollections of personal experiences, social networking groups, values and attitudes, concepts of themselves, motives and emotions, and even the general ways in which they construct their life stories all may be linked in some way to their personal tastes in rich culture media. In fact, if one or more overarching media-measurable life themes can be established in any given person across all these aspects of personality, that theme might be fairly said to represent that person's entire life story (cf. McAdams, 1993). Initial empirical and theoretical work supports this notion, and it is within this framework of personality that this research program is based. The roots of this media-centered approach to understanding personality lie in psychoanalytic theory and extend to modern conceptions of the self and the characters it encounters along the lifespan.

Archetypes, Personal Narratives, and Life Stories

One possible reason why rich culture media and their themes and characters seem so significant to us is that they frequently utilize archetypes: typical, generic story characters to which people often respond affectively, such as a Caregiver, a Hero, or a Magician (Faber & Mayer, 2009; Jung, 1961-1963/1983). Archetypes are internal schemas or mental models of key characters who play important roles in the stories of many cultures. They usually possess a standard set of easily identifiable characteristics, motivations, and behaviors that signify their role in that particular narrative (see Table 1 for a list—albeit not an exhaustive one—of commonly observed archetypes; see also Appendix C and Faber & Mayer, 2009). For example, the Outlaw character will usually be self-reliant and provocative, and will attempt to rebel against the machinations of others. Archetype theory was originally proposed by Carl Jung (1875-1961), who suggested that people were possessed of many unconscious mental models of various human characters and themes. Jung believed these timeless and mythological images were common to all people (Jung, 1961-1963/1983), and that the unconscious recognition of any such image in a person's daily life would lead to a numinous or powerful emotional reaction (Shelburne, 1988). Jung's theory was supported by many in the humanities, although in general psychologists were—and still remain—strongly disinclined to accept them as mainly racially or biologically transmitted, as Jung originally claimed (McGowan, 1994; Neher, 1996; Pietikainen, 1998). Rather, contemporary archetype theory allows that the emotional response experienced upon encountering an archetypal character likely has important cultural as well as biological bases for the implicit recognition of that character's importance (deSilva, Rachman, & Seligman, 1977; McAdams, 1993). If a person has been socially led to believe that a

character is particularly important, they will likely include that character in their own narratives, and the figure will continue to endure in that society.

As such, the modern concept of archetypes depends heavily on their usage in people's personal and mythical narratives and stories, in which such characters often play important parts. In this research, I employ a basic "neo-archetypal theory" in which archetypes (a) are story characters, (b) are represented psychologically as mental models like self- and other-schemas and prototypes, (c) often elicit intense emotional responses, (d) operate at an automatic or unconscious level, and (e) are culturally enduring so as to be easily learned and widely recognizable (Faber & Mayer, 2009). Neo-archetypal theory emphasizes a relational model of the self in the world, organized around these characters. That is, many of people's personal narratives and life stories will involve familiar, archetypal figures in well-known roles. Five of the most common of these figures are the Knower (a teacher, sage, or aesthete), the Carer (a faithful nurturer or a romantic), the Striver (an ambitious, powerful leader or warrior), the Conflictor (an iconoclast or a tragic, damaged figure), and the Everyperson (an honest and independent easygoer or an underdog).

It therefore seems probable that archetypes may be of particular importance to entertainment and rich culture media, given that the people who create it, in doing so, are creating a certain kind of personal narrative (see Appendix C). A number of popular culture artists do, in fact, report using archetypal ideas in their work (Mark & Pearson, 2001, p. 293). The neo-archetypal view of personal preferences within these media contends that individual differences allow people to react to some archetypal characters

more intensely than others—even though they may be unaware of this—and certain instruments can be used to measure the differences in their reactions.

The Concept of Resonance

Neo-archetypal theory characterizes a person's response to an archetype as involving a diffuse but potent emotional and affective reaction. This reaction has been characterized basically as a mixture of interest and liking, called "resonance" (Faber & Mayer, 2009). Measuring a person's resonance to certain examples of rich culture media, then, can approximate the striking experience of encountering a psychologically meaningful character (cf. Maloney, 1999). This can be achieved by showing people images of archetypal movie and television characters, describing a hypothetical plot situation involving those characters, or even simply characterizing the mood, theme, or motif that that particular piece of rich culture is—by general consensus—supposed to represent (such as a song or piece of artwork). People's resonances to items belonging to the same archetype group have been shown to be generally reliable, even across different media, such as music, movies, and art (Faber & Mayer, 2009).

The concept of resonance to archetypes, just like a person's interpretation of their own life themes and stories, is not static but dynamic. As preferences in media modulate and diversify, a person's resonance to any one rich culture stimulus can change over time. This may also (but not necessarily) indicate a shift in the archetype(s) to which a person may be drawn: a sign of that person's changing attitudes, values, beliefs, and other personality characteristics showing through in the media to which they gravitate. But since a "life theme" archetype change is more likely to be gradual and subtle than sudden and drastic, any personal rich culture preference changes that accompany the shift would

also probably be incremental, and attributed to normal life maturation processes (for example, a person who enjoys horror movies as a teenager might eventually "outgrow" his preference, but he is unlikely to stop liking them all at once). Still, if one's resonance to an archetype is strong, consistently meaningful, and long-lived, it will be natural to want to incorporate the characteristics of that archetype into one's own personal self-concept. People may accomplish this by identifying with the resonating characters that they meet in real life and encounter through entertainment media.

INTRODUCTION TO STUDIES

This set of studies is intended to verify the general hypotheses that people's tastes in popular and mass culture entertainment media largely inform their overall personalities and behaviors, and that people use media pragmatically to understand and diversify their own and others' roles in the social world. The concept of causality is difficult to unravel in personality studies such as these, and I will make no attempt to do so here. It seems likely, however, that there are mutual reciprocal relationships in this area that, as a first step, can be uncovered with correlational and descriptive work. If such relationships exist it will be an important finding, one that later research can explore as to causal directions.

In Study 1, two similar (though qualitatively different) measures of emotional resonance to archetypal media are evaluated and compared as to their usefulness for personality assessment. In Study 2, participants' preferences for archetypal media are compared to their self-reported current concerns (including hobbies, group memberships, personal strivings, and possible selves) in order to identify possible archetypal life themes. Specifically, these studies demonstrate that people's individual preferences in

rich culture entertainment media can be used to (a) understand their self-knowledge of their own personalities, as well as the life stories they have constructed thus far for themselves, and (b) assess their current activities, group memberships, and personal identities. In the General Discussion section, I will explore the possibility that such media preferences may also predict people's relationship styles, their future occupations, and/or other developmental life outcomes.

STUDY 1

Introduction and Hypotheses

Study 1 is a cross-validation study for a new scale measuring resonant responses to archetypes. This scale, called the Preferences for Archetypes in Media Scale (PAMS), is intended to be a scale that is quicker and more convenient than the original scale measuring archetypal resonance in media, the Rich Culture Archetype Scale (RCAS; Faber & Mayer, 2009). The original version of the scale demonstrated good validity and reliability in showing that people can implicitly perceive character prototypes (such as the independent and free-willed "Explorer" character, or the dark and rejected "Shadow") in rating their resonance to audio clips of popular music and high-definition still images of movie characters and artistic works. However, the original scale has its problems: (a) it is long and cumbersome to administer, (b) it neglects media such as television and books, and (c) its items have become slightly dated, as the scale is now almost four years old.[1] This last problem is perhaps the most troubling; given the nature of the popular media it utilizes, the RCAS is intended to evoke strong affective reactions using a number of familiar and topical media examples. Thus, an alternate version of the scale—a scale

which uses hypothetical items that have a longer "shelf life"—is desirable for continued use in this type of research.

Hypothesis 1: Resonance Scores Can be Formed from Interest, Liking, and Disliking

Resonance is defined as a potent and favorable affective response to an archetypal character or theme. To approximate that response, both the RCAS and PAMS ask participants to rate their interest, liking, and disliking for each item. As indicated by prior research, these ratings should be highly correlated so as to justify combining them into one overall resonance rating.

Hypothesis 2: Structural Findings regarding the RCAS will be replicated in the PAMS

Like the RCAS, the PAMS should divide into five archetype clusters and feature a similar factor structure.

Hypothesis 3: The Two Tests Will Be Closely Related

Previous research has indicated that the RCAS scales have acceptable reliability and validity (Faber & Mayer, 2009), while pilot studies of earlier versions of the PAMS have indicated that its scales, too, are reasonably reliable (Faber & Mayer, 2007). The two tests should thus exhibit reasonable convergent validity, despite their different styles of presenting items.

Methods

Participants

175 college students (50 male, 125 female) taking introductory psychology courses participated in Study 1 and received experimental course credit. Their responses were identified only by number and data were handled only by the primary researcher and two assistants.

Measures

Rich Culture Archetype Scale (RCAS). The Rich Culture Archetype Scale (RCAS; see Appendix D; Faber & Mayer, 2009) is an 83-item scale measuring affective ("resonant") responses to specific archetypal media in music, movies, and art. These items are presented either aurally, as 15-20 second sound clips of specific songs, or visually, as still color shots of particular movies or high-resolution images of well-known (as well as some not so well-known) art pieces. The items each have been demonstrated to represent one of 13 archetypes which tend to group together into five "clusters," or archetypal profiles (Faber & Mayer, 2009; see also Table 1).[2] Items are presented in block-randomized order, and participants are asked the following questions for each item: (a) How *interested* are you in this stimulus?, (b) How much do you *like* this stimulus?, (c) How much do you *dislike* this stimulus?, and (d) How *familiar* are you with this stimulus? Answers are recorded on each participant's answer sheet on a five-point Likert scale. The RCAS generally can be completed in 30-45 minutes, and has exhibited acceptable validity and reliability (Faber & Mayer, 2009).

Preferences for Archetypes in Media Scale (PAMS). The Preferences for Archetypes in Media Scale (PAMS; see Appendix E) consists of 78 hypothetical vignettes for rich culture media, including popular music, movies, fine art, literature, and television.[3] Like the RCAS, the items represent each of 13 archetypes that tend to group together into five clusters. Items are presented (again, in block-randomized order) as short, one-sentence sketches, such as "A film about a spirited and restless musician, always wandering from town to town," and "A peaceful painting of a mother and child." Participants are asked to imagine each item, and, based on the description, to rate how

much they think they would (a) be *interested* in the item; (b) *like* the item; and (c) *dislike* the item; answers are recorded on a five-point Likert scale. (The fourth question asked for each item in the RCAS, regarding familiarity, is not applicable for the PAMS items.) Participants were asked the three separate questions for each item in order to reproduce the formulaic resonance construct of the original RCAS (resonance = interest + liking + [reverse] disliking) as closely as possible. As with the RCAS, this calculation is intended to approximate participants' favorable affective responses to sample neo-archetypal stimuli. The PAMS generally can be completed in about 15 minutes.

Procedure

Participants in Study 1 completed both the RCAS and the PAMS, and their resonance scores on the archetype scales of the two measures were calculated and analyzed for consistency within participants. For the RCAS, participants received an answer sheet containing the response scale for use with the items on the RCAS. Participants were encouraged to answer every item and to avoid global pre-judgments of the stimuli (for example, relying on friends' opinions of movies that they personally had not seen) and instead to answer based on their initial impressions of what specifically was being presented in the study. In addition to being listed at the top of the answer sheet, the four preference questions (interest, liking, disliking, and familiarity) were listed next to each image to help participants keep them in mind when they were looking at each item. The 26 selected musical stimuli (see Appendix D) were presented in a fixed order for about twenty seconds each; participants then answered the four questions for the item after its presentation. Following the last music item, hardcover binders were distributed for the last 57 stimuli in movies and art. Participants completed these items at their own

pace. For the PAMS, packets were distributed containing the vignettes and response scales for each item, and again participants completed them at their own pace.

To control for order effects, the researchers administered the RCAS first in half the scheduled sessions, and the PAMS first in the other half. In the sessions where the RCAS was given first, participants received their PAMS packet immediately upon turning in their RCAS answer sheet and binder. In the sessions when the PAMS was given first, however, those who finished the first packet early were told to relax quietly until everyone had turned in their PAMS packet; this step was necessary so that the beginning of the RCAS (the playing of the music clips) could be administered to the entire group.

Results

Combining Response Scales into a Single Resonance Score

For both the RCAS and PAMS, each participant rated each stimulus on all three common questions—interest, liking, and disliking. To avoid within-subject variance across items, the correlations between interest and liking, interest and disliking, and liking and disliking were obtained and recorded for single items only. This process was repeated for twelve randomly-selected items from each scale to ensure that these correlations from each single item were representative. For the RCAS, the range of correlations between interest and liking was extremely high for the 12 items examined, r = .77 to .91, while the correlation ranges for interest and disliking (r = -.37 to -.67) and liking and disliking (r = -.36 to -.70) were moderate. Numbers were similar for the PAMS, $r_{interest*liking}$ = .81 to .90, $r_{interest*disliking}$ = -.27 to -.58, and $r_{liking*disliking}$ = -.27 to -.59.

These figures constitute a good rationale for affirming Hypothesis 1 and combining the three ratings into a single resonance score.[4]

Factor Structure and Reliabilities of All Scales

Prior research has indicated that the 13 archetypes in the RCAS can be represented as five-factors: (I) the Knower (featuring the Creator, Magician, and Sage); (II) the Carer (Caregiver, Innocent, and Lover); (III) the Striver (Hero and Ruler); (IV) the Conflictor (Outlaw and Shadow); and (V) the Everyperson (Everyman/Everywoman, Explorer, and Jester; Faber & Mayer, 2009). Each archetype loads mainly on one cluster. Hypothesis 2 focused on the gathering of additional support for this five-factor, non-hierarchical model in the RCAS and verifying it in the PAMS.

Using the same basic model suggested by Faber and Mayer (2009), confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) of the present data replicated the five-factor model for the PAMS resonance scores, χ^2 (51) = 160.0 (a C_{min} / d.f. ratio of 3.14: 1), a Comparative Fit Index (CFI) of ..879, and a Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) of .135 (see Figure 1). This model, when used on the RCAS resonance scores, was problematic in the case of the exogenous Conflictor variable; hence, this latent variable was combined with the Striver and the remaining four-factor model for RCAS resonance scores yielded a Chi-square value of χ^2 (55) = 120.8 (C_{min} / d.f. is 2.20: 1), a CFI of .955, and an RMSEA of .084.

These findings indicate reasonable stability among resonance scores in both RCAS and PAMS samples; however, the absolute fit of this model remains only marginally acceptable, and could benefit from some small adjustments—particularly with

regard to some of the archetypes' "secondary" factor loadings. However, such changes are not central to the work here, which focuses on the performance of the new scale.

The reliabilities of both the RCAS and the PAMS are listed in Table 2. The RCAS reliabilities for the five factors range from $\alpha = .77$ to .86, while those for the PAMS range from $\alpha = .81$ to .91; these are satisfactory and compare favorably with previous reliability estimates for both instruments (Faber & Mayer, 2007, 2009). Because the clusters and individual subscales in both measures span multiple forms of media, the reliability figures in Table 2 are likely slight underestimates, as some of the variability in participant responses stems from naturally different resonance baselines to different media (for example, some people may simply respond more to movies than books). However, this effect is likely more pronounced in the RCAS, as its items are presented in very different manners, while the PAMS items all conform to the same basic form of presentation.

Correlations Between Matching Pairs of Scales

As can also be seen in Table 2, the correlations between resonance scores on matching individual archetypes (e.g., RCAS Sage scores vs. PAMS Sage scores) range from $r = .26$ to .64. Examining the five archetype clusters, however, the range improves markedly, ranging from $r = .51$ to .66. By comparison, off-diagonal, off-cluster correlations (e.g., RCAS Sage scores vs. PAMS Ruler scores) fell mainly on the order of $r = .10$ to .30. In general, the correlations for matching scales on the RCAS and PAMS were slightly higher than expected, and suggest that the two measures are very similar in the constructs they measure, despite their very different methods of assessment.

Discussion of Study 1

What are the Advantages and Disadvantages of Both Measures?

Rentfrow and McDonald (in press) point out that an ideal measure of media preferences would have media excerpts for each item—typical examples of a genre (or, in this case, an archetype) for participants to judge. The RCAS provides such real-life examples, and does so with a mind toward traditional archetypal theory and its emphasis on the visceral; one of the keys to resonance is the powerful affective or emotional reaction that a person experiences upon encountering a significant character. However, the scale's length, its somewhat awkward method of presentation, and the ephemeral relevance of many of its items rightfully gives one pause when considering its use. The more versatile PAMS accounts for these weaknesses and holds true to neo-archetypal theory in that it involves stories of a sort. Even so, the fictional PAMS items simply may not strike people the way a powerful visual or aural theme might—it is difficult to feel strongly about a movie or a television show that does not exist. Still, the PAMS may ultimately become the more preferable of the two tests, as it is both brief and easy to use without suffering a noticeable sacrifice in reliability or validity.

Can the PAMS Reasonably Represent the RCAS Measure?

The PAMS seems to adequately represent the variance measured by the more extensive, but difficult-to-administer RCAS. Their interest, liking, and disliking responses correlate similarly, and form similar resonance composites (resonance = interest + liking + [reverse] disliking). Using this resonance composite, both scales exhibit similar factor structures and reasonable reliability. The correlations between their individual subscales are between $r = .26$ and .64, which is comparable, for example, to those between some alternative scales of the Big Five (e.g., Rentfrow, Gosling, & Swann, 2003). The difference in the style of measurement likely accounts for some of this error:

One test uses specific, well-known items, while the other uses hypothetical vignettes; one test uses audio/visual "flashes" of highly evocative stimuli while the other relies on verbal and subjective imaginative processes. All in all, both the RCAS and the PAMS are effective measures of resonance to rich culture media, and future researchers may decide for themselves which scale best fits their needs.

STUDY 2

Introduction and Hypotheses

We have discussed how one key aspect of the psychology of personality lies in the forging and refining of identity. The years between ages 12 and 25 are especially critical to this identity formation (Arnett, 2000; Erikson, 1963, 1968; Marcia, 1966). Incidentally—and fortunately for this research—these developmental periods are also times of increasingly voracious media consumption in youth all around the industrialized world. This means that the individual is establishing his or her personal identity, as composed of traits, types, possible selves, and other self-relevant personality information at a time when they are saturated by thousands of media communications aimed precisely at them (Mastronardi, 2003).

It therefore seems plausible that people's decisions regarding popular media during this time will reflect their own identity and overall personality development. In fact, such media profiles may provide a guide in explaining people's social roles and the forces they allow to influence their decisions and behaviors throughout the lifespan. In order to connect people's reported media taste profiles to their sense of personal identity and self-concept, Study 2 attempts to contextualize individuals within the popular and social aspects of their environment.

In this study, I attempt to measure accurately the expression of these identity components through people's motivated behaviors and daily activities. If this is possible, we can then expect that media preference patterns will echo people's current activities—i.e., what is important to them at the present—and it is likely that people belonging to different groups will display distinctly disparate patterns in media tastes. These differences could be a crucial indicator that people in the same population may have identities, or models of themselves and the world, that diverge greatly from one another (Oyserman & Markus, 1990).

Hypothesis 1: The Online PAMS Will Exhibit the Expected Five-Factor Structure

As with the in-person version of the PAMS, the online version of the scale should display a five-factor archetype structure with mid- to high factor reliabilities.

Hypothesis 2: Scores on the PAMS Will Correlate With Personal Strivings

Emmons (1986) developed a technique for measuring motives such as achievement, power, and affiliation through open-ended questions simply by asking people to report what they typically try to do. Participants' answers to this question stem usually reflect the goals, behaviors, and attitudes that are currently important to their lives. In this study, people's strivings will be coded for archetypes, using three independent raters to judge strivings. The inter-rater coding agreement for which archetype cluster is represented should be relatively high. The data should reveal that people scoring highly on a particular striving cluster will resonate to media representing that cluster.

