Gender and the Mass-Mediated Material World

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[to cite]:

[url]:
http://www.acrwebsite.org/volumes/15539/gender/v01/GCB-01

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This paper represents an initial effort to bring mass mediated social reality research to bear on the process by which normative consumer beliefs are formed and maintained by reformulating traditional cultivation and social reality theory. To this end, we present the results of a pilot study (subjects were undergraduate students from a U.S. university) which attempted to assess differences in normative perceptions of consumption and wealth as a function of amount of television viewing. Additionally, the belief that viewing is selective was tested by gathering data which assessed television viewing by program type rather than by simply an assessment of total hours of television viewing.

Results supported the notion that viewing is selective. Additionally, the data showed significant correlations between the normative perception measures and amount of television viewing. These correlations were most apparent when measured within program type. Further, large differences in normative beliefs were observed between men and women. All results reported controlled for relative economic status of the student's family, GPA and materialism.

INTRODUCTION

At the level of anecdote and truism we sometimes say that men and women experience the world very differently. In some instances, the reasonableness of this sentiment or folk observation is obvious. Yet, these perceptual differences may extend well beyond explicitly gender related subject domains. Even in the case of things we see as common or even trivial knowledge, men and women may have constructed very different sets of beliefs about the social world. One such a domain may be that of consumption and associated factors, such as material abundance and wealth.

Consumer behavior is, to some large extent, a function of socialization. Consumers learn the importance and appropriateness of all sorts of consumption related things. More subtly, but perhaps more importantly, they also learn about the incidence or prevalence of these same things, as well as a sense of who has them and who doesn't. They possess a constructed material world, with all the associated normative expectations. This world is carried around with them and forms the basis for many consumption related attitudes and behaviors.

This mental material world is constructed via input from many sources, direct and indirect. Yet compared to our ancestors, a much greater proportion of our mental construction of the social world is now experienced indirectly (McLeod and Chaffee 1972). For example, few of us have actually gone to Africa, but many of us think we know about it, what it is like. Even closer to home, much of our constructed social world might as well be as distant, in that we seem to think we know about people and things with which we actually have very little contact. Suburban whites rarely fail to offer a firm opinion on what inner city African Americans are like, even though their contact is often exclusively through their television set. Yet, as in a classic sleeper effect, the source of those social beliefs may become separated over time; individuals just think that they know these things.

It is not insignificant that a large part of that portrayed world prominently involves consumption. Yet, perhaps television's effect on material social reality does not cut evenly across gender. Perhaps television portrayals affect men and women differently, especially in terms of their beliefs about the distribution of material things, its appropriateness for them, and the availability of resources with which to acquire it. Maybe they watch for different things, pay attention to different things, and make different inferences due to previous role socialization. We have, after all, long realized differential outcomes in consumer socialization across gender (Ward 1974; Moschis 1986).
One of the more enduring, provocative and controversial contributions of mass communication research to social science has been in the area of social reality effects. Collectively, this research has demonstrated modest yet consistent associations between exposure to television and individuals' beliefs about various aspects of their social environment. Most commonly associated with Gerbner's cultivation theory (Gerbner et al. 1977, 1980), research in this area has now extended beyond the bounds of that particular theory and constitutes a somewhat broader area of inquiry in mass communication known as social reality research (Hawkins and Pingree 1982). Still, both the general theoretical and methodological orientation of contemporary work in this area remains largely consistent with Gerbner's original conceptualizations. While there are some legitimate and well documented methodological criticisms of this research (Hirsch 1980, 1981), its intuitive appeal has seemed to keep it alive.

This paper attempts to do at least three things which differ somewhat from the extant mass communication literature. The first is topical; we extend social reality research into the domain of consumer behavior, specifically normative or modal consumer beliefs. Given that most of the peoples of the world exist in consumer oriented cultures, and that television may be one of consumer culture's requisite institutions, it seems entirely reasonable to extend the set of social beliefs affected by exposure to television to the domain of consumption. Secondly, we present some initial work on our efforts to reformulate theory. To this end, we address what we see as one of the greatest limitations of social reality theories; that is their essentially "black box" character. Third, we nest our analyses within gender, and within fairly narrowly defined program types, and then contrast these nested findings with results having no greater specificity than "total hours" spent viewing. This very simple analytical procedure speaks to the theoretical assertion that cultivation effects are probably most observable when the greatest degree of specificity between audience and program type is attained.

