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**FAVORITE TV PROGRAMS AND LIFESTYLE ASPIRATIONS
OF JAMAICAN ADOLESCENTS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY**

A Thesis

Presented to

**The Faculty of the School of Journalism and Mass Communications
San Jose State University**

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

by

Cheryl Yvonne Josephs

December 1995

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ABSTRACT

FAVORITE TV PROGRAMS AND LIFESTYLE ASPIRATIONS OF JAMAICAN ADOLESCENTS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

by Cheryl Y. Josephs

This thesis examined the extent to which the lifestyle aspirations of some Jamaican adolescents mirrored the lifestyles portrayed in their favorite television programs and by their favorite television characters. Adolescents taking part in the research were drawn from six randomly selected high schools in the Kingston and Saint Andrew Corporate Area regions of Jamaica.

Data for the study were gathered through a self-administered survey and content analysis of the adolescents' favorite television programs and characters. The Spearman rank correlation coefficient and the multiple regression analyses were applied to the data to determine what relationship, if any, existed between adolescents' lifestyle aspirations and the lifestyle portrayed on television.

No significant relationship was found between adolescents' aspirations and their favorite television programs and characters. However, other findings provided interesting inferences concerning the dynamics of respondents' social background versus the possible effects of television.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This study examines the extent to which the lifestyle aspirations of some Jamaican adolescents parallel the lifestyles portrayed in their favorite television programs or characters, or both.

The decision to undertake this study grew out of a series of hotly debated discussions about cultural imperialism and its effect on Jamaica. The topic gained national attention in the mid 1980s and early 1990s when the socialist government of Jamaica set about implementing its media policy. Intertwined with these discussions was the government's decision to award licenses for the first two privately operated television stations and its efforts to ensure that, once established, these stations would not significantly increase the country's exposure to foreign culture and lifestyles.

Arguments against foreign television programs and those rebutting claims of their ill-effects dominated discussion of the media policy. Scholars on either side of the debate, although quite eloquent, had little in the way of empirical data to support their arguments. Basic information, such as the average number of hours Jamaicans spent watching television, motivation for watching, and their perception of the medium's content, was unavailable.

Literature on television research is almost nonexistent in both Jamaica and in the entire English-speaking Caribbean. The few studies available are 15 to 20 years old. Available studies such as Hosein (1976) and Eustace (1976) are nearly 20 years old. Both studies focused mainly on television programming and, therefore, advanced little or no empirical data for debates

concerning the impact of television on the West Indian society. Early studies (1960s-1970s) out of Latin America focused on the types of images portrayed in foreign television programs. Other Third World countries, such as India and Belize, produced studies focusing on the relationship between consumerism and foreign programs. These studies, like those of Schiller (1976), Beltran (1978), Mattelart (1983), and Oliveira (1986), applied a macro analytic approach to the topic and paid scant attention to the input of an active audience.

North America has been the most prolific source of studies pertaining to the effects of television from an individual or audience-based perspective. These studies often focused on mediating factors such as perception, exposure, and motivation, all of which gave rise to several theories, notably the cultivation theory.

To shed some light on basic questions pertaining to motivation and exposure, as well as to examine the possible impact of foreign programming on Jamaicans' lifestyle, this study was undertaken within the framework of two popular theories often associated with discussion of television--the cultivation and dependency theories.

The basic assumption of the cultivation theory, which will be discussed later, is that repeated exposure to consistent media portrayals will influence viewers' perceptions of reality in the direction of media information. This theory has often been applied to studies examining mediating variables, such as exposure, user gratification, and viewers' perceptions.

Studies based on the dependency theory provide a more macro analytical viewpoint of the impact of television. According to this theory,

Western (i.e., North American) media products imported into Third World countries create a demand and desire for Western products and lifestyle.

Given the basic tenets of both theories, this study explores possible answers to the following research questions:

1. Will respondents' occupational and educational aspirations be more significantly related to the occupational and educational backgrounds portrayed by their favorite television characters than to those of their parents?
2. Will respondents' lifestyle aspirations closely parallel the lifestyle portrayed in their favorite television programs?
3. Will respondents' travel patterns have a greater impact on respondents' lifestyle aspirations than the content of their favorite television programs or characters, or both?

Background

Jamaica is the third largest island in the Caribbean, after Cuba and Hispanola (i.e., Haiti and Dominican Republic). It has an area of 4,400 square miles and a population that is slightly less than 2.5 million people.

The population consists of several ethnic groups, the largest of which is of African descent (roughly 75%). Other highly visible groups include the Europeans, East Indians, Chinese, Arabs, and Jews. The official language of the country is English, but a dialect commonly referred to as "Patois" is spoken in informal communication.

Perhaps because of its diverse heritage, after more than 30 years of independence, Jamaica is still without a clearly defined national identity. The country's national motto, "Out of Many One People," reflects its racial unity and

is as near as the island comes to solidifying and recording a national image or identity.

Since its independence from Britain in 1962, Jamaica has been struggling to achieve economic independence. Its chief money-earners are agriculture, mining, quarrying, manufacturing, and tourism. Unfortunately, the income from these resources is inadequate to meet the country's importation bill.

Many years of chronic unemployment have given rise to a few innovative trading activities, particularly among working class Jamaicans. Most notable has been the activity of the Informal Commercial Importers (ICI). These importers, many of whom were former sidewalk vendors, travel overseas (sometimes as often as once per week) to purchase goods (ranging from agricultural produce to dry goods, including apparels) for the purpose of retailing in Jamaica. This form of commerce quickly spread to middle-class individuals such as teachers and nurses who used it as a means of supplementing their income.

Garth Rose of Ideal Enterprises, a research company in Miami, noted in an interview with *The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner* that the average ICI coming to Miami spent at least U.S. \$2,000 on a two-day shopping trip. Rose conservatively estimated that these traders were spending U.S. \$424 million annually in Miami (Craig, 1995).

Given the level of commerce between Jamaica and Florida, it is reasonable to speculate that the ICI trading activities substantially increased the number of Jamaican travelers and diversified the class structure of Jamaican travelers to the United States.

Historically, traveling to work overseas for a given period has been the route chosen by many Jamaicans for social and economic mobility. In his interview with *The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner*, Danny Chin of Air Jamaica's Miami office estimated that the number of travelers from Jamaica to Miami each year was 250,000. Of this figure 20% were Informal Commercial Importers (Craig, 1995).

In 1963, television was introduced to Jamaica under the management of the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC). Although a government-owned entity, JBC depends entirely on commercial advertising for the bulk of its operating cost. The contradictory nature of its operation has made it difficult for JBC - TV to live up to its intended model, the British Broadcasting Corporation Television (BBC - TV).

BBC - TV is wholly supported by the British government and is held in high esteem by many Jamaicans, particularly the older generation who experienced British colonialism. In contrast, JBC - TV and its affiliated radio stations, JBC - AM and FM, are often accused by the local media critics of being the puppet of whichever political party is in office.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, the number of television sets and individuals exposed to television has grown steadily. This growth is verified by the 1993 media survey that puts the television audience at approximately 1,120,000 with a set count of 699,000--up from 436,000 sets in 1987 (Market Research Services Limited, 1993). These figures substantially exceeded Hosein's (1976) estimates indicating that television reached approximately 30% of the homes in Jamaica with a set count of only 110,000.

Like most English-speaking countries in the Caribbean, Jamaica finds its television medium dominated by programs from the United States. Several factors are responsible for this situation, notably the region's geographic proximity to North America (550 nautical miles from Florida) and the cost of local television production. According to Brown (1986) the estimated cost of a one-hour imported program in 1986 was U.S. \$400 as opposed to U.S. \$16,000 for producing a one-hour low-budget local television program.

In 1986, some 23 years after the introduction of television and what seemed a reasonable period of initiation, it was found that rather than decreasing, Jamaica's dependency on foreign programs had increased steadily. This was evident from the fact that the television stations (one each) in Jamaica, Antigua, Barbados, and Trinidad-Tobago, when combined, had a weekly program schedule that consisted of 87% imported content (Brown, 1986, p. 19).

Production cost, one primary cause of program dependency, continues to plague the region. In 1995, sources at JBC - TV reported that the cost of purchasing a half hour imported television program was roughly U.S. \$195, while a similar program produced locally cost U.S. \$3,939.

Fears of increasing foreign programming, as well as the controversy surrounding its impact on Jamaican culture and lifestyle, played a major role in the government's determination of whom should be the licensees of the first privately owned television stations in the country. Two licenses were granted-- one for commercial purposes and the other for religious programming. The licensee selected for the commercial license was a private sector conglomerate whose major shareholders were Community Television Systems Limited,

Videomax Production Limited, and Media-Mix Limited (hence the name CVM - TV). The religious media license was granted to the National Religious Media Company, a conglomerate of religious orders that were mainly of Christian persuasion. The National Religious Media Company was the only contender for the religious television license. However, competition for the commercial license was hotly contested by two media-houses that submitted a joint bid for the commercial license. The two media-houses were *The Gleaner Company Limited*, which had the largest newspaper circulation on the island, and Radio Jamaica Limited, which at the time operated the island's most popular radio station. Although together they showed an ability to meet the cost of establishing a commercial television station, the joint bid of *The Gleaner Company Limited* and Radio Jamaica Limited was rejected on the grounds that they could only guarantee a 25% local programming schedule. CVM, to whom the license was granted, promised 60% local programming. It should be noted, however, that up to the time of this project, over 80% of CVM - TV's programming continues to be of foreign content, notably from the United States.

It is debatable whether or not the Jamaican government would have backed away from its monopolistic hold over the television medium without the intense public pressure that threatened to usurp its broadcasting authority. Efforts to bypass the government-controlled television station were, and still are, evident in the growing number of satellite dishes and unauthorized cable service providers on the island.

In 1994, the estimated number of cable subscribers was 62,000. By mid 1995, this figure had increased to 115,000. The unit count for satellite dishes in mid 1995 was 44,000, up from 34,000 for the same period in 1993.

While there may be merit in the government position that Jamaicans' culture and lifestyle are being negatively affected by North American programs, the fact remains that there is no empirical data to support or rebut this view. It is hoped that this research will give some insight into the use and possible impact of television in Jamaica and help to establish some guidelines in conducting studies of this nature.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Concerns about imported television programs have echoed throughout the Caribbean region as far back as the early 1970s. Williams (1970) warned against the effects of foreign television programs on the Caribbean society in his capacity as Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago and as a social science scholar. He harbored deep suspicion concerning the Caribbean region's dependence on imported television programs and regarded the situation as "a conspiracy among multinationals and their countries' government to block the emergence of a Caribbean identity in institutions, economics, culture, and values" (Williams, 1970, p. 502).

Lowenthal (1972), another West Indian scholar, shared similar sentiments. He saw the region's dependence on foreign programs as an "abdication to foreign images and messages that . . . bring a taste for things North American or European" (p. 245). He warned that such submission to external culture would inevitably lead to the political and economic dependence of the West Indies (p. 67).