Hypothesis 3: Scores on the PAMS Will Correlate With Possible Selves

Identity is composed of several perceptible components (e.g., traits, types, self-concept, behavior & activities). The notion of "possible selves" (Higgins, 1987; Markus & Nurius, 1986) is an efficient way of assessing a person's current self-concept and identity. First, people's media preference archetype profiles as predicted by the PAMS should be most similar to their reported actual selves. Second, people should nominate for their ought and ideal selves the archetypes that seem most socially desirable (e.g., the Caregiver, the Hero), while rating their feared selves more closely to the least socially desirable archetypes (e.g., the Shadow).

Hypothesis 4: The PAMS Will Relate Moderately to Entertainment Preferences

As reported by Faber and Mayer (2009), archetype resonance scores are somewhat related to a genre-based scale of entertainment preferences (the Entertainment Preferences Questionnaire, or EntPQ) created by Rentfrow (2004). In this study, correlations between the PAMS and the EntPQ should echo those found in the RCAS. For example: Knower archetypes should show preferences for media genres that are thoughtful, relaxed and cultured, while Conflictor archetypes should prefer media that are dark and excitatory. Also, Carer archetypes will be expected to like romantic and dramatic media, while Striver archetypes will prefer action and comedy media.

Hypothesis 5: The PAMS will Exhibit Some Gender Differences

Like the scales in the RCAS, women should resonate to Carer archetypes more than men, while the reverse should be true for Striver and Conflictor archetypes. There will be no expected gender differences in resonance to Knower or Everyperson archetypes (cf. Faber & Mayer, 2009).

Hypothesis 6: Activities Will Also Contribute to Differences in PAMS Scores

The PAMS is believed to be a good indicator of people's self-concept or identity, as measured through resonance to media-based archetypes. However, people's other current concerns are also likely to contribute to their identity, and as such, they may contribute somewhat to the variance in their media resonance. Although it is unknown what activities (such as group memberships, hobbies, academic major) will contribute most to the variance in individual PAMS scores, social groups and gender should be two of the biggest predictors.

Methods

Participants

217 college students (110 male, 105 female, with 2 participants not answering) taking introductory psychology courses participated in Study 2 and received experimental course credit. Their responses were identified only by number, tabulated and delivered in data file format by a survey website. Responses were handled only by the primary researcher, except for a question regarding people's daily goals and personal strivings (see below), which were independently coded for analysis by the primary researcher and two assistants. Upon completion of the study, the data for 9 of the participants was determined to be unusable, either due to early withdrawal or a failure to complete the study mindfully. The removal of this screened data reduced the final size of the sample to $N = 208$ (107 male, 100 female, 1 not responding).

Materials

Preferences for Archetypes in Media Scale (PAMS). An online version of the PAMS was administered to participants to assess their resonance to different kinds of archetypal themes in media. The 78-item scale was identical to the version used in Study

1, with participants answering three questions (liking, disliking, and interest) about each item on a five-point Likert scale.

Personal strivings. Emmons (1986) developed the concept of personal strivings in an open-ended measure of self-reported motivation in which participants are simply asked "I typically try to _____" and encouraged to come up with a number of phrases describing themselves that can finish the sentence. Responses are typically experimenter-coded according to the motives displayed therein; these motives can range from Murrayan needs of achievement and affiliation to less traditionally studied motives such as self-actualization, spirituality, and honesty (Mayer, Xu, & Faber, 2005). For the purposes of this study, participants were asked to provide at least 8-10 strivings in text boxes on the survey webpage. These strivings were coded by three independent raters, not for motives, but for the archetype they were judged to represent most, according to the best estimation of the researchers. Each of the raters coded all strivings for all participants (as described in "Procedures for Coding," in the Methods section below).

Groups and hobbies questions. Participants were asked to indicate the groups of which they currently or recently considered themselves to be a member. They were reminded that this could include social, civic, academic, or athletic groups, and were advised to list only as many as they wanted. Following this, they were asked to list as many of their hobbies (i.e., their regular recreational activities) as they wanted. These were coded according to archetype group, as described in the "Procedures for Coding" section below.

Possible selves. Another way to measure self-concept is to ask participants about their possible selves (Higgins, 1987; Markus & Nurius, 1986). In this study, participants

were asked to compare themselves to short character descriptions; these descriptions each represented an archetype (for example, the description "A devoted, sacrificing, and nurturant person: compassionate, generous, protective, and parental. One who is benevolent, friendly, helping, and trusting" represented the Caregiver; see Table 1). On a seven-point Likert-type scale, the participants rated how similar they were to the description—not only as they currently saw themselves, but also as they believed others expect them to be, as they hoped to be in the future, and as they were afraid to be in the future. These questions were designed to provide some insight into which archetypes participants regarded as similar to their actual, ought, ideal, and feared selves (cf. McElwee & Dunning, 2005; Oyserman & Markus, 1990).

Entertainment Preferences Questionnaire (EntPQ). The EntPQ is a self-judgment measure of preferences for a number of media genres across music, books and magazines, movies, television, and art, slightly adapted from Rentfrow (2004; see also Faber & Mayer, 2009; and Appendix F). Participants are asked to indicate the extent to which they like or prefer each of the genres within a medium using a five-point Likert scale. People usually are not familiar with every genre in a media category (Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003; Rentfrow & McDonald, in press), so participants were advised to leave responses blank if they were unsure.

Demographic questions. Finally, three questions were asked regarding participants' gender, school, and academic major.

Procedure

Study 2 was administered through an online survey service. Participants signing up for the study were given a web link that took them to the survey so that they could

complete it on their own time. Once they activated the link, they completed the consent form online (refusal to participate linked directly to the debriefing form and then out of the survey) and completed the questions as they would an in-person survey, with the exception that they could not go back and change their answers on previous pages. We attempted to follow as closely as possible the practices of good online data collection: The survey featured a short introduction, a progress/status bar, verbal labels accompanying all numerical scale choices, little to no scrolling on each page, etc., in order to maximize compliance and the quality of responses (see Alwin, 2007; Duffy, Smith, Terhanian, & Bremer, 2005; Singh & Burgess, 2007; Tuten, Urban, & Bosnjak, 2002; Wright & Schwager, 2008). The data were encrypted by the survey website and stored in a secure format for downloading into a standard statistical processing program.

We also took certain other steps to ensure quality responses while retaining confidentiality and privacy. For example, each participant was assigned a random 4- or 5-digit identification number by which their responses could be briefly screened in the raw data file, and credit was assigned based on whether the person had completed most or all of the survey conscientiously and in good faith. (Early withdrawal and/or obviously non-mindful responses were sometimes given half credit; a reminder of this appeared on the consent form page.) The credits and their corresponding student names and identification numbers were recorded by an assistant researcher otherwise unaffiliated with the study, with the practical result being that the researchers would see either a participant's data or their name, but not both. Thus, confidentiality of responses was maintained.

Coding Open-Ended Variables

Coding personal strivings. People's personal strivings, or, the things they report typically trying to do in their daily lives, were coded according to the following procedure. First, because personal strivings are thought to signify specific needs or motives (e.g., Emmons & McAdams, 1991), three research coders developed and agreed upon a list of needs and motives that might characterize each archetype (see Table 3). This table was derived from well-known lists of motives and needs, such as Murray's (1938) catalogue of psychogenic needs and a recent review of measures of motivation (Mayer, Faber, & Xu, 2007). Each coder then independently rated all strivings for all participants, categorizing each one as best fitting one particular archetype (see Table 4 for various examples of actual strivings reported by participants). These responses were then tabulated and each archetype given a score, consisting of how many individual strivings had been coded as that archetype. For example, if all three judges rated a striving as the Innocent, the numerical score for that archetype would increase by three; however, if one judge rated that striving as the Lover, the Innocent score would increase by two and the Lover by one. In this way, open-ended strivings questions became first categorical variables and then scalar variables for comparisons with resonance scores.

Coding group membership, hobbies, and academic major. Participants in Study 2 were also asked in the online survey to list their current or recent group memberships, their hobbies, and their academic major. They were provided with a number of open-ended response banks (or, in the case of major, only one), in which to list up to eight groups or hobbies. Once these data were ready for analysis, they were coded according to the following procedure. First, the primary researcher coded each group, hobby, and major for each participant according to a basic categorization system (see Table 5).

Because participants' numerous groups and hobbies often belonged to different categories, the general theme of these activities was recoded into a single categorical variable, so that in the end each participant had one rating for their predominant group categorization and one rating for their predominant hobby categorization.

For example, if a person listed five group memberships: a fraternity, a soccer team, the campus Republicans, a floor hockey team and a flag football team, the person would be assigned to the "athletic" group category because it was the most common one they listed (see Table 5, left column). As a second example, if the person listed playing the drums, singing, hanging out with friends and playing Frisbee among their hobbies, their hobby rating would be coded as the "performance" category—again, due to the prevailing number of performance-based hobbies (see Table 5, middle column). (For cases in which the categorical responses were multimodal, the mode that was listed first was deemed more important to the individual, and was thus coded as the predominant category.)

Results

Verification of PAMS Factor Structure and Reliability

As expected, the online PAMS used in Study 2 exhibited a five-factor structure of archetype resonance scores very similar to that which was found in Study 1 and previously in studies of the RCAS (Faber & Mayer, 2009) and the PAMS (Faber & Mayer, 2007). Likewise, reliabilities of the online PAMS ranged from $\alpha = .61$ to .80 for the individual subscales, and alphas for the archetype clusters were still higher (compare to Table 2, middle column): Knower, $\alpha = .85$; Carer, $\alpha = .90$; Striver, $\alpha = .79$, Conflictor, $\alpha = .81$; and Everyperson, $\alpha = .83$.

Archetypal Resonance and Personal Strivings

Inter-rater agreement among strivings. Recall that three raters evaluated participants' strivings independently. A subset of 20 randomly-selected cases were chosen to demonstrate within-subjects level of inter-rater agreement as to the strivings that were being coded. Correlations between the three raters based on their additive archetype numerical scores for the 13 archetypes were fairly consistent and ranged from r = .45 to .69 overall across the 20 items. The inter-rater agreement was even higher when agreement was defined as any two archetypes in the same cluster, r = .70 to .79.

Relation of Strivings to Archetypes. As might be expected, the achievement- and goal-driven Striver archetypes were well-represented in people's personal strivings, led by the Hero, at $M = 6.14$. Examples of Hero strivings typically included desires to excel in classes, to be fit and to exercise, and to be an inspirational role model to younger siblings. The Conflictor archetypes (Outlaw and Shadow), unsurprisingly, were nominated the least (M = .17 and .32, respectively), since most people do not actively strive for struggle, discontent, and negative emotionality. Various examples of strivings for each archetype are listed in Table 4.

By and large, however, striving scores were not significantly related to media resonance scores as measured by the PAMS. People who preferred Knower-themed media (e.g., PAMS items concerning things like science documentaries, abstract art, and pedagogy) tended to have slightly more Knower-like strivings—they usually desired learning, inquiry, aesthetics, thoughtfulness and objectivity, $r(168) = .20, p = .009$—and similar Everyperson striving patterns were observed for those who resonated to

Everyperson media, $r(165) = .19$, $p = .012$. The remaining on-diagonal relationships, however, were non-significant (see Table 6).

Resonance to Media and Possible Selves

Participants rated their actual, ought and ideal selves highly on socially desirable archetypes like the Caregiver, the Creator, the Jester, and the Explorer (see Table 1), while rating the Conflictor archetypes (the Outlaw and Shadow) lower than any other except on the feared self, where they were the top two (see Table 7). However, correlating these possible self scores with PAMS resonance scores on their respective archetypes reveals some interesting information about people's self-concept. As Table 7 illustrates, showing a preference for media of that archetype was usually associated with rating that archetype more highly as an actual, ought or ideal self, *regardless of that archetype's baseline self- nomination*. That is to say, people whose PAMS profile suggested that they might resonate highly to Jester-oriented media were much more likely to rate the Jester highly for how they currently see themselves (actual self), how they believe others think they should be (ought self), and how they would like to be (ideal self). Unexpectedly, though, this pattern also held true for the less socially desirable categories. For example, higher levels of resonance to Outlaw media were also associated with higher possible self ratings on that archetype—not just on one's actual self, but in people's judgment and perception of how society wants them to be, and how they would like to be. It appears that liking certain media is not only a reflection of how one sees oneself in the world, but at the same time, it can be a reinforcing agent; a validation that identifying with such a character is acceptable and encouraged, even in the case of the Shadow.

In general, resonance scores on the individual PAMS archetype scales each reflected a person's identification with their corresponding archetype (i.e., on-diagonal) possible self ratings much better than they predicted the person's possible self ratings of the other (i.e., off-diagonal) archetypes. For example, individual PAMS media resonance scores correlated on average $r = .25$ with their matching actual self archetypes (e.g., PAMS Ruler with actual self Ruler) but only averaged $r = .08$ with non-matching actual self archetypes (e.g., PAMS Ruler with actual self Explorer). This difference between on- and off-diagonal correlations was significant not only for participants' reported actual selves, $t(167) = 5.11, p < .001$, but also for their ought selves (average $r = .23$ for on-diagonal versus $r = .09$ for off-diagonal), $t(167) = 4.16, p < .001$, and their ideal selves ($r = .27$ versus $r = .11$), $t(167) = 4.60, p < .001$.[5]

PAMS Resonance and Entertainment Genre Preferences

Because evidence indicates that the PAMS measures constructs parallel to the RCAS, people in Study 2 who resonated to certain archetypes were expected to show preferences for certain groups of entertainment genres as measured by the Entertainment Preferences Questionnaire (EntPQ; Rentfrow, 2004). Indeed, PAMS scores correlated with EntPQ factor scores in ways very similar to the original RCAS. For example, Knower resonance scores correlated $r(160) = .71, p < .001$ with the Relaxed and Studious factor of the EntPQ, which reflects an enjoyment of blues and jazz music, independent and foreign movies, philosophy books, and educational and documentary television. The Knower also correlated $r(160) = .55, p < .001$, with the Artful and Cultured factor, which is characterized by a preference for many kinds of art, as well as books on architecture or photography. Similarly, the Carer cluster correlated $r(150) = .65, p < .001$ with the

EntPQ Romance and Drama factor (which includes preferences for dramatic and reality television, fashion literature, and daytime talk shows). RCAS Conflictor archetypes also were predictive of preferences along the Dark and Excitatory factor of the EntPQ (e.g., hardcore, punk, and metal music, as well as horror movies), $r(178) = .34, p < .001$, and the Striver cluster correlated $r(169) = .48, p < .001$, and $r(171) = .35, p < .001$, with the Action and Comedy, and Solitary factors of the EntPQ (respectively).

Other Possible Contributors to PAMS Resonance Variance

Some archetypes inevitably display gender differences in people's resonance, due to cultural traditions about sex roles (e.g., Eagly, 1987), biological differences (e.g., Buss, 1999), or some combination of the two. Replicating earlier work, women scored higher on Carer archetypes than men, $t(162) = 5.15, p < .001$, while men resonated more to archetypes of the Striver and the Conflictor, $t(179) = 3.99, p < .001$, and $t(184) = 2.96, p = .004$, respectively. The Lover ($M_{women} = 64.42$, $M_{men} = 54.39$), the Caregiver, ($M_{women} = 61.85$, $M_{men} = 53.33$), and the Outlaw ($M_{women} = 50.16$, $M_{men} = 56.99$) showed the biggest disparity in scores. One additional and unexpected result was that men resonated more than women to the Knower archetypes as well, $t(168) = 3.33, p = .001$. Without a clear theoretical basis for this discrepancy, future individual item analysis of the PAMS might help explain this difference. Finally, there were no differences in resonance to the Everyperson archetype cluster.

In addition to gender, Hypothesis 6 predicted that other current concerns are also important to people's sense of identity. In the case of a college-aged sample, these concerns likely include people's academic major, their various group memberships, and their personal hobbies. The final set of analyses in this study attempted to identify which

of these current concerns may contribute to people's resonance to media archetypes. Recall that participants' group memberships and hobbies were coded as single categorical variables, as was their academic major (see Methods). Thus, it was possible to dummy-code them into sets of scalar variables and run standard multiple regressions using gender, groups, hobbies, and academic major as predictors to measure their contributions (if any) to the variance in PAMS archetype and cluster resonance scores.

Eighteen regressions were performed (with PAMS resonance score serving as the dependent variable, one for each archetype and cluster) and the dummy-coded variables for each predictor were entered together in individual blocks. For example, since ten categories of hobbies were coded (see Table 5), each person's dominant hobby group could be represented by nine dummy-coded variables (or, one fewer than the original number of categories; see Warner, 2007, for discussion). The person's "dominant" hobby category would be coded with a "1" and all other hobby categories would be coded "0"; this indicated that the person had "more" of that hobby than any other. All dummy categories for hobbies would then be entered into the regression as a single block; the dummy-coded variables for group membership and academic major were treated the same way and entered as their own individual blocks. Thus, each of the 18 regressions included four blocks of predictors—gender, groups, hobbies, and major—although there were actually over 30 independent variables entered for each archetype and cluster.

These regressions are summarized in Table 8. In general, neither personal hobbies nor academic major were found to contribute to the variance in resonance scores, while the strongest of the four predictors was usually gender, as covered above.

However, in several cases, resonance scores were demonstrated to be significantly associated with group activities. For example, people resonating the lowest to the Creator tended to be involved in Greek organizations and especially athletics, $r(154) = -.25$, $p = .002$, while those scoring highest on the Creator were more associated with community service organizations, $r(154) = .19$, $p = .017$, academic services (e.g., tutoring), $r(154) = .17$, $p = .033$, and possibly cultural awareness programs as well. Results such as these suggest that even if one is given only a person's archetypal resonance scores, it is still possible to suggest certain groups or activities that are likely to interest them.

The overall modest R^2 scores for the regression models (signifying the amount of variance in resonance scores that can be predicted from these four variables) are not particularly surprising; hobbies and academic major cannot be expected to account for as much variance in media resonance as, say, one's developmental history and social experiences, or even naturally-occurring individual differences in resonance: a sort of rich culture-related temperament. This study, however, indicates a first step in exploring these possibilities, and more tightly controlled future measurements may indeed find a relationship between resonance patterns and a person's hobbies, or their choice of major, or other as yet undetermined manifestations of the self.

Discussion of Study 2

Study 2 demonstrated the viability of the Preferences for Archetypes in Media Scale in exploring various aspects of personality—namely, the role of rich culture media in contributing to people's individual identities and both their real and fictional aspects of themselves. Personal strivings were found, in this sample, to be difficult to relate to

media preferences, and current concerns such as group memberships and personal hobbies contributed to people's archetypal resonance with considerable variability. Numerous explanations are possible for this lack of clear results. It may be that, in a college student sample, many participants invariably share similar current strivings regardless of their media taste, such as the desire to stay in shape, to get good grades, to keep in touch with their family, and relax and have fun with their friends. The categorizing-and-counting technique utilized here also may not be an ideal way to quantify the strivings. However, the evidence provided here offers intriguing support for the importance of media in the development of the self. Recognition and affective resonance to prototypical story characters can be experienced in a variety of media forms, thus indicating a connectedness between oneself, one's available and self-selected rich culture, and age-old archetypal themes. Furthermore, unforeseen but consistent correlations between people's rich culture preferences and their fantasy selves suggest that media play an integral role in our mental models of how we see and construct ourselves in the world.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Summary of Findings

This paper initially introduced individual identity and the identification process as psychologically adaptive mental models of personality in the social world; periodic adjustments to these are necessary for healthy development (e.g., Erikson, 1968). Today, ever-present rich culture media, such as popular music, movies, and television, provide a convenient—if not always ideal—source for identification. Good or bad, however, media are effective informational sources from which we learn about the world (Meyrowitz,

2008b; Van Evra, 2004). Often, they tell us stories featuring archetypal characters, which we recognize and process automatically; these in turn elicit strong reactions from us due to our recognition of their distinguishing characteristics and behaviors, and their relative cultural permanence (Faber & Mayer, 2009). Favorable reactions along these lines here are termed resonance, and we use this resonance to explore and diversify ourselves as unique humans. In Study 1, a new, streamlined measure of resonance to archetypal media was introduced and validated. This instrument was then used in Study 2, in conjunction with several other measures of personality. Resonance was shown to be related to people's individual media genre preferences, as well as various real and hypothetical conceptions of themselves, but evidence of archetypal themes in people's daily goals and strivings, and in their general hobbies and interests, was less compelling. Furthermore, studies including other populations, ethnicities, age/socioeconomic groups, and cross-cultural samples are needed to better understand the phenomenon of assessing personality through the window of rich culture media preferences.