The Cultivation Effect

The theory of cultivation (Gerbner et al. 1977) holds that television viewing significantly assists in creating or cultivating a view of reality which is biased toward the highly formulaic and stylized narrative content of television. The more one views, the greater the effect. Cultivation examines not the conscious acquisition and rational utilization of information, but more the absorption of it. Summary beliefs about our social environment are built or "constructed" (a la Berger and Luckman 1966) with bits of information from a number of sources and these sources differ significantly in their properties. Television is a largely narrative, dramatic medium in which viewers willfully "suspend their disbelief," often in a very passive cognitive state (Ray 1973), for an average of four hours per day (Nielsen Television Index 1990). It therefore seems quite reasonable to cultivation theorists that television figures prominently in the individual's construction or summary beliefs about the nature of social things.

Although several studies have found support for the cultivation hypothesis, belief in this effect is far from unanimous. Over the years there has been a great deal of criticism of this model and the methods used to test it (Hirsch 1980, 1981). The correlations between viewing and effects, although significant, often indicate only weak to moderate relationships. Control variables are needed to rule out possible spurious correlations due to the association of both viewing and social perceptions with some third variable. This concern is quite reasonable since magnitude of viewing has been shown to be related to demographic variables such as SES, age, income and sex (Comstock et al. 1978). Real life experiences are also likely to differ among members of different demographic groups. Thus, a relationship between heavy viewing and overestimation of crime or violence may simply be due to the fact that lower income people are both heavy viewers and more likely to live in high crime neighborhoods.

Availability, Imagability, and Mediating Attitudes

Psychologically, cultivation is a black box theory. It posits no explicit psychological dynamic. It offers instead a somewhat vague sort of socialization theory based on notions of frequency and passivity of viewing. It is far from an elaborated theory in the social cognition sense. However, other theories may contribute to understanding the cultivation effect, and assist in modifying and extending related social reality
theory. First is the work of decision scientists Kahneman and Tversky (1982; Tversky and Kahneman 1973) on the availability heuristic. The basic premise of this work is that the things more easily retrieved from memory are more “available” and thus disproportionately represented in judgments regarding the occurrence of events or the frequency of things. An heuristic is said to be most typically employed in low involvement situations or in simplifying complex tasks (see Folkes 1988; Sherman and Corty 1984). Numerous factors have been suggested as facilitating retrieval and thus availability. Some of these are distinctiveness, novelty, and affective valence. It could be that when television viewers are asked to estimate the incidence of something like the likelihood of being the victim of a violent crime, they rely on an heuristic in which mass media portrayals are affectively charged and distinctive, and thus more “available.” A finding supportive of this notion has been reported in at least one study. Lichtenstein et al. (1978) found that mass media exposure was positively correlated with overestimating the frequency of certain lethal events prominently displayed in the media. This is, of course, the very same prediction made by cultivation theory, the major difference being that availability is offered as the explanatory dynamic.

Work which looks at the unique properties of television would also seem worth examining in this context. For instance, Janis (1980) suggests that the effect of vividness may help to explain the effects of exposure. Similarly, work in social cognition has demonstrated that those things which are more easily imagined are more available from memory (Gregory et al. 1982; Sherman et al. 1985). Lastly, a third factor could be added to a revised model, that of mediating attitudes or value orientations. For example, one's attitude toward the end state of having certain possessions could mediate the subjective estimates of its occurrence. We would expect those who see having things as more desirable in general (materialism) as also having higher estimates of the prevalence of those same things. The explanation for this could be based on any number of psychological theories including false consensus (Ross 1977), cognitive consistency, selective exposure or retention, or just about any functional attitude theory (Shavitt 1989). A synthesis of these factors into a more unified theory might contribute a great deal by adding psychological process.