However, not all West Indian scholars shared the views of Williams (1970) and Lowenthal (1972). Hosein (1976), for example, argued that the claims of consumerism and attempted cultural annexation were exaggerated and at best difficult to prove given the history and nonmedia international relationship of the region. He felt that the Caribbean culture, if it ever existed, was annexed long ago by the region's history of colonialism and imperialism. Consequently, the cultural impact of foreign programs was no greater (and

probably less) than the impact of modern electrical appliances and indoor plumbing. He wrote: "Our culture and lifestyle are perhaps affected more by . . . tourism, the travels of our civil servants, [and] the return of overseas-trained . . . doctors, lawyers, and . . . technicians" (p. 11). Hosein also pointed out that the lifestyle of the island's ruling expatriate class was an important factor to consider when explaining the consumption standards Caribbean societies now chose to live by.

These early debates about foreign programming were not confined to the Caribbean region. Similar concerns all but inundated international communications' forums sponsored by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) during the mid 1970s and throughout the 1980s. Arguments under the rubrics of cultural imperialism or cultural dependency were hotly debated by many international scholars, politicians, and communications practitioners, especially after the publication of the *McBride Report*.

The *McBride Report* called for a New World Information Order--a set of policies that would protect the culture of developing countries as well as assist in the development of their communications systems (Becker, 1984; Singh & Gross, 1981). Another report, *Many Voices, One World*, marked an escalation of this debate. According to its critics, the content of *Many Voices, One World* promoted and favored government-controlled rather than private ownership of the media (Sussman, 1981). The arguments supporting such viewpoints sparked threats from several developed nations to withdraw from UNESCO. In 1984, the United States followed through with its threats by withdrawing from the organization.

Departure of the United States from UNESCO failed to silence its debate concerning cultural imperialism and the one-way flow of communication from the developed world to Third World nations. Scholars from developed countries such as Canada and the former West Germany also expressed concern about the dominance of the U.S. media. Hoffman-Riem (1987) felt that the United States media dominance threatened the traditional European philosophy of public sector broadcasting. He noted that this dominance was possible because of the advantage previously-established media corporations had in the international communications market. In the case of television programs, Hoffman-Riem pointed out that these products had already earned their production costs in the domestic market and, therefore, could be sold or distributed cheaply in the export market.

Notwithstanding arguments about the proliferation of U.S. produced programs, the belief that these programs promote cultural imperialism remains hotly debated. In their attempt to address the issue, a few mass communications scholars, each with a slightly different focus and approach, questioned the acceptance of the cultivation theory. They argued that it lacked empirical data to support its claims (Liebes & Katz, 1990; Tracy, 1985).

Vilanilam's (1989) study is one of the studies used to buttress arguments warning against cultural imperialism. Commenting on the results of his study about the impact of television advertisement on India's poor, Vilanilam noted that although the "slick products presented in the commercials . . . will never be affordable to 90% of the population . . . [poor Indians] were being prodded by mind managers to believe otherwise" (p. 489). Vilanilam felt that the advertisement for these "slick

products” only served to reinforce feelings of inferiority and “discredit . . . traditional methods of production and products” (1989, p. 490).

In other studies (Ang, 1985; DeSousa, 1982; Liebes & Katz, 1990), the findings have challenged the acceptance of arguments expounding the danger of cultural imperialism. For example, DeSousa (1982) was able to support his argument that “television programs as messages do not become decoded in [a vacuum]” (p. 20). According to DeSousa, meaning is always a function of the transmitter’s intention as well as the interpretation on the part of the receiver. He concluded that although U.S. programs might affect how foreigners see Americans, they were not responsible for eroding local culture. Supporting this argument, Liebes and Katz (1990) concluded that foreign audiences who watched U.S. television programs were not passive, but instead were individuals who actively participated in determining their own uses of and gratifications from television programs. According to them:

to prove that Dallas is an imperialistic imposition, one would have to show (1) that there is a message incorporated in the program that is designed to profit American interests overseas, (2) that the message is decoded by the receiver in the way it was encoded by the sender, and (3) that it is accepted uncritically by the viewers and allowed to seep into their culture (p. 4).

Schiller (1989), one of the earlier scholarly exponents of cultural imperialism, was not impressed by this line of argument. He criticized the findings of Ang’s (1985) “Dallas” study, referring to the methodology as “dubious.” He questioned the reliability of the active-audience hypothesis that he saw as a mere effort to minimize the importance of “concentrated media-cultural power” (p. 151).

As seen, the consistent trait of nearly all arguments critical of imported television programs has been their alleged propensity to induce consumption of

the “material culture” of the developed countries. This inducement, according to Wells (1972), is often detrimental to Third World countries. According to him, “it embraces . . . the importation of modern consumer goods prevalent in rich countries’ markets--household durable, automobiles, and fashionable products for the body, and home [at the expense of other basic national needs]” (Wells, 1972, p. 43).

Given this particular slant in discussions about cultural imperialism, one of the main foci of this study is the material culture--that is, the material consumption portrayed in television programs and characters, aspired to by some adolescent viewers in Jamaica. This study, as mentioned earlier, was conducted within the context of two theories--the cultivation and the dependency theories.

The Cultivation Theory

The basic assumption underlying the cultivation theory is that repeated exposure to consistent media portrayals and themes will influence perceptions of reality in the direction of media information.

Early studies indicated that media portrayals of certain topics could have an impact on audience perceptions, particularly if the media were the main sources of information (DeFleur, 1967; Siegal, 1958). Later studies about viewers’ perceptions of social reality revealed that television viewers with high exposure to the medium were more likely to overestimate the prevalence of violence in the society along with their own chances of being involved in violence (Gerbner, Gross, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox, & Signorielli, 1978). On a more general level, Greenberg and Dominick (1969) discovered that lower-

class teenagers were more likely than those from the middle-class to believe that the middle-class world commonly seen on television programs was real.

Not all scholars accept the cultivation hypothesis. Some justify their opposition by pointing to its inconsistencies (Hirsch, 1980; Hughes, 1980). Gerbner et al. (1978) countered such criticisms by arguing that inconsistencies in the cultivation hypothesis were caused by two key concepts--resonance and mainstreaming. Resonance occurs when the media reinforce what is seen in real life, while mainstreaming refers to a commonality of attitude among heavy viewers.

Wimmer and Dominick (1987) felt that differences in perception of reality were usually caused by demographic and social factors, and that this influence could be washed out by heavy viewing, resulting in a common viewpoint (p. 390). These concepts, they concluded, refined and further elaborated the cultivation hypothesis.

As a distinct variable in the acculturation process, perception of reality is, according to many scholars, determined by several intermediary variables, notably real-life experience, exposure, and motives for watching. For example, viewers who have had real-life contact with people and events similar to those portrayed on television, will, given their real-life experience, discern the unreality of television. This position clearly contradicts earlier findings by Greenberg and Reeves (1976) that implied that people's perception of televised reality was related more to indirect sources of information (that is, what they hear through interpersonal contacts), rather than to their personal direct experience. Elliott and Slater's (1980) study brought additional knowledge to the forefront by focusing on what happens when the strength of real-life

experience was varied. They found, for example, that as real-life positive contact with police officers increased, people's perceived reality of television police decreased. Mindful of the significance various studies have attached to real-life experience, efforts were made in this study to tap information concerning respondents' level of contact with the lifestyle to which they aspired.

Although earlier studies attributed the level of exposure to individuals' perception of television reality (Greenberg & Reeves, 1976; Huesmann et al., 1984), the findings from later studies have downplayed its significance. Elliott and Slater (1982) found that perceived realism of law enforcement programs, not the amount of law enforcement programs viewed, correlated with adolescents' acceptance of televised portrayals, their understanding of law enforcement, and their image of societal safety. Such findings, according to Ogles (1987), suggest that viewers use specific information they learn from watching television as intermediate steps to infer generalized beliefs about the world. It should be noted, however, that Hawkins and Pingree (1981) tested this "process" hypothesis and were unable to find empirical evidence of a learning effect. They opined that processes other than learning may account for cultivation effects.

Because certain motives for watching television have also been associated with perception of reality, this researcher felt it was necessary to gather such data for the purpose of analytic discussion and possible comparison with other findings. Useful studies on the question of motivation include those by Rubin (1983; 1986) and Carveth and Alexander (1985).

In a multivariate analysis, Rubin (1983) found that motives such as information and entertainment were the most important predictors of perceived

television reality. He concluded that "watching television in order to acquire information, . . . entertainment or amusement [indicated] a heightened sense of realism [in] television portrayals of life" (p. 48).

Later studies about media uses and gratifications divided motives into instrumental and ritualized orientations. Rubin (1986) defined instrumental television use as that of seeking out media content (e.g., news, talk shows, and magazine type programs) to satisfy informational needs. By contrast, ritualized television use refers to habitual television viewing (primarily entertainment) for diversionary purposes. In other words, the perceived realism of television news, for example, is related to instrumental rather than ritualized motives.

Carveth and Alexander's (1985) study of adolescents' uses and perceptions of soap operas revealed that "college-age serial" viewers, whose primary motivation for watching television was entertainment, tended to overestimate the prevalence of certain professional groups (e.g., doctors and lawyers) and personal problems (e.g., abortions and family affairs) in the society. He also found support for the contention that individuals who frequently selected soap opera content for ritualistic motives, such as enjoyment or relaxation, were most vulnerable to television messages. In cases where the motive for viewing was identified as instrumental--that is, to explore reality and learn from portrayals--there was little or no relationship found between viewing and beliefs consistent with television content.

The uses and dependency model of Rubin and Windahl (1986) approached the question of television's impact as a two-pronged issue that is audience-centered and society-based. This model provides "an integrated view of the interactive nature of mass communications use and effects" as it relates to

the audience and society (p. 197). Rubin and Windahl argued that different societal and media settings determine the gratification-seeking behavior of individuals and that their needs vary as they evolve in interaction with the societal and communications systems.

One significant societal factor that is often overlooked in discussions about the role of television in determining behavior is the significance of the familial background. The work of social scientists, such as Sewell and Hauser (1980) and Alwin and Thornton (1984), are testament to the significant impact of familial ties in influencing the behavior, attitudes, and aspirations of individuals. Alwin and Thornton's (1984) study found that the number of siblings in a family had a negative effect on school attendance. Sewell and Hauser (1980) found that parental influence, particularly their socioeconomic background, was a strong factor in determining adolescents' occupational and educational aspirations.

On the contrary, however, Freedman and Thornton (1990) found that familial influence, regarding the prediction of adolescents' material aspirations, was relatively weak. They contended that adolescents' own level of consumerism or ownership of durables was the main determinant of their aspired consumerism. They noted that the apparent weakness of familial influence probably stemmed from the growing economic independence of adolescents whose opportunity to earn their own income has increased steadily over the years.

Such findings from the social science domain give credence to Rubin and Windahl's (1986) uses and dependency model that recognizes the role of the society in determining the impact of television. The model allows for a

macro analytical approach to the topic without the sinister conclusions offered by the dependency theory.