The number of archetypes featured in rich culture media and utilized in these studies may not be static. Some media specialists (e.g., McLeod, 2002; Miller & McChesney, 1999), have suggested that mergers, corporate conglomerates, and other commercial interests are effectively homogenizing the media to which the public has access. If this is true, it limits the available archetypes with which a person can possibly identify, as the more profitable character prototypes will be the ones emphasized in advertising media products. Findings such as those demonstrated in this paper must be continually reassessed in the face of changing cultural forces.

Future Studies

Personal mass media tastes can be demonstrated to provide some useful information about self-knowledge and identity (both personal and social) to individuals, but they should also (less obviously) be seen to guide people's individual development in relating to long-term conceptualizations of the self, and predicting, in part, how they interact with the world. Future research will examine outside adult populations to explore the usefulness of media preferences in predicting life roles. There exist, of course, studies chronicling the effects of television violence on deviant adolescent behavior (e.g., Dubow, Huesmann & Greenwood, 2007), as well as research detailing how exposure to sexually-oriented media (such as soap operas, music videos, and magazines like *Cosmopolitan*) is associated with frequent sexual activity and casual attitudes about sex in adolescence (Ward, 2003), but there is no extant literature concerning the adult developmental outcomes of media preference patterns. Longitudinal research of this sort would likely be intriguing; however, people's identities as they pertain to media tastes have not been studied in this way before, and subtle shifts in their preference patterns may be hard to assess.

Subsequent studies in this area may attempt to expand the scope of inferences that can be made about personality through knowledge of one's media preferences. One possibility is that people who tend to resonate toward certain archetypes in their rich culture media preferences will show those same archetypal patterns in their romantic relationships, their subjective well-being, or their chosen occupations. Although different populations can be expected to offer a wide variety of preference patterns in rich culture, such long-term outcomes may show accumulated differences in how each group

interprets themselves and the world; presumably this will be reflected in the types of media they prefer.

Another set of studies could be designed to address the problem of self-report data in measuring rich culture media preferences. Social desirability, a lack of adequate introspection, the reluctance to answer truthfully, and other problems frequently plague self-report scales in the psychological sciences (Brehm, Kassin, & Fein, 2005). In lieu of giving a scale like the EntPQ, researchers could obtain permission from participants to observe the content of their personalized Internet pages, such as MySpace or Facebook. These social networking pages usually contain information about the people's media preferences; simply viewing the content of their web pages may be, in many cases, as good as behavioral observation in adolescents and young adults, unfettered by inaccurate or biased self-judgments (though a participant's desire to be secretive about his or her media tastes is not likely often to be an issue for such research).

One final branch of research to consider—again along an observational line—might not involve traditional participants at all. The PAMS could be restructured as a coding instrument, to be used in conjunction with entertainment, marketing or advertising, and measuring the traits and types exemplified the most in popular TV/movie/music characters. The resulting profiles could be used to guide people toward the archetypes they like (or to help parents guide their children away from the archetypes they don't). Establishing a sort of kinship with media characters is self-affirming, and something most people try to do; having a clear typology to help them out would make it even easier (e.g., Meyrowitz, 2008a).

Implications and Concluding Remarks

Mass communication media have a growing influence on personality in the Information Age. This research views people's preference patterns in popular media as unique individual difference variables that may be highly telling of internal personality. It suggests important theoretical connections between emotional resonance to media (i.e., preferences) and little-studied aspects of self-knowledge and personal identity; pragmatically, it allows for new and less obtrusive measures of personality.

Furthermore, people may exhibit better accuracy for knowing themselves with a media-based personality profile. A common complaint about trait approaches to personality is that certain traits are more socially desirable than others (e.g., Graziano & Tobin, 2002). For example, a person might tell others she is very conscientious or say that she is extremely open-minded when her friends and relatives might say this is not really the case. Whether she is actively hiding perceived flaws in herself or whether she truly (but inaccurately) believes she embodies these qualities is largely irrelevant here; the key difference between such traditional approaches to measurement and the approach presented here is that since media preferences are a matter of personal taste, this eliminates, to a large extent, the concept of social desirability in judging one's own personality. It is unlikely that this woman would tell someone she likes game shows and mystery books if she really does not.

We currently build much of our identities and world views from popular culture. Awareness of such media taste profiles can be very useful to people not only in aiding their personal self-knowledge and identity growth, but also in helping them to understand their current social and relational roles as they progress through the lifespan. Such scales as the PAMS can be used not only to "project" personality profiles based on reported

media preferences (i.e., with a number of "types," each with their own unique constellation of characteristic attitudes and behaviors), but also to predict certain traits, current activities, mental models of the self and others, and possible life outcomes. The information rich culture media preferences can provide is widely relevant, from the advertising world to the mental health profession. These studies are an important first step in providing initial information for constructing a personality "map" based on popular media preferences. It remains to be seen, however, whether personality research can keep up with the torrid pace of advancement modern mass media has set.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:

PERSONAL IDENTITY AND THE IDENTIFICATION PROCESS

Know Thyself: Identity Proper

Identity has long been at the center of some of the most important fundamental questions people ask themselves, both about personality and about psychology in general. Questions such as "Who am I?," "How shall I live my life?," and "What is my future?" are examples of such questions that concern identity, and people tend to seek answers to these questions more than any other question related to personality (Mayer, 2007). They do so with good reason: Identity touches on many issues, from existentialism to epistemology to humanism, and it is an essential consideration for any person desiring to affirm and explore his or her uniqueness as an individual. Identity, then, can be considered to have many facets, some of which I will discuss shortly. However, first I will relate some of the history and significant figures associated with the identity concept, bringing it into a more modern context.

Historical Antecedents

For all the importance placed on it today—especially in the United States and other individualist cultures—identity search was not always such an important rite of self-discovery. In his 1986 text, *Identity: Cultural Change and the Struggle for Self*, Roy Baumeister notes that before the year 1800, people in Western societies rarely gave much thought as to who they were and who they could be. Rather, since external criteria like gender, social class, and lineage defined almost everything about a person, one's personal identity was essentially established at birth, and continued to determine, to a large extent,

the social and professional path the individual would most likely follow for the rest of his or her life. However, the influence of early 19th century Romanticism (which encouraged imagination, humanism, and the breaking of social norms), along with the rise of new democratic republics in France and the United States, called for a new, more individualist ideology in the industrialized West concerning human development. Baumeister's main contention along these lines is that the changing political and philosophical environment around 1800 opened the door to a new emphasis on differentiation and cultivation of the inner self in many cultures, and played a large role in encouraging youth to seek their own personal narratives as they matured (see also McAdams, 1993, 2006). Whatever the causes may have been, by the time psychology became firmly established as a social science in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, identity was already a major concern for people of many ages, and was therefore a legitimate subject of study for psychologists.

Erikson and the Identity Crisis

Any discussion of identity as it pertains to personality processes requires at least a brief treatment of the contributions of Erik H. Erikson (1902-1994). Erikson was one of the first psychologists to propose the continuous development of personality across the lifespan, and he did so by stressing the notion that an individual faces a number of different influences, roles, and crises as he or she matures. A psychologist in the psychoanalytic tradition, Erikson intended his psychosocial stage theory of development to be reconcilable with both Freudian and Piagetian thinking (C. S. Hall & Lindzey, 1978), and at the very center of his theory lies the concept of individual identity.

Erikson's basic stage theory of psychosocial development is well-known: It features eight stages, chronologically ordered from infancy through old age, and each

stage features a distinct ego crisis, such as initiative versus guilt (for the preschool years) or generativity versus stagnation (for middle age; Erikson, 1950). Healthy resolution of each stage results in the acquisition of a particular virtue, which aids the person in their overall functioning and adjusting to the next stage, while unhealthy resolution hinders that person's future behavior and social interactions. The way in which each stage in Erikson's theory is resolved—for better or for worse—contributes to the overall personality and self-concept of the individual. Erikson called this conscious sense of "self"-ness a person's *ego identity* (Erikson, 1968; 1980), and its establishment, maintenance, and mutability play a prominent role in predicting the individual's ability to be an effective and functioning member of society (C. S. Hall & Lindzey, 1978). While Erikson used the term "identity" in many different ways, and did so unapologetically for such a complex concept (see Hergenhahn & Olson, 2007, p. 168), in the spirit of Eriksonian thought we may define identity as an individual's series of realizations and decisions about who she is and how she fits into the world.

Arguably the most important crisis the ego faces in Erikson's theory is during adolescence, or approximately between the ages of 12 and 20. In this transitional period between childhood and adulthood, Erikson argued that individuals face new and sometimes difficult questions about their burgeoning individuality: their personal likes and dislikes; their social roles and loyalties; their capabilities and goals for the future. Adolescence, he contended, is the time when the individual begins to feel unique but also feels the pressure of being expected eventually to fill a role in society; this dual realization results in anxiety and uncertainty (Erikson, 1968).[6] Successfully navigating this identity crisis results in a comfortable and relatively stable self-concept, while failure

may end in role confusion—anxiety and indecision about what the person wants to do with her life and how she plans to achieve it. For example, the young man who successfully forms an identity for himself during this period will be more likely to establish and follow a personal ideology—a game plan for life—than if he were unsuccessful in developing his identity. He also will be well integrated with society, engage actively with groups, and anticipate and prepare for the future. Conversely, the young woman who experiences role confusion at this time may become disappointed and withdrawn: She may behave unpredictably and erratically; she may become estranged from her social support system and reject it; and she ultimately may resort to a dislocated, deviant, or criminal lifestyle, thus jeopardizing her future. Adequately resolving the identity crisis in this stage, then, (i.e., establishing a clear sense of self) is vital to a person's healthy development because it guides future life situations more so than any other crisis (C. S. Hall & Lindzey, 1978).

Erikson's theory has been generally well-received over the years.[7] In addition to the case studies to which Erikson applied himself, the theory has enjoyed empirical support from a number of independently performed studies and valid psychometric instruments. Some of these tests focus on multiple stages of development, such as the Erikson Psychosocial Stage Inventory (EPSI, Rosenthal, Gurney, & Moore, 1981; see also Leidy & Darling-Fisher, 1995, for a modified version), the Psychosocial Inventory of Ego Strengths (PIES; Markstrom & Marshall, 2007), and the Inventory of Psychosocial Balance (IPB, Domino & Affonso, 1990). Other studies have utilized methods and measures that concentrate on one stage only, such as industry versus inferiority (Kowaz & Marcia, 1991), generativity versus stagnation (Bradley & Marcia,

1998), integrity versus despair (Walasky, Whitbourne, & Nehrke, 1983), and, of course, identity versus role confusion (e.g., Adams, Berzonsky, & Keating, 2006; Stark & Traxler, 1974).

Marcia Unpacks the Identity Crisis

Some of the best-known research validating the identity-search stage of Erikson's theory was conducted by James Marcia in the 1960s, as he refined and expanded the concept of adolescent identity crisis. Marcia interviewed 20 male college students in his well-known (1966) study, using these semi-structured sessions to modify Erikson's original juxtaposition of identity versus role confusion. Instead of two statuses of adolescent identity search—i.e., resolved and unresolved identity—Marcia amplified this number to four, each differing on whether the person had *committed* to an identity (i.e., had he made a decision to accept an identity?) and whether the person had made identity *explorations* to that end (i.e., had he felt that a crisis was present and recognized the need to explore his options?). Marcia concluded that a sense of crisis and perceived need to explore one identity or another generally increased as a person progressed through adolescence, but that whether that person committed sooner or later depended largely upon outside social forces. For example, authoritarian parents might pressure an adolescent to commit to an identity with values similar to their own. In this case, identity may have been achieved with little trouble, but it might be a hindrance to the youth's future functioning, since her identity was foreclosed upon her.

This seminal study has spawned a sizable body of research by Marcia and others (see also S. J. Schwartz, 2001), measuring various personality and behavioral characteristics of each of the four identity statuses. To mention only a handful of

findings, people who have been categorized as identity achievers (those who had both explored and committed to an identity) have been shown to be more academically inclined, more achievement-oriented, more independent, more morally principled, and more likely to engage in prosocial behavior (e.g., community service) than those occupying other identity statuses (Hardy & Kisling, 2006; Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Orlofsky, 1978). In contrast, adolescents in identity diffusion (those who have not explored and have not committed) have shown indications of frequent behavioral problems, drug abuse, shyness, high neuroticism and anxiety, low agreeableness and conscientiousness, a susceptibility to conform due to peer pressure, and poor intimacy skills later in life (Adams, 1984; Clancy & Dollinger, 1993; Hamer & Bruch, 1994; Marcia, 1980; Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Orlofsky, Marcia, & Lesser, 1973; Wires, Barocas, & Hollenbeck, 1994). Other personality and developmental characteristics have been associated with the remaining statuses as well: Foreclosed people tend to marry early, be well-behaved but low in autonomy, and be high in rigid and traditional authoritarianism; those in an identity moratorium (signifying crisis exploration but undergoing no decision or commitment) have been shown to be insightful, open, and reflective, but also ambivalent and prone to using defense mechanisms to maintain their self-esteem (Cramer, 1995; Lutes, 1981; Marcia, 1980; Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Wires, Barocas, & Hollenbeck, 1994). However, these patterns, while compelling, are generalizations; some evidence exists that the same identity status may give rise to very different traits and behaviors between men and women (Cella, DeWolfe, & Fitzgibbon, 1987).

Differentiating Between Types of Identity

While so far we have characterized Erikson's psychosocial concept of identity as an individual's series of realizations and decisions about who she is and how she fits into the world, other psychologists, subscribing to other approaches to personality, have occasionally set out their own definitions that dovetail with Erikson's vision. For example, Bandura (1999) sees identity from a social cognitive standpoint as a collection of self-characterizations that describe one's self-concept. Both from this view and Erikson's, we can see that identity has many components: personal, social, collective, relational, memory-based, goal-based, and so on (Robins, Norem, & Cheek, 1999). These components, however, are not always static, and a threat to the stability of any one component can cause anxiety and an identity crisis (Passer & Smith, 2007). In this section we will differentiate between three main components of identity: (a) social identity, which refers to the groups with which we align ourselves and define ourselves as members; (b) personal identity, which refers to our unique set of self-relevant traits and characteristics; and (c) individual identity, which includes our set of purposeful goals and values for important areas of our lives (see Camilleri & Malewska-Peyre, 1997; Erikson, 1980). Following that, we will briefly discuss how each of these different types of identity are relevant to the area of personality preferences in popular mass media.

Social Identity

The social component of identity includes the groups in which a person considers themselves to be a member. These groups can be demographically-based and/or naturally-occurring (e.g., a person may self-identify as male, heterosexual, Hispanic, a Seattle resident, and both a son and a brother to his immediate family), or they can be activity-based and elective to varying degrees (e.g., the same person might self-identify

as a high school student, a Republican, a trombonist, and a basketball player). The relative importance of each of these groups to a person's sense of self is highly individualized, based on that person's culture, relationships, and experiences (Mascolo & Li, 2004; Stets & Burke, 2000).[8] However the person may prioritize the importance of these group memberships, the comfort and stability of one's social identity is arguably among the most crucial necessities for survival (Scheibe, 1995). A major reason for this is that peer groups are usually established along such demographic or membership characteristics (e.g., socioeconomic status, activities/interests, vocations. ethnic/religious groups, stigmatized groups, etc.), and it is of the utmost importance that the individual take pains to indelibly etch themselves as a legitimate member of that group if he or she wants to establish belongingness or have social support in times of threat and stress (Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi, & Ethier, 1995). Thus, it often comes to pass that, to the casual observer, a person may be defined entirely by the groups to which they belong.

Personal Identity

The personal component of identity includes how we view our traits and general personality characteristics. Whereas group identification often involves one's assimilation into a larger and more homogeneous entity, personal identity refines and emphasizes the uniqueness of the individual rather than subordinating it (De Cremer, 2004; Deaux et al., 1995; Mayer & Faber, in press). For example, one's personal identity can include general traits ("I am sociable and creative"), it can involve situational idiosyncracies ("I am at my happiest when there is a fresh coat of snow on the ground"), or it can be based on personal history, memory or experience ("My grandfather taught me always to be financially responsible"). Even everyday behaviors and the acquisition and

consumption of material products play a role in the development of personal identity; things like clothes, music choice, favorite TV shows, and use of slang all contribute to a person's "life space... the comprensive environment that surrounds an individual" (Brackett & Mayer, 2007, p. 5), and, when taken together, can reveal much about a person and how they express their personality (see also J. D. Brown & Dykes, 1994; Gosling, 2008; Mayer, Carlsmith, & Chabot, 1998; Rattansi & Phoenix, 1997).

Personal identity is more idiographic than social identity; however, many features of personal identity also tend to be context-oriented. They may be impermanent (e.g., their possessions), or out of the person's control (e.g., their general temperament). Even so, one's personal identity is more concrete and more tangibly perceivable to others than one's individual identity (to be discussed below), and it is personal identity features such as one's prominent traits that are the most enduring to observers. These traits, such as impulsivity or openness to experience, are usually what govern the person's quotidian interactions with most of their friends and close acquaintances; conversely, such behavioral patterns are most often what their friends cite when they describe the person (Clancy & Dollinger, 1993; Dollinger & Clancy, 1993).

Individual Identity

To some, people's values, attitudes and goals are included in personal identity (S. J. Schwartz, 2001); here, however, we will echo Erikson (1980) by giving them their own distinction. Individual, or belief identity, involves internal comparisons and judgments of what the individual finds important in his or her life, such as aspirations, relationships, occupation, morals, and possible desired selves (Block & Turula, 1963; Petrocelli & Smith, 2005). This component of identity can be described as the most internalized:

Whereas personal identity refers to the self in context (S. J. Schwartz, 2001), individual identity refers to the unadulterated self. Individual identity contains all our hopes, fears and dreams, as well as the person's own unique *ethos*; it is therefore of great importance for the possessor of these beliefs not only to cultivate them, but also to protect them. Gaertner, Sedikides, and Graetz (1999) found that threats to one's personal beliefs and values were considered more dangerous to an individual than threats to his or her group identity, and this is not surprising: That person alone is accountable when those values and attitudes are put to the test, and they are bound to the judgments of others by those beliefs. To put it another way, if an individual has made an active personal choice regarding their beliefs or their future, it is in their best interest (unless their beliefs are maladaptive) to try and defend that decision from attack.

The process of identifying with figures in pop culture media most approximates one's individual (belief) identity, for reasons that shall be described below. However, a person's knowledge of all three of these aspects of their identity—social, personal, and individual—plays a large role in determining that person's overall knowledge of his or her personality. Self-knowledge of personality can be greatly beneficial to people in their daily social and professional interactions (Mayer, 2008); it helps them construct cohesive and introspective personal narratives (Wilson & Dunn, 2004), and some evidence suggests that it can even help them cope with some of life's difficulties (Mayer & Faber, in press). Researchers are currently speculating as to whether self-knowledge of personality can be interpreted as a distinct mental ability, as has been the case with other "hot" intelligences (Mayer, 2008).