Social Reality and Consumption

A growing number of researchers interested in consumer behavior have written about the role of advertisements in creating symbolic and cultural beliefs in consumers (Mick 1986; McCracken 1986; Levy 1959). However, advertising represents only a small portion of media content. Surprisingly, the programs between the ads have largely been ignored by consumer researchers. Furthermore, symbolic meaning is only one aspect of social reality. Perhaps even more fundamental, exposure to the “world”as portrayed on television has the potential to influence our perceptions of the very existence or incidence of things. If unchallenged, these perceptions become part of enduring cognitive structures. We begin to believe the world, or at least part of it, exists as it is constituted on television.

Clearly the world of television involves consumption. Characters buy, sell, own, display and in a multitude of ways consume. Things are used as visual shorthand to tell the audience important things about characters and their values. The effects of long term exposure to these symbol laden portrayals are predicted by social reality theories. Yet, the processes and effects of this ubiquitous source of social construction have yet to be systematically examined to any significant degree. Again, it is important to remember that these beliefs may not exist in a logical, rational or elaborated sense. It may, in fact, be the uncritical and vague way in which they are held that gives them much of their power. One simply thinks he or she knows how others with whom they have limited direct contact behave, what they own, how happy they are, what they think about, and what having, displaying and consuming certain things has to do with all of these desired end states.

Consumer behavior researchers have long recognized that product desires and choices are influenced by perceptions of norms. In reality, the fact that norms do influence behaviors is one of the things about which social psychologist are most sure. Unfortunately, their origins, persistence, and associated cognitive processes are considerably more elusive. It could well be that a better understanding of television’s role in all of this would be quite helpful in constructing a more
comprehensive model of normative belief formation in mass mediated cultures. For example, it could be that as cultures have grown more complex, our ability to develop accurate perceptions of norms may have actually decreased due to the extent to which we use mass-mediated information in lieu of that directly acquired (McLeod and Chaffee 1972). Further, mass-mediated information may often be distorted and also largely unchallenged as an acceptable substitute for "knowing"about the world. This includes what we think we know about how others behave as consumers.

**Previous Work**

There have been less than five published studies which directly investigated consumer cultivation. Fox and Philliber (1978) examined the impact of television viewing on perceptions of affluence in the U.S. However, their measure of TV viewing was a questionable one. It simply asked people to indicate the number of evenings in an average week they watched one hour or more of television. A person who watched one hour every evening would be treated as a heavy viewer even though they would be well below the national average in total amount of television viewed. Using this measure, they found a significant relationship between amount of viewing and perceptions of affluence, but this relationship disappeared when control variables were applied.

A study of Israeli viewers of American programs found that respondents overestimated the percentage of Americans owning various household items as well as the average earnings of American families (Weimann 1984). Heavy viewers overestimated these things to a greater extent than lighter viewers. Additionally, by testing different causal models, Weimann found that his data were best explained by a model in which control variables influence amount of viewing, but not cultivation effects directly, thus indicating that amount of viewing does have a direct effect on cultivation. However, the generalizability of this study to American viewers is problematic, especially since the control variables did not include any measure of direct experience with American households.

It may also be important to consider the way consumer decision making is portrayed on television. Research has shown that decisions on television tend to infrequently consider important purchase decisions such as finances available and alternative choices (Faber 1978; Way 1982). Additionally, few sources of information are considered and decisions are made within a very short time frame (typically within one day) on television (Faber 1978). Therefore, we may find that heavy viewers are less deliberate and thorough in their purchase decision making.

Lee (1988) and Lee and O'Guinn (1990) have studied cultivation among Taiwanese immigrants to the United States. By taking measures in Taiwan and at several levels of years lived within the United States, these researchers were able to use a cross-sectional design to study the process by which immigrants learned about the role and value of consumption objects. In Taiwan, respondents greatly overestimated material abundance in the United States, and this relationship was significantly explained by exposure to U.S. television programming. They also found that exposure to television remained a very strong predictor of beliefs concerning consumption behavior in Taiwanese immigrants even after several years in the U.S.

In sum, these studies support the basic cultivation hypothesis, but are also subject to the standard criticisms and limitations leveled at such work. With the above mentioned studies in mind, this study attempts to remedy some of the conceptual and methodological criticisms that have plagued cultivation and social reality research.