The Dependency Theory

The dependency theory evolved initially as an economic construct to explain the process of impoverishment experienced by developing or Third World countries. The theory holds that developing countries are put at a disadvantage by an economic system that promotes considerable inequity in the pricing of goods produced by developing versus developed countries. Raw materials produced by the developing countries are priced relatively cheap in comparison to the finished goods of developed countries. As a result, consumers from the developing countries pay for their own raw material "plus the expensive Western labor used to produce them" (Oliveira, 1986, p. 128). This process, according to the argument put forward in the dependency theory, creates wealth in the developed countries, and poverty and economic dependency in the developing countries (Oliveira, 1986, p. 128).

This theoretical approach, when applied to communication issues, emphasizes the international flow of messages and their influence on traditional and national cultures. As such, media products imported from wealthy, developed countries are seen as having a negative socioeconomic impact on Third World nations. Dependency theorists, such as Beltran (1978), Mattelart (1983), and Schiller (1989, 1992), have focused on this impact in the local media systems of developing countries and the dependency it gradually creates on Western developed countries. They argued that imported media products encourage the adoption of a Western (i.e., North American) lifestyle that in turn is conducive to increased consumption of Western products.

One study that proved useful in developing a methodology and perspective for this research was the work of Oliveira (1986). His empirical study tested hypotheses derived from the dependency theory at the individual level of analysis. This is considered unique because most communications studies using the dependency theory framework are often done at a macro analytical level.

As indicated earlier, the dependency theory hypothesizes that the more Western-oriented or produced television programs available, the more Westernized Third World societies viewing them become. Since the majority of programs come from the United States, the so-called Westernization trend is oftentimes associated with the North American way of life.

Oliveira's (1986) study provided some insight into how a concept such as aspiration (which is similar to consumerism) could be operationalized to allow comparison with measurements taken from television programs. In order to test the relationship between television exposure and consumer attitudes, Oliveira (1986) conducted a survey in Belize--a Central American and bilingual nation. Local television production in Belize at the time was nonexistent, thereby forcing that country to rely on television programs from Mexico and the United States or independently owned satellite dishes. Oliveira's study compared the relationship between exposure to United States and Mexican television with the product preferences of the respondents.

Oliveira's (1986) study revealed that exposure to U.S. television programs had a positive correlation with preferences for U.S. products and a negative correlation with preference for Central American goods. U.S. television viewing was found to be substantially associated with respondents'

consumerism. On the other hand, exposure to Mexican television was significantly associated with preferences for Central American products but not with consumerism.

Far more complex in terms of its findings is Ogan's (1993) study about the impact of imported media products on Turkey's culture. Using an in-depth survey of 192 families, Ogan explored why some residents of Turkey were more susceptible to foreign cultural orientation than others. Her measurement of cultural orientation was based on the premise that Turks oriented outside their culture would see more positive elements in the foreign culture and more negative elements in their own (Ogan, 1993).

Since viewing films exposed respondents to Western culture, Ogan expected that Turks who were frequent viewers would hold negative attitudes about Turkey. Instead, she found that high cinema attendance correlated with a negative attitude towards the United States and that high education and income levels also correlated with a negative attitude towards the United States.

But even more unexpected than the aforementioned was the results of Ogan's analysis of her qualitative data. Obtained via open-ended questions, Ogan's qualitative data revealed that a significant number of Turkish residents were dissatisfied with their native culture and that a substantial number of young Turks wanted to live abroad.

Ogan (1993) found no evidence that either demographics or media usage was a predictor of foreign cultural orientation. Deducing from the qualitative data, she wrote:

If cultural orientation can be at least partially measured by an individual's view of his country, this study [Ogan's] did not find that more exposure to mass media necessarily caused people to hold critical views of their country. This would not support the media imperialism assertion that

continued exposure to Western-produced media content leads people to have a diminished view of themselves (p. 12).

Overall, the theories and studies discussed in this chapter have been instrumental in formulating and clarifying the parameters of this study and generating the following working hypotheses:

- H₁ Respondents' occupational aspirations will be more significantly related to the occupation of their favorite television characters than to the occupation of their parents or guardians.
- H₂ Respondents' educational aspirations will be more significantly related to the education portrayed by their favorite television characters than to the educational background of their parents or guardians.
- H₃ Respondents' material aspirations--that is, their desire for a certain type of car, home, and clothes--will be significantly related to the lifestyles portrayed in their favorite television programs and by their favorite television characters.
- H₄ Respondents' aspired material consumption will be more closely related to the material consumption portrayed on television than their frequency of travel and the destination.

Chapter 3

Research Methods

This research was conducted in two phases. The first was a survey that gathered data on respondents' lifestyle aspirations and their favorite television programs and characters. The second phase was a content analysis of respondents' favorite television programs and characters.

The independent variables in this study were (a) the respondents' exposure to and perception of television, (b) motivation and level of emotional intensity towards favorite television programs and characters, (c) culture and lifestyles (living standards or material consumption) portrayed in favorite television programs and characters, and (d) respondents' travel and socioeconomic backgrounds.

The dependent variables were respondents' expressed lifestyle aspirations regarding education, occupation, and desired material consumption--specifically homes, cars, and clothes.

Operationalization of Variables

Television Exposure

This variable was operationalized as the number of hours respondents spent watching television per week. Data were grouped on a 3-point scale, with 3 being the highest point. A score of zero was assigned to responses outside the scope of the scale. The categories used to measure this variable and how they were ranked follows: (a) 25 hours and over per week = 3, (b) 15 to 24 hours = 2, and (c) 1 to 14 hours = 1.

Motivation for Watching Television

Motivation was operationalized and ranked as follows: (a) information = 6, (b) entertainment = 5, (c) relaxation = 4, (d) excitement = 3, (e) habit = 2, (f) killing time = 1, and (g) nonresponses = 0. These categories were ranked to reflect high through low levels of motivation. They also reflected the significance attributed to them by Rubin (1986) who found that watching television for information and entertainment were indicators of the level of reality respondents placed on television portrayals.

Intensity (i.e., interest or attention)

To assess respondents' level of interest in their favorite programs, they were asked to state whether or not they discussed the programs and with whom. Discussion of the programs was considered an indication of respondents' level of interest. The intensity of this interest was measured and ranked according to the person(s) with whom the respondents discussed their favorite programs. There were five categories: (a) family and friends or family and someone outside the home = 5, (b) friends only = 4, (c) family member(s) only = 3, (d) *other* (respondents discussed favorite programs but did not indicate with whom) = 2, and (e) no discussion = 1.

Television Perception

Respondents were asked to indicate whether or not they believed the content of their favorite television programs was possible in real life. Responses were measured on a dichotomy of a simple yes or no: yes = 2 and no = 1.

Cultural Portrayals

This variable was measured on three levels: (a) by determining the source of the programs via their credits, (b) by assessing the dominant culture portrayed in favorite television programs and characters identified by respondents, and (c) by assessing respondents' exposure to North American culture by way of traveling outside Jamaica.

Survey questions 4 and 7 asked respondents to identify their favorite television programs and characters, respectively. Responses were categorized and ranked as follows: (a) United States (that is, programs in which the plots were set in the United States or the characters were portrayed as U.S. residents) = 4; (b) other developed Western countries (e.g., Canada, Australia, England, New Zealand, or Germany) = 3; (c) regional countries or other Caribbean countries = 2, (d) local or Jamaican programs or characters = 1, and (e) *other* (that is, programs and characters that did not feature any discernible culture).

Question 13 of the survey solicited data regarding travel. This question was included to determine whether or not there was merit to Hosein's (1976) assertion that overseas travel might be a bigger source of foreign influence than television programs from the United States. Travel was operationalized based on the frequency of travel by respondents and the countries visited. Three categories were created to classify the extent of respondents' travel. These categories were defined and ranked as follows: (a) frequently (that is, traveling at least once per year) = 3; (b) occasional (sporadic or traveling less than once per year) = 2, and (c) never travel (respondents who had never traveled abroad) = 1.

Respondents' travel destinations were grouped and ranked as follows:

(a) United States only, United States and other developed Western countries, such as Canada and the United Kingdom, or United States and Caribbean countries = 4; (b) other Western countries or other Western countries and the Caribbean = 3, (c) regional only (i.e., travel to other Caribbean islands only) = 2; (d) never travel (i.e., respondents who had never traveled outside Jamaica) = 1; and *other* (responses too vague for accurate interpretation and, therefore, counted as missing data) = 9.

All five categories reflected the destination patterns stated by respondents and enabled some distinction between exposure to North American culture as opposed to European and Caribbean cultures.

Program Format or Type

The program format of favorite television programs was ranked as follows: (a) dramas = 9, (b) sitcoms (including "In Living Color" and "DEF Jam Comedy") = 8, (c) soaps = 7, (d) talk shows = 6, (e) cartoons = 5, (f) magazines = 4, (g) documentaries = 3, (h) game shows = 2, and (i) sports and news = 1.

Reasons for Occupational Choices

Respondents' reasons for their occupational choices were coded and ranked as follows: (a) job satisfaction = 5, (b) demand in Jamaica = 4, monetary gain = 3, (c) parental pressure = 2, (d) *other* = 1, and (e) *don't know* = 0.

Lifestyle (socioeconomic status)

This variable was operationalized by measuring three key socioeconomic indicators: education, occupation, and material consumption (specifically size of home, type or size of car, and clothing). The use of these

indicators was based on the findings of numerous social science studies in which these indicators were identified as appropriate indices for measuring lifestyles or socioeconomic status (Crompton, 1993; Sewell & Hauser, 1980; Van Zeyl, 1974).

Defining the categories for occupation, education, and material consumption was the most difficult aspect of this study. Much of the problem stemmed from the need to make the categories representative of two countries--Jamaica and the United States. From a global perspective, Jamaica is a relatively poor Third World country and the United States a wealthy super-power. This factor had the potential for making comparisons between the two countries difficult. For the purpose of this study, education, occupation, and material consumption were defined as follows:

Education. To address differences peculiar to Jamaica and the United States, the categories created for this variable were intentionally broad. The categories were defined and ranked as follows: (a) upper tertiary education (i.e., formal studies typically resulting in the award of a bachelor, master's, or doctoral degree) = 4; (b) lower tertiary education (any formal studies beyond secondary level, including vocational training) = 3; (c) secondary education (formal education beyond primary education, or completed or in the process of completing secondary education) = 2; (d) primary education = 1, and (e) *other* (consisted of nonclassifiable responses) = 9. Notwithstanding these broad categories, two exceptions were made regarding the professional training of teachers and registered nurses.

In the United States, the qualification for these professions typically requires a 4-year baccalaureate degree as opposed to Jamaica's 3-year

diploma for registered nurses and 3-year certificate program for teachers. Despite these differences, both the United States and Jamaica's training programs are given equal weight in the international community. This equation is attributed to the prerequisite for the Jamaican programs, the number of hours actually spent in training, and the content of the programs. Given this background, the education of Jamaican teachers and registered nurses was also classified as upper tertiary education and ranked 4.

