Socialization to Work in Late Adolescence: The Role of Television and Family

Cynthia A. Hoffner[ab]; Kenneth J. Levine[cd]; Raiza A. Toohey[ef]

[a] University of Wisconsin, [b] Department of Communication, Georgia State University, [c] Michigan State University, [d] School of Communication Studies at the University of Tennessee, [e] Georgia State University, [f] Marketing Communication Department, Stryker Corporation, Michigan

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Socialization to Work in Late Adolescence: The Role of Television and Family

Cynthia A. Hoffner, Kenneth J. Levine, and Raiza A. Toohey

This survey of college freshmen examines the role of television and family in anticipatory socialization to work. Findings indicate that both sources play a role in the development of work-related values and aspirations, but contribute in different ways. Wishful identification was higher for characters perceived to have higher paying jobs and stronger extrinsic (but not intrinsic) work values. Although causal direction cannot be shown, results suggest that respondents internalized the intrinsic and extrinsic work values they perceived in their parents' jobs, but derived mainly extrinsic work values and desire for easy work from observing their favorite characters at work.

Socialization has been defined as the process of learning the attitudes, values, and behavior patterns of a given society or group in order to function effectively within it (Elkind & Handel, 1989; Schaefer, 2005). One of the primary goals of socialization is the preparation for various social roles, including occupational roles (Jablin, 2000; Vondracek & Porfeli, 2003). According to Erikson's (1968) model of lifespan socialization, occupational identity is one of the most important aspects of identity formation in adolescence. In his view, a ''moratorium'' period during adolescence allows young people the freedom to experiment with different identities and adult roles. Ultimately, they must make a series of choices that lead to commitments in a variety of domains, including the commitment to an occupation.

The work environment is one of the most important contexts in which individuals function during their lives. Long before entering the workforce, children and adolescents develop conceptions of what it means to work, and form aspirations and expectations regarding their own place in the world of work. This process has been

Cynthia A. Hoffner *(Ph.D., University of Wisconsin) is an Associate Professor in the Department of Communication at Georgia State University. Her research interests include media uses and effects, and emotional and cognitive responses to media messages.*

Kenneth J. Levine *(Ph.D., Michigan State University) is an Assistant Professor in the School of Communication Studies at the University of Tennessee. His research concentrates on organizational socialization, small group dynamics, and leadership.*

Raiza A. Toohey *(Ph.D., Georgia State University) is a Communication Specialist in the Marketing Communication Department at Stryker Corporation in Michigan. Her research interests include mediated communication, media effects, and interpersonal communication.*

referred to as anticipatory socialization to work (Jablin, 2000). Five socialization sources—family, educational institutions, the media, peers, and volunteer or part-time jobs—have been identified as contributing to this process (Feij, 1998; Jablin, 2000). Each source provides different information about work and the workplace (Levine & Hoffner, 2006), and combined, they help young people to develop an understanding of what it means to work, and to begin considering future careers (Feij, 1998).

Young people learn a great deal by observing others, especially those they admire or feel close to, such as family members, friends, and media figures. In his social cognitive theory, Bandura (1986, 2001) contends that learning through observation can include simple imitation of behavior, but typically goes beyond this to involve the adoption of attitudes, values, aspirations, and other characteristics observed in others. This process clearly has a motivational component. People seek to become like others, in part, in an effort to achieve rewards or other valued outcomes, such as positive feedback, success, or enhanced self-esteem. Children initially learn about work in the home through chores, play, and observation of parents and other family members. Observing the work activities of parents and others with whom children have an emotional bond helps shape their values and attitudes toward work and provides a foundation for work socialization in adolescence (Feij, 1998). Television is also an important force in young people's lives, and provides many additional salient and attractive role models (Hoffner, 2008; Signorielli & Kahlenberg, 2001). Much evidence shows that young people learn from the values, beliefs, and behaviors exhibited by television characters (e.g., Valkenburg, 2004).

The present study examined the role of television and parents in the development of work values and occupational aspirations among college freshmen, aged 18 and 19. This age group is at the end of adolescence, on the cusp of adulthood. At this point in their lives, young people are seriously considering their educational and occupational choices (Arnett, 2000). Yet little research on socialization to work has examined this age group, and almost no research has compared the role of television and family in this process. The following sections define work values and occupational aspirations, and review theory and research regarding the role of television and parents as agents of socialization to work.

Work Values and Aspirations

Learning what it means to work begins in early childhood (Feij, 1998). Young people's work-related beliefs, attitudes, and values play an important role in their selection of an occupation or career and their satisfaction with this choice. Two key value dimensions have been identified in the literature on motivation: intrinsic motivation (i.e., internal factors, such as pride or personal satisfaction) and extrinsic motivation (i.e., external factors, such as praise or tangible rewards) (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Within the context of work, intrinsic values concern rewards that are inherent

in the experience of work, such as ''being able to express one's interests and abilities, to be creative, to exercise self-direction and responsibility, to work with people, and to be helpful to others'' (Ryu & Mortimer, 1996, p. 168). Individuals who enjoy what they are doing are likely intrinsically motivated. Motivation to work also depends to some extent on factors external to oneself. Extrinsic work values ''concern rewards that are derived from the job, but are external to the work itself, such as income, prestige, opportunities for advancement, and security'' (Ryu & Mortimer, 1996, p. 168). Ryu and Mortimer (1996) argued that middle-class parents, whose jobs typically permit greater autonomy and self-direction, tend to place a higher value on intrinsic rewards than do working-class parents, whose jobs typically require a greater degree of conformity to external standards.

The process of selecting an occupation or career also begins at an early age. Occupational aspirations are usually defined in terms of occupational status or prestige, educational requirements, and/or typical income level of the occupations or careers that young people aspire to attain in adulthood (McGee & Stockard, 1991; McNulty & Borgen, 1988; Schoon & Parsons, 2002). As individuals mature from childhood to young adulthood, they intentionally and/or unintentionally gather occupational information from the environment, consider their personal interests and capabilities, weigh the issues and alternatives involved in choosing a particular job or occupation, and finally make a series of choices that influence the direction of their future careers (Feij, 1998). Young people's career aspirations are important to consider, because they can help motivate educational attainment and contribute to the achievement of successful careers (Schoon & Parsons, 2002). This study examines the extent to which television and parents contribute to the development of work values and occupational aspirations.