The Identification Process

Having defined identity, we will now move on to a discussion of how and why identification occurs. We will start with the original psychoanalytic concept and proceed to a more modern and useful application.

Early Psychoanalytic Conceptions

Sigmund Freud originally conceived of identification as the process by which children resolve the Oedipal dilemma. Specifically, since the object of prepubescent sexual desire (i.e., the opposite-sex parent) was frustratingly unattainable, the child would eventually learn to alleviate this conflict and anxiety by permanently taking on characteristics and values of the same-sex parent—presumably, to avoid punishment or to live vicariously through them (Hergenhahn & Olson, 2007). In Freud's reckoning, this process precipitated the successful repression of the incestuous feelings, gave rise to the discovery of guilt, and ultimately allowed for the formation of the superego (Freud, 1905/1962). While Freud's psychosexual drama is generally not supported today, the general idea still persists that insecurity and anxiety may occasionally lay the foundation for identification to take place as a coping defense mechanism (i.e., to fend off feelings of inadequacy and helplessness), such as in the case of the residents of a struggling city rallying around a pennant-winning baseball team (cf. Jones, Bee, Burton, & Kahle, 2004; Wann, 2006), or the case of a child suffering lost or fractured social connections taking a special interest in superheroes (Mayer & Faber, in press). Cramer (1991) offers a more typical modern (and moderate) take on the concept, stating simply that identification occurs when a person internalizes within themselves a mental representation of significant others; this and similar object relations definitions cast identification in a more positive light. Indeed, available evidence suggests that identification can be a sign of

growing maturity: Its use tends to increase as a child approaches adolescence, and continues to be prominent in adulthood as the person learns to deal with anxiety more productively (Cramer, 1987, 2004). However, depending on the situation and the level of internalization, the permanence and usefulness of such identifications may vary.

A Working Definition of Identification

Identification occurs when an individual aspires to be the kind of person he/she perceives another as being, and alters their personality accordingly (Block & Turula, 1963). People most often identify with admired others: They observe a personal characteristic or pattern of behavior in someone else that they (either consciously or unconsciously) believe might make them into a better and stronger person, and they then integrate this characteristic or behavior into their own lives. Since this process utilizes both a behavioral model and an observer, one might be inclined to pass this off simply as basic Banduran social learning behavior (cf. Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961). However, the identification process involves long-term and purposeful internalization rather than simple imitation. It is considerably more sophisticated than generalized observational learning, and this can be shown in a number of ways. First, identification assumes a rational cost-benefit analysis on the part of the observer, considering the pros and cons of the model's characteristics (again, this may be below the threshold of consciousness). Second, it assumes the observer's critical judgment of the model and a hypothetical transposition of the admired characteristic(s) to themselves; it may even include moral considerations. Third, it involves the observer feeling a certain level of empathy for the model (Cohen, 2001). Fourth, it may involve a generalized reproducing of the model's other, secondary behaviors (see Kohlberg, 1963). And fifth, identification may signify

protracted attachment to a remote model (such as a celebrity) due to perceived similarity. For these reasons and others, identification with admired others can be considered an advanced cognitive process indeed (Gewirtz & Stingle, 1968).

In a departure from both Freudian and Banduran conceptions, then, we find that identifying does not have to be in response to reward expectation or punishment avoidance. People identify most strongly with those whose accomplishments and goals mirror their own desired successes (C. S. Hall & Lindzey, 1978). Aronson (2008, p. 36) calls this the "good-old-Uncle-Charlie" phenomenon, in which the identification takes place solely because the model is likable, and seems attractive or appealing. However, Freud was at least partly correct in locating the roots of the identification process in childhood. Typically, children tend to identify first with their parents or caretakers, and then learn to expand their scope to outside admired influences (C. S. Hall & Lindzey, 1978). As stated above, this requires an implicit understanding of some of the elements of personality, such as general typologies of individuals. Then, by using these understandings of others, a child may incorporate certain desirable elements into more realistic images of themselves (Mayer & Faber, in press). Such flexibility can help a person develop a useful and personally rewarding identity, which, in turn, can promote well-being.

Applications and Advantages of Identification

Identification is more or less automatic in young children, but it is nonetheless a dynamic and active process by which personality is formed and refined (Sanford, 1955). It is also a constant and everyday event. While children will always look to close, admired persons for inspiration, "close" is a relative term and depends heavily on the

child's exposure to those persons. For example, a child might identify with a character on his favorite television show, and since he looks forward to seeing the character every weekday afternoon, it could easily qualify as a "close admired other" (as this research shows, fictional or imaginary characters may often fill this role; see Booth, 2008; Hoffner & Buchanan, 2005; Klimmt, Hefner, & Vorderer, 2007; Meyrowitz, 1985, 2008a; and Appendix B). Whether real or imagined, however, this character helps to teach the child implicitly about the different forms personality can take. The child may then use this knowledge in establishing his own identity and learning how it is different from that of others.

Considerable evidence indicates that highly identified individuals, and those with detailed and accurate self-knowledge of their identities, have an inherent advantage over those less skilled in such areas when circumstances arise requiring adaptation to life's changing demands (Mayer, 2008; Sanford, 1955). One reason for this may be that the process works to minimize intrapersonal conflict, since one's adoption of a desired characteristic in another is thought to reduce perceived discrepancies between one's actual and ideal self (Petrocelli & Smith, 2005). However, identification may also promote positive functioning in addition to reducing negative or maladaptive functioning: Highly identified individuals are more resilient to personal or environmental changes because they have internalized other people's strengths (Block & Turula, 1963). They also experience higher levels of work success, community and political involvement, and family/marital satisfaction then those who are less identified (Cramer, 2004; Pals, 1999). Additionally, people with high levels of self-relevant knowledge find it easier to integrate their own needs and goals into an identity exploration/change than those without

(Cramer, 2004). This duality suggests that identification is a healthy and natural developmental process as well as a protective defense mechanism (Cramer, 2001).[9]

Sturm und Drang: The Role of Adolescence in Identification

These aforementioned processes, while they may start during childhood, typically come to a head during adolescence, when people start actively to make their own life stories and personal narratives (McAdams, 1993). Santrock (1999, p. 372) sums up the whirlwind of activity at this time as follows:

> What is important about identity in adolescence, especially late adolescence, is that for the first time physical development, cognitive development, and socioemotional development advance to the point at which the individual can sort through and synthesize childhood identities and identifications to construct a viable pathway toward adult maturity.

Of course, identity development is not confined to a person's teenage years; it is now generally believed to begin before and continue well beyond adolescence (Cramer, 2004; Erikson, 1980; van Hoof & Raaijmakers, 2003). However, since this period is widely believed to be the most important period for a person to formulate his or her identity, we will briefly discuss some of the more important forces that weigh on the individual at this time as they make their identifications and, in Santrock's words, construct these pathways toward maturity.

Peers and Social Norms

We have established that the act of identification involves a person taking on another's values, attitudes, and behaviors as one's own, and integrating them together to enhance his or her psychological security. At first, this usually involves parents or relatives. But as a child moves through the socialization process and begins to spend more time around friends and peers than she does her parents, her identity (and the

subsequent identifications she makes) will be based on them and their characteristics, while the influence of her family wanes somewhat (Harris, 1998; Strachan & Jones, 1982). Indeed, in such a time of insecurity, doubt, and social paranoia as adolescence, people may come to rely completely on the opinions and allegiance of their peers (J. D. Brown, 2002; Passer & Smith, 2007). At this time, social influences can be at their most formidable; depending on the perceived pressure placed on an individual by his peers, he may feel compelled to adjust his characteristics, attitudes and values, even if his admired others have not changed.

Youth and Mass Media

Additionally, in adolescence—much more so than in childhood—psychosocial development begins to be closely defined by the myriad and powerful influences of mass media, such as popular music, movies, and magazines. The acquisition and consumption of such media is a major method used by adolescents to explore social roles and personal identities outside of their immediate family (which, up until this point, has provided the majority of the opportunities for individual identification; see Van Evra, 2004). Teenagers regularly meet in small groups to experience movies, listen to music, and play video games. During this time they are exposed to numerous behavioral models, which in turn provide them with distinct expectations for gender roles, sexuality, rebellious activities, and sociocultural ideas and norms (Dillman Carpentier et al., 2008). Nor is this surge in media-based identity growth limited to peer gatherings. Exploration can just as easily be done solitarily and within the home: Two major uses of the Internet among teenagers are to "test" various personae in chat groups or message boards, and to get information (e.g., about sex or peer relationships) that it would be otherwise difficult to

discuss (J. D. Brown, 2002; Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2002). Roe and Minnebo (2007) also note that, in addition to exploration and identification, adolescents use media as a gratification tool to relieve the many stresses of home and school. Indeed, the Information Age provides people with countless sources and models for identification.

During this turbulent time, a noticeable shift in adolescents' media consumption may also echo a similar shift in their social, personal, or individual identity. This can be seen, for example, in a person's bedroom, where an adolescent enjoys her greatest autonomy, and where she keeps all of the items that remind her of who she is, or who she wants to be. As such, a redecoration of that person's room may indicate an unstable or changing self-image (J. D. Brown & Dykes, 1994). These shifts can involve habitual behaviors as well as possessions: Larson, Kubey, and Colletti (1989) describe how, relative to children, adolescents spend more time listening to music and less time watching television. A portion of this change may well be explained by the inherently different activities of teenagers, who tend to spend more time outside the house (and away from its television) than younger children. However, the authors suggest that this media transition from television to music is symbolic of a general adolescent value shift, from those of family to those of peers and outside role models. Adolescent preferences for certain media, then, can signify their allegiance to cliques and to kinship with those cliques (Reddick & Beresin, 2002), and solidarity in adolescents' media preferences is thus advantageous, "greasing the skids" for connecting with others. Larson et al. (1989) found support for this idea in that teenagers' use and knowledge of popular music is positively correlated with their rated popularity among their peers.

Questionable Identification Models?

As might be expected, however, the messages that mass media transmit to adolescents about the social world are not always positive. In spite of the aforementioned evidence that identified individuals enjoy certain advantages over those who remain unaffiliated (e.g., Cramer, 2001), exposure to some behavioral models may predict negative developmental outcomes in impressionable and suggestible youth. For example, individuals who strongly prefer rap and heavy metal music are more likely to commit behaviors that are often the subjects of the songs they listen to: substance abuse, criminal acts, risk-taking and sensation-seeking, even extending to iconoclastism and paranormal beliefs (Reddick & Beresin, 2002; A. M. Rubin, West, & Mitchell, 2001). Similarly, there exists a well-documented link between state aggression and preference for video games featuring violent or aggressive characters (e.g., Bartholow, Sestir, & Davis, 2005; Bushman & Anderson, 2002; Comstock, 2004; Dietz, 1998; Gentile & Anderson, 2003; Silvern & Williamson, 1987). However, whether tendencies toward these behaviors are the cause or the outcome of such media preferences is unclear.

With so many young people using media to explore their possible roles in adult society (Meyrowitz, 1985), mass media themselves have a responsibility to portray their characters and situations with accuracy, fairness, dignity, and respect; however, this is rarely the case. In fact, entertainment media often reinforce stereotypes concerning race and ethnicity, and especially sex and gender roles, which can mislead adolescents as to the parts they will be expected to play in their adult lives (Berry, 2003; J. D. Brown, 2002; Farrar et al., 2003; Hoerner, 1996; McArthur & Eisen, 1976; Messina, 2004; Tan & Tan, 1979; Towbin, Haddock, Zimmerman, Lund, & Tanner, 2003; Van Evra, 2004; Ward, 2003). In general, male characters in entertainment media are portrayed frequently

as being violent and angry (Van Evra, 2004) and physically aggressive (Hoerrner, 1996), and are also shown to be more autonomous than women. Contrastingly, women are frequently cast as props, sex objects, or bystanders in video games and receive less recognition when they do act (Dietz, 1998; Towbin et al., 2003; Van Evra, 2004). This phenomenon is not restricted to broadcast media; popular magazines also perpetuate messages to young women that they solicit as much attention as possible from men, and that only they need to work on their relationships with those men (Ward, 2003).

In many ways, then, the messages mass media send to adolescents looking for admired others are mixed at best. For example, at a time when most youths are looking for model behaviors to internalize about sex, they find that men in media are depicted as urgently sexual, insatiable, aggressive and relentless, while women are seen as alluring, yet passive, and responsible, yet victimized (Ward, 2003). In television, sex is dominated not by behavior but by innuendo. Birth control is rarely mentioned, actual intimacy is rare, and the sex in question is mostly extramarital (Farrar et al., 2003; Ward, 2003). And in movies, sex often goes hand-in-hand with violence, as Oliver, Banjo, and Kim (2003) cleverly demonstrated simply by perusing the cover jackets at a local video store. These subtleties about social and sexual norms are not lost on adolescents: High school students who watch more prime-time television shows than their peers typically have more sexual experience and accept gender and sexual stereotypes more readily than those peers (Ward & Friedman, 2006). These behaviors and attitudes can be interpreted not as a sign of deviance, but simply a strong internalized identification with those prime-time TV characters. Still, this state of affairs is not irreversible, because although media may

confirm stereotypical adolescent beliefs about sexuality and gender roles, they may not create or initiate them (Van Evra, 2004).

Emerging Adulthood: A Moratorium for the Outside World

The disproportionate influence of peers, social norms, and media role portrayals on adolescents dissipates as they move out of their teenage years (Passer & Smith, 2007); however, the search for identity is by no means over at this time. Pressure to commit to an identity has been shown to increase as an individual progresses through the adolescent period (Marcia, 1966), and culture and cohort effects can occasionally modify and prolong this schedule. As an example of this, an entire subgeneration of young people has been recognized by some as falling in between the classically-demarcated Eriksonian stages of adolescence and early adulthood. This period, roughly between the ages of 18 and 25, is known as *emerging adulthood,* a developmental period characterized by instability and exploration in residential location, romance, career, and identity (Arnett & Tanner, 2006). The concept is not an entirely new one; Keniston (1971) referred to "youth" as the continued role exploration between adolescence and adulthood. However, it is only within the past decade or two that this subgeneration has identified itself with distinct behavior patterns, characteristics, and a vague feeling among its constituents that they do not quite know who they are.

There exist a number of possible explanations for the growth of the emerging adult demographic, though it should be noted that this concept is not culturally universal, but mainly restricted to heavily industrialized countries. Many people in this group of emerging adults have grown up in fruitful economic times, and they (or their parents) can afford to take extra time to explore who they are and who they want to be (Arnett, 2000).

This relative financial luxury often allows them to do volunteer work (e.g., Peace Corps) and try a number of different jobs before settling down. Such prosperity also allows for a relaxing of expected societal responsibilities for this particular age group. Additionally, since emerging adults are more likely to complete college and/or go on to advanced degrees than they were even 30 years ago, they tend not to establish any permanent residence during this time period. They also tend to marry and start families later than people in underdeveloped countries (or even agrarian regions of their own country). Psychologically, these young people usually regard themselves as "not yet grown-up" and can therefore justify their increased risk behavior, such as binge drinking and unprotected sex (Arnett & Tanner, 2006). In spite of all this, however, one of the main undercurrents running through people's personal activities and cognitions at this time remains self-discovery, and, in a continuation of their main crisis from adolescence, the riddle of how best to identify is still a very real concern (Arnett, 2000).

A Final Word

If there is a lesson in these preceding pages, it may be that informed perception is the most important aspect in facilitating the appeal of identification—especially in the case of media figures, with which the observer does not usually have a physical interaction (Oliver & Green, 2001). While the *idealization* of a favorite media character (i.e., observational imitation) is sometimes associated with negative behavioral traits such as aggression, *identification*, as the mindful process described above, is generally not (Greenwood, 2007). This is an important distinction to make, and it underscores the importance of proper interventions by both adults and responsible peers in educating adolescents about the realities and unrealities of admired characters—both real and

fictional—which can serve to smooth the ordinarily rocky psychosocial developmental path encountered in the teenage years and beyond.

APPENDIX B:

THE ROLE OF MEDIA CHARACTERS AND BRANDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF EXPRESSED PERSONALITY AND THE SOCIALIZATION OF YOUTH

Personality is typically expressed through multiple channels: in a person's conscious thoughts and models of how the world works; in his self-concept, values and motives; and in his emotions and experiential memories. However, personality manifests itself outside the person as well, for example, in her immediate setting (for example, in her personal belongings) and in her relationships and situational social behaviors (Mayer, 2007). These processes, naturally, are complex and ensure that no two personalities are alike. Yet, as social animals we do not celebrate vacuous individuality with others in our daily interactions, but often rather focus on the enjoyment of shared experiences. These shared experiences allow us to continue to be as social as we want in a world that allows us to reach further and further in our networking (cf. Bronfenbrenner, 1970). In this way, mass entertainment media have had a profound influence on our conceptions of personality, because (a) they can mass-produce single moments to be experienced by millions of people (Meyrowitz, 1985), therefore approximating a uniform shared experience; and (b) they are now nearly ubiquitous—we are used to media being a part of our lives because we are now exposed to them at very early ages. In short, we can now define ourselves by our media experiences, using characters therein to explore and refine our self-concept; McDonald and Kim (2001) note that nearly all media use is a kind of social interaction, providing many possible selves for us to observe and consider.

In this section, I will briefly explore the role mass media play in the development and expression of personality. I will begin with how childhood prepares people to be receptive to the fantasy world of media. Following that, I will discuss how nascent media preferences can blossom into heavy emotional involvement for their characters. Finally, I will explore how this emotional connection with media often becomes inextricably bound up in one's autobiographical life, from recollections of the past to product consumption of the present and future.

Observational Learning Through Media: Childhood Sets the Stage

By early childhood, people's social education has already begun from imitating the behavior of models they see in the media (Bandura, 2002). Observational learning skills develop far before a child experiences school or the establishment of friends, and, by the preschool years, media effects are strong and continual in the development of the child in industrialized cultures (Huston, Bickham, Lee, & Wright, 2007). Television is particularly suited to this task of continued influence because watching it is commonly a passive activity that can be done in the home at any time. This makes it a uniquely effective (and, some might say, insidious) medium for shaping a child's social perception (e.g., Glassner, 1999). Indeed, long before they are allowed to go to a movie or surf the Internet by themselves, children of industrialized cultures often find themselves alone with a TV and its many stimulating messages about consumption, sloth, and even fear. There are good reasons for this, of course: For one thing, the format, sophistication, and (especially) pace of television are ideally suited for the attention of a ten year-old (Huston et al., 2007); for another, advertising to young children typically influences an entire family's consumption (Derscheid, Kwon, & Fang, 1996). Thus, children are often the

main targets of advertising messages on television. Interestingly, despite many similarities and/or uniformities in affective and cognitive reactions to advertising, the exact *behavioral* impact of a media message tends to be different for male and female children. Girls tend to respond more to the audio messages in television (perhaps reflecting their comparatively strong verbal skills), while the video components of TV messages often influence boys' behavior more than they do for girls (again, speaking perhaps to boys' relative visuospatial strengths; Van Evra, 2004).

Misrepresentations of Reality

Young children of both sexes, however, tend to have problems with what Krcmar and Strizhakova (2007) call "media literacy"—knowing which information received from entertainment media is real, and which information is false, untrustworthy, or exaggerated. Huston et al. (2007) explain that youth perceptions of the reality of media are based on factualism ("did it really happen?") and social realism ("could I see it happening in real life?"), and note that children who watch large amounts of television frequently overestimate the social realism of television events. Without the maturity of cognitive skills to deal with adult-focused media, social imitation of an observed model is more likely to occur in children than adults (Van Evra, 2004). Furthermore, the more TV children watch, the more likely they will be to internalize a distorted reality (Shrum, Burroughs, & Rindfleisch, 2004), and subsequently imitate when they grow older the common behaviors that they see therein: drug use, alcohol abuse, smoking, etc. But far from being "zombies", children are highly active in sifting, judging, and using information they interpret from television (Huston et al., 2007). Owing to their capacity

for imitation and internalization, their conceptions of social reality are a critical element in their later development.