Occupation. With the exception of a few modifications, the categories for occupation were ranked based on the prestige hierarchy developed by Turner (1964), which was later modified by Van Zeyl (1974) for his research on adolescents' social mobility aspirations. Eleven categories were developed to classify responses pertaining to occupation. These categories were defined and ranked from 11 to 1 (11 representing occupations with the highest prestige and 1 the lowest). Data outside the scale were counted as missing. The categories and how they were ranked are as follows: (a) corporate executives or large-business owners and government officials (individuals managing or overseeing a large work force in excess of 100 employees, also included models and professional athletes) = 11; (b) elite professionals (individuals with postgraduate university training--that is, more than four years of university education specific to the profession) = 10; (c) professionals (individuals with formal training beyond secondary education that is specific to the profession) = 9, (d) business agents and lower or midlevel managers (including occupations described at a supervisory and middle management levels, such as supervisors and business managers) = 8; (e) semiprofessionals (individuals with training beyond primary education and some formal training specific to occupation (e.g.,

florists and flight attendants) = 7; (f) small or midsized business owners (including a one-man operation or employer of 99 or fewer employees) = 6, (g) clerical and sales clerks (e.g., stenographers, secretaries, store clerks, bank clerks, or tellers) = 5; (h) skilled laborers (individuals with some degree of formal training specific to the occupation) = 4, (i) semiskilled laborers (individuals with some formal training) = 3, (j) unskilled laborers (individuals with no formal training) = 2, and (k) *other* = 1. The *other* category varied depending on whether reference was being made to respondents, parents, or television characters. For respondents, *other* referred to responses that indicated indecision or lack of clarity. For parents, this category referred to the unemployed, housewives, students, and *don't knows*. For television characters, this category referred to students and the unemployed.

Despite the efforts to create mutually exclusive definitions, there were occasions when the appropriate category for an occupation had to be inferred from data concerning educational backgrounds or aspired material consumption. For example, there was some difficulty in coding civil servants, professional athletes (such as football and basketball players), models, and business owners.

In the case of civil servants, data pertaining to educational backgrounds were used to determine the appropriate category. Although models and professional athletes, by virtue of the required education, should have been classified as semiprofessionals, they were instead ranked as elite professions to reflect the elitism attached to their portrayals on television. For consistency, similar treatment was applied to respondents listing business owner as an occupation. In this case the criteria used to determine whether the occupation

should be ranked 11 or 6 was based on respondents' description of the living standards to which they aspired. Similar inference could not be made in the case of parents, since there were no data to determine projected or present earning capabilities of the parents' business.

Material Consumption. Material consumption was operationalized and measured by consumption products--that is, the home, car, and clothes desired by respondents and observed in favorite television programs. To facilitate the measurement of these products in television content as well as in respondents' answers, five categories were created to measure socioeconomic status (SES) or living standards: (a) upper or upper-middle, (b) middle, (c) lower-middle, (d) poor, and (e) other. These categories were defined as follows:

(a) upper or upper-middle SES: mansion-type home (i.e., a home larger than necessary for occupants' comfort, extravagant) or midsize home in high priced neighborhood. Opulent appearance regarding furniture, car (priced in excess of U.S. \$30,000), and mode of dress. The character's occupation may be that of a corporate executive (i.e., owner-manager of a company comparable to those in the Fortune 500 group) or a highly successful elite professional. Characters in this SES group have typically achieved higher education (i.e., beyond secondary education). This category was ranked 4.

(b) middle SES: modest size home in middle income neighborhood. Furniture, car (typically priced over U.S. \$15,000), and clothing ranged from moderate to expensive; typical white-collar occupation--elite profession possible. Individuals are college or university educated. A business-owner in this group would not qualify as a Fortune 500 company. This category was ranked 3.

(c) lower-middle SES: modest-sized home, probably rented.

Inexpensively furnished home, clothing, and car (typically under U.S. \$15,000 or used). Characters in this class may be white-collar or blue-collar professionals. This category may also include small business owners (including one-man operations, such as sidewalk vendors). Educational backgrounds vary but are usually above elementary school level. This category was ranked 2.

(d) poor or lower SES: small home providing little or no physical comfort for occupants. Income is borderline or below poverty index, or the individuals may be unemployed, without steady employment, or receiving government aid such as food stamps; impoverished appearance in terms of furniture, mode of dress, and general surroundings. Individuals in this category tend to rely on public transportation or inexpensive motor vehicles such as a motor bike, bicycle, or a used car--probably in a dilapidated condition. This category was ranked 1.

(e) *other*: lifestyles that could not be classified according to the SES definitions established for this research. This category was ranked 9.

To ensure consistency when classifying certain qualitative data pertaining to material consumption, additional criteria were applied when interpreting and summarizing responses to question 16. This question asked respondents to describe the type of material products (specifically home, car, and clothes) they wish to acquire when they became adults. The following are examples of descriptors or adjectives frequently used by respondents to describe their aspired consumption (i.e., home, car, and clothes) and how they were likely to be categorized by SES and coded:

Descriptors for upper and upper-middle SES material products (e.g., *big, large, exquisite, expensive, designer, fashionable, and latest*). These descriptors were ranked 4.

Descriptors for middle SES material products (e.g. *nice, comfortable, mid or medium sized, modest, reasonable, and casual*). These descriptors were ranked 3.

Descriptors for lower-middle SES material products (e.g., *simple, ordinary*). These descriptors were ranked 2.

Descriptors for poor or lower SES material products (e.g., *small, cheap*). These descriptors were ranked 1.

Notwithstanding the above categorization of key descriptors, there were instances when it was necessary to code the product item based not so much on whether it was described as *small* or *casual* but rather on the context in which the descriptor was used. For example, if a respondent wanted a mansion, *expensive* designer clothes, and a *small* or *nice* car, common sense dictates that this *small* car would be consistent with the upper and upper-middle class living standards indicated by respondents' aspired home and clothes. As such, car was scored as 4 and not 1. Below are two examples of product coding that had to be inferred based on the overall context of the response.

Example One

Response #125: "Very large house on the hill, Porsche, and [several other cars]. Clothes--mostly . . . casual wear." (Scores: home = 4, car = 4, and clothes = 4.)

Example Two

Response #13: "Midsized home with nice furniture, midsized car by Suzuki, clothes--latest style [but] not too expensive." (Scores: home = 3, car = 3, clothes = 3).

All three consumption products--that is, home, car, and clothes--were rated on a 4-point scale. Data pertaining to home, car, and clothes obtained as a result of the survey and content analysis were correlated to determine whether or not a relationship existed between the two sets of data, and if so, to what extent.

The Survey

The self-administered questionnaire contained 20 questions that were intended to obtain data about respondents' favorite television programs and characters, levels of exposure to the medium, and respondents' lifestyle aspirations. Demographic data collected included respondents' age, sex, and their parents' or guardians' levels of education and occupations (see Appendix A for questionnaire).

The Sample

The sample was drawn from adolescents attending high schools in the Kingston and Saint Andrew regions of Jamaica. This sample was chosen for several reasons: (a) to avoid the cost of traveling outside the regions mentioned, (b) to ensure that the sample resided in areas that received television transmission, (c) to ensure that the sample resided in areas that received electricity, and (d) to ensure a literate sample capable of completing a self-administered questionnaire.

Of the varied types of secondary institutions in Jamaica, the traditional high school is the most prestigious. Most are aided by government grants and affiliated with a religious denomination. This religious affiliation is a throwback to the post-slavery period when churches assumed the responsibility of educating the children of ex-slaves. To attend a grant-aided high school, students must pass the highly competitive national scholastic test, the Common Entrance Examination, no later than their 12th birthday.

The Jamaican government ensures that the traditional high schools are accessible to children from poor households by awarding 95% of its scholarships to children from public elementary schools and only 5% to those from private elementary schools. According to information from the Ministry of Education, more than 95% of the students attending grant-aided high schools are recipients of government scholarships (Ina Barnes, personal communication, October 18, 1994). Given this information, the researcher assumed that the sample population would have reflected a mixture of socioeconomic backgrounds.

The questionnaire was administered to 213 students who were drawn from six randomly selected high schools in the Corporate Area (Kingston and Saint Andrew) of Jamaica. Each school was asked to provide an 11th grade class to which the questionnaire was distributed.

Although the selection process of the classes was left to the schools' discretion, all six schools based their selection on the class teachers' willingness to interrupt a planned session or whether the session was a scheduled recreational or recess period.

The questionnaire was distributed to the students after a brief introduction by the researcher. The students were told that the main purpose of the questionnaire was to find out about adolescents' favorite television characters and programs and some of the things they would like to do and acquire when they completed high school.

Respondents who took part in the survey ranged from ages 15 to 16. A brief description of the six schools that participated in the survey follows:

(a) **Campion College:** An elite co-educational school administered by the Roman Catholic Church. A class of 32 students was surveyed from this school.

(b) **Alpha Academy:** An all-girl school located in the Kingston ghetto. Probably because of its Roman Catholic affiliation and scholastic achievement, this school attracts many children from fairly upscale homes despite its location. A class of 29 students was surveyed from this school.

(c) **Meadowbrook High School:** A co-educational school administered by the Anglican Diocese. A class of 39 students was surveyed from this school.

(d) **Calabar High School:** A boys' school located on the outskirts of uptown Kingston. It is one of the better known boys' schools with a reputation for scholastic and athletic achievements. A class of 37 students was surveyed from this school.

(e) **Excelsior High School:** A co-educational school that is closely affiliated with the Methodist church. It is located in a low income area. A class of 34 students was surveyed from this school.

(f) **Merl Grove High School:** An all-girl school located on the outskirts of Saint Andrew. A combined class of 42 students was surveyed from this school.

The Content Analysis

Television programs and characters identified in the survey as respondents' favorites were examined by a content analysis. The main elements examined were (a) the dominant cultural setting or nationality portrayed in favorite television programs and by characters, (b) the program credits, and (c) the lifestyles frequently portrayed (i.e., education, occupation, and material consumption, specifically the type of home, car, and clothing).

Cultural settings were determined mainly through themes or plots, dialogues, and symbols. One or more of these cues were used to determine in which of the four categories the favorite television programs and characters should be classified. These categories and how they were ranked are outlined as follows: (a) U.S. portrayals = 4, (b) other Western countries = 3, (c) regional (the Caribbean) = 2, (d) local (i.e., programs portraying Jamaican culture) = 1; and (e) *other* (responses too vague for accurate interpretation) = 9.

The themes or discussion in the favorite television programs often focused on issues that were topical in the United States. For example, there were political satires about U.S. politicians, such as President Clinton (featured in "ROC") and Mario Cuomo (featured in "General Hospital"), or a popular United States venue such as the Playboy Mansion (featured in "Fresh Prince of Bel-Air").

Another cultural cue that was frequently seen in favorite programs was the U.S. flag. This symbol is shown in courtroom dramas such as "LA Law" and "Matlock" or in classroom scenes in programs such as "The Simpsons," "Saved by the Bell," and "Getting By."