Television as Socialization Agent

Television's World of Work.   Content analyses have shown that prime-time television provides much information about the world of work (Signorielli, 1993; Vande Berg & Trujillo, 1989). Television depicts numerous organizations and workplaces (e.g., law firms, hospitals, restaurants, businesses), and shows people engaged in various work-related activities. However, many traditional occupations, and much of what typically takes place during a workday, are not exciting or dramatic enough to be depicted on programs designed primarily to entertain. Moreover, television often transmits an inaccurate, stereotypic image of how people behave and communicate in various occupations, and portrays women and ethnic minorities in less glamorous or prestigious occupational roles than White males (e.g., Signorielli & Kahlenberg, 2001; Vande Berg & Trujillo, 1989). Television also overrepresents law-enforcement and professional positions while underrepresenting managerial, labor, and service jobs (Signorielli & Kahlenberg, 2001). Thus, television can be an important learning source about work, but presents a somewhat limited and distorted picture of the work world.

Television's Role in Socialization to Work. A small number of studies have examined how television influences young people's knowledge and perceptions of work, and their occupational aspirations. Television can provide information about work and introduce young people to careers they may not have previously considered (e.g., Huston, Wright, Fitch, Wroblewski, & Piemyat, 1997; King & Multon, 1996; Levine & Hoffner, 2006; Wright et al., 1995). In addition, television viewing is associated with beliefs about the job activities involved in specific occupations, and with the tendency to believe that occupations on television have more glamour and higher income, but require less effort (e.g., Signorielli, 1993; Wright et al., 1995; Wroblewski & Huston, 1987). Signorielli (1993), for example, found that high school students who viewed more television were more likely to aspire to high-status, prestigious jobs that paid well, but also wanted these jobs to be relatively easy and to provide lengthy vacations and leisure time. These findings suggest that anticipatory socialization from the media may facilitate the development of extrinsic work values and a desire for easy work.

Cultivation is one theoretical explanation for the impact of television on occupational expectations and aspirations (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, Signorielli, & Shanahan, 2002; Signorielli, 1993). Cultivation effects include perceptions of social reality, such as demographic estimates (first-order effects), as well as more general values, beliefs, and attitudes (second-order effects) (Gerbner et al., 2002; Potter, 1991). According to Gerbner, television presents themes and images that are uniform across programs and genres, and thus cultivation effects are associated with total television exposure. Many scholars have challenged the assumption of uniform television messages and the view that characteristics of specific portrayals are unimportant. Some researchers have pointed out that portrayals vary widely across different television genres, and have argued that genre exposure is a more appropriate indicator of the messages to which viewers are exposed (e.g., Potter, 1993; Rössler & Brosius, 2001). Greenberg (1988) contended that individual characters may have a strong effect on viewers' perceptions and beliefs, and suggested that research should "assess whether selected characters rather than the collected mass of role portrayals can have significant lasting impacts in their own right (p. 98)." Recently, Bilandzic and Rössler (2004) proposed an alternative way of considering the role of specific television content in cultivation. They argued that information that is seen as having a closer personal connection may be more easily integrated in a viewer's knowledge structures and thus have a stronger impact on perceptions and beliefs. Bilandzic (2006) expanded on this idea, arguing that closeness may be created by both personal relevance and by involvement or transportation into a narrative (Green & Brock, 2000). Bilandzic noted that "viewers have strong feelings toward story characters" (p. 338), and argued that narrative involvement and connections to characters produce an experience of mediated closeness, which facilitates the persuasive effects of the message. Similarly, as already noted, social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986, 2001) contends that people are motivated to adopt attitudes, values, and personal characteristics of others, including media characters, especially those they admire or with whom they have a close bond.

Based on these theoretical perspectives, it can be argued that individual media characters may have a significant impact on viewers' attitudes and aspirations. Characters that elicit attention and involvement are more likely than other portrayals to stimulate elaboration and rehearsal of character-related information, including work portrayals, thus enhancing the potential effects of exposure. This view suggests that the literature on wishful identification can contribute to understanding television's role in young people's socialization to work.

Wishful Identification. Wishful identification is a psychological process through which an individual desires or attempts to become like another person, such as a media character (Feilitzen & Linne, 1975; Hoffner, 1996). This type of response has been distinguished from *identification* and *parasocial relationship*, although the terms have not been used consistently in the media literature (Cohen, 2001; Hoffner, 2008). Identification generally refers to the process by which an individual puts him/herself in the place of a character and vicariously participates in the character's experiences during a program (Cohen, 2001). According to Cohen, this form of identification is temporary and fleeting and may vary in intensity during a program. A parasocial relationship is a long-term affective bond or pseudo-friendship between an audience member and a media character (Horton & Wohl, 1956). These three ways of responding to media characters are undoubtedly related, but are conceptually distinct.

Wishful identification with media characters and personalities has been explored by many scholars. Rosengren, Windahl, Hakansson, and Johnsson-Smaragdi (1976) described several ways individuals can respond to characters while viewing, and then argued that, "equally or even more important are those relationships which extend beyond the moment of viewing.... Most important, perhaps, is identification regarded as a more durable phenomenon—'long-term identification' with one or more of the personae of the media world" (p. 349). They measured this type of identification with items such as "I would really love to be like the people in this programme." Adams-Price and Greene (1990) found that the most common form of celebrity attachment reported by adolescents was "identificatory attachment," or the desire to be like or become the celebrity. Many studies have found that viewers want to be like characters they perceive as attractive, successful, and admired by others (e.g., Hoffner, 1996; Hoffner & Buchanan, 2005; Reeves & Greenberg, 1977). Caughey (1984) and Boon and Lomore (2001) reported that audience members made changes in their appearance, attitudes, values, and other characteristics, in order to become more like admired celebrities. Research has also shown that young people's identification with media characters affects their adoption or rejection of particular behaviors (e.g., Austin, Pinkelton, & Fujioka, 2000; Harrison, 1997).

Three studies have acknowledged the important role in work socialization that can be played by television characters with whom adolescents identify (Christiansen, 1979; Hoffner et al., 2006; King & Multon, 1996). However, only one of these studies, which focused on economically disadvantaged youths (Hoffner et al.), examined

factors that predict wishful identification with characters, and none examined how viewers' perceptions of the characters' jobs relate to their own work values. Based on this literature, it seems likely that young people's perceptions of characters' occupations and workplace experiences should contribute to wishful identification, and affect their own work values and occupational aspirations.