**THE STUDY**

Questionnaires were administered to 224 undergraduates enrolled in an undergraduate course at a major midwestern university. The students participated in the study to satisfy a course requirement. The questionnaire attempted to assess the student's perception of various normative aspects of consumption behavior as well as their general perceptions of material wealth. Participants were asked to make separate estimates for percentages of men, women and married couples and households owning various items and engaging in various behaviors. Examples of items asked were percentages of people who: play golf regularly, earn over $40,000 per year, are doctors, have two sources of income, own a convertible, have a swimming pool.
Participants were also asked to indicate how many hours per week they watched each of ten different program types. The categories were situation comedy, action/adventure, drama, news, sports, daytime soap opera, game show, music video, movie and an "other" category. This breakdown by category allowed for determination of total television viewing per week by summing over all categories, and also allowed for correlations to be calculated between specific program types and the normative perception measures.

Demographic measures were also taken which have frequently been used as control variables. However, due to the homogeneity of this student population, traditional control variables such as income, age and education were inappropriate. Instead of income, a measure of the respondent's estimation of his or her family's relative economic status was employed as a control variable. Respondent's GPA was also employed as a control in as much as the investigators believed that it might both account for differences in how generally aware or socially cognizant respondents were and as a crude, but commonly used correlate of processing ability. Consistent with our initial conceptualization of a mass-mediated social reality effects model in which attitude toward the object being assessed in terms of frequency or value orientation should mediate frequency estimates, and in order to further control for the possibility that more materialistic individuals may be drawn to shows which over-represent material abundance and consumption (rather than such shows causing a different view of the world), materialism was also used as a control variable. This individual differences or dispositional variable was assessed by administering a 24 item materialism scale developed by Belk (1985). This scale taps three related factors: possessiveness, non-generosity and envy. Normative perceptual measures were also assumed to vary in their degree of imagability, thus adding another partial test of our initial model. Zero through third order partial correlations were calculated for each program type and the normative perception measures. Correlations were also calculated across all participants, and were also nested within gender. Given the observed differences in viewing by gender (Nielsen Television Index 1990), and our theoretical assertion that important class differences should have a significant impact upon the nature and extent of cultivation effects, analyses were nested within gender and then compared to relationships obtained for the combined (men and women) sample. Correlations were also calculated between all program types in order to test the hypothesis that viewing is selective. The extent to which viewing is selective has significant implications for theory testing in this area as well as addressing an important point of contention between social reality theorists and their critics (see Bryant 1986; Hawkins and Pingree 1982; Zillmann and Bryant 1985).

RESULTS

Very few significant (p < .05) correlations were observed with the combined sample. However, when correlations were assessed separately by gender, the picture changed dramatically. Table 1 shows the third order (controlling for relative economic status, GPA, and materialism) r values for each gender broken out by program type. The data indicate that males and females gave quite different estimations of wealth and consumption, as a function of amount of viewing time of specific program types. Virtually none of the relationships were significant for both genders and in some cases were inversely correlated. So, after supposedly watching the very same programming, male and female subjects come away with very different beliefs or inferences.

Situation Comedy. Men and women who watch situation comedies seem to view the world quite differently. For example, the more males watched, the higher their estimate of the percentage of females making over $40,000 per year (r = .42), but the lower their estimate (r = -.21) of the percentage of married couples making less than $25,000 per year. In the case of the latter, women thought just the opposite; the more sitcoms they watched the higher their estimates (r = .21) of families making under $25,000. Men thought women and families in general were more affluent, while women thought they were less.

Action/Adventure. Women and men who watch a lot of action/adventure programming also seem to have different perceptions of the world. Only one relationship was significant for both genders: both men and women who viewed more action/adventure also gave higher estimates of the percentage of households owning a convertible (men: r = .28, women: r = .20). These estimates are consistent with the frequent portrayal of
On other measures, women tended to give higher estimates of wealth and consumption. The more female subjects watched action/adventure programs, the higher their estimates of the percentage of households belonging to a country club (r=.28), the percentage of men who play tennis regularly (r=.24), and the percentage of men who traveled outside the U.S. last year (r=.21).