Dialogues were also useful in establishing the culture or country portrayed in respondents' favorite programs. The following are three examples of how the nationality or cultural settings featured in favorite television programs were identified:

Example One

Program: "The Simpsons."

Dialogue: "You Americans with your due process and fair trial--it was so much easier in Mexico."

Scene: The devil speaking to Bart and his sister on Halloween night.

Example Two

Program: "LA Law."

Dialogue: "This isn't nineteenth century England; this is twentieth century Los Angeles."

Scene: Defendant speaking to opposing client during deposition.

Example Three

Program: "Hangin' with Mr. Cooper."

Dialogue: ". . . three kings--and I don't mean Don, Rodney, or Burger!"

Scene: Mark teasing friends while playing poker. (Mark's dialogue refers to Don King, Rodney King, and the fast food restaurant--Burger King.)

A total of 60 favorite television programs and 72 characters was examined for this study. A content analysis was conducted of 53 of the programs and 58 characters. By interviewing viewers, the researcher collected information about television favorites that were no longer being aired in Jamaica or the United States.

The programs for the content analysis were recorded throughout the period of September 1993 to March 1994 and throughout March and April 1995. This time frame was based solely on the scheduling of the programs in the United States and Jamaica as well as re-runs in the United States.

Eight persons were interviewed regarding favorite television programs and characters not seen by the researcher. Three of the interviewees were Jamaicans who were interviewed via telephone. The remaining five were Americans--two were interviewed by phone and three were interviewed in person. Interviewees were asked to describe the overall theme or plot of the programs, the main characters, the lifestyles, and the countries portrayed.

Statistical Analysis

Data from respondents regarding their lifestyle preferences--that is, their aspired education, occupation, and material consumption--were compared with data obtained through the content analysis. Spearman rank correlation analyses were conducted to determine whether or not a relationship existed between expressed lifestyle aspirations and the lifestyles portrayed in respondents' favorite television programs, characters, or both.

Multiple regression analyses were also conducted to assess which of the independent variables were the best predictors of respondents' aspired occupation, education, and material consumption.

Chapter 4

Findings

For this study, 213 students were surveyed--120 girls and 93 boys. All the students reported that they were allowed to watch television. A total of 60 television programs were identified as respondents' favorites. Of these, 53 were subjected to a content analysis. Information from the fans of the remaining seven programs, which were unavailable to the researcher, were analyzed and incorporated with data obtained from the content analysis. Seventy-two characters were identified as favorites. The researcher examined 58 of these characters. Data pertaining to the remaining 14 characters were obtained from fans familiar with the programs in which the characters were featured. The 14 characters were featured in the programs that were unavailable for content analysis. In fact, 7 of the 14 characters were featured in one soap opera, "Generation."

What Respondents Watched

A breakdown of respondents' favorite television programs by format revealed that the majority of the respondents (31%) preferred situation comedies (sitcoms), while 28% indicated a preference for soap operas (see Table 1). As indicated in Table 1, soap operas were an overwhelming favorite among girls (41%), while sitcoms were the favorite among boys (48%). Other noticeable differences between the genders concerned preferences for dramas, cartoons, and news and sports (see Table 1).

The content analysis of respondents' favorite television programs revealed that roughly 80% portrayed U.S. culture via dialogue, symbols (e.g.,

Table 1

Breakdown of Respondents' Preferences by Program Formats

Program format	Girl's preference		Boy's preference		Total	
	<u>n</u>	%	<u>n</u>	%	<u>N</u>	%
Sitcoms	22	18%	45	48	67	31%
Soap operas	49	41	10	11	59	28
Dramas	21	18	6	6	27	13
Cartoons	3	2	11	12	14	7
News and sports	1	1	5	5	6	3
Magazines	5	4	1	2	6	3
Talk shows	3	2	3	3	6	3
Documentaries	2	2	1	2	3	1
Game shows	-	-	2	2	2	1
<i>Other</i>	7	6	3	3	10	4
Missing	7	6	6	6	13	6
Total	120	100%	93	100%	213	100%

Note. Dashes indicate data not reported.

the national flag), or both. Programs conveying other Western cultures, such as the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, accounted for 1% of respondents' favorites. Local programs featuring the Jamaican culture accounted for only 5%.

Because favorite television characters were often associated with favorite programs, the findings about these characters were similar to the culture

portrayed in favorite television programs. As shown in Table 2, more than 80% of the favorite television characters were Americans, and only 1% were Jamaicans.

Table 2

Breakdown of Favorite TV Programs and Characters by the Culture Portrayed

Culture portrayed	Favorite TV program (N = 60)	Favorite TV character (N = 72)
United States	80%	84%
Other developed countries	1	1
Regional (i.e., Caribbean)	-	3
Local (Jamaican)	5	1
<i>Other</i>	14	11
Total	100%	100%

Note. Dash indicates data not reported.

Based on information obtained from the program credits, roughly 83% of the favorite television programs were U.S. productions. Local productions accounted for 12%, and the remaining 5% were produced by other Western developed countries, specifically Canada and the United Kingdom.

Socioeconomic Status of Respondents

Because of privacy concerns, respondents were not asked to disclose their parents' incomes. Therefore, respondents' socioeconomic backgrounds were inferred from their parents' educations and occupations. A frequency

analysis of parents' occupations by socioeconomic status revealed that only 1% of the respondents came from upper and upper-middle class backgrounds. The majority of respondents (86%) appeared to have middle or lower-middle class backgrounds. Poor or low income respondents' accounted for 13% of the sample.

Combined, 25% of the favorite television programs consistently featured upper and upper-middle class living standards. These programs were the favorite of nearly 60% of the adolescents surveyed. Middle or lower-middle class living standards were dominant in roughly 37% of the favorite programs, and less than 30% of the respondents identified these as their favorites. Favorite programs that did not portray any discernible socioeconomic status accounted for 35% of the total sample and were the favorites of 15% of the respondents (see Table 3).

Table 3

Respondents' Favorite TV Programs by Portrayed Socioeconomic Status (SES)

SES portrayed	Favorite TV program	
	N	%
Upper SES	7	12%
Upper-middle SES	8	13
Middle and lower-middle SES	22	37
Poor and lower SES	2	3
No SES	21	35
Total	60	100%

The survey identified 72 favorite television characters. However, only 36% of the respondents knew the name of the actor or actress playing the role of their favorite character. As shown in Table 4, 28% of the television characters or personalities portrayed upper class SES or living standards. They were the favorites of less than 25% of the adolescents surveyed. On the other hand, nearly 40% of the respondents indicated a preference for characters who portrayed middle and lower-middle class living standards (37%). Upper-middle class status was portrayed by 24% of the favorite characters, and these were the favorite of roughly 33% of the adolescents.

Table 4

Respondents' Favorite TV Characters by Portrayed Socioeconomic Status (SES)

SES portrayed	Favorite TV character	
	N	%
Upper SES	20	28%
Upper-middle SES	17	24
Middle and lower-middle SES	27	37
Poor and lower SES	3	4
No SES	5	7
Total	72	100%

Respondents' Motivation for Watching Television

Respondents cited three major reasons for watching television: entertainment, relaxation, and information (see Table 5). These findings are consistent with earlier studies by Rubin (1983, 1986) regarding the uses and gratifications of television.

Table 5

Respondents' Motivation for Watching Television

Use and gratification	Total response (N = 213)
Entertainment	56%
Relaxation	15
Information	9
Pastime	7
Excitement	5
Habit	4
<i>Other</i>	4
Total	100%

How Respondents Watched Television

The majority of respondents (59%) watched television less than one hour per day. Nine percent watched between one and two hours per day, and 22% watched more than two hours per day. Nonresponses accounted for approximately 10% of the respondents.

Regarding respondents' level of interest or intensity towards their favorite television programs, a frequency analysis revealed that 83% discussed these programs with their friends or family members, or both. Only 18% of the respondents discussed the programs with both friends and family (the highest ranked or scored response). More than 50% of the respondents said they discussed their favorite programs with friends only, 10% said they did so with family members only, and 3% with unidentified individuals. Only 17% of the respondents did not engage in any discussion concerning their favorite programs.

Finally, a simple frequency analysis of respondents' perceptions of television content revealed that more than 80% believed that the stories portrayed in their favorite television programs were possible in real life.

Occupational Aspirations

Combined, more than 60% of the respondents aspired to professional-type occupations. In comparison, 45% of the favorite television characters were professionals (see Table 6). The *other* category accounted for 21% of the responses. This category consisted of portrayals of students, housewives, and the unemployed. In the case of respondents, the *other* category accounted for 20% of the total sample and consisted of individuals who were either undecided about their future occupation or listed several choices.

Contrary to expectations, the content analysis of favorite television characters revealed that only 17% were portrayed as top-level corporate executives and politicians. Less than 5% of the respondents aspired to such occupations (see Table 6). None of the respondents indicated a preference for

Table 6

Breakdown of Occupational Categories by Respondents' Occupational Aspirations and the Occupational Backgrounds of Favorite TV Characters and Parents

Occupation category	Resp'd's o-asp (<u>N</u> = 213)	Occupational backgrounds		
		FTVc (<u>N</u> = 213)	Mother (<u>N</u> = 213)	Father (<u>N</u> = 213)
Corporate executives or politicians	4%	17%	1%	1%
Elite professionals	39	22	11	4
Professionals	21	23	19	21
Business agents and lower and midlevel managers	5	0.4	14	7
Semiprofessionals	5	3	4	6
Small and midsize business owners	2	2	11	9
Clericals including sales clerks	1	1	2	13
Skilled laborers	-	1	17	9
Semiskilled laborers	-	1	5	3
Unskilled laborers	-	1	6	9
<i>Other</i>	20	21	3	14
Nonresponse	3	8	7	4
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note. Dashes indicate data not reported. Resp'd's O-asp = Respondent's Occupational aspiration, FTVc = Favorite television character.

manual-type labor, although more than 36% of their parents (16% mothers and 20% fathers) were employed as skilled, semiskilled, or unskilled laborers.

Data concerning respondents' personal or direct contact with the profession to which they aspired revealed that 55% had such contact and 42% did not. This suggests that more than 40% of the respondents were influenced by sources other than real-life experience.

When asked to indicate the primary reason for their occupational choices, 57% indicated expected job satisfaction. Only 22% said they were influenced by monetary gains. Patriotism (6%) and parental pressure (less than 1%) were among the least frequent reasons cited by respondents as reasons for their occupational choices (see Table 7). Notwithstanding these reasons, it should be noted that roughly 80% of the respondents also felt that there was a demand for their chosen occupations.

H₁ of the study predicted that respondents' occupational aspirations would be more significantly related to the occupations portrayed by their favorite television characters than to the occupations of their parents. This hypothesis was rejected based on the results of the Spearman rank correlation analysis. The analysis indicated that the relationship between respondents' desired occupations and the occupations of their favorite television characters was positive but insignificant (see Table 8). Analysis of the relationship between parents' occupations and respondents' occupational aspirations resulted in a coefficient of .08 in the case of mothers and .11 in the case of fathers. Of the 10 variables examined in testing this hypothesis, exposure to television was found to have the highest positive coefficient ($r_s = .18, p < .05$).