Family as Socialization Agent

Parents' socialization efforts are aimed at helping children develop into well-functioning members of society. The socialization literature shows that parents are important socializing agents throughout adolescence (Christopherson, 1988; Collins, 1995). Evidence for the importance of parents in adolescent socialization extends to the domain of work socialization (e.g., Jodl, Michael, Malanchuk, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2001; Levine & Hoffner, 2006). Jodl et al. (2001), for example, found that parents influenced their teenagers' occupational aspirations via both direct and indirect routes. Parents often communicate directly with teens about work and careers, and provide advice about their educational and career aspirations (Jablin, 2000). Parents also serve as occupational role models. They may communicate their own work-related values and attitudes through example (e.g., by bringing work home) or by discussing their work experiences. They may allow their children to visit their workplace and observe them engaged in work activities (Jablin, 2000). In addition, norms and values of work and achievement are conveyed by parents through the involvement of young people in household tasks, the manner in which tasks are assigned, supervised, and evaluated, and the performance or encouragement of particular types of activities (e.g., Blair, 1992; Jodl et al.).

Based on the occupational linkage model (Leuptow, McClendon & McKeon, 1979), Ryu and Mortimer (1996) also argued that the family environment influences adolescents' work values and occupational development. The authors contended that the task characteristics of parents' work develop in them certain personal characteristics and values, which they may then transmit to their children. For example, parents who experience more independence and self-direction at work may tend to encourage these values in their children through socialization practices in the home (Kohn & Schooler, 1983). The value transmission process may occur through parent-child communication, or through socialization practices such as methods of discipline or encouragement of various activities, goals, and aspirations.

The Present Study

The present study builds on prior research on the role of television in the development of young people's work values and aspirations (e.g., Hoffner et al., 2006; King & Multon, 1996; Wright et al., 1995; Wroblewski & Huston, 1987). This study goes beyond prior work by examining the contribution of both television and family

to this process, and by extending the research to young people in late adolescence (aged 18–19), just starting college. This is a critical age for young people with regard to their notions about work—a time when they begin to seriously consider the type of work they would find satisfying and would like to pursue in adulthood (Arnett, 2000). Yet little research on the process of socialization to work has examined this demographic group, and virtually none of the studies examining the role of television in this process have done so. Young people entering college are typically considering a variety of professions and careers, and television offers an array of occupational models that may expand—or limit—their choices (e.g., Jones, 2003; Simanoff, 2006).

First, this study examined the aspects of the favorite character's job that predicted wishful identification with the character. Although it is clear that young people aspire to be like successful, rewarded media figures (e.g., Hoffner & Buchanan, 2005), there is no basis for predicting which positive job characteristics will be more important. Thus the following research question was posed:

RQ$_1$: To what extent is wishful identification predicted by the income level, educational level, and perceived work values of the favorite character's job?

This study also examined factors associated with young people's own occupational aspirations and work values. Specifically considered were both general information about work received from parents and television, as well as specific role models in these two contexts: their parents and their favorite (employed) television characters. Although both parents and the media have been identified as important in the process of work socialization, research has generally explored these sources of influence separately. However, research in other domains, such as consumer socialization and political socialization, has examined the influence of both television and family (Austin & Nelson, 1993; Moore & Moschis, 1983). Given that little research has been done in this area, the current study explored whether television or family variables are more strongly related to adolescents' work values and occupational aspirations. These research questions were posed:

RQ$_2$: How are young people's occupational aspirations—in terms of income and education level—related to the attributes of their parents' and their favorite characters' jobs?

RQ$_3$: To what extent are young people's work values predicted by their dependence on parents or television for information about work and careers?

RQ$_4$: To what extent are young people's work values predicted by exposure to information about their parents' jobs and their favorite characters' jobs?

RQ$_5$: To what extent are young people's work values predicted by their perceptions of the work values of their parents' jobs and their favorite characters' jobs?

Method

Participants

Participants in this study were 222 freshmen undergraduates (76 males, 146 females) recruited from introductory classes at two major universities in the southeastern Unites States. All participants were 18 or 19 years of age. A total of 64.0% described themselves as Caucasian, 22.5% as Black/African American, 5.0% as Asian/Pacific Islander, 0.9% as Hispanic/Latino(a), 0.5% as Native American, 4.1% as multiracial, and 3.1% did not report their ethnicity. Participants reported over 30 different majors, but 17.6% had not declared a major. On average, they reported viewing 20.6 hours of television per week, and nearly half (41.8%) said they were currently employed. Their expected level of educational attainment fell midway between college graduate and masters/law degree.

The majority of the sample (71.6%) reported growing up in a two-parent household. Regarding parental employment, 95.5% had at least one parent who was employed full-time (81.5% of fathers and 72.5% of mothers). Only two respondents reported having no parent currently employed. The highest level of education attained by either parent was: less than a high school diploma, 0.9%; high school graduate, 7.8%; some college or vocational training, 23.7%; college graduate, 33.8%; masters or law degree, 27.9%; and M.D./Ph.D., 5.9%.

Procedure

Data were gathered using self-administered questionnaires. Nearly all respondents completed the questionnaire during a class session, but a few completed it at home and returned it at the next class meeting.

Measures

Favorite Fictional TV Character. Respondents were asked to provide the name of their favorite fictional television character who was employed (i.e., ''shown working at a job at least once in a while''). They also reported the sex and age of the character. Excluded from the initial sample ($N = 235$) were 10 respondents who named movie characters or real people instead of fictional television characters, and three respondents who named television characters who were not employed (all identified as students).

Favorite Character's Job. Respondents were asked to identify the character's job. If the authors were unfamiliar with a character, the accuracy of this information was confirmed via an Internet search. Two independent coders rated all of the characters' jobs on two scales: the typical income level associated with that job, and the typical

amount of education needed. For income, the scale ranged from 1 (*lowest income level* [minimum wage]) to 5 (*upper income level* [e.g., CEO]). For education, the scale ranged from 1 (*no high school diploma*) to 6 (*highest graduate degree* [e.g., M.D., Ph.D.]). The coders reached a high level of agreement; correlations between their ratings were $r = .83$, $p < .001$ for income, and $r = .89$, $p < .001$ for education. Disagreements were resolved through discussion.