Does a child's social learning from media outweigh that which is learned from more traditional influences, such as their family, their peers, their school, or their faith (Berry, 2007; Harris, 1998)? Coats, Feldman, and Philippot (1999) propose that this may actually be true for a concept such as emotion. Media characters on television (and, to a lesser extent, in movies) display emotions at an unrealistically high rate, with little or no hiding or dissembling of complicated feelings. Coats and colleagues found that children who watched high amounts of television had exaggerated prototypes of facial emotional expression. Since children often assume that television portrayals of life are accurate, and are usually unaware of exaggerations, overgeneralizations, and misrepresentations, they may not recognize the more subtle displays of emotion that are vital to optimal social development (Coats et al., 1999).

Cultivation of Aggression

Certainly, the literature on media violence and behavioral aggression in children supports the notion that entertainment media are highly influential to observational learning and social development (e.g., Bushman & Huesmann, 2001). And again, one of the primary problems children have in such situations is with reality distinction (Krcmar & Strizhakova, 2007). Upon viewing violent media, children of all ages display a normal range of individual differences in initially reacting to the violence, but many began to show behavioral problems and lower school achievement after long-term exposure to the media, perhaps as the lines of reality began to blur (Comstock, 2004; Lowenstein, 1978). Van Evra (2004) extends this concept to the newest and most realistic video games,

which also may make reality distinction difficult to children. Typical characteristics of such overexposed children include imitative aggression, disinhibition, desensitization to others' suffering, and high levels of a kind of paranoid egocentric fear known as "mean world syndrome" (Danish & Donohue, 1996; J. P. Murray, 2007). Similarly, Johnson, Cohen, Smailes, Kasen, and Brook (2002) imply that a dissociated or inconsistent sense of reality from watching violent media may be associated with mental illness; recent research has indicated that habitually watching violence is associated with depression and posttraumatic stress disorder (Van Evra, 2004). Such maladjustment speaks strongly for the notion that popular or entertainment media affects not only psychosocial development, but mental health as well.

Late Childhood, Acquisition, and the Development of "Taste"

According to Erikson (1950), the socialization of the developing person focused heavily on issues such as autonomy, initiative, industry, and identity. This may be true, but Erikson's abstractions were largely qualitative and often fail to capture concrete evidence of the socialization process. Today, however, mass media and its messages are constantly propelling that person towards certain "goal states" (more will be discussed on these states below) that provide us with some of the most important quantitative evidence of social development in the industrialized world: the acquisition of personal possessions (Kamptner, 1991). These possessions contribute to the development and expression of personality and, eventually, contribute heavily to the development of personal taste.

Popular media's stressing of the acquisition motive is strident and persistent, but it does not begin immediately at birth (i.e., with messages addressed directly to children). Indeed, doing so would be a waste of time and money considering children's immature

cognitive skills.[10] Thankfully, then, much of the media that is aimed at toddlers and very young children is at least somewhat educational, often through television shows like *The Wiggles, The Backyardigans, Dora the Explorer,* and so on up to the classic children's program, *Sesame Street* (Danish & Donohue, 1996). Programs such as these help facilitate the development of intellectual and social concepts such as counting, sharing, and multiculturalism in young children up through the preschool years. However, since the popularization of cable television in the 1980s, the relative percentage of positive programming on TV has declined precipitously, and beyond preschool, most age-appropriate media for children no longer promote cognitive growth, but instead begin the constant drumbeat of adult-themed acquisition and consumption (McChesney, 1998). Thus, by the time a child starts school, the prosocial benefits of high media exposure are waning, and this shift in focus increases the meaning and significance of personal possessions in children (Kamptner, 1991; Huston et al., 2007). By middle childhood, music, TV, and books become material comforters rather than learning tools, and sex differences begin to arise in such possessions: Boys prefer things that are more physical, immediate, and instrumental, while girls prefer possessions that are more symbolic and interpersonal (Kamptner, 1991). This inaugural diversification of individual "tastes" can be attributed to many things, such as personality development, new cognitions of the self and identity, or a deeper understanding of social roles and expectations, but from middle childhood onward, popular media begin to play a much bigger role in child development (Meyrowitz, 1985).

As children age, their egocentrism slowly recedes as they begin to see themselves in the social world as one character in a cast of many (Erikson, 1950). Their perceptions

widen and the frequency of comparisons with their peers increases (Pitts, 2002); to use a film analogy, it is as if children of a certain age switch from head shots to using the wide-angle lens, and in doing so reveal a panoramic view of the environment in which they operate. Braun (1988) has suggested that the development of the social self in older children means that the social and personal selves begin to alternate unpredictably in predicting behavior starting at this time. Media play a large role in this process as well, although, as previously mentioned, their role changes as children grow. Entertainment media socialize and educate older children implicitly rather than formally: They teach them about culturally significant events, instruct them in affective tonality in addition to cognitive representation, and even change the meaning of how we construct and reconstruct "experience" (Kritt, 1992). For example, Zenatti (1993) demonstrated that children develop basic musical tastes by ages 8-9, making conative and situational decisions about what they would prefer to listen to. However, she notes that this is not merely a process of aesthetics and enjoyment, as might be expected of a younger child. Instead, older children take into account culture, mood, familiarity, awareness, and other factors—the "wide-angle lens"—when deciding on a musical preference. These situational cues provide a stepping-stone from preferences based on the mere-exposure effect (see Auty & Lewis, 2004) to the establishment of more permanent media preferences in expressing one's personality, since in doing so we make general cultural symbols our own through interpretation, subjective encoding, and, eventually, identification (Feilitzen & Linné, 1975; Kritt, 1992).

Exploring Different Characters:

The Role of Media Friends

After childhood, however, the influence of mass media on people's self-concept and the expression of their personalities shifts more to their media choices than media effects (A. M. Rubin, 1993, 2008). In some ways this shift is akin to having a tiger by the tail: Beginning with adolescence, people actively choose the media that they will purchase, consume, share with others, and allow to dominate a large portion of their personal lives—in spite of the fact that they do not know how to wield it or recognize the full extent of its influence on their behavior. In many ways, we are still displaced by the rapid advances of media: We are technological babes in the woods, or, as Meyrowitz (1985) puts it, hunter-gatherers of information, still learning how to use new media (both Facebook and Twitter come to mind) to connect the proper behavior to the proper location and the proper audience. This section will explore some of the challenges and opportunities inherent in the use of mass communication media in exploring and locating the self.

Media Usage Satisfies Multiple Needs: The Uses and Gratifications Model

Comstock (2004, p. 193) suggests that entertainment media provides three main uses to consumers: "a respite from the anxieties and pressures of everyday life; the opportunity to compare oneself with the demeanor, possessions, and behavior of others; and a means of keeping up with what is transpiring in the world." This elegant and simple definition captures in large part the functions of mass media, yet at the same time it falls short of explaining why such media are so important to us; after all, these uses can all be found in other activities. Here, rather, we will assume that people's consumption of media is more purposeful, and doing so we will rely on a more dynamic and interactive model of media use.

The uses and gratifications model of mass communication behavior assumes that people are active (to varying degrees) and highly goal-oriented in deciding what to consume (A. M. Rubin & Windahl, 1986). According to this theory, we consume media in order to satisfy some psychological need or drive, mediated by certain internal and external factors (McDonald & Kim, 2001; A. M. Rubin, 1993). Such needs as media can satisfy include many of the two dozen or so psychogenic needs postulated by H. A. Murray (1938), such the needs for Affiliation, Play, and Acquisition. In addition to individual needs, Meyrowitz (2008b) notes that humans have a natural propensity to create tools that fulfill important shared goals; media can thus be seen as a tool that offers many possible guides as to how to find meaning in one's life. Far from being a simple tool, however, the workings of mass media are intricate and complex: In fact, since our needs and motives have become more noticeably individuated in the Digital Age, media actively oblige by competing with each other to create products that are increasingly niche-oriented, such as the proliferation of new genres and subgenres of popular music, video games, Internet blogs, etc. (A. M. Rubin, 2008; Ruggiero, 2000). Modern exploration and expression of personality, then, relies heavily on media-aided satisfaction of needs.

Some needs thought to be addressed by media use include the needs for escape, information, emotional release, social empathy and connectedness, aesthetic experience, transmission of culture, and others (A. M. Rubin, 2008). One of the most important, though, pertaining to one's evolving self-concept, is the need to explore different characters. This need, which is especially important during adolescence and early adulthood when identity and self-concept are at their most transient, is easily met through

the consumption of mass entertainment media as it allows people to explore different personae without commitment or risk to themselves. Thus, particular media preferences are often born, refined, and crystallized at this time, ostensibly because they reflect a person's growing comfort with his or her own self.

Certain individual dispositions may also lead to media preferences that fit a particular need of that disposition. For example, people who score highly on trait aggression tend to enjoy television programs like *The Jerry Springer Show*, which often features confrontation, anger, embarrassment, and generally poor interpersonal interactions among its guests (A. M. Rubin, Haridakis, & Eyal, 2003). The voyeurism involved in watching such a show thus vicariously satisfies the need for aggression in the individual. Some evidence also exists that loneliness may lead to an increased preference for (and reliance on) social interactions via electronic media, which the person may feel are less threatening (Caplan, 2003; Perse & Rubin, 1990). Mass media usage is thus bidirectional: We may look to media to find ourselves, and we may look within ourselves to choose media (Eyal & Rubin, 2003). Indeed, some dependency-based views of the uses and gratifications model suggest that there exists a symbiotic relationship between mass media and its consumers, in that people depend on media because societies have become too complex to learn about the world through personal experience, and media forces depend on people (i.e., large audiences) for their livelihood and their very existence (A. M. Rubin & Windahl, 1986). In a more individual differences-based explanation for the often stark contrast among people's media preferences, Brock & Livingston (2004) suggest that people exhibit naturally varying levels of a Murrayan "need for entertainment" (nEnt), and tend to self-select appropriately stimulating media.[11]

Emotional Involvement With Media and the Self-Concept

People do not always seek out media portrayals that are desirable or relevant only to their own personal identity. In some situations, they may prefer media that they believe can strengthen their identification with a social group. For example, a first-year Economics student may not like art films, but she may enjoy going to see them with her three closest dorm friends who happen to be film majors, and even alone she may take an interest in learning about the newest independent releases. In this case, media selection does not reflect a link to the self-concept, but rather to a related emotional need for solidarity and affiliation (Harwood, 1999). Empathy, then, is an important predictor of involvement with (and preference for) most media, be it narrative- or character-driven (Calvert, Strouse, & Murray, 2006; Cohen, 2001); it suggests people are internalizing the media content at a deeper level.

People pursue emotional connections with media, their themes, and their characters in many ways, but one of the newest ways to do so is to use the Internet to make a fictional media character real—or as real as anyone can be in cyberspace. One example of this may occur when an individual feels so much of a connection with a character that they set up and maintain an account in the character's name on the social networking site MySpace.com (Booth, 2008). While this practice can be seen simply as a new way of creating an "appreciation page" for fan fiction, the fact that the real author will log in, make comments, and reply to messages realistically *as that character* makes their identification with the character quite obvious. Such practices may be in jest, or the result of boredom, but for those who take it seriously, running an admired character's MySpace page offers some direction for the author's personal life narrative: It allows the

author to connect with others—again, through the illusion of shared experience—and cultivate a networked social interest in this particular cultural phenomenon. Indeed, since in this situation a fictional character now exists on the exact same plane as real people (i.e., they have their own social profile), we can infer that emotional identification with a media character signifies a fundamental altering of the media user's self-perception (Klimmt, Hefner, & Vorderer, 2007).

It seems that as people mature and experience the identity exploration of adolescence and emerging adulthood, their perception of admired media characters becomes deeper and more sophisticated. As this process continues, we will see that expressing personality through such characters also shifts, from admiration of media characters based mainly on similarity and wishful thinking (wanting to be that character) to long-term and thoughtful identification based on imagined interactions with favored characters in media (Feilitzen & Linné, 1975; Hoffner & Buchanan, 2005).

Establishing "Favorite" Media Characters

The internalization of media character traits, while widespread, is not a simple process. Eyal and Rubin (2003) have argued that long-term emotional involvement with a media character involves two components: homophily, or perceived similarity between oneself and the character, and parasocial interaction, or the illusion of an affective or personal relationship with the character. These qualities create a sense of intimacy between a person and an admired media other, even though the exchange is unidirectional and the other is often a fictional character (Meyrowitz, 1985). Available evidence indicates that from the first perception of similarity, through admiration and empathy, to parasocial interaction and the eventual internalization of values, behaviors, and/or

attitudes into personality, this process of establishing a connection with a character happens very quickly. McDonald and Chakroff (2005) found that research participants watching a new television show with unfamiliar characters can discriminate among them, make initial judgments, and begin the process within 11 minutes. People may zero in on one admired quality or a constellation of behaviors, but favorite media characters are usually established through perceived realism (Bandura et al., 1961; Lin, 2008); characters who have common problems and overcome them with an admirable mix of intelligence, attractiveness, and wit are almost always likeable. Simply put, having a favorite character increases a person's enjoyment of the media (Lin, 2008).

Especially favored characters, or media friends, occupy highly important positions in a person's social world (Meyrowitz, 2008a). Although not regarded as highly as real-life friends, media friends are often rated more favorably than good neighbors, due to the perceived passion and sociability that the nature of their media bestows upon them. Examples of this illusory closeness abound: The affable children's show host Fred Rogers openly invited you, the viewer, to be his friend; swooning young fans are regularly incapacitated with arousal for musical artists such as Elvis or the Beatles (or, more recently, the Jonas Brothers). In truth, through the Internet, recordable television, and home movies, people can now access our media friends whenever they want, and can feel safe and unjudged doing it (Meyrowitz, 2008a). We know what these media friends do; now want to know what they are like. We hope they will be like us, and we will vehemently defend our feelings for them so that we may continue enjoying their work (Raney, 2004). In fact, we treat our imagined relationships much like our real ones, both for good and ill: Research supports the notion that people's attachment styles

with media friends tend to echo the caregiver attachment relationships they had as children (Meyrowitz, 2008a).

In many ways, digital connectivity is a blessing and a curse. Electronic mass media comprise a social institution, both ritualized and utilitarian. They bring us closer—both informationally and communicatively—to media friends, but they also can grant sometimes shockingly close access to those people's lives by disposing of the need for gatekeepers that would keep us out of things that aren't our business (Dominick, 2002). The omnipresence of television, cellular phones and the Internet thus poses a constant risk of having "uninvited guests" serve as behavioral models (Meyrowitz, 1985). Factitious connections with media friends affect especially people who are otherwise social isolated or awkward (see the cases of Mark Chapman or John Hinckley) or who consume media in higher than normal quantities (Greenwood, 2008; Meyrowitz, 1985, 2008a). Mediated relationships such as these are rarely advantageous to both parties; nonetheless, such ideas of similarity and connection form the backbone of the identification process in the development of personality.

What Kinds of Media Characters are Available?

Two forces—one based on economics and capitalism, the other based on psychology and culture (and to some extent, technology)—can act upon the pool of available media characters that a person can see and learn about through mass media. The former effectively works to limit the characters available for people's enjoyment and identification, while trends in the latter point to the diversification of media characters in the future. I will briefly summarize the current state of each force here.

Mass media have the capability to be used as a weapon, either for monetary gain or for cultural imperialism (McChesney, 1999; Meyrowitz, 2008b). Some media specialists point out that various mergers and corporate conglomerates (made possible by the deregulation of the entertainment industry after the Telecommuncations Act of 1996) are effectively homogenizing the media to which the public has access (McLeod, 2002; Miller & McChesney, 1999). If this is true, the variability of possible media characters with which people can identify will suffer, as less-profitable characters will be phased out in favor of products that will make more money. Indeed, some signs of this homogenization can already be seen, especially in the United States: Cross-promotion currently dominates mainstream mass media, from conspicuous product placement in television and movies (and athletic complex names!) to strategically placed major label music ads in subsidiary-owned newspapers and magazines. Miller and McChesney (1999) have termed this hypercommercialization process "commercial carpet bombing" and imply that stricter enforcement of antitrust laws is needed—especially for the arts—to stem this tide.

Character pools in some other media, however, are thriving, and are becoming highly diversified, such as the avatar characters in the massively multiplayer online role-playing game *World of Warcraft*. By incorporating software allowing for the creation and establishment of millions of different custom characters, media such as this allow for considerable personal expression in their use (Bessière, Seay, & Kiesler, 2007), and provide an opportunity for the user to construct his or her own media friend. And like other media friends, the person can then proceed to live vicariously through their character's heroic deeds, and attempt to internalize perceived and desired strengths. As is

the case with many admired others, the character a player selects to be her "identity" within this game often represents various aspects of the player's ideal self (Bessière, Seay, & Kiesler, 2007). Far from being a fantasy, however, some evidence suggests that playing the role of an ideal self online may reduce anxiety about actual-ideal self discrepancy, thus helping to stave off disillusionment and possibly depression (McKenna & Bargh, 1998).[12]

Despite these seemingly unstoppable media forces, we remain attached to the characters with which we ally ourselves and the images of ourselves that we project, to the point where they become real, embodied in ourselves and our personalities (Meyrowitz, 1985). In this way we show some semblance of repayment to the characters we love—imitation, after all, is the sincerest form of flattery.

Media Preferences and Autobiographical Memory: Two Complementary Personality Forces

Personal life experiences and memories are a distinct part of the personality system. Tulving (1983) distinguished between episodic and semantic memory, maintaining that episodic memories involved the remembering of past events. Brewer (1986, pp. 34-35) called such events "personal memories" and explained that each one must be "accompanied by a belief that it occurred in the self's past." In general, however, it is common to call this memory for past personal events "autobiographical," as the event and the role of the individual experiencing it can often be thought of as converging, to be reconstructed in memory as a discrete and unique experience in that person's life story (e.g., Bruce, Dolan, & Phillips-Grant, 2000; D. C. Rubin, Wetzler, & Nebes, 1986). I will thus use the term "autobiographical" to refer to such event

memories, referring to the reconstruction, interpretation and judgment of events in people's personal past. This process, when combined with people's personal encounters with mass media, can provide great detail about the expression of personality.

Explaining the Reminiscence Bump

A person's self-concept, not surprisingly, plays a prominent role in autobiographical memory recall, especially during times of major transition (Howe et al., 2003). Perhaps no time period in the lifespan is more transitional for a person's sense of self than adolescence and emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000). Recalling that socioemotional maturation, identity search, career building, marriage, and parenthood are the main achievements and accomplishments of these years (Erikson, 1968), it stands to reason that during this eventful time the autobiographical memories that are created should be momentous. As such, one of the most reliable aspects of autobiographical memory in adults who are middle-aged or older is the phenomenon known as the *reminiscence bump*—an distinct increase in free- and cued-recall event memories from approximately age ten (at the earliest) to age thirty (at the latest) that cannot be accounted for by normal recency retention (Berntsen & Rubin, 2002; Holmes & Conway, 1999; Jansari & Parkin, 1996; D. C. Rubin et al., 1986; Thorne, 2000). The bump is especially noticeable in people's recall of emotionally-salient events, which often inform their overall popular and mass media preferences, such as their memories for their favorite films, music, and books (Holbrook & Schindler, 1989; Janssen, Chessa, & Murre, 2005). This facet of memory speaks to the importance of such media in contributing to people's general self-concept.