Table 7

Reason for Respondents' Occupational Choice

<u>Reason for occupational choice</u>	<u>% (N = 213)</u>
Job satisfaction	57%
Monetary gain	22
Other (i.e., multiple response)	9
Patriotism	6
Parental pressure	5
Don't know	1
Nonresponse	0.3
Total	100%

Given the results of the frequency analysis outlined in Table 6 and the results of the Spearman rank correlation analysis (see Table 8), it appears that respondents' occupational aspirations were not significantly related to the occupational backgrounds of either their parents or favorite television characters. As shown in Table 6, the overall status of respondents' occupational aspirations was far more elitist than the occupations held by their parents and, to a lesser extent, their favorite television characters.

To determine the best predictor of occupational aspirations by controlling for interrelationship among some of the variables examined in Table 8, a multiple regression analysis was done. Results of this analysis were in keeping with those of the Spearman correlation analysis presented in Table 8. It pointed

to exposure as the best predictor of occupational aspirations. Statistically, this result is not particularly significant because the equation accounted for only 4% of the variance of occupational aspirations (see Table 9).

Table 8

Spearman Coefficients Matrix of Variables Examined Regarding Respondents' Occupational Aspirations (N≥148)

Vari	TVc-o	M-o	F-o	Rfc	Rle	Int	Mot	Perc	TP	Exp
O-asp	.02	.08	.11	-.16*	-.00	-.05	-.10	.03	.08	.18*
Rfc	-	-	-	-	-.05	-.02	-.04	.01	-.09	.05
Rle	-	-	-	-	-	.02	-.08	-.10	.10	-.10
Int	-	-	-	-	-	-	.07	-.04	-.13	.06
Mot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.04	-.16*	-.06
Perc	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.16*	.03
TP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.00

*p<.05

Note. Travel pattern is a composite measure that combines respondents' travel frequency and destination. Both variables showed a high correlation ($r_s = .91$). Vari = variable, O-asp = Occupational aspiration, TVc-o = TV character occupation, M-o = Mother's occupation, F-o = Father's occupation, Rfc = Reason for choice, Rle = Real life experience, Int = Intensity, Mot = Motivation, Perc = Perception, TP = Travel pattern, Exp = Exposure.

Educational Aspirations

A frequency analysis of respondents' educational aspirations revealed that an overwhelming majority of the respondents (76%) aspired to having a

Table 9

Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis of Variables Predicting
Occupational Aspirations (N≥148)

Independent variable	Beta weight
Exposure	.12
Favorite TV characters' occupation	.00
Mother's occupation	-.01
Reason for occupational choice	-.15
Respondents' travel pattern	.10
Father's occupation	.06
<u>R</u>	.21
<u>R²</u>	.04
<u>*p<.05</u>	

university education. This percentage was substantially higher than the percentage of respondents' parents who were university educated. As shown in Table 10, only 30% of respondents' mothers and 27% of the fathers attended universities.

In the case of respondents' favorite television characters, roughly 62% were categorized as having a college education. In contrast, an overwhelming majority of respondents (76%) expressed a desire to further their education beyond secondary or high school. It appears from these findings that neither parents' educational backgrounds nor the educational backgrounds portrayed

by favorite television characters was directly responsible for respondents' reported educational aspirations.

Table 10

Breakdown of Educational Levels by Respondents' Educational Aspirations and the Educational Backgrounds of Favorite TV Characters and Parents

Educational level	Respondent's ed-asp (N = 213)	Educational background		
		FTVc (N = 213)	Mother (N = 213)	Father (N = 213)
Upper tertiary level	76%	62%	30%	27%
Lower tertiary level	15	10	7	11
Secondary level	-	18	31	24
Primary level	-	1	3	2
Nonresponse	9	9	29	36
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note. Dashes indicate data not reported. FTVc = Favorite TV character, ed-asp = educational aspiration.

H₂ stated that respondents' educational aspirations would be more significantly related to the educational backgrounds portrayed by their favorite television characters than that of their parents or guardians. The result of the Spearman rank correlation analysis revealed that the relationship between respondents' educational aspirations and the educational backgrounds portrayed by their favorite television characters was negative and insignificant ($r_s = -.12$). When examined in light of parents' educational backgrounds, respondents' educational aspirations showed a coefficient of .05 and .28 for

respondents' mothers and fathers, respectively (see Table 11). Respondents' travel pattern also had a positive relationship with aspired education ($r_s = .20$, $p < .01$).

Table 11

Spearman Coefficients Matrix of Variables Examined Regarding Respondents' Educational Aspirations (N≥109)

Variable	TVc-ed	M-ed	F-ed	Int	Mot	Perc	TP	Exp
Ed-asp	-.12	.05	.28**	.00*	-.00	-.02	.20**	.00
Int	-	-	-	-	.07	-.04	-.13	.06
Motv	-	-	-	-	-	-.04	-.16*	-.06
Perc	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.16*	.03
TP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.00

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

Note. Travel pattern is a composite measure that combines respondents' travel frequency and destination of travel. Both variables showed a high correlation ($r_s = .91$). Ed-asp = Educational aspiration, TVc-ed = TV character's education, M-ed = Mother's education, F-ed = Father's education, Int = Intensity, Mot = Motivation, Perc = Perception, TP = Travel pattern, Exp = Exposure.

Variables such as perception, motivation, exposure, and intensity showed no significant relationship to respondents' educational aspirations. In fact, these variables were shown to have a negative, insignificant, or both forms of relationship with educational aspirations.

Although statistically insignificant, the relationship between respondents' educational aspirations and their parents' educational backgrounds was more

significant than the relationship observed between favorite television characters' education and respondents' educational aspirations (see Table 11). H_2 was rejected given the results of the Spearman rank coefficient correlation analysis.

A multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine the best predictor of respondents' educational aspirations. The results of this analysis revealed that father's educational background was the best predictor among the independent variables tested (see Table 12). This finding, however, was not particularly significant since the equation accounted for roughly 7% of the variance observed in educational aspirations.

Table 12

Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis of Variables Predicting Educational Aspirations (N≥125)

Independent variable	Beta weight
Father's education	.22
Travel pattern (i.e., frequency and destination)	.14
Mother's education	-.11
Favorite TV characters' education	.02
<u>R</u>	.22
<u>R²</u>	.07
<u>*p<.05</u>	

Material Aspirations

H₃ addressed the influence of material culture (i.e., material consumption) that many theorists of cultural imperialism contend is conveyed in television programs. This hypothesis predicted that the level of material consumption to which respondents aspired would be significantly related to the material consumption portrayed in their favorite television programs. Like H₁ and H₂, H₃ was also rejected based on the results of a Spearman correlation analysis. Analysis of respondents' aspired material consumption and the consumption levels portrayed in their favorite television programs resulted in a coefficient of .15, indicating a positive but relatively weak relationship between the two variables (see Table 13).

Table 13

Spearman Coefficients Matrix of Variables Examined Regarding Respondents' Material Aspirations (N≥106)

Variable	TV-mc	SES	Mot	Exp	Int	Perc	TP
Asp-mc	.15	.19*	-.11	-.00	-.05	.02	.03
Mot	-	-	-	-.06	.07	-.04	-.16*
Exp	-	-	-	-	-.06	.03	.00
Int	-	-	-	-	-	-.04	-.13
Perc	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.16*

*p< .05

Note. Aspired material consumption represents respondents' material aspirations. This variable is a composite of respondents' desired car and home, which, when correlated, showed a coefficient ($r_s = .6$). The third indicator of material consumption, clothes, did not have a high coefficient when correlated with home and car, and was therefore excluded from the composite.

Respondents' social status or SES is a composite of their parents' educations and occupations. Travel pattern is a composite of respondents' travel frequency and destination. TV-mc = TV material consumption, Asp-mc = Aspired material consumption, Exp = Exposure, Int = Intensity, Mot = Motivation, TP = Travel pattern, Perc = Perception, SES = Socioeconomic status.

Variables such as respondents' levels of exposure to television, motivation for watching, and the level of interest in their favorite television programs appeared to be less important than reported in earlier cultivation studies (Gerbner et al., 1978). These variables were found to have little or no association with respondents' material aspirations (see Table 13).

As shown in Table 13, the variable found to have the strongest relationship to respondents' aspired material consumption was socioeconomic backgrounds ($r_s = .19, p < .05$). Respondents' socioeconomic backgrounds were a composite of parents' educations and occupations.

To determine the best predictor of respondents' aspired material consumption, a multiple regression analysis was computed. The analysis identified respondents' socioeconomic backgrounds as the best predictor of aspired material consumption (see Table 14). Although this result supported the findings of the Spearman correlation outlined in Table 13, it was not conclusive of the overall picture because the equation accounted for only 6% of the variance of material aspirations.

H4 predicted that respondents' aspired material consumption would be more closely related to the material consumption portrayed on television than to respondents' travel pattern (i.e., frequency of travel and destination). This hypothesis, like H1, H2, and H3, was rejected given the results of a Spearman correlation analysis (see Table 13). As shown, neither travel pattern ($r_s = .03$)

nor portrayed material consumption on television ($r_s = .15$) was significantly related to respondents' material consumption.

The results of the multiple regression analysis support the results of the Spearman coefficient correlation analysis. According to the results of the multiple regression analysis, respondents' SES is the best predictor of aspired consumption (see Table 14).

Table 14

Summary of the Multiple Regression Analysis of Variables Predicting Material Aspirations (N≥106)

Independent variable	Beta weight
Respondents' socioeconomic backgrounds	.25
Travel pattern (i.e., frequency and destination)	.20
Respondents' motivations for watching TV	-.14
Portrayals of TV material consumption	-.02
<u>R</u>	.25
<u>R²</u>	.06
<u>*p<.05</u>	

Roughly 44% of the respondents said they had traveled outside Jamaica at least once. The countries visited ranged from nearby islands, such as the Cayman Isles, to Far Eastern countries, such as Japan and Hong Kong. More than 80% of the respondents who said they traveled outside Jamaica listed the United States among the countries visited (see Table 15). Respondents who

had never traveled accounted for 43% of the sample, and nonresponses made up 13% of the sample.

Table 15

Percentage of Respondents Who Traveled Abroad and the Destination

Travel destination	% (N = 93)
United States	83%*
Caribbean islands only	10
International travel (including Canada)	7
Total	100%

*This percentage includes respondents who also traveled to countries other than the United States.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Summary

This study attempted to determine whether or not and how the lifestyle aspirations of some Jamaican adolescents were related to the lifestyles portrayed in their favorite television programs and characters. The study was conducted within the theoretical framework of the cultivation and dependency theories.

The cultivation theory holds that repeated exposure to consistent media portrayals will influence viewers' perceptions of reality in the direction of the media information. Some scholars such as Wimmer and Dominick (1987) found through their research that the impact of television is determined by such variables as exposure to television, motivation for watching, and perception of television reality.