Perceived Work Values of the Character's Job. Respondents rated their perceptions of the character's job in terms of 17 characteristics, using a 5-point Likert scale. The items were derived from the intrinsic and extrinsic work values developed by Ryu and Mortimer (1996) and the characteristics of "easy-going work" developed by Signorielli (1993). Seven items assessed *intrinsic* work values (e.g., has a lot of responsibility at work, has a job that requires skill and ability, frequently makes decisions at work, $\alpha = .88$); six items assessed *extrinsic* work values (e.g., has a job people respect, makes a lot of money, has a prestigious, high status job, $\alpha = .86$); and four items assessed "easy work" (e.g., can work slowly, at an easy pace, has a lot of free time for social activities, spends lots of time socializing with coworkers, $\alpha = .67$).[1]

Exposure to the Character at Work. Respondents rated how often they saw the character at work on the television show on a scale that ranged from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*very often*).

Wishful Identification. Wishful identification with the character's job was measured with three items (adapted from Hoffner, 1996) that assessed the desire to have a job like the character's job. The items were: "Someday I would like to have the same kind of job that he/she has"; "I would like to have a job like his/hers when I am done school"; and "Things he/she does at work are things I would enjoy doing myself." These items were embedded in a list that included 15 other general perceptions of the character (not included in this paper). Ratings were made on a 5-point Likert scale that ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). This scale was reliable at $\alpha = .87$.

Perceived Work Values of the Parent's Job. Respondents were asked to identify the parent whose job-related experiences and attitudes they knew the most about, and to rate that parent's job on the same items used to measure perceptions of the favorite character's job. Again, seven items assessed intrinsic work values ($\alpha = .86$), six items assessed extrinsic work values ($\alpha = .79$), and four items measured easy work ($\alpha = .73$).

Talk With Parent About Work. Respondents reported how often each of their parents talked to them about their own work, on a scale that ranged from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*). Analyses in this paper used the rating for the parent whose job respondents reported knowing the most about.

Respondents' Occupational Aspirations. Respondents were asked what type of job or occupation they would *most* like to have, if they were completely free to choose (McNulty & Borgen, 1988). This will be referred to as the "dream job." Responses were coded for typical income level and education needed using the same classifications applied to favorite characters' jobs. Correlations between coders were: income, $r = .71$, $p < .001$; education, $r = .89$, $p < .001$.

Respondents' Work Values. Respondents rated the importance of various characteristics that they consider important when choosing an occupation or career. As with their favorite character and their parent, seven items assessed intrinsic work values ($\alpha = .83$), six items assessed extrinsic work values ($\alpha = .74$), and four items measured easy work ($\alpha = .73$).

Dependence on Sources for Work-Related Information. Several items assessed participants' sources of information about their own work and career plans. Respondents rated a series of sources on 5-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (*not at all helpful*) to 5 (*very helpful*) (Lowrey, 2004; Morton & Duck, 2000). Three items assessed reliance on parents, including talking to parents about their own work, getting work advice from parents, and talking to parents about different jobs or careers ($\alpha = .88$). Three items assessed reliance on television, including watching people working on TV, hearing people on TV talk about work, and learning about occupations or careers from TV ($\alpha = .79$).

Respondents' Background Characteristics. Characteristics of the respondents included gender, age, race/ethnicity, home living situation during high school, the highest level of education they expected to attain, and current employment status. Respondents also provided information about the parent(s) with whom they grew up, including primary job or occupation, current employment status, and highest level of education (reported on a scale ranging from 1 [*did not graduate from high school*] to 6 [*M.D./Ph.D.*]). For analyses involving the parents' educational level, the highest level attained by either parent was used.

Results

Choice of Favorite Characters

Respondents named 57 different male characters and 26 different female characters. The television shows that accounted for the largest percentage of favorite characters were: *Friends* (15.3%), *The O.C.* (9.5%), *Will & Grace* (9.0%), *The Family Guy* (8.1%), and *The Simpsons* (7.2%). Over half of the shows (55.0%) were live-action comedies, 16.7% were animated comedies, and 28.4% were dramas. The characters who were named most often were Peter Griffin (*The Family Guy*, 7.7%), Homer Simpson (*The Simpsons*, 6.8%), Rachel Green (*Friends*, 5.9%), Grace Adler

(*Will & Grace*, 5.9%), and Carrie Bradshaw (*Sex and the City*, 4.1%). Nearly all male respondents (92.4%) chose favorites of the same gender, but only half of female respondents did so (50.7%), $X^2(1) = 41.54$, $p < .001$. Over four fifths of the characters (83.6%) were White, 15.5% were African American, one (0.5%) was Latino, and one (0.5%) was Asian. The characters' reported age ranged from 16 to 67 years, with a median age of 35 years.

Favorite characters had jobs or careers in a variety of fields. Those named by at least 5% of respondents were: business (e.g., business owner, manager), 22.1%; skilled labor (e.g., factory worker, maintenance), 14.9%; law (all lawyers), 12.2%; journalism (e.g., newscaster, newspaper columnist), 9.0%; performing (e.g., actor, TV host), 8.1%; law enforcement (e.g., police officer, forensic scientist), 7.7%; and restaurant work (e.g., waiter, busboy), 7.2%.

Regression Analysis Predicting Wishful Identification

Table 1 reports the means and standard deviation of key variables addressed in the research questions. To address Research Question 1, a hierarchical regression analysis examined the predictors of wishful identification with the favorite character's job. As controls, gender and parents' education were entered in the first step. Income and education level of the character's job were entered in the second step, and perceptions of the character's job were entered in the final step. The results of this analysis are reported in Table 2.

The analysis shows that wishful identification was higher for characters whose jobs had higher income, and marginally higher for characters whose jobs required more education. Respondents also reported more wishful identification when characters' jobs were perceived as more extrinsically rewarding (e.g., money, respect) but not more intrinsically rewarding (e.g., enjoyment). Marginally greater wishful identification was reported when the characters' jobs were seen as easy. Finally, wishful identification was higher among women and (marginally) those whose parents had less education.

Respondents' Job Aspirations

Respondents named a variety of different "dream jobs." The fields in which at least 5% of respondents named a job or career to which they aspired were: business, 26.1%; journalism, 17.1%; performing, 9.9%; medicine, 8.1%; law, 7.7%; creative arts (e.g., artist, designer), 7.2%; and education (e.g., teacher, professor), 5.4%. Forty-one respondents (18.5%) aspired to the same field of work as their favorite character.