One cognitive explanation for the reminiscence bump may lie in the generalization that the rapid life transitions at this time are followed by a long period of relative stability and that the novel and exhilarating events of adolescence and early adulthood are more likely to be remembered than the more mundane events that come later. This is supported by studies such as Jansari and Parkin (1996), who found a preponderance of first-time events among those memories that were most easily retrieved. On the other hand, a possible biological explanation for the bump is that abilities and skills such as fluid intelligence peak during this period (Berntsen & Rubin, 2002), and that autonoetic awareness—i.e., the ability to mentally travel back in time to re-experience an event—may facilitate vivid encoding and storage of one's experiences, allowing for greater insight later in life (Rybash & Monaghan, 1999). However, both of these theories are insufficient given that people's recall of events from the bump period are not uniform across type; increased recall is very measurable for happy and important autobiographical memories, but the bump disappears for events that were sad and traumatic (Berntsen & Rubin, 2002). Furthermore, recall of significant public events (e.g., international news) has been shown to have an earlier bump period than recall of significant private events (e.g., one's anniversary) (Holmes & Conway, 1999). In light of these findings, it becomes apparent that recall of autobiographical life events depends in part on the content and the emotional valence of the experience (Elnick, Margrett, Fitzgerald, & Labouvie-Vief, 1999).

With the biological and cognitive models thus limited, an intriguing sociocultural approach to the reminiscence bump presents a compelling explanation for why media preferences are so telling of people's personalities. Life scripts, or "culturally

shared expectations as to the order and timing of life events in a prototypical life course" (Berntsen & Rubin, 2004, p. 427), involve expected significant events and requirements for the life span, presented in serial format according to the norms of a culture. This may account for the "bumped" recall of certain types of memories during adolescence and early adulthood in that experiences that are happy or important (for example, a marriage) are far more likely to be scripted for a certain time period—say, between 18 and 30—than experiences that are sad or traumatic (the death of one's parents, while unavoidable, is less likely to be scripted for a specific time, while a rape would not be scripted at all). In this way, self-narratives within a culture can have constituent events that develop and occur more or less independently in each individual, though the period of the reminiscence bump, as well as the conformation of recalled events to the life script, remains more or less consistent across people of the same age (Robinson & Taylor, 1998).

Life Scripts and their Importance to Media Preferences

The life script hypothesis for the reminiscence bump helps explain why people's preferences in mass media are so emotionally-charged and so enduring (such as their favorite type of music or their favorite actor), and why they tend to date from the same developmental time period; i.e., their teens and twenties (Holbrook & Schindler, 1989). Braun-LaTour and LaTour (2007) have found that product consumption patterns and especially brand loyalty are often predicted by positive autobiographical memories. For example, the young girl whose supportive parents always take her to McDonald's after her soccer games is likely to remain loyal to that franchise as an adult because of its pleasant associations. Likewise, the eighth-grade boy who blushes when the girl he likes

compliments him on the way his jeans look is likely to continue purchasing that brand of jeans. In both of these cases, the product's significance to the individual is not merely utilitarian but also affective, and therefore somewhat permanent (Fournier, 1998). The same goes for media tastes—the music, movies, and television that a young person encounters during the course of a pleasant evening with friends or significant others will continue to be pleasant in that person's long-term memory.

Specific possessions and items from autobiographical memories can be termed cultural memories or "mediated memories" (van Dijck, 2004)—memories symbolized by a keepsake or trinket. These cherished objects are external aids to memory, and they define personality to some extent within a larger cultural framework, recalling a snapshot of that individual. These keepsakes may be anything from photo albums to seashells picked up on a beach excursion to .mp3 files purchased to recapture the feeling at the beginning of a relationship. It is perhaps not out of the question that a person might enjoy and maintain a large DVD collection because they remind him of the good times he had watching those movies with friends in college. By owning products promoting the recall of happy, loving, or important autobiographical events (as opposed to mediated memories of sad, fearful, or traumatic one), this individual's life may be seen and interpreted as adhering closely to his culture's conception of an ideal life script (Berntsen & Rubin, 2004). In this way, preferred media can provide an adaptive emotional template and a cue to recall an emotional autobiographical memory such as pride in an achievement, while devaluing other emotional memories such as jealousy and thereby preserving or enhancing the person's self-esteem (D. C. Rubin & Berntsen, 2003). Thorne (2000) argues that this is an adaptive function; that personal memories for

emotional moments (which tend to cluster in adolescence and early adulthood, as stated earlier) effectively drive social and emotional development, and are used liberally in developing our life stories and our personality (cf. McAdams, 1993).

The Product Itself: Is it Important?

A final word may be said here regarding the manufacturers of mass media products. These producers of mass culture, like the individuals who consume them, take pains to establish a "personality" for the brand itself. And like those individuals, they can utilize memory to do so effectively. Once a target audience is identified, the producers will often foster a sense of attractiveness, distinction, and self-expression in the product and solicit loyalty from those who consider themselves similar to that prototype (Kim, Han, & Park, 2001). This could be interpreted as an easy way to "grow the brand" without actually improving it; market research has shown that evoking salient autobiographical memories reduces an audience's analysis of product information (Baumgartner, Sujan, & Bettman, 1992; Sujan, Bettman, & Baumgartner, 1993). This means that even generic advertisements, if they are effective at evoking personal memories, may generate favorable evaluations for the ad without considering the product.

APPENDIX C:

PERSONALITY AND PREFERENCES IN RICH CULTURE MEDIA AND THEIR RELATION TO ARCHETYPE THEORY

The concept of assessing personality through reported preferences in popular media is not altogether new. The connections between personality and preferences for music, books, art, movies, television, and even video games (what I here call "rich culture") can be traced back in some respects to William James, with his ideas on the different parts of the self (James, 1890/1981). According to James, the "material self" consists of the things that surround us: our clothes, our family, our home, and especially our property—our *possessions*. Although at the time of his writing James could not have imagined the types of media possessions we enjoy today, he was fairly prescient in suggesting that some aspects of personality can be inferred from the things with which a person surrounds themselves (Brackett & Mayer, 2007; Gosling, 2008; Gosling, Ko, Mannarelli, & Morris, 2002; Mayer, Carlsmith, & Chabot, 1998). In the 1950s some attempts were made to connect personality to preferences in rich culture media, including music (e.g., Cattell & Saunders, 1954), movies (Scott, 1957) and art (Barron, 1952). However, the extent of this line of research was generally limited to clinical diagnosis (frequently used in conjunction with the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, or MMPI) and as such we will disregard such studies in this treatment of healthy personalities and media tastes. Much more relevant are the many recent studies comparing media preferences to specific personal behaviors or dispositional traits. Here we will discuss a number of these studies and then detail a more interactionist archetypal

interpretation of media preferences, which takes culture and society into account in explaining why people may like the things they like.

Existing Research on Personality and Media Preferences: A Trait-Dominated Area

Although Rentfrow and McDonald (in press) point out that media preferences can be transitory, depending on the user's psychological state or the social context in which the medium is being experienced, they are also a highly accessible and relevant indicator of personality. We use them fairly efficiently to get to know and judge others, including relative strangers, acquaintances, and even potential mates (Booth, 2008; Gunter, Furnham, Petrides, & Spencer-Bowdage, 2000; Rentfrow & Gosling, 2006, 2007). Media preferences are also a badge of group membership, often used to convey image, self-actualization, emotion, and frequently, in the case in the case of adolescents and young adults, to confirm in-group/out-group status (North, Hargreaves, & O'Neill, 2000; Rentfrow & Gosling, 2007; Rentfrow & McDonald, in press; Tarrant, North, & Hargreaves, 2000). Most of the contemporary research on preferences for rich cultural media has been from the basic trait perspective of personality, frequently using the Eysenckian personality markers of Extraversion, Neuroticism, and Psychoticism (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1985) or indexes of the popular Big Five taxonomy of Extraversion (or Surgency), Openness to Experience, Agreeableness, Neuroticism (or Emotional Stability), and Conscientiousness (Costa & McCrae, 1992). These studies cover a wide range of preferences for rich cultural stimuli (RCS), and many connect them to various dynamic personality traits (some imply behavioral causality as well).

RCS Preferences and the Big Five

At least a few studies taking this trait approach (including a number that are cross-cultural) exist for every popular mass medium, resulting in at least some significant findings for each of the Big Five traits. For example, people scoring highly on extraversion in the U.S. and Germany have been found to prefer movie vignettes containing comedic and sexual themes over those classified as tragedy, drama, or horror (Weaver, Brosius, & Mundorf, 1993). Extraverts also like reality television and action movies more than introverts, but read less often for pleasure and tend to channel-surf more when watching television; these behaviors support extraversion's expected overlap with sensation-seeking (Finn, 1997; Paul & Shim, 2006; Schierman & Rowland, 1985). High levels of sensation-seeking have also been tentatively associated with preferences for surreal or abstract art (Furnham & Avison, 1997; Furnham & Bunyan, 1988), although preferences for abstract versus representational art have been more often linked to high versus low (respectively) openness scores (Rawlings, Barrantes i Vidal, & Furnham, 2000).[13] The list goes on: For example, high levels of neuroticism have been positively correlated with frequent consumption of tragic movies, news television programs, and romantic art (Rosenbluh, Owens & Pohler, 1972; Weaver, 1991), and openness has also been linked to low overall levels of TV viewing (Finn, 1997). As it happens, though, the rich cultural medium with the greatest body of "trait" work surrounding it is music, and it is through tastes in music that we can learn, arguably, the most about personality.

Music Research as the Dominant Paradigm

The popular music of every generation since the advent of rock n' roll has incorporated into it some of the Eriksonian "identity crisis" mentality that goes with the

time period of youth (see Appendices B & C). This emotional, almost visceral connection to the music of their *zeitgeist* stays with people long after the music itself has gone out of style; Holbrook and Schindler (1989) found that people of all ages usually prefer music that was popular when they were in their early twenties. It should come as no surprise, then, to find that personality traits have well-documented links to musical taste. In fact, form follows function for popular music in many respects; its songs consistently contain themes about rebellion against authority, sex, and love lost (see Dillman Carpentier, Knobloch, & Zillman, 2003; Zillmann & Gan, 1997) simply because those topics are the most relevant to its consumers. As an extension of this logic, Rentfrow and McDonald (in press) suggest that people are drawn to certain music types because the psychological qualities associated with that music tap into how they see themselves.

Older studies on personality and musical taste tended to distinguish different preference patterns by social class, education level, or masculinity and femininity (for a review of such studies, see Russell, 1997). Most current studies and scales of music preference, however, use the trait approach to generalize about people's preferences for certain musical genres. Perhaps most notably, extraversion has been linked to preference for music that is upbeat and popular, including pop, rock, and hip-hop (e.g., Dollinger, 1993; A. Hall, 2005; Pearson & Dollinger, 2004; Rawlings, Twomey, Burns, & Morris, 1998; Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003). Other musical tastes have been shown to echo personality traits as well, such as a preference for jazz, blues, and hard rock in those scoring highly on openness (perhaps owing somewhat to that trait's emphasis on creativity and divergent thinking; Costa & McCrae, 1985; Dollinger, 1993; Rawlings &

Ciancarelli, 1997). Musical taste has even been linked to (non-trait) attitudinal and behavioral characteristics such as sensation seeking (Dollinger, 1993; Litle & Zuckerman, 1986; McNamara & Ballard, 1999; Rawlings et al., 1998), aggression and anti-authority sentiment (Hansen & Hansen, 1991; A. M. Rubin, West, & Mitchell, 2001), and adolescent risk-taking (Arnett, 1991; 1992), although it should be cautioned against perceiving these preferences as being actually predictive of such behaviors, especially if social and developmental factors are not controlled. Nonetheless, this body of research seems to indicate, in the study of mass media preferences and personality, that music is very important in revealing things about people, and could be predictive of personality type.

Do Media Preferences Reveal More Than Just Traits?

Past the construct of trait descriptors, however, the number of studies on personality and rich culture preferences becomes greatly reduced. The abrupt drop in the amount of literature in this nascent field is puzzling, and the speed at which media tend to evolve and redefine themselves (thus outdating research more than just a few years old) may be off-putting for many. A few studies, however, suggest that parts of personality other than dispositional traits may have a role in shaping and expressing one's media preferences. For example, in large U.S. samples, Rentfrow and Gosling (2003) identified four main dimensions of musical preference (Reflective/Complex, Intense/Rebellious, Upbeat/Conventional, and Energetic/Rhythmic) that tend to correlate moderately with certain Big Five trait profiles, and this factor model was replicated in a European sample (Delsing, ter Bogt, Engels, & Meeus, 2008). However, recent evidence also suggests that liking a particular genre of music means different things to men and women—meaning

gender is a possible factor in the development of musical taste (Colley, 2008). The self-concept may also be involved: Preston and Clair (1994) found that television viewing was greater for genres construed as similar to oneself, suggesting a preference for personal identification in the TV shows one watches. This offers some support for Rentfrow and McDonald's (in press) contention that we tend to like best the media that we perceive as being most similar to ourselves. And what of the role of personally significant emotional memories? Questions such as these are only beginning to be addressed and lend some credence to a theory of cross-media unity: that people's taste in rich culture may conform to one or more autobiographically-relevant themes. According to some researchers, these themes may be evident in our daily surroundings, effectively contextualizing individual media tastes within the personal and social aspects of their environment.

Over a century after James posited the existence of a "material self," one of the most intriguing aspects of popular and rich culture is the fact that we can acquire, possess, and retain it. As the Information Age progresses, people are now increasingly viewed and judged according to the things they own and like—a state of affairs suggested much earlier by James (1890/1981; see also Burroughs, Drews, & Hallman, 1991). Hence, some research today focuses on the accurate predictions that can be made about a person merely from observing the items they keep a place in which they spend much of their time, such as their bedroom or office (Gosling, 2008; Gosling et al., 2002). The things with which we surround ourselves, then, may be an adequate predictor of some aspects of personality (Brackett & Mayer, 2007; Mayer, Carlsmith, & Chabot, 1998). Again, though, what place do preferences for rich culture have in these "life spaces" we

make for ourselves? The key lies in the concept of the aforementioned autobiographical "themes" evident in those personal spaces. It is my belief that these life themes can also be found in our media usage and preferences, which people use as an important indicator of who they are. In fact, such preference patterns might indicate people's nonconscious awareness of age-old personality types that subtly reveal themselves when we make judgments about the rich cultural stimuli that we see every day.

Archetypes as Mental Models of Characterizing Media Preferences

Media preferences are more important to people than simply reflections of their traits. Again, to make an example of the most commonly used research medium, music can alter people's cognitions or behavior under a number of circumstances unrelated to trait dispositions. It can be used to induce a positive or negative mood in research participants (e.g., J. D. Brown & Mankowski, 1993; Eich, Ng, Macaulay, Percy, & Grebneva, 2007; Lewis, Dember, Schefft, & Radenhausen, 1995; Pignatiello, Camp, & Rasar, 1986)—even to the point where it can guide memory recall or influence the products purchased in a wine store (Martin & Metha, 1997; North, Hargreaves, & McKendrick, 1997). Conversely, people's music usage patterns can also be the outcome or result of a particular mood state; people sometimes use it to manage their current emotions (e.g., Greenwood & Long, 2009; Knobloch & Zillmann, 2002; Zillmann, 1988). And music that is strongly liked or disliked has been shown to activate emotion and reward regions of the limbic system (Blood & Zatorre, 2001; Blood, Zatorre, Bermudez, & Evans, 1999). It seems clear, then, that rich culture media have considerable affective significance in people's personal lives.

Implicit Recognition of Media Themes and Characters

Our set of *mental models*—the "organized structure[s] in memory that depict the self, the world, or the self in the world" (Mayer, 2007, p. 165)—are used to understand ourselves as well as the roles we see ourselves able to fulfill during the course of our lives. These learned schemas underlie our network of personal preferences, beliefs, attitudes, and attributions, and they help explain why we respond to certain media we encounter and why we have such drastic individual variation regarding how much we like or dislike these different experiences. In general, mental models are of great use in our everyday, on-the-go lives—they provide an internal sextant for use in navigating ourselves through an uncertain and unpredictable world.

Cantor and Mischel (1977) and others have suggested that once we believe we know the unchanging or constant aspects of a person, we tend to create a model that assumes that they fit a "type"—in fact, a prototype of characteristics, behaviors, and traits. We regularly observe, internalize, and, if necessary, update these prototypes of others as we encounter them and compare them with ourselves (Andersen & Cole, 1990; Glassman & Andersen, 1999; Mayer & Bower, 1986). Some we may even recognize as models of significant others in our lives, either currently or in the past (Andersen & Berk, 1998). However, some researchers believe many or all personality prototypes may be learned automatically and judged against oneself at a nonconscious level (e.g., Bargh & Chartrand, 1999; Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996; Jacoby, Woloshyn, & Kelley, 1989; Kihlstrom, 1987; Smith & Lerner, 1986). These automatic judgments we make concerning ourselves and various "other" prototypes are known as our possible selves (Higgins, 1987; Kemmelmeier & Oyserman, 2001; Markus & Nurius, 1986; Oyserman & Markus, 1990; Oyserman, Terry, & Bybee, 2002). People can have implicitly-learned

models of themselves and the world that allow for (among others) actual, ideal, feared, and desired selves; however, some evidence indicates that when pressed, people can, upon reflection, describe in detail these possible selves, indicating that they are integrated to some extent in consciousness (Showers, 2002). Every person prototype we encounter, then—including those in media—is a possible self to evaluate. Carl Jung (1875-1961), a Swiss psychodynamic theorist, devoted a large portion of his work to the possible mental models that people might unconsciously employ for the types of characters that surround them, and called these characters the archetypes of the collective unconscious.

Original Jungian Concepts of the Archetypes

Jung's theory regarding people's unconscious models of the world was a network of mythologies and ancient beliefs that he believed were ancestrally common to all humans and lay at the roots of the psychological mind; he thought that this "collective unconscious" accounted for the bulk of people's emotionally and spiritually significant experiences (Jung, 1961-1963/1983). Specifically, he claimed that there existed a set of universal themes and motifs he called the archetypes, or, "dispositions in the collective unconscious that produce images in the consciousness" (Shelburne, 1988, p. 36). To Jung, the archetypes were versatile enough so that they could always represent the personal history of the individual experiencing them (Shelburne, 1988). Thus, according to Jung, whenever we would see a real person, situation, or event that conjured up these powerful, antediluvian images, we would recognize them in the collective unconscious, eliciting a strong emotional reaction that would be apparently unexplainable.

In this way we would be able to recognize and identify ourselves with many of these universal themes and motifs, even if they "transcended the individual's frame of reference" (Shelburne, 1988, p. 55).

The abstract nature of these archetypal dispositions remains to this day a troubling concept for contemporary psychologists. According to Jung, the archetypes were fundamentally unobservable; they spanned the void between the physical and the mental, being both and neither all at once (Jung, 1961-1963/1983). The paradox, then, was that the archetypes were formless in a vacuum, and since they could only be seen through projection, their points of differentiation as well as their exact number were unclear (Shelburne, 1988). Jung only devoted lengthy discussion to a select few archetypes (e.g., the Shadow and the Anima/-mus), while referring to others only obliquely (such as the Hero, the Father, the God, and the Wise Old Man). Futhermore, many have understandably disagreed with Jung's contention that unconscious knowledge of the archetypes was biologically or genetically transmitted from generation to generation, with variations for race or ethnicity (McGowan, 1994; Neher, 1996; Pietikainen, 1998). This lack of attention to the cultural contributions to personality and prototypical character models remains a valid criticism of Jungian theory to this day.