The dependency theory, on the other hand, holds that North American media products imported into Third World countries create demands and desires for Western products and lifestyles. In their respective studies, Oliveira (1986) and Vilanilam (1989) both found a strong preference for North American products among viewers exposed to U.S. media. Their findings, however, have been challenged by the results of other studies. The general findings of studies by DeSousa (1982), Ang (1985), and Liebes and Katz (1990) suggest that although U.S. programs may affect how foreigners see Americans, these programs were not responsible for eroding local culture.

While many Jamaican scholars, social scientists, and politicians support the argument of the dependency theory (Lowenthal, 1972; Williams, 1970), others such as Hosein (1976) disagree with the theory and its attendant argument pertaining to cultural imperialism. Hosein points to Jamaica's history and socioeconomic background as the likely sources of Jamaica's aspired living standards. Among the variables singled out by Hosein as possible sources for Jamaica's exposure to foreign culture were migration, overseas training, trade, and tourism.

It was against this background that the methodology and primary variables for this study were developed. Favorite television programs and characters were considered most likely to encourage respondents to model or emulate a particular television image.

A self-administered questionnaire was used to gather data pertaining to respondents' lifestyle aspirations, socioeconomic backgrounds, uses and gratifications of television, and favorite television programs and characters. A content analysis of respondents' favorite television programs and characters was conducted to determine the cultural orientation and lifestyles they portrayed. This set of data was then correlated to respondents' lifestyle aspirations to determine whether or not a relationship existed with television images.

Neither the cultivation nor dependency theory was supported by the findings of this study. The correlation and regression analyses conducted in this study indicate that the relationship between respondents' lifestyle aspirations and the lifestyles portrayed in their favorite television programs and characters were either negative or insignificant, or both.

With the exception of H₁ the results of the Spearman correlation analysis suggest that respondents' socioeconomic backgrounds played a slightly more important role (albeit statistically insignificant) than their favorite television programs or characters in determining respondents' lifestyle aspirations.

In the case of H₁, which predicted that respondents' occupational aspirations would be more significantly related to the occupations portrayed by their favorite television characters than their parents' occupations, exposure to television was found to have the most significant relationship to respondents' occupational aspirations (see Table 8, p. 48). This finding was further collaborated by a multiple regression analysis that found exposure to be the best predictor (among the variables tested) of respondents' occupational aspirations (see Table 9, p. 49). However, the relatively low coefficients of the Spearman correlation and regression analyses suggest that the variables examined in this study do not have a statistically significant relationship with adolescents' lifestyle aspirations. Even so, the role of exposure here is indicative of the fact that television in general contributes in some small way to respondents' occupational aspirations. This speculation is supported by the results of additional Spearman correlation analyses that found that occupational aspirations had a positive but relatively weak relationship with program type ($r_s = .2$, $p < .01$) and program source ($r_s = .18$, $p < .05$).

The relationship between educational aspirations and the portrayed educational backgrounds of television characters was negative and insignificant. However, when correlated with parents' educational backgrounds, the coefficient for educational aspirations indicated a positive but relatively weak relationship ($r_s = .2$, $p < .01$) between the two variables. These

results were supported by the results of the multiple regression analysis summarized in Table 12 (see p. 52). The regression analysis found that father's educational background was the best predictor (among the variables tested) of educational aspirations.

Although there was a positive relationship between respondents' aspired material consumption and the consumption levels portrayed in their favorite television programs, the Spearman correlation coefficient of respondents' aspirations and parents' SES was higher ($r_s = .19, p < .05$).

H4 predicted that the aspired material consumption of respondents would have a greater relationship to the material consumption portrayed in their favorite television programs than to their travel patterns. The Spearman correlation coefficient analysis indicated that neither the consumption levels seen in favorite television programs nor travel pattern was significantly related to respondents' aspired material consumption than to their travel patterns (see Table 13, p. 53). This result was supported by the results of the multiple regression analysis that pointed to respondents' SES as the best predictor of aspired material consumption.

Discussion

The absence of any significant statistical relationship between television images and respondents' aspirations appears to support the findings of the few empirical studies of cultural imperialism by scholars such as Ang (1985), Liebes and Katz (1990), and Ogan (1993). They found little evidence to support the one-way paradigm espoused by the cultivation and dependency theorists. Liebes and Katz (1990) attributed the absence of a significant relationship between television images and viewers' behavior to the fact that the viewers

themselves were active rather than passive participants in how they receive, process, and interpret media content.

In this study, the active participation of viewers is reflected in the statistical findings pertaining to respondents' occupational, educational, and material aspirations. In the case of occupational aspirations, a simple frequency analysis indicated that more than 60% of the respondents preferred professional-type occupations in comparison to 45% of the favorite television characters portrayed as professionals. Furthermore, the Spearman correlation coefficient analysis found no statistically significant relationship between television occupations and respondents' occupational aspirations ($r_s = -.01$, $p > .05$). Given such results, one might conclude that the Jamaican viewers interpreted the occupational related messages in their favorite television characters differently than portrayed. This conclusion is in line with the contention of Liebes and Katz (1990) that for cultural imperialism to succeed as a result of television viewing, messages embodied in television programs must be decoded and understood by the receiver the way they were encoded and intended by the sender.

This study's findings that parental living standards were the main source of influence on adolescents' material aspirations support the work of Sewell and Hauser (1980). However, the relatively weak relationships between the television variables and respondents' lifestyle aspirations (i.e., occupation, education, and material consumption) warrant additional examination and speculations of other variables that might be better predictors of lifestyle aspirations.

Indeed, other studies have pointed to variables other than respondents' socioeconomic background as determinants of adolescents' aspirations. For example, a study of adolescents' social mobility aspirations by Van Zeyl (1974) found that school type (e.g., high schools or technical schools) rather than class background was the best predictor of adolescents' educational and occupational aspirations.

Another study by Freedman and Thornton (1990) found that adolescents' ownership of durables was a better predictor of material aspirations than their socioeconomic background. They felt that the experience of ownership was a qualitatively different experience from sharing familial items and that this experience heightened adolescents' levels of aspirations. Freedman and Thornton noted that adolescents, both rich and poor, were no longer solely dependent on their parents to experience ownership of durables. According to them, the opportunity now existed for adolescents to earn and spend their own money, and this economic independence might explain why parental or socioeconomic background was no longer the primary source of influence on adolescents' aspirations.

Without data pertaining to respondents' ownership of durables, it was not possible to test if its inclusion might have had a significant effect on the results of this study. However, with respect to school data, it was possible to conduct further examination (albeit limited) to see whether school type, as it reflects peer pressure, would have been a better predictor of respondents' aspirations. Because a comparison of this nature was not anticipated, only one school type--high school--was examined in this study.

To see how much variance existed among the schools in this study, an analysis of variance test was conducted. This test revealed that no two schools among the six sampled were significantly different, $F(5, 167) = 1.15, p > .05$, regarding students' overwhelming preferences for professional-type occupations. The level of homogeneity revealed by this statistical analysis suggests that peer pressure, as a function of school type, may indeed be a better predictor of respondents' aspirations than television content and socioeconomic background.

The findings on respondents' travel pattern, to some extent, support Hosein's speculations that traveling may be a major determinant of lifestyle aspirations in Jamaica. Indeed, when SES was controlled for in the multiple regression analysis, travel was identified as the best predictor of material consumption or material aspirations.

The relatively stronger relationship found between respondents' lifestyle aspirations and various societal variables (i.e., socioeconomic background and parental influence), suggest that these variables may have affected respondents' aspirations. Other important societal variables that may have also affected respondents' aspirations include overseas training, tourism, migration, and trade.

Jamaicans who have studied or migrated to the United States but who maintain contact with their homeland through personal or business relationships may be a contributing factor for the island's familiarity with North Americans' lifestyles and customs. Another important potential channel for the importation of foreign culture is tourism. Little is known about this industry's cultural impact on Jamaicans. What is known, however, is that the tourist

industry predates the introduction of television to the island and accounts for a major part of interpersonal exchange between Jamaicans and North American visitors.

Limitations of the Study and Future Research

Four major factors preventing the results of this study from being generalized are (a) the sample size of both the survey and content analysis, (b) location from which the sample was drawn, (c) homogeneous school type, and (d) some flaws in the measuring instrument (i.e., the questionnaire).

Sample size. The samples used in the survey and the content analysis phases of the study were too small to provide the variance needed to make the samples representative of the Jamaican adolescent population's television preferences. A total of 213 students were surveyed, and based on their responses, 60 television programs and 72 characters were identified as favorites.

Location. Because the sampling process was restricted to a particular location in Jamaica (Kingston and Saint Andrew Corporate Area), the research findings cannot be generalized beyond this location. The location was purposely selected because it had certain amenities (i.e., electricity and television reception) that were not available throughout Jamaica. Consequently, the Kingston and Saint Andrew Corporate Area was not typical or representative of the entire island. Since individuals living in other parts of Jamaica did not have an equal chance at being selected, the sample lacks the variance necessary for it to be representative of the country's adolescent population.

School type. Another reason why the sample is likely to be lacking in demographic variance is the use of school type as a criterion in the selection process. Similar to a multistage sample design, this sample is likely to have been subjected to sampling errors at each stage of the selection process--stage one being selection based on location, and stage two being selection based on school type. Because the sample size is necessarily smaller at each stage than the total sample size, the error rate at each of the stages mentioned may be greater than would be the case for a single stage random sample.

The questionnaire. Unfortunately, the questionnaire used to gather much of the study's data was flawed. As a result, the scope of data analysis, particularly with respect to measuring the strength of respondent's television perception, was limited. The questions designed to measure respondents' occupational and material aspirations (i.e., questions 9 and 16) also appear to have been problematic given the high percentage of nonresponses and *other* responses to these open-ended questions. A more structured question design, possibly with preset categories, might have been useful in helping respondents to better articulate their feelings.

Another possible flaw concerned the question used to measure levels of exposure to television. Question 2 was very general, and respondents might not have understood that total time spent watching television should include both during the week and weekend viewing hours. The possibility that this might not have been understood might explain the relatively low levels of viewing hours reported.

Because this study was essentially intended as a learning experience for the researcher, its scope was limited in terms of the number of variables that

could be tested within the time frame designated for the study's completion. Given these limitations, this study is exploratory in nature and is best used as a guide for further research. The following are a few suggestions for further research:

1. A more definitive examination of the following areas should be undertaken to determine to what extent these variables may cause Jamaican adolescents to be predisposed to the influence of television programs and characters: (a) perception of television content by viewers, (b) motivation for watching television, and (c) the level of interest or attention given to television content.

Likert-scale questions aimed at measuring the strength or weakness of responses are useful in providing analytical data pertaining to the relationships between exposure and perception and between motivation and perception. The insight gathered from such data would be useful in determining the importance of these variables within the context of Jamaica.

2. For the purpose of generalization, a larger and more representative sample (i.e., inclusive of secondary schools and others less driven by scholastic achievement) is recommended. Since such sampling might include semi-illiterate individuals, face-to-face interviews in lieu of a self-administered questionnaire should be used where necessary. With the exception of the modifications discussed in this chapter and the design of a more structured questionnaire, the methodology applied to the current study appears to be appropriate for future quantitative studies pertaining to the impact of television on lifestyle aspirations in Jamaica.