To answer Research Question 2, the income and education level of the respondent's dream job were correlated with these characteristics of the favorite character's job, as well as with respondents' expected level of educational attainment and their parents' highest level of education, controlling for gender. The education level of the

Table 1
Means and Standard Deviations of Key Variables

	Respondent	Parent	Favorite Character
Wishful identification	—	—	2.67
			(1.14)
Educational attainment	4.67	3.98	—
	(0.68)	(1.07)	
Job characteristics			
Income level	3.75	—	3.14
	(0.81)		(1.07)
Educational level	3.64	—	3.43
	(1.38)		(1.56)
Intrinsic work values	4.27	4.04	3.61
	(0.51)	(0.68)	(0.89)
Extrinsic work values	4.23	3.63	3.28
	(0.61)	(0.78)	(0.92)
Easy work	3.58	3.35	3.28
	(0.71)	(0.84)	(0.80)
Exposure to work information from source	—	3.88	3.43
		(0.96)	(1.13)
Dependency on source	—	2.92	3.63
		(0.93)	(1.03)

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses. *Educational attainment* refers to the highest level of education respondents expect to attain, and the highest level of education reported for either parent. *Job characteristics* refers to the rated characteristics of the respondents' desired job, and ratings of the jobs held by parents and favorite characters. All variables could range from 1 to 5, except educational attainment and educational level of the jobs, which could range from 1 to 6.

respondent's dream job was positively correlated with both the education level of the character's job, r (205) = .19, $p < .001$, and the income level of the character's job, r (205) = .22, $p < .001$, as well as their own expected level of educational attainment, r (207) = .40, $p < .001$, but not with their parents' education. The income level of the respondent's dream job was significantly correlated only with expected level of educational attainment, r (207) = .28, $p < .001$.

Regression Analyses Predicting Respondents' Work Values

To address Research Questions 3, 4, and 5, three hierarchical regression analyses examined predictors of respondents' work values: intrinsic work values, extrinsic

Table 2
Regression Analysis Predicting Wishful Identification
With Favorite Character's Job

	Beta	R^2 Change
1. Respondent's background		.03*
Gender	.14*	
Parents' education	$-.12^+$	
2. Character's job characteristics		.13***
Income	.22*	
Education	$.17^+$	
3. Perceptions of character's job		.16***
Intrinsic work values	$-.01$	
Extrinsic work values	.58***	
Easy work	$.12^+$	
Adjusted $R^2 = .30$		
$F(7, 207) = 14.12, p < .001$		

Note: Gender was coded (0) male, (1) female.
$^+p < .10.$ *$p < .05.$ ***$p < .001.$

work values, and desire for easy work. As controls, gender and parents' education were entered in the first step. Hours of television viewing was entered in the second step, and the measures of dependence on parents and television for career information were entered in the third step. As controls for information about the parent's job and the favorite character's job, two items were entered in the fourth step: the extent to which the parent talked about his/her job, and how often the character was shown working at his/her job. Finally, the items measuring the perceived work values of the parent's job and the character's job were entered in the final step. These analyses are reported in Table 3.

Regarding the third research question, all three work values were associated with greater dependence on television for information about their own possible occupation or career, and marginally associated with greater dependence on parents for this type of information. However, it is worth noting that respondents reported greater dependence on parents ($M = 3.63$) than on television ($M = 2.92$), $t(221) = 8.58, p < .001$.

For Research Question 4, the analyses also show that talking with a parent about his/her own work was associated with higher intrinsic work values. In addition, the less the favorite character was shown at work on the TV series, the more respondents desired easy work.

Research Question 5 was addressed in the final step of the analyses, in which the perceived work values of the parent and favorite character were entered into the equations. Results show that respondents' intrinsic work values were predicted

Table 3
Regression Analyses Predicting Respondents' Work Values

	Intrinsic Work Values		Extrinsic Work Values		Desire for Easy Work	
	Beta	R^2 Change	Beta	R^2 Change	Beta	R^2 Change
1. Respondent's background		.01		.02		.04*
Gender	.03		.06		−.09	
Parents' education	−.05		−.13+		−.18*	
2. Hours of television viewing	−.05	.00	.10	.01	.05	.00
3. Dependence on sources for work-related information		.07***		.07***		.08***
Dependence on parents	.12+		.12+		.13+	
Dependence on television	.21**		.22**		.23***	
4. Exposure to work information		.02+		.01		.02+
Talk with parent about work	.16*		.06		.01	
See character at work on series	−.03		−.10		−.15*	
5. Parent/character work values		.09**		.14***		.06*
Parent						
Intrinsic work values	.27**		.06		−.09	
Extrinsic work values	.03		.26**		.18+	
Easy work	−.21**		−.03		.04	
Character						
Intrinsic work values	.07		−.16		−.03	
Extrinsic work values	−.01		.25*		−.05	
Easy work	−.06		.19*		.17*	
	Adjusted $R^2 = .13$		Adjusted $R^2 = .20$		Adjusted $R^2 = .15$	
	$F(13, 194) = 3.31$		$F(13, 194) = 5.05$		$F(13, 194) = 3.89$	
	$p < .001$		$p < .001$		$p < .001$	

Note: Gender was coded (0) male, (1) female.
+$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

by their parent's work values but not those of their favorite character. Specifically, respondents' intrinsic work values were positively predicted by the same values in their parent, and were negatively predicted by the parent's easy work. Respondents' extrinsic work values were positively predicted by the same values in both their parent and their favorite character, and also by the character's easy work. Finally, respondents' desire for easy work was significantly predicted only by perceptions of the character's job. The easier respondents perceived the character's job to be, the more they desired an easy job for themselves. In addition, their parent's extrinsic work values was a marginally significant positive predictor of respondents' desire for easy work.

Discussion

The results of this inquiry support the view that both parents and television characters play a role in the process of anticipatory socialization to work, contributing to young people's work-related attitudes, values, and aspirations (Bandura, 2001; Greenberg, 1988; Jablin, 2000).

The first research question addressed the predictors of respondents' wishful iden-tification with employed favorite characters. Similar to results reported by Hoffner et al. (2006), respondents whose parents had more education reported (marginally) less wishful identification. More educated parents may have been perceived as stronger occupational role models, perhaps because they had more work experi-ence, or were more likely to communicate educational and occupational expec-tations for their children (Ryu & Mortimer, 1996; Schoon & Parsons, 2002). Some evidence suggests that more educated parents engage in more mediation of their children's television viewing, and thus may contribute to a reduced reliance on television for information and guidance (e.g., van der Voort, Nikken, & van Lil, 1992). In fact, in this study, young people with more educated parents reported relatively less dependence on television relative to parents than did those whose parents had less education.