In the case of male subjects, the more action adventures watched, the lower their estimates of the percentage of households owning two or more televisions (r = -.21), or at least one color television (r = -.22). Somewhat parenthetically, higher levels of viewing this type of programming, were also negatively correlated with estimates of the percentage of couples who will get a divorce (r = -.23).

**News.** The category of news also provides some interesting insights. Men who watched more news tended to give higher estimates of wealth on a variety of measures. Men who watch more news gave significantly higher estimates of the percentage of married couples owning a house worth over $100,000 (r=.21), and having yearly household incomes above $100,000 (r=.22). They also gave higher estimates of the percentage of households who own a vacation home (r=.41) and belong to a country club (r=.30). Interestingly, the single exception to this "rich world," portrayal of news was women. The more news men watched, the higher their estimates of the percentage of women who have low paying jobs (r = +.22).

Females' viewing of news was significantly correlated with only one measure: it was negatively correlated with estimations of the percentage of females who have low paying jobs (r = -.21). This is quite interesting in that, again, the relationship of news hours viewed to social reality estimates is almost exactly opposite for males and females.

**Game Shows.** Finally, the category of Game Shows indicates differences in normative consumption perceptions between males and females. The more men watched game shows, the lower their estimates of the percentage of couples with two incomes (r = -.23). In the case of females subjects, the more hours of game shows watched, the higher the estimates of the percentage of women who own furs (r=.21), expensive jewelry (r=.20), and women professionals other than doctors and lawyers (r=.21).

**DISCUSSION**

In general, Table 1 indicates that women and men who watch television give different estimates of consumption and wealth. Virtually none of the significant relationships hold for both genders, and in some cases are inversely correlated. It also demonstrated some moderately strong social reality effects which hold in the presence of three control variables. It should be noted that analyses within some program categories (i.e., Drama, Movie, Soap Operas) revealed other significant correlations, and their pattern was consistent with the results reported.

Gender was not initially a significant factor in this research. We thought we might see some differences, but really had no sound theoretical grounding for this prediction. The fact that they were present and so abundant in these pilot data, resulted in some post-hoc speculation. In hindsight it does seem that these effects could be attributable to several factors. The first is methodological. Even though men and women are responding similarly to the category labels, i.e., action-adventure, situation comedy, they are actually watching different shows. However, subsequent analysis of our data, including open ended responses about favorite shows, did not support this. Add to this the fact that specific shows within very formulaic television genres vary little, and we are even more inclined to reject this alternative explanation.

Another explanation is that men and women do not arrive at the viewing situation tabula rosa. They carry with them cultural gender based baggage that allows them to take different things from the same message. This view is consistent with the uses and gratifications meta-theory (Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch 1974), as well as the constructionist (Anderson 1981; Dorr 1986) point of view. From these theoretical perspectives, gender differences in social reality effects would not be surprising at all. For example, the literature on selective perception has long demonstrated that individuals perceive the same stimuli in different ways (Hastorf and Cantril...
1971; Vidmar and Rokeach 1974). It thus seems perfectly plausible that men and women differ on interpretations of various stimuli, in this case conveyed meaning of television programming.

Social cognition research also supports this hypothesis. Tesser and Leone (1977) have demonstrated individual differences in schematicity for particular information sets. More specific to gender, Walker (1976) found gender differences in the use of social schemata, showing women tend to use "horizontal schemes" (those based on symmetrical or reciprocal relationships: Bob likes Jim/Jim likes Bob), while men showed a preference for vertical schemata (those based on asymmetry, such as dominance relationships: Bob dominates Jim/Jim does not dominate Bob). Finally, Gould (1987) found sex differences in public self consciousness (Fenigstein, Scheier and Buss 1975), with females being more aware of their public selves. These studies lend support for the notion that gender differences do exist in the way in which information is processed, which in turn supports the hypothesis that males and females may reliably differ on interpretation of social stimuli.