Post-Jungian archetypal theory

In the mid-20th century, Jungian archetype theory took its first major step toward its modernization in mass culture media with the work of Joseph Campbell. His seminal 1949 text, *The Hero With a Thousand Faces*, expounded on the Jungian concepts of archetypes, complexes, and universal symbolism in people's experiential lives:

> An archetype is a representation of the irrepresentible. It is a shard of something so enormous that the greater thing cannot be apprehended

> by the mundane mind. But the smaller images of the greater—the kinds that are found in art, mythos, music, dance, and story—can be grasped by mere mortals. (J. Campbell, 1949/2004, p. lvi)

While Campbell's writings gave archetype theory some currency in the humanities, it was not until the later part of the 20th century that personality psychologists once again began to reconsider Jungian ideas. While not denying the components of Jung's archetype model outright, most researchers of the archetype concept today believe that it is mainly culture, not biology, that is responsible for the implicit learning of archetypal models (McAdams, 1993, 2006, McGowan, 1994; Neher, 1996; Pietikainen, 1998). McAdams (1993), in particular, suggests that through the process of learning about such characters, we discover and remake ourselves by constructing a "personal myth"—or, a unique life story that allows each of us to "bring together the different parts of ourselves and our lives into a convincing whole" (McAdams, 1993, p. 12). Archetypal characters, continues McAdams, occupy major roles in these life stories: They represent our desires and goals; they often enter the story at turning points; they personify our traits and behaviors; they exemplify our personal and cultural values; they often revolve around significant others; and they can signal life conflict (McAdams, 1993, pp. 127-131). All these qualities, it may be noted, are also significant features of mass media preferences.

Modern Approaches to Organization and Measurement of Archetypes

Recent and comprehensive taxonomies of personal archetypes have been proposed by Mark and Pearson (2001) and Faber and Mayer (2009), who each elucidate the characteristics, forces, and values underlying a certain number of equally-weighted subjective archetypal figures. Mark and Pearson's (2001) set of characters are clustered together in four groups linked together by goals and aims, as well as Maslowian needs

and Eriksonian stages. The authors provide many attractive examples of how popular culture—namely, commercial advertising—has managed to appeal to the archetypes slumbering inside all of us, from the purity and cleanliness of Ivory soap to the inspiring heroism of Nike (Mark & Pearson, 2001, pp. 9-10); however, their taxonomy is based mainly on theory. Drawing on this and other theories of archetypes, Faber and Mayer (2009) found empirical support for the existence of five major groups of archetypal characters and themes in popular music, movies, and art, and demonstrated that people show highly divergent preferences, or resonances, to these characters.

If, as people like Jung (1961-1963/1983), Campbell (1949/2004), McAdams (1993), and Mark and Pearson (2001) have suggested, archetypes or their images are indeed universal, it is not surprising that these themes echo strongly in the mass media we can experience today: music, movies, television, literature, and art. As some research has shown, this appears legitimately to be the case: that we self-select rich cultural media based in part on the archetypal themes to which we resonate (Faber & Mayer, 2009; Maloney, 1999). By the same token, since people often show a repeated pattern for liking rich cultural stimuli (RCS) across different mass media that all exemplify the same thematic archetype, it can further be argued that that archetype may be part of their current personal life theme, looming dominant in their personalities, activities, goals, and self-concept—and projected as manifestations of their personal preferences. The goal of the current research program is to provide some support for such an argument.

APPENDIX D:

THE RICH CULTURE ARCHETYPE SCALE (RCAS)

Music Items Used in the RCAS

RCAS item number	Song title	Song artist	Time played	Archetype represented
1	"In the Light"	Led Zeppelin	(5:56-6:11)	Sage
2	"Luxurious"	Gwen Stefani	(1:44-2:01)	Lover
3	"Master of Puppets"	Metallica	(2:37-2:57)	Ruler
4	"You've Got a Friend"	James Taylor	(1:12-1:30)	Caregiver
5	"The Joker"	Steve Miller Band	(2:06-2:24)	Jester
6	"Pink Houses" (Ain't That America)	John Cougar Mellencamp	(1:47-2:07)	Everyman/ Everywoman
7	"Take Five"	Dave Brubeck	(0:19-0:37)	Creator
8	"Mr. Self Destruct"	Nine Inch Nails	(2:48-3:07)	Shadow
9	"Here I Go Again"	Whitesnake	(0:21-0:40)	Explorer
10	"Crazy Train"	Ozzy Osbourne	(1:45-1:59)	Outlaw
11	"We Are the Champions"	Queen	(1:30-1:49)	Hero
12	"The Man Who Loved the Earth"	Peter Gabriel	(0:47-1:07)	Magician
13	"Breakaway"	Kelly Clarkson	(0:18-0:36)	Innocent
14	"God Save the Queen"	The Sex Pistols	(0:18-0:36)	Outlaw
15	"Strokin'"	Clarence Carter	(3:49-4:04)	Lover
16	"Angel of Death"	Slayer	(0:47-1:05)	Shadow
17	"Paranoid Android"	Radiohead	(1:25-1:46)	Sage
18	"The Four Seasons: Spring"	Vivaldi	(0:00-0:20)	Creator
19	"Tear the Roof Off"	George Clinton & Parliament Funkadelic	(0:28-0:46)	Jester
20	"Walk On"	U2	(1:06-1:25)	Hero
21	"Learning to Fly"	Pink Floyd	(1:44-2:03)	Magician
22	"A Boy Named Sue"	Johnny Cash	(1:04-1:21)	Explorer
23	"I Want to Thank You"	Natalie Merchant	(1:11-1:31)	Caregiver
24	"It's Oh So Quiet"	Bjork	(2:33-2:55)	Innocent
25	"Hustla's Ambition"	50 Cent	(0:41-1:01)	Ruler
26	"The Dying Miner"	Woody Guthrie	(0:06-0:26)	Everyman/ Everywoman

Movie Items Used in the RCAS

RCAS item number	Movie title	Distributor	Year released	Archetype represented
27	"Jay and Silent Bob Strike Back"	Miramax	2001	Jester
28	"Chocolat"	Miramax	2000	Lover
29	"Dirty Harry"	Warner Bros.	1971	Outlaw
30	"Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban"	Warner Bros.	2004	Magician
31	"Forrest Gump"	Paramount	1994	Everyman/ Everywoman
32	"Life is Beautiful"	Miramax	1998	Caregiver
33	"Bambi"	RKO	1942	Innocent
34	"The Godfather"	Paramount	1972	Ruler
35	"Amadeus"	Warner Bros.	1984	Creator
36	"The Empire Strikes Back"	20th Century Fox	1980	Sage
37	"Superman"	Warner Bros.	1978	Hero
38	"Almost Famous"	DreamWorks	2000	Explorer
39	"The Crow"	Miramax	1994	Shadow
40	"Basquiat"	Miramax	1996	Creator
41	"The Karate Kid"	Columbia	1984	Sage
42	"Amelie"	Miramax	2001	Innocent
43	"Full Metal Jacket"	Warner Bros.	1987	Ruler
44	"The English Patient"	Miramax	1996	Caregiver
45	"Braveheart"	Paramount	1995	Hero
46	"Titanic"	Paramount	1997	Lover
47	"Halloween"	Compass Int'l.	1978	Shadow
48	"Being John Malkovich"	Gramercy	1999	Everyman/ Everywoman
49	"Back to the Future"	Universal	1985	Magician
50	"Raiders of the Lost Ark"	Paramount	1981	Explorer
51	"The Boondock Saints"	Indican	1999	Outlaw
52	"Wedding Crashers"	New Line	2005	Jester

Art Items Used in the RCAS

RCAS item number	Title of work	Artist	Year	Archetype Represented
53	"The Persistence of Memory"	Dali	1931	Creator
54	"The Merry Drinker"	Hals	1628-1630	Jester
55	"Star Rise"	Daniels	1997	Magician
56	"The Stone Breakers"	Courbet	1849	Everyman/ Everywoman
57	"The Banjo Lesson"	Tanner	c. 1893	Caregiver
58	"Lewis and Clark West to the Pacific"	Davenport	n.d.	Explorer
59	"The Kiss"	Klimt	1907	Lover
60	"Che Guevara"	Warhol	1962	Outlaw
61	"Girl at Mirror"	Rockwell	1954	Innocent
62	"Napoleon Crossing the Alps"	David	1800	Hero
63	"David"	Michelangelo	1501-1504	Hero
64	"Little Fourteen-Year-Old Dancer"	Degas	c. 1881	Innocent
65	"Jupiter and Thetis"	Ingres	1811	Ruler
66	"Saturn Devouring his Son"	Goya	1821-1823	Shadow
67	"Nighthawks"	Hopper	1942	Everyman/ Everywoman
68	"Philosopher in Meditation"	Rembrandt	1632	Sage
69	"Liberty Leading the People"	Delacroix	1830	Hero
70	"The Nightmare"	Fuseli	1781	Shadow
71	"The Fog Warning"	Winslow	1885	Explorer
72	"James Dean"	Kaufman	n.d.	Outlaw
73	"Two Cherubs"	Raphael	c. 1513-1514	Innocent
74	"American Gothic"	Wood	1930	Everyman/ Everywoman
75	"A Bold Bluff"	Coolidge	1903	Jester
76	"The Gross Clinic"	Eakins	1875	Magician
77	Temple of Rameses II, Abu Simbel, Egypt	N/A	c. 1257 B.C.E.	Ruler
78	"Philosophy," or "The School of Athens"	Raphael	1509-1511	Sage
79	"The Scream"	Munch	1893	Shadow
80	"Convergence"	Pollack	1952	Creator
81	"Virgin and Child with St. Anne and Infant St. John"	Da Vinci	c. 1498-1499	Caregiver
82	"Venus of Urbino"	Titian	1538	Lover
83	"Composition with Red, Blue, and Yellow"	Mondrian	1930	Creator

APPENDIX E:

THE PREFERENCES FOR ARCHETYPES IN MEDIA SCALE (PAMS)

Part B: "PREFERENCES IN THEMATIC MEDIA"

Please estimate how much you think you would be ***interested in, like,*** or ***dislike*** the media examples listed. Circle a number for each question using the following scale:

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Not at all A little Moderately Significantly Extremely

MUSIC	***Imagine each piece of music described below. Based on the description, how much do you think you would (be)...***
1. An angry song about how we should fight the government's unfairness.	1 2 3 4 5 *Interested* in it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Like* it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Dislike* it?
2. An album whose theme is the free individual: an independent traveler.	1 2 3 4 5 *Interested* in it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Like* it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Dislike* it?
3. A fantastical and innovative piece for orchestra, complete with electric lights.	1 2 3 4 5 *Interested* in it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Like* it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Dislike* it?
4. A musical about the physical changes of the human body through its life.	1 2 3 4 5 *Interested* in it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Like* it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Dislike* it?
5. A song about the inner strength we can find in overcoming difficulties.	1 2 3 4 5 *Interested* in it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Like* it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Dislike* it?
6. A pleasant song about the purity of childhood.	1 2 3 4 5 *Interested* in it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Like* it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Dislike* it?
7. An honest song pointing out that "you are who you are—make the best of what you have."	1 2 3 4 5 *Interested* in it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Like* it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Dislike* it?
8. A sensual and sultry song about the difficulties of love.	1 2 3 4 5 *Interested* in it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Like* it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Dislike* it?
9. A song about the importance of compassion and trust among Americans.	1 2 3 4 5 *Interested* in it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Like* it? 1 2 3 4 5 *Dislike* it?

10. A song about prevailing over one's competitors.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
11. A song about using one's own experience to guide others through tough decisions.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
12. A bright and careless tune about how funny life is.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
13. An album about the desperation and the darkness inside all of us.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
14. A very imaginative song with many unusual instruments and sounds contributing to the track.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
15. A playful song about how a person can discover his/her soulmate through excitement and passion.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
16. A song about how breaking the rules is necessary, even if it means hurting yourself.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
MOVIES	***Imagine each movie described below. Based on the description, how much do you think you would (be)...***	
17. A movie about a famous soldier's rise to power and prestige.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
18. A clever movie about the everyday lives of mail carriers.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
19. An independent film about a pilot trying to design the "perfect" high-speed jet plane.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
20. A movie about the sacrifice and generosity involved in a long friendship.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
21. A haunting movie about a bank clerk and his/her violent and evil twin sibling.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
22. A documentary about the mysterious and mystical forces of nature.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
23. A slapstick comedy about a mischievous but clumsy smuggler.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?

24. A film about an expert chess player who teaches a promising young student all about the game.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
25. A touching drama about how a child's innocence renews and inspires the grown-ups around him/her.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
26. A film about a spirited and restless musician, always wandering from town to town.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
27. A movie about the courage of a single warrior in defeating a monster and rescuing a village.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
28. A movie whose main character is sexy and seductive, and who ends up very happily married.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
29. A film about one person's survival and revenge against institutional control.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
30. A movie about the surprising moments and events that happen among suburban neighbors.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
31. A film about a motorcyclist who rides across the country to experience the world and its inhabitants.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
32. A movie about a highly influential judge whose control over the courtroom leads to great success in upholding the law.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
FINE ART	***Imagine each piece of art described below. Based on the description, how much do you think you would (be)...***	
33. A richly-colored oil painting of a healthy and wholesome sailor.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
34. A delightful and warm painting of a young couple in their courtship.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
35. A wood carving of the rediscovery of a lost Mayan city.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
36. A painting of a clever old professor surrounded by his/her beloved textbooks.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
37. A peaceful painting of a mother and child.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?

38. A dark and exhilarating rendering of the artist's worst fears.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
39. A strange and abnormal piece of sculpture.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
40. A provocative and confrontational piece of social protest.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
41. A detailed sketch of a surgeon demonstrating how open-heart surgery works.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
42. A brilliantly-crafted marble statue of a famous conqueror or political leader.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
43. A mural depicting the glory of a noble victory in battle.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
44. A woven tapestry depicting a group of laughing and cheerful partygoers.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
45. A modest etching of a happy, simple, and traditional Thanksgiving feast.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
46. A portrait of much-loved relative, capturing the kindness and friendship of his/her spirit.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
47. A drawing of a quiet landscape, with young people playing games with each other in a garden.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
LITERATURE	***Imagine each piece of writing described below. Based on the description, how much do you think you would (be)...***	
48. A thoughtful tale counseling others about truth and understanding in life.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
49. The memoirs of a famous chemist who attempted to turn lead into gold.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
50. A novel about the persistence of four working-class laborers in living their lives.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
51. A comic serial about the misadventures of an irresponsible, prank-pulling rascal.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?

52. An epic account of one person's difficult journey through danger in a foreign land.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
53. A novel about two adventurers who, in 1870, set out on their own to explore the Old West.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
54. A story about two siblings finding peace in returning to their childhood hometown.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
55. A guide to "getting ahead" in the world through leadership and managing skills.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
56. A novel about the stormy yet erotic byplay between two jealous romantic partners.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
57. A short story about a poet searching the world to find its beauty and write about it in verse.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
58. A tragedy about one's uncontrollable emotions resulting in his/her death.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
59. A story about a struggling group of "misfits" who rebel against their enemies.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
60. A book series about a devoted father and how he protects his family.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
61. A wild autobiography of a rock star who is always looking for a good time.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
62. A frightening story about a person whose frequent nightmares include aspects of humanity that he/she refuses to accept.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
TELEVISION	***Imagine each TV show described below. Based on the description, how much do you think you would (be)...***	
63. A show about a salesperson who enlivens his/her boring life with dry humor.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
64. A mini-series about three rival scientists working on the same vaccine.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
65. A show about the knowledge and wisdom of ancient philosophy.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?

66. A reality show about kind and caring strangers helping each other through hardships.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
67. An inspirational TV retelling of humanity's greatest and most difficult achievements.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
68. A program about the clean, untroubled life of a shopkeeper and his/her humble faith.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
69. A TV salute to how sheer determination can lead to domination of one's field.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
70. A televised look into how best to give love and pleasure to others.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
71. A funny sitcom about ways to create diversions from life's cares.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
72. A teledrama about an ordinarily good person trying to reject his/her savage urges.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
73. A show about a journeying nomad seeking self-fulfillment.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
74. A drama about a large international business and the efforts of three renegade employees to bring it down.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
75. A documentary about the world's most unusual skyscrapers.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
76. A show about a high school soccer player who plays very hard and finally proves him/herself at the state championship.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
77. A program about developing genetically-enhanced humans for the purposes of space travel.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?
78. A show about a scholar who searches the world, exploring the answers to intelligent questions.	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5	*Interested* in it? *Like* it? *Dislike* it?

APPENDIX F:

THE ENTERTAINMENT PREFERENCES QUESTIONNAIRE (modified, EntPQ)

Entertainment Preferences Questionnaire

Below are lists of different recreational activities and their categories. Please indicate the extent to which you ***like or prefer*** each of the categories within each domain using the scale provided. If you are unfamiliar with a particular category, you may leave it blank.

1	2	3	4	5
Dislike strongly	**Dislike mildly**	**Neither like nor dislike**	**Like mildly**	**Like strongly**

MUSIC

1. _____ Alternative
2. _____ Blues
3. _____ Classical
4. _____ Country
5. _____ Dance/Electronica
6. _____ Folk
7. _____ Funk
8. _____ Gospel/Religious
9. _____ Gothic/Industrial
10. _____ International/World
11. _____ Jazz
12. _____ Metal/Hardcore
13. _____ New Age
14. _____ Oldies
15. _____ Pop
16. _____ Punk
17. _____ Rap/hip-hop
18. _____ Reggae
19. _____ Rock
20. _____ Soul/R&B
21. _____ Soundtracks/Theme songs

BOOKS AND MAGAZINES

1. _____ Academic
2. _____ Action/Adventure
3. _____ Art, architecture & photography
4. _____ Biographies
5. _____ Business
6. _____ Computers
7. _____ Cooking, food & wine
8. _____ Entertainment
9. _____ Erotica
10. _____ Fashion
11. _____ Fiction & literature
12. _____ Health
13. _____ History
14. _____ Home & garden
15. _____ Horror
16. _____ Humor
17. _____ Medical books
18. _____ Mind & spirit
19. _____ Music
20. _____ Mystery
21. _____ Nonfiction
22. _____ Philosophy
23. _____ Poetry
24. _____ Politics
25. _____ Religion
26. _____ Romance
27. _____ Science & nature
28. _____ Sci-fi & fantasy
29. _____ Sports
30. _____ Thrillers & espionage
31. _____ Travel

MOVIES

1. _____ Action
2. _____ Animation
3. _____ Classics
4. _____ Comedy
5. _____ Cult
6. _____ Documentary
7. _____ Drama
8. _____ Erotic
9. _____ Foreign
10. _____ Gay/lesbian
11. _____ Horror
12. _____ Independent
13. _____ Kids
14. _____ Musical
15. _____ Romance
16. _____ Sci-fi & fantasy
17. _____ Suspense
18. _____ War
19. _____ Western

1	2	3	4	5
Dislike strongly	**Dislike mildly**	**Neither like nor dislike**	**Like mildly**	**Like strongly**

TELEVISION PROGRAMS

1. _____ Action/adventure
2. _____ Animation
3. _____ Arts & humanities
4. _____ Business & economy
5. _____ Comedies
6. _____ Dramas
7. _____ Educational
8. _____ Game shows
9. _____ Home improvement
10. _____ Health
11. _____ Horror
12. _____ Legal/cop dramas
13. _____ Medical shows
14. _____ Movie coverage
15. _____ Music television
16. _____ Mystery/thriller
17. _____ News
18. _____ Reality television
19. _____ Recreation & sports
20. _____ Science
21. _____ Sci-fi & fantasy
22. _____ Soap operas
23. _____ Society & culture
24. _____ Talk shows (late night)
25. _____ Talk shows (daytime)
26. _____ Western

ART

1. _____ Egyptian
2. _____ Greek/Roman
3. _____ Native American
4. _____ East Asian
5. _____ African
6. _____ Renaissance
7. _____ Landscape/Still life
8. _____ Impressionist
9. _____ Abstract/Surreal
10. _____ Modern photography

APPENDIX G:

COPIES OF APPROVAL LETTERS FOR RESEARCH

INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

Study 1

Date: Mon, 26 Jan 2009 21:11:15 -0500 [01/26/2009 09:11:15 PM EDT]
From: Andrew Leber <andrew.leber@unh.edu>
To: Mike Faber <mag8@unh.edu>
Subject: IRB/Sona

Dear Michael,

You are approved to begin using the online signup system at unh.sona-systems.com for your study, "Validation of rich cultural media scale."