Wishful identification was positively predicted by the favorite character's income, and marginally by the character's education. Even after controlling for income, wishful identification was associated with the perception that the character's job had higher extrinsic rewards, but not higher intrinsic rewards. In other words, respondents aspired to be more like characters whose jobs they regarded as provid-ing good pay, status, and respect (cf. Wright et al., 1995). In contrast, perceiving the character's job as involving intelligence, skill, and decision-making (intrinsic rewards) was not associated with a desire to be like the character. These results are consistent with evidence that young people are influenced by media portrayals of success and wealth (Hoffner & Cantor, 1991; Signorielli, 1993). One explanation for this pattern may be that the motivational aspect of intrinsic rewards, such as the pleasure associated with using one's intellect to solve a problem, is not as apparent as that of extrinsic rewards, and is better conveyed through personal interaction and conversation (Deci & Ryan, 1985).

The second research question asked whether there was a relationship between the income and education level of the respondent's dream job and the attributes of the favorite character's job. The positive correlations between the education level of the respondent's dream job and the income and education level of the character's job offer support for the idea that television plays a role in the development of occu-pational goals, and may inspire young people to aspire to more challenging careers (Hoffner et al., 2006; King & Multon, 1996). On the other hand, since the data are correlational, it is possible that youths with higher educational aspirations were drawn to more successful, educated characters. Longitudinal research is needed to identify the causal direction of these relationships.

The remaining research questions examined predictors of respondents' own work values. Dependence on television for socialization information was associated with higher levels of all three work values, whereas dependence on parents was only marginally associated with these work values. In this case, the role of television could include all sources of televised information, including documentaries, news, talk shows, and other types of informational programming. Nonetheless, overall, the teens in this study reported depending more on their parents than on television

for information about their own career development. This finding is consistent with evidence that parents are important sources of socialization throughout adolescence (Christopherson, 1988) and are perceived as providing more socialization information about work than are other sources, including the media (Levine & Hoffner, 2006).

Further evidence of parents' influence during late adolescence is provided by the finding that respondents' intrinsic and extrinsic work values were both positively predicted by their perceptions of these same work values in their parents. These findings are consistent with theory and previous research showing a linkage between the work values of parents and their children (Kohn & Schooler, 1983; Leuptow et al., 1979; Ryu & Mortimer, 1996). Although the present data cannot identify the mechanism of transmission, it appears that these young people internalized the work values they perceived in their parents' work.

Respondents' extrinsic work values and desire for easy work were both predicted by perceptions of these same work values in their favorite characters. Thus, although respondents' extrinsic work values—desire for a high paying, high status job—were associated with perceiving these values in the jobs of both their parents and their favorite characters, desire for easy work was significantly predicted only by television. Specifically, the less respondents reported seeing the favorite character at work on the program (i.e., actually doing his/her job), the more they reported desiring easy work. This finding suggests that if employed characters are rarely shown working—as is the case on many series—or are seen as having ''easy'' jobs, then viewers may conclude that similar employment is highly desirable (Signorielli, 1993).

The findings for favorite characters are consistent with the view that specific television content, particularly portrayals to which viewers feel closely connected, can have an influence on values and beliefs (Bilandzic, 2006; Greenberg, 1988). The degree of emotional closeness that viewers felt for the characters was not assessed in this study, however. Interestingly, total amount of television viewing was not a significant predictor of any of the three work values, including the desire for easy work (Signorielli, 1993). Especially given the findings for favorite characters, this outcome is contrary to Gerbner's contention that total television exposure, rather than specific content, is the primary determinant of television's effects (Gerbner et al., 2002). Many scholars have noted that the image of reality portrayed on television varies across genres, and have shown that exposure to particular genres cultivates audience perceptions (e.g., Rössler & Brosius, 2001; Segrin & Nabi, 2002). If genre exposure had been measured in this study, associations may have emerged between work values and the viewing of particular types of programming. Certainly the image of work on television varies across different genres (Huston et al., 1997; Levine & Hoffner, 2006). For example, family-centered sitcoms rarely show characters at their jobs, whereas procedural crime dramas focus on the work activities of the characters. Alternatively, researchers could consider the general meta-narratives about work (e.g., hard work is rewarding; office jobs are boring) that are conveyed by different kinds of programming (cf. Bilandzic & Rössler, 2004). It also should be noted that college students tend to be lighter television viewers than

other age groups (Pingree et al., 2001), and that overall TV viewing may be a more important factor for younger viewers.

Consistent with previous research with children and young adults (Hoffner, 1996; Hoffner & Buchanan, 2005; Miller & Reeves, 1976), over 90% of male respondents selected a same-gender favorite character, whereas only half of the females did so. This outcome may reflect the fact that male TV characters tend to have more varied and exciting occupational roles than do female characters, despite recent improvements (Glascock, 2001; Signorielli & Kahlenberg, 2001).

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This study investigated the role of parents and television in socialization to work, using a convenience sample of college freshmen. This sample extends prior research on the role of television in work socialization, which has focused mainly on children and early adolescents, to an older age group that is just poised to enter the full-time workforce. However, the fact that all participants were enrolled in college restricts the variability in the educational and occupational aspirations in this sample. In addition, the relative contribution of parents and television to work socialization may be different among younger individuals. For example, many adolescents hold part-time employment before entering the university, and this experience may change the extent to which they rely on other sources (e.g., parents, mass media) for socialization information. Future research should examine the role of parents and television in the occupational socialization of children and younger adolescents, who are just beginning to consider their future career options, as well as more diverse groups of late adolescents, including both college students and those who are not attending college.

Despite focusing on the role of parents and television in young people's socialization to work, this study did not explore how parents may actively mediate the impact of television in this process. Research has examined parental mediation of many kinds of televised content, including violence, sex, alcohol, and politics (e.g., Austin & Chen, 2003; Austin & Nelson, 1993; Nathanson, Eveland, Park, & Paul, 2002), but no studies seem to have explored whether, or to what extent, parents use the media as a springboard for discussion of work and career choice. Work values and activities depicted on television are unlikely to cause parents as much concern as other types of content, and some evidence indicates that parental mediation is positively related to the perceived threat of media content (Nathanson et al., 2002). Nonetheless, parents may comment on work portrayals when coviewing with their children. Such mediation could enhance or reduce the impact of television on young people's work values and aspirations, depending on whether parents endorse or criticize the portrayals (cf. Austin & Chen, 2003). This possibility should be explored in future research.