This initial effort sought to bring social reality research in mass communication to bear on the domain of consumer behavior. We thought it reasonable to expect to find social reality effects in that domain, specifically in terms of normative beliefs. We further expected them to be stronger when nested within important class variables. Both of these a priori suppositions were borne out by the data. Gender proved to be a very important variable in both the direction and magnitude of observed effects, thus suggesting that subsequent efforts pay careful attention to gender bound associations.

We also proposed that attitudes toward possessing as an end state (materialism) would mediate the association between television exposure and observed normative beliefs. At least in this analysis, they did not. This may be due to the insensitivity of the measure itself, or that this element of a revised model is, in fact, unnecessary. As far as the more imagable items having greater observed correlations, there was some tacit but meager support for this notion. However, since most of the low imagable goods and services failed to render strong correlations (and are thus not reported in Table 1), this finding may be partially obscured. Further, since we did not test the items for degree of imagability beforehand, this can best be regarded as post-hoc theory construction, but a firm implication for subsequent work, nonetheless. It should be remembered that the data are not presented as a firm test of this emerging and initial model, but as either merely supportive or non-supportive in a theory building sense.

In developing a complete theory or model of the impact of television on the formation, maintenance and persistence of normative consumer beliefs, it is likely that we would want to go beyond biased frequency estimates. A revised mass-mediated social reality model may also significantly contribute to explaining the discussed but rarely researched "affective socialization" of consumers that Riesman and Roseborough (1955) spoke of thirty-five years ago. While it is true that products would have symbolic meaning in the absence of television, television may be one of the most effective transmitters of that symbolic code in a mass-mediated consumer culture, and the transmission may be affected by the medium of that transmission. This could have significant implications for our understanding of the origin and persistence of consumers' normative beliefs about such things as the abundance of material things by social class, what members of other ethnicities or social classes are like, the "proper" role of things like credit cards and buying as a response to feeling bad. There is, of course, the distinct possibility that what is "proper" will be seen synonymously with what is normal, and that what is normal is, in fact, significantly biased by media portrayals. For these reasons, dependent variables should probably include value orientations and quality of life measures. If heavy viewers develop a belief that expensive possessions are more prevalent in the real world than they actually are, this may, in turn, lead to a greater desire to have these things and perhaps lower levels of life satisfaction. Finally, these beliefs may serve to guide one's own behavior. This may occur well after the viewing situation where cultivated beliefs are utilized by consumers who no longer recognize them as coming from the media.

It should be pointed out that most studies on cultivation effects find that television has only a weak or moderate effect on beliefs especially after controlling for other variables. Similar levels of
effects are likely in the study of the cultivation of consumption beliefs. However, this should not necessarily be taken as an indication that the media have only weak effects. It is important to keep in mind that television is so prevalent in our society that virtually no one can escape its influence. Even light viewers are likely to be affected by the images and values of television either directly through viewing or indirectly through interactions with others who have been effected.

Social reality analysis provides one way to examine some of the potential effects of the mass media on consumer socialization and enculturation throughout the life-span. There are many factors which may play important roles in mitigating these effects and the development of a comprehensive model may still be in the distance. However, given the pervasiveness of television and other mass media, it appears to be worthwhile for researchers to further utilize and develop models which incorporate the role entertainment media can play in fostering perceptions of consumption reality and how these normative beliefs ultimately influence consumer attitudes, values and behaviors.

REFERENCES


Hirsch, Paul (1980), "The Scary World of the


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### TABLE 1

**Significant Third Order Partial Correlations Between TV Viewing Within Program Type and Consumer Beliefs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation Comedies:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- % of females making over $40,000</td>
<td>-.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- % of couples making less than $25,000</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- % of men who are happily married</td>
<td>.21</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Action/Adventure:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- % of couples who will get a divorce</td>
<td>-.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- % of households owning 2 or more TVs</td>
<td>-.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- % of households owning at least one color TV</td>
<td>-.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- % of households owning a convertible</td>
<td>.28*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>News</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- % of married couples making over $100,000</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- % of married couples owning a home costing over $100,000</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- % of households owning a vacation home</td>
<td>.41**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- % of households belonging to a country club</td>
<td>.30*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- % of females having low paying jobs</td>
<td>.22</td>
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<tr>
<th>Game Shows</