3. Further research on the topic of this study is warranted. Given the limitations of the study, its findings regarding the absence of any significant relationship between television images and lifestyle aspirations are not statistically conclusive. If this study were to be repeated, special attention should be paid to the role of variables such as travel, trade, and tourism, which, by their very nature, are effective sources for the importation of foreign culture. From a sociological perspective, variables such as familial ties (i.e., parents' SES and sibling relations) and school type (peer pressure) should also be included in the study.

4. To the extent that lifestyle aspirations are a byproduct of one's value system or socialization, research efforts should also be directed at examining the values portrayed in foreign programs and the extent to which they may affect values embraced by Jamaicans and their social institutions. According to the findings of this research, more than 60% of the sample felt being wealthy was important to their future happiness. Such findings reflect a fairly high level of materialism, which raises questions about values. Are the current values exhibited by Jamaican adolescents related to exposure to North American programs? And are these programs related to patterns of material consumption and consumer preferences observed in Jamaica?

Future studies such as those suggested here will provide invaluable empirical data that will further aid in the understanding of the role of television versus other factors likely to affect individuals in Third World countries.

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APPENDIX A. Questionnaire

Note. Jamaica's English uses British spelling and pronunciation. The questionnaire was prepared accordingly. Notable differences reflected in the questionnaire are the British spelling of the words favorite (favourite), center (centre), and program (programme).

Appendix A. Questionnaire

Dear Student:

I am conducting a survey to find out more about the likes and dislikes of teenagers your age. As you will see from the following questions, your views on TV programmes and your hopes for the future are some of the areas I wish to know about.

All answers will be *correct* so long as it is what you really believe. Also, whatever you say will be kept in confidence.

Your help will be most appreciated.

.....
Cheryl Y. Josephs

PLACE A CHECK MARK AT THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER

1. Are you permitted to watch television?

Yes _____ No _____

2. How many hours per week do you spend watching television? _____

3. Which of the following is your main reason for watching television?

Check *only one* answer

- _____ to get information useful to my studies
- _____ for entertainment
- _____ to relax
- _____ for excitement
- _____ habit
- _____ nothing better to do
- _____ other (including multiple responses)
- _____ no response

4. What is your favourite TV programme?

5. Do you discuss your favourite TV programme?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes state with whom you usually discuss this programme.

6. Do you believe the stories told in your favourite TV show are possible in real life?

Yes _____ No _____

7. Who is your favourite TV character?

8. Do you know the real name of your favourite TV character?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes please state his/her name.

9. What occupation would you like to do after completing your studies?

10. Which of the following reasons best describe why you selected this occupation?

_____ It's an occupation I would enjoy
_____ This profession is in demand in Jamaica
_____ It pays well

- ☐ Pressure from my parents or guardian
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Other (please explain) _____
- ☐ No response

11. Do you personally know someone employed in the occupation you selected?

Yes ☐ No ☐ If yes state what relation this person is to you.

12. Do you think Jamaica needs people with skills in the occupation you wish to pursue?

Yes ☐ No ☐

13. Have you ever traveled abroad?

If so, state to where and how often.

14. Do you intend to go on to further studies after completing high school?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes select from the list below what type of educational institutions you would attend for additional studies. (Check *only one* answer)

- ☐ Secretarial school
- ☐ School of Nursing
- ☐ Trade Training Centre
- ☐ Jamaica School of Agriculture
- ☐ Jamaica School of Art
- ☐ Teachers' Training College
- ☐ University
- Other _____

15. Do you believe being rich (i.e., having lots of clothes, furniture, cars, appliances, etc.) will ensure your happiness?

16. Describe what type of things you would like to own when you become an adult. Include in your description comments about the following:

- (1) type of home (e.g., size, furnishings)
- (2) type of car (e.g., size/make)
- (3) type of clothes (i.e., would you feel it necessary to wear the latest style or expensive designer clothes?)

17. State your sex: Male _____ Female _____

18. What is your father's occupation?

If your father is dead, retired or unemployed state what was his occupation.

19. What is your mother's occupation?

If your mother is dead, retired or unemployed, state what was her occupation.

If you live with someone other than your parents, state the person's occupation(s).

20. Which of the following best describes the highest level of education achieved by your parents or guardian? Check *only one* answer for each parent or guardian.

Mother	Father	Guardian	
_____	_____	_____	Primary school
_____	_____	_____	Secondary school
_____	_____	_____	Secretarial school
_____	_____	_____	School of Nursing
_____	_____	_____	Trading Training Centre
_____	_____	_____	School of Agriculture
_____	_____	_____	Teachers' Training
_____	_____	_____	College
_____	_____	_____	University
_____	_____	_____	Other (<i>Please state</i>)_____
_____	_____	_____	Don't Know

APPENDIX B. Favorite Television Programs

Appendix B. Favorite Television Programs

Produced in the United States

1. General Hospital	26. Family Matters
2. Generation	27. Crossroads
3. Beverly Hills - 90210	28. Tropical Heat
4. The Young and the Restless	29. DEF Comedy Jam
5. LA Law	30. American Football
6. The Fresh Prince of Bel Air	31. Ghostbuster
7. Santa Barbara	32. Home Improvement
8. All My Children	33. Alfred Hitchcock
9. Sanford and Son	34. SportCenter
10. The Simpsons	35. The Young Riders
11. The Cosby Show	36. Captian Planet and the Planteers
12. Reasonable Doubt	37. CNN World Report
13. Dark Justice	38. Hangin' with Mr. Cooper
14. Matlock	39. Martin
15. The Trials of Rosie O'Neil	40. Dinosaurs
16. Perry Mason Special	41. Angel Street
17. McGyver	42. ROC
18. Oprah Winfrey	43. Homefront
19. Saved By the Bell	44. Getting By
20. Tom and Jerry	45. Roseanne
21. Wheel of Fortune	46. In Living Color
22. Married with Children	47. Montel Williams Show
23. Jeopardy	48. SeaQuest
24. Star Trek	49. Nightline
25. Matlock	50. Real Personal

Produced in Jamaica

1. Oliver at Large	5. Face-to Face
2. Profile	6. Entertainment Report
3. Primetime News	7. Teen Time
4. Sports Entertainment	

Produced in Other Western Developed Countries

1. Allo, allo
2. Best of the Best
3. Teachers' TV

APPENDIX C. Favorite Television Characters

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Appendix C. Favorite Television Characters

Note. Asterisks indicate the names of actors and actresses, characters, or personalities that the researcher was unable to obtain.

<u>Character/Personalities</u>	<u>Name of Actor/Actress</u>	<u>Television Program</u>
1. Adam Marshall*		Generation
2. Alex Trebek	Alex Trebek	Jeopardy
3. Kevin Johnson	Kevin Johnson	SportCenter (NBA)
4. Dillon	Luke Perry	Beverly Hills - 90210
5. Joe Montana	Joe Montana	American Football
6. Jordon *		Generation
7. Pat Zajak	Pat Zajak	Wheel of Fortune
8. Jonathan Rollins	Blair Underwood	LA Law
9. Will	Will Smith	Fresh Prince of Bel Air
10. Eden Capwell	Marcy Walker	Santa Barbara
11. Montel Williams	Montel Williams	Montel Williams Show
12. Sam Whitmore*		Generation
13. Perry Mason	Raymond Burr	Perry Mason
14. Dimitri Marick	Michael Nader	All My Children
15. Oprah Winfrey	Oprah Winfrey	Oprah Winfrey Show
16. Ted Koppel	Ted Koppel	Nightline
17. Chantal*		Generation
18. Dr. Huxtable	Bill Cosby	The Cosby Show
19. Clair Huxtable	Phylicia Rashad	The Cosby Show
20. Ben Matlock	Andy Griffith	Matlock
21. Murphy Brown	Candice Bergen	Murphy
22. Tim Taylor	Tim Allen	Home Improvement
23. Homer Simpsons	(animated)	The Simpsons
24. Gordon Elliott	Gordon Elliott	Gordon
25. Drewcilla Winters	Victoria Rowell	The Young & the Restless
26. *	Marty Matlin	Reasonable Doubt
27. Rosie O'Neil	Sharon Gless	Trial of Rosie O'Neil
28. Bart Simpsons	(animated)	The Simpsons
29. McGyver	Richard Dean Anderson	McGyver
30. Kyle	Robert Torti	Generation
31. Mark Cooper	Mark Curry	Hangin' with Mr. Cooper
32. Zach Marsh	Mark-Paul Gosselaar	Saved by the Bell
33. Roc	Charles Dutton	ROC
34. Steve Irkle	Jaleel White	Family Matters
35. *	Robin Givens	Angel Street
36. Damein Wayne	Damein Wayne	In Living Color
37. Al Bundy	Ed O'Neill	Married with Children
38. Tom	(animated)	Tom & Jerry

<u>Character/Personalities</u>	<u>Name of Actor/Actress</u>	<u>Television Program</u>
39. Roseanne	Roseanne Arnold	Roseanne
40. Joey	Rocky Carroll	ROC
41. Maya*		Generation
42. Fred Sanford	Red Fox	Sanford and Son
43. Sam*		Tropical Heat
44. Comdr. Luke Picard	Patrick Stewart	Star Trek
45. Nathan	Roy Scheider	SeaQuest
46. Cpt. Planet	(animated)	Cpt. Planet & the Planteers
47. Noah	Don Franklin	Young Rider
48. Eric Royal*		Generation
49. *	Robert Urich	Crossroads
50. (the Judge)*		Dark Justice
51. Dr. Kevin Collins	Jon Lindstrom	General Hospital
52. Victor Newman	Eric Braeden	The Young & the Restless
53. Cole Howard	John Peck	The Young & the Restless
54. Christen Blair	Lauralee Bell	The Young & the Restless
55. Grace Van Owen	Susan Dey	LA Law
56. Brandon	Jason Priestly	Beverly Hills - 90210
57. Martin	Martin Lawrence	Martin
58. Baby Sinclair	(animated)	Dinosaurs
59. Fran	(animated)	Dinosaurs
60. Martin Lawrence	Martin Lawrence	DEF Jam Comedy
61. Marcus	Merlin Santana	Getting By
62. Greg Kinnear	Greg Kinnear	Talk Soup
63. Cody	Christopher Baldwin	Young Rider
64. Bob Berkowitz	Bob Berkowitz	Real Personal

Other Western Developed Countries

65. (bartender)*	Allo, allo
66. (chef)*	Allo, allo

Jamaican Characters and Television Personalities

67. Ian Boyne	Ian Boyne	Profile
68. Oliver	Oliver Samuels	Oliver at Large
69. Richard Dumas	Richard Dumas	Sports
70. Helen Coley	Helen Coley	Prime Time News
71. Anthony Miller	Anthony Miller	Entertainment Report
72. Charles Lewin	Charles Lewin	Prime Time News