The findings of this study support the view that specific television portrayals contribute to the process of socialization to work. However, the reasons that characters

were selected as favorites by respondents were not explored (cf. Cohen, 1999). It may be that certain appealing characteristics (e.g., humor, physical attractiveness, similarity to the viewer) enhance or reduce a character's perceived value as an occupational role model. In addition, young people undoubtedly acquire work-related information from a variety of television personalities (not just favorite fictional characters), as well as from a range of work contexts depicted on television (Signorielli & Kahlenberg, 2001; Vande Berg & Trujillo, 1989). Motivations for viewing also may be important (Bilandzic & Rössler, 2004). Do young people actively seek career-related information from television or is the information they acquire primarily incidental? Individuals who are engaged in the process of defining their occupational identity and future career direction may be particularly susceptible to the influence of mediated work portrayals, depending on how they perceive and process the messages (Bilandzic, 2006). Future research should explore in more depth how young people select and make sense of a broad range of televised work portrayals, and how they decide whether, and to what extent, the information is relevant to the development of their own occupational identity.

As already noted, scholars also need to undertake longitudinal research (cf. Schoon & Parsons, 2002). This would help identify the causal direction of associations among family- and television-related variables and work values and aspirations. In addition, the generalizability of the present findings is limited not only by the unique characteristics of the sample, but also by the fact that the data were collected in a specific time period. It is possible that the relative contribution of family and television varies based on societal factors, and on the specific television offerings available (Simanoff, 2006), which change over time.

The process of socialization to work is complex and multifaceted. The present findings suggest that both parents and television play a role in young people's development of work-related values and aspirations, but that the two sources contribute in different ways. Given the limited prior research in this area, much remains to be explored regarding the underlying processes, and the social, familial, and individual factors that influence the extent to which young people rely on different sources in the development of their occupational identity.

Notes

[1] A fifth item intended to measure "easy work" was included on the list of work values for the character, the parent, and the respondent: works with little supervision/leaves you (him/her) mostly free of supervision. This item substantially reduced the reliability for two of the three "easy work" scales, and thus was eliminated from all three scales.

[2] A 2 × 2 mixed ANOVA, with dependence on parents versus television as a within-subjects factor and parents' education level (no college degree vs. at least a college degree) as a between-subjects factor, revealed a significant interaction, $F(1, 217) = 7.10, p < .01$. Although both groups relied more on parents than on television for information about occupations and careers, the difference was significantly larger for those whose parents had more education ($Ms = 3.68$ vs. 2.80) than for those whose parents had less education parents ($Ms = 3.53$ vs. 3.12).

References

Adams-Price, C., & Greene, A. L. (1990). Secondary attachments and adolescent self-concept. *Sex Roles, 22*, 187–198.

Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American Psychologist, 55,* 469–480.

Austin, E. W., & Chen, Y. (2003). The relationship of parental reinforcement of media messages to college students' alcohol-related behaviors. *Journal of Health Communication, 8*, 157–169.

Austin, E. W., & Nelson, C. L. (1993). Influences of ethnicity, family communication, and media on adolescents' socialization to U.S. politics. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 37,* 419–435.

Austin, E. W., Pinkelton, B. E., & Fujioka, Y. (2000). The role of interpretation processes and parental discussion in the media's effects on adolescents' use of alcohol. *Pediatrics, 105*, 343–349.

Bandura, A. (1986). *Social foundations of thought and action*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Bandura, A. (2001). Social cognitive theory of mass communication. *Media Psychology, 3*, 265–299.

Bilandzic, H. (2006). The perception of distance in the cultivation process: A theoretical consideration of the relationship between television content, processing experience, and perceived distance. *Communication Theory, 16*, 333–355.

Bilandzic, H., & Rössler, P. (2004). Life according to television. Implications of genre-specific cultivation effects: The Gratification/Cultivation model. *Communications: The European Journal of Communication Research, 29*, 295–326.

Blair, S. L. (1992). Children's participation in household labor: Child socialization versus the need for household labor. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 21*, 241–248.

Boon, S. D., & Lomore, C. D. (2001). Admirer-celebrity relationships among young adults: Explaining perceptions of celebrity influence in identity. *Human Communication Research, 27*, 432–465.

Caughey, J. L. (1984). *Imaginary social worlds: A cultural approach*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Christiansen, J. B. (1979). Television role models and adolescent occupational goals. *Human Communication Research, 5*, 335–337.

Christopherson, V. A. (1988). The family as a socialization context. In T. D. Yawkey & J. E. Johnson (Eds.), *Integrative processes and socialization: Early to middle childhood*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Cohen, J. (1999). Favorite characters of teenage viewers of Israeli serials. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 43*, 327–345.

Cohen, J. (2001). Defining identification: A theoretical look at the identification of audiences with media characters. *Mass Communication & Society, 4*, 245–264.

Collins, W. A. (1995). Relationships and development: Family adaptation to individual change. In S. Shulman (Ed.), *Close relationships and socioemotional development* (pp. 129–155). New York: Ablex.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior*. New York: Plenum.

Elkind, F., & Handel, G. (1989). *The child & society: The process of socialization* (5th ed.). New York: Random House.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: Norton.

Feij, J. A. (1998). Work socialization of young people. In P. J. D. Drenth, H. Thierry, & C. J. deWolf (Eds.), *Handbook of work and organizational psychology* (Vol. 3, pp. 207–256). Hove, England: Psychology Press/Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Feilitzen, C., & Linne, O. (1975). Identifying with television characters. *Journal of Communication, 25*, 51–55.

Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., Signorielli, N., & Shanahan, J. (2002). Growing up with television: Cultivation processes. In J. Bryant & D. Zillmann (Eds.), *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (2nd ed., pp. 43–56). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Glascock, J. (2001). Gender roles on prime-time network television: Demographics and behaviors. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 45,* 656–669.

Green, M. C., & Brock, T. C. (2000). The role of transportation in the persuasiveness of public narratives. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79,* 701–721.

Greenberg, B. (1988). Some uncommon images and the drench hypothesis. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Television as a social issue* (pp. 88–102). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Harrison, K. (1997). Does interpersonal attraction to thin media personalities promote eating disorders? *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 41,* 478–500.

Hoffner, C. (1996). Children's wishful identification and parasocial interaction with favorite television characters. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 40,* 389–402.