For using Sona, please make sure that you have **carefully** read the tutorial file I sent previously, which can be found here:

http://pubpages.unh.edu/~abr36/sona/

To download the guide, right click on the "sona guide" file and save.

If you do not already have an account on the Sona website, you should receive an email with signup information within a few minutes. If you already have an account and have lost your password, please visit the main page and click on "Lost Password?" to retrieve it.

For your study, please post the new IRB Code as follows: 09S-06

Have fun!

-andy
--
Andrew B. Leber, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Psychology
University of New Hampshire
http://pubpages.unh.edu/~abr36

Study 2

Date: Thu, 22 Jan 2009 18:00:05 -0500 [01/22/2009 06:00:05 PM EDT]
From: Andrew Leber <andrew.leber@unh.edu>
To: Michael Faber A <mag8@cisunix.unh.edu>
Subject: IRB/Sona

Dear Michael,

You are approved to begin using the online signup system at unh.sona-systems.com for your study, "Personality, media preferences and current concerns."

For using Sona, please make sure that you have **carefully** read the tutorial file I sent previously, which can be found here:

http://pubpages.unh.edu/~abr36/sona/

To download the guide, right click on the "sona guide" file and save.

If you do not already have an account on the Sona website, you should receive an email with signup information within a few minutes. If you already have an account and have lost your password, please visit the main page and click on "Lost Password?" to retrieve it.

For your study, please post the new IRB Code as follows: 09S-05

Now, go out and collect those data for your Nature paper! :-)

-andy
--
Andrew B. Leber, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Psychology
University of New Hampshire
http://pubpages.unh.edu/~abr36

REFERENCE NOTES

[1] Were one to cast an eye toward publication of the scale, we might also mention a fourth problem with the RCAS: (d) the copyright protection of all its items.

[2] Although some evidence exists that people process and judge lyrical content separately from melodic content in music (Besson, Faita, Peretz, Bonnel, & Requin, 1998), such findings are not germane to this research. The point of importance is the demonstrable agreement among participants as to what theme the song represents. In any case, the resonance concept, by definition, operates largely at a nonconscious level (Faber & Mayer, 2009).

[3] The first 43 participants in Study 1 piloted a slightly abbreviated (65-item) version of the PAMS, before a number of items were added to increase the reliability of the subscales. The scores for these participants are included (adjusted for item mean) in the correlations in comparing scores on the RCAS and PAMS, but are not included in the reported factor analyses or the reliability statistics for the PAMS (see Results).

[4] Ordinarily, these numbers might not represent unconditional support for combining the three questions into one rating. However, in both scales, it appeared that a common baseline answer in the case of an unfamiliar stimulus was to answer "1" (or, more rarely, "2") for all questions. Such a display of indifference may have slightly inflated the interest-liking correlation while undercutting the interest-disliking and liking-disliking correlations (for example, common sense suggests that the correlation between liking and disliking would be closer to $r = -1.0$ than 0). In light of this discovery, we may estimate that the "true" correlation between interest and liking may be around $r = .7$-$.8$, with interest-disliking and liking-disliking having correlations that are lower, but relatively close to that figure.

[5] Since most of the correlations in these comparisons were $r = .3$ or lower, the Fisher-Z transformation was not used.

[6] Interestingly, Erikson's very name can be viewed as the result of an identity crisis. His mother, Karla Abrahamsen, separated from her first husband after a very brief marriage and later married Theodor Homburger when Erik was very young; her son never knew who his biological father was (it was neither Homburger nor Abrahamsen's first husband), and the eventual surname Erikson was of his own adult choosing (see Sollod, Wilson, and Monte, 2009, p. 270).

[7] Many researchers, however, have tinkered with the exact details of Erikson's theory, from the relocating of the age ranges of the stages (e.g., Capps, 2004) to the adding of a ninth stage in order to acknowledge the challenges of extreme later life (e.g., C. Brown & Lowis, 2003).

[8] In fact, an identity that is consistent in all situations may be considered unpleasantly rigid or even maladaptive in cultures that place an emphasis on social relations (Suh, 2002).

[9] Cramer (2001) used Q-sort measures for actual and ideal selves as well as thematic apperceptive responses and a scale of ego identity status to detail the use of defensive versus healthy identification in adolescents. She found that those who were in a state of identity diffusion—the least advanced identity state—tended to rely heavily on defensive identification to combat anxieties, while those in the more advanced stages of identity search (even those in foreclosure) were able to utilize healthy parental identification with success.

[10] Here the reader may wish to insert his or her own debate about the presence or absence of subliminal advertising—the controversial practice of sending messages intended to be processed below the conscious level—in children's media (see Auty & Lewis, 2004).

[11] An interesting study testing the discriminant validity of this concept might compare people's scores on Brock & Livingston's (2004) Need for Entertainment Scale with their scores on such similar constructs as sensation-seeking, impulsiveness, and extraversion; Eysenck (1967) originally conceived of extraverts as individuals who were chronically understimulated.

[12] Ferguson (2007) also points out that, unlike the connection between video games and aggression, the possibility that such media may teach players prosocial behavior has not yet been sufficiently explored.

[13] Knapp and Wulff (1963) went so far as to note that preferences for abstract art are associated with higher levels of aesthetics, intellectualism, and high verbal and math test scores, while preference for representational art are linked to more traditional religious beliefs—but as this study pre-dates the general establishment of openness to experience as a supertrait, here I refrain from including it in any "official" empirical discussion involving media preferences and trait factors of personality.

Table 1

Study 1: Archetype Definitions: Guidelines Used in Constructing the RCAS and the PAMS

Archetype	Definition
Caregiver	A devoted, sacrificing, and nurturant person: compassionate, generous, protective, and parental. One who is benevolent, friendly, helping, and trusting.
Creator	An innovative and artistic person; perhaps a dreamer, looking for novelty and a standard of aesthetic beauty. Emphasizes quality (over quantity), highly internally driven and inventive.
Everyman/ Everywoman	The common person; the underdog; the working-class. One who is persevering, ordered, wholesome, and candid. Self-deprecating; perhaps cynical but realistic.
Explorer	An independent, free-willed adventurer. One who seeks self-discovery: solitary but strong-willed; an observer of the environment. Constantly moving; a "wanderer."
Hero	A courageous warrior or crusader undertaking arduous tasks to prove themselves and become an inspiration. A symbol of redemption and human strength.
Innocent	A pure, faithful, childlike character. Humble and tranquil; longing for happiness and simplicity. A traditionalist; perhaps naïve but symbolizing renewal.
Jester	Living for fun and amusement; a playful and mischievous comedian. One who is sometimes irresponsible; a prankster. Enjoys most a good time and diversion from care.
Lover	An intimate, sensual, and passionate person. Seeking mainly pleasure: delightful, but often jealous and impulsive. A warm, erotic, and enthusiastic partner.
Magician	A fundamentalist; a visionary scientist or physicist. One who seeks principles of development and how things work; a performer in natural forces and transformations.
Outlaw	A rebellious rule-breaker, misfit or iconoclast. May be angry and vengeful. Can be wild, destructive and provoking from a long time spent surviving, struggling or injured.
Ruler	A highly influential leader, boss, or judge. Possessing a strong sense of power and control: stubborn, even tyrannical. Highly dominant, as an administrator or a manager of others.
Sage	One who values enlightenment, truth and understanding. A wise guide and counselor: scholarly, philosophical, intelligent; perhaps a bit pretentious.
Shadow	A highly emotional and dark figure, haunted, tragic or rejected. Possibly awkward, savagely violent, or lacking morality.

Table 2

Study 1: Inter-item Reliabilities and Interscale Correlations for RCAS and PAMS Resonance Scores

Cluster and component archetypes	Alpha (RCAS) $N = 175$	Alpha (PAMS) $N = 132$*	Correlation between corresponding RCAS-PAMS scales
Cluster I: Knower	**.85**	**.86**	**.64**
Creator	.73	.62	.64
Magician	.50	.73	.39
Sage	.69	.67	.46
Cluster II: Carer	**.86**	**.91**	**.54**
Caregiver	.70	.78	.42
Innocent	.71	.79	.49
Lover	.58	.80	.45
Cluster III: Striver	**.77**	**.81**	**.51**
Hero	.72	.66	.47
Ruler	.54	.68	.36
Cluster IV: Conflictor	**.78**	**.81**	**.52**
Shadow	.75	.75	.49
Outlaw	.69	.64	.26
Cluster V: Everyperson	**.82**	**.81**	**.66**
Everyman/Everywoman	.65	.53	.52
Explorer	.56	.80	.61
Jester	.54	.66	.43

Note: all correlations in rightmost column significant at $p = .001$ or lower.
* Reflects the omission of 43 participants who completed a slightly shorter version of the scale (see Reference note 3).

Table 3

Study 2: Need- and Motive-Driven Goal Behaviors of the Archetypes

The **Caregiver** desires to:	The **Creator** desires to:	The **Everyman/Everywoman** desires to:
• Nurture others/provide safety • Sacrifice or give of themselves • Be sympathetic to and identify with others • Be agreeable and respect others • Protect or repair bonds • Help and be generous • Be kind and do favors for others • Be a good friend or neighbor	• Express oneself • Build or make new things • Be unconventional • Achieve by own standards of excellence and aesthetics • Be thought-provoking • Find new ways of problem-solving • Be resourceful; "think outside the box" • Appreciate beauty and simplicity • Find and pursue a passion	• Be responsible, balanced and well-rounded • Listen to and follow others' lead/rules; be deferent • Be punctual, ordered and regular: a "normal life" • Be structured, unimpulsive and realistic • Work diligently through the daily grind • Be self-aware; stay within oneself • Stay within one's means; take things one day at a time
The Explorer desires to:	**The Hero desires to:**	**The Innocent desires to:**
• Be independent and autonomous • Be proud and unique • Travel, or occasionally start fresh • Avoid attachments • Experience the world • Be true to oneself (search for fulfillment) • Try new things often and without regret • Seek spiritual significance for oneself	• Be strong and purposeful • Accomplish difficult tasks (for own edification) • Do their best at _____ • Believe in and challenge themselves • Have confident goals • Exercise and be healthy • Be an effective role model • Overcome obstacles • Make people proud • Achieve specific endpoints (e.g., get good grades)	• Be able to depend on others, feel protected • Have honesty, purity and integrity • Seek perfect relationships • Have simple and traditional beliefs • Be hopeful and optimistic • Be moral and religious • Maintain the status quo • Feel a sense of belonging and trust • Be loyal, courteous, and respectful

The **Jester** desires to:	The **Lover** desires to:	The **Magician** desires to:
• Socialize • Make lots of friends; be happy with them • Relax, have fun, play around • Avoid difficult tasks and possible failures • Steer clear of stress and conflict • Be impulsive and entertaining	• Maintain intimate relationships • Be warm, passionate and tactilely pleasureful • Have frequent contact with others (physical or emotional) • Support and be supported • Pursue sex and/or commitment • Communicate with others	• Ask, inquire and inspect • Learn how things work (for learning's sake) • Be curious and competent • Understand and advance knowledge • Do well demonstrating or perform learned skills. • Pay attention to facts and details; be fastidious and precise

The **Outlaw** desires to:	The **Ruler** desires to:	The **Sage** desires to:
• Resist coercion • Aggressively seek change • Be provocative, wild and rebellious • Survive as a "loner" • Oppose and tear down regular order • Misbehave, or even injure self and others	• Control/organize others • Dominate; be the best • Spread order and be just • Acquire people and things • Retain/keep possessions, image and status • Gain respect or recognition from others (for influence) • Compete and triumph • Be efficient; not waste time or be lazy	• Counsel and inform others; give advice • Relate their experiences • Be open and non-judgmental • Explain and philosophize • Use intellect to interpret truth • Seek illumination • Be objective, patient and understanding

The **Shadow** desires to:
• Deny or avoid unpleasant things • Be apathetic: ignore or exclude self/others • Exorcise personal demons (e.g., addiction) • Worry about emotions, or lack self-control • Conceal failures, pain, and fear • Be aloof and distant; be hurtful/withdrawn

Table 4

Study 2: Examples of Participants' Coded Personal Strivings Organized by Archetype

Archetype	Examples: "I typically try to…"	
	Classic	Reasonably clear (i.e., cluster is clear)
Caregiver	"… help people even when it means I don't benefit."	"… be a caring and compassionate individual."
Creator	"… think outside the box so I can think of new ways to do different things."	"… be original in problem solving."
Everyman/ Everywoman	"… take life one step at a time."	"… go out and have fun on weekends and be serious during the week."
Explorer	"… experience the world first hand by traveling."	"…reach out of my comfort zone and try new things."
Hero	"… do the best that I can at everything I do."	"… set high standards for myself and others."
Innocent	"… trust my boyfriend as much as he trusts me."	"…believe that everything happens for a reason."
Jester	"… live moment to moment with no worries or cares."	"…not get stressed out or let things bother me."
Lover	"… form close, meaningful relationships with others."	"… please my family, friends, and [significant other] through my behavior."
Magician	"… expand my knowledge of things I'm interested in."	"… learn whatever I can."
Outlaw	"… break the rules just for fun occasionally."	"… not get caught doing bad things."
Ruler	"… beat out my competition. I like to be the best."	"… always be in high academic standing."
Sage	"… be a great teacher to my preschoolers."	"… be a cultural person, see different places, read a variety of literature."
Shadow	"…be less violent and mean towards those I care about."	"…keep my anger under control."

Table 5

Study 2: Categorization of Group Memberships, Personal Hobbies, and Academic Major

Categories and selected examples		
Group Memberships	Personal Hobbies	Academic Major
• ***Human/animal rights:*** LGBT alliance, environmental club • ***Sports:*** Varsity and intramural athletic teams • ***Greek:*** Fraternities and sororities • ***Academic Honors:*** Dean's List, Rising Scholars, college honors programs • ***Arts:*** Music, theatre, dance clubs, radio station • ***Politics:*** Partisan groups • ***Spirituality***: Hillel, Catholic Student Union • ***Leadership/Governance Representation***: Class officer, Rotary, hall advisor • ***Community Service/ Support***: 4-H, Alternative Spring Break, SADD, United Way • ***Academic Services***: Library, newspaper, admissions, academic tutor • ***Recreation***: Outdoor clubs, astrology clubs • ***Campus Activities***: Entertainment committee, student union organization • ***Cultural Awareness***: Black Student Union, Spanish club, Hispanic information organization • ***Private Jobs***: Food service, family business • ***Training Groups***: ROTC • ***Fan Clubs***: Celebrity and music fan clubs	• ***Sports/Exercise:*** hiking, swimming, basketball, running • ***Leisure (Active):*** walking, shopping, camping, billiards, card and role playing games • ***Intellectual Stimulation:*** reading, philosophical discussion, writing, painting • ***Interpersonal:*** sex, time with family and friends, blogging • ***Leisure (Inactive)***: relaxing, sleep, TV/movie watching, eating, video games • ***Crafts***: scrapbooking, crochet, bonsai, cooking, cleaning • ***Acquisition***: collecting stamps, beer cans, etc. • ***Hedonism***: partying, drinking, drugs, stealing • ***Performance***: playing guitar, singing, acting, dancing • ***Electronics***: fixing or tinkering with computers	• ***Social sciences:*** Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology, Communications, Political Science, Social Work • ***Natural sciences:*** Chemistry, Biology, Zoology, Physics • ***Physical/Kinesiological studies:*** Physical Education, Sports Studies, Exercise Science, Recreation Management and Policy • ***Engineering/Math:*** Civil/Mechanical/Electric al Engineering, Computer Science, Math • ***Business:*** Business, Accounting, Marketing, Tourism, Urban Planning • ***Arts:*** Music, Theatre, Dance, Art History • ***Humanities:*** English, Romance Languages, History, Philosophy, Classics, Journalism • ***Medical:*** Pre-med, Health Sciences, Nursing, Pre-vet, Nutrition • ***Human Development:*** Education, Family Studies • ***Natural Resources:*** Agriculture, Environmental Conservation, Equine Science • ***Undeclared***

Table 6

Study 2: Correlations Between PAMS Cluster Resonance Scores and Frequency of Cluster-Coded Personal Strivings

PAMS cluster	Personal strivings				
	Knower	Carer	Striver	Conflictor	Everyperson
Knower	.20**	-.05	-.03	.04	.05
Carer	-.14	.08	.03	-.04	-.08
Striver	-.15*	-.05	.07	-.06	.06
Conflictor	.15*	-.11	-.07	.02	.25**
Everyperson	-.02	-.09	-.08	.01	.19*

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 7

Study 2: Mean Scores on Self-Nominated Possible Selves and Their Correlations With PAMS Resonance Scores

Archetype/Cluster	Correlation with corresponding PAMS score (Mean participant self-nominated score)			
	Actual	Ought	Ideal	Feared
Caregiver	.27***	.41***	.32***	-.01
	(4.94)	(4.90)	(5.62)	(1.79)
Creator	.23**	.14	.20**	-.03
	(4.22)	(4.05)	(4.90)	(2.04)
Everyman/Everywoman	.02	.04	.03	.08
	(3.64)	(3.07)	(3.08)	(2.78)
Explorer	.31***	.25**	.45***	-.03
	(3.74)	(3.45)	(4.36)	(2.32)
Hero	.39***	.33***	.47***	-.08
	(3.13)	(3.24)	(4.00)	(2.15)
Innocent	.33***	.33***	.33***	.02
	(3.58)	(3.38)	(3.58)	(2.30)
Jester	.24**	.18*	.30***	.02
	(4.04)	(3.75)	3.95)	(2.45)
Lover	.34***	.40***	.32***	.04
	(4.22)	(3.66)	(4.24)	(2.49)
Magician	.31***	.19*	.28***	-.11
	(2.83)	(2.94)	(3.29)	(2.01)
Outlaw	.26***	.15*	.25***	.05
	(2.27)	(2.08)	(2.10)	(3.32)
Ruler	.02	.09	.15*	-.04
	(3.05)	(2.99)	(3.18)	(2.86)
Sage	.30***	.29***	.33***	-.03
	(3.97)	(3.89)	(4.37)	(2.04)
Shadow	.22**	.15*	.14*	.09
	(1.76)	(1.62)	(1.55)	(3.79)

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

Table 8

Study 2: Regression Analyses Predicting the Contribution of Dummy-Coded Gender, Group Membership, Personal Hobbies and Academic Major to the Variance in PAMS Resonance Scores

Archetype/Cluster	Unique Contribution of Individual Predictor Variables (R^2_{inc})				Overall model F (R, R^2, R^2_{adj})
	Gender	Groups	Hobbies	Major	
Caregiver	.16				
Creator	.07	.17			1.75 (.56, .31, .13)
Everyman/Everywoman		.15			
Explorer	.03	.17			1.90 (.57, .33, .16)
Hero	.06				
Innocent	.06				
Jester					
Lover	.17				1.91 (.58, .34, .16)
Magician	.06			.12	2.03 (.59, .34, .18)
Outlaw	.08	.17	.08		2.77 (.64, .42, .27)
Ruler	.03				
Sage					
Shadow		.17			
I: Knower	.05	.18			1.69 (.58, .33, .14)
II: Carer	.15				
III: Striver	.06				
IV: Conflictor	.03	.19			2.06 (.59, .35, .18)
V: Everyperson		.16			

Note: nonsignificant results are not listed.

Figure 1

Study 1: Structural Equation Model and Path Coefficients for the PAMS