Hoffner, C. (2008). Parasocial and online social relationships. In S. L. Calvert & B. J. Wilson (Eds.), *Handbook of children, media, and development* (pp. 309–333). Boston, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hoffner, C., & Buchanan, M. (2005). Young adults' wishful identification with television characters: The role of perceived similarity and character attributes. *Media Psychology, 7,* 325–352.

Hoffner, C., & Cantor, J. (1991). Perceiving and responding to mass media characters. In J. Bryant & D. Zillmann (Eds.), *Responding to the screen: Reception and reaction processes* (pp. 63–101). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Hoffner, C., Levine, K. J., Sullivan, Q., Crowell, D., Pedrick, L., & Berndt, P. (2006). TV characters at work: Television's role in the occupational aspirations of economically disadvantaged youths. *Journal of Career Development, 33,* 3–18.

Horton, D., & Wohl, R. R. (1956). Mass communication and para-social interaction. *Psychiatry, 19,* 215–229.

Huston, A. C., Wright, J. C., Fitch, M., Wroblewski, R., & Piemyat, S. (1997). Effects of documentary and fictional television formats on children's acquisition of schemata for unfamiliar occupations. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 18,* 563–585.

Jablin, F. M. (2000). Organizational entry, assimilation, and disengagement/exit. In F. M. Jablin & L. L. Putman (Eds.), *The new handbook of organizational communication* (pp. 732–818). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Jodl, K. M., Michael, A., Malanchuk, O., Eccles, J. S., & Sameroff, A. (2001). Parents' roles in shaping early adolescents' occupational aspirations. *Child Development, 72,* 1247–1265.

Jones, E. (2003). As seen on TV: Reality vs. fantasy in occupational portrayals on the small screen. *Occupational Outlook Quarterly, 47*(3), 2-11.

King, M. M., & Multon, K. D. (1996). The effects of television role models on the career aspirations of African American junior high school students. *Journal of Career Development, 23,* 111–125.

Kohn, M. L., & Schooler, C. (1983). *Work and personality: An inquiry into the impact of social stratification*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Leuptow, F. B., McClendon, M. J., & McKeon, J. W. (1979). Father's occupation and son's personality: Findings and questions for the emerging linkage hypothesis. *The Sociology Quarterly, 20,* 463–475.

Levine, K. J., & Hoffner, C. (2006). Adolescents' conceptions of work: What is learned from different sources during anticipatory socialization? *Journal of Adolescent Research, 21,* 647–669.

Lowrey, W. (2004). Media dependency during a large-scale social disruption: The case of September 11. *Mass Communication & Society, 7,* 339–357.

McGee, J., & Stockard, J. (1991). From a child's view: Children's occupational aspirations in research on sex differences-an overview and analysis of issues. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 32,* 60–73.

McNulty, W. B., & Borgen, W. A. (1988). Career expectations and aspirations of adolescents. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 33,* 217–224.

Miller, M., & Reeves, B. (1976). Dramatic TV content and children's sex-role stereotypes. *Journal of Broadcasting, 20*, 35–50.

Moore, R. L., & Moschis, G. P. (1983). The role of mass media and the family in development of consumption norms. *Journalism Quarterly, 60*, 67–73.

Morton, T. A., & Duck, J. M. (2000). Social identity and media dependency in the gay community. *Communication Research, 27,* 438–460.

Nathanson, A. I., Eveland Jr., W. P., Park, H.-S., & Paul, B. (2002). Perceived media influence and efficacy as predictors of caregivers' protective behaviors. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 46*, 385–410.

Pingree, S., Hawkins, R. P., Hitchon, J. C. B., Gilligan, E., Radler, B., Kahlor, L., et al. (2001). If college students are appointment television viewers . . . *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 45,* 446–463.

Potter, W. J. (1991). The relationships between first- and second-order measures of cultivation. *Human Communication Research, 18*, 92–113.

Potter, W. J. (1993). Cultivation theory and research: A conceptual critique. *Human Communication Research, 19*, 564–601.

Reeves, B., & Greenberg, B. S. (1977). Children's perceptions of television characters. *Human Communication Research, 3*, 113–127.

Rosengren, K. K., Windahl, S., Hakansson, P.-A., & Johnsson-Smaragdi, U. (1976). Adolescents' TV relations: Three scales. *Communication Research, 3*, 347–366.

Rössler, P., & Brosius, H.-B. (2001). Do talk shows cultivate adolescents' views of the world? A prolonged-exposure experiment. *Journal of Communication, 51*, 143–163.

Ryu, S., & Mortimer, J. T. (1996). The "Occupational Linkage Hypothesis" applied to occupational value formation in adolescence. In J. T. Mortimer & M. D. Finch (Eds.), *Adolescents, work, and family: An intergenerational developmental analysis* (pp. 167–190). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Schaefer, R. T. (2005). *Sociology* (9th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Schoon, I., & Parsons, S. (2002). Teenage aspirations for future careers and occupational outcomes. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 60*, 262–288.

Segrin, C., & Nabi, R. L. (2002). Does television viewing cultivate unrealistic expectations about marriage? *Journal of Communication, 52*, 247–263.

Signorielli, N. (1993). Television and adolescents' perceptions about work. *Youth & Society, 24*, 314–341.

Signorielli, N., & Kahlenberg, S. (2001). Television's world of work in the nineties. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 45,* 4–22.

Simanoff, D. (2006, February 14). "CSI," "Law & Order" popularize forensics, criminology. *Tampa Tribune* (FL). Retrieved June 18, 2006, from Newspaper Source database.

Valkenburg, P. M. (2004). *Children's responses to the screen: A media psychological approach.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Vande Berg, L., & Trujillo, N. (1989). *Organizational life on television*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

van der Voort, T. H. A., Nikken, P., & van Lil, J. E. (1992). Determinants of parental guidance of children's television viewing: A Dutch replication study. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 36*, 61–74.

Vondracek, F. W., & Porfeli, E. (2003). World of work and careers. In G. R. Adams & M. Berzonsky (Eds.), *The Blackwell handbook of adolescence* (pp. 109–128). Oxford, England: Blackwell.

Wright, J. C., Huston, A. C., Truglio, R., Fitch, M., Smith, E., & Piemyat, S. (1995). Occupational portrayals on television: Children's role schemata, career aspirations, and perceptions of reality. *Child Development, 66*, 1706–1718.

Wroblewski, R., & Huston, A. C. (1987). Televised occupational stereotypes and their effects on early adolescents: Are they changing? *Journal of Early Adolescence, 7*, 283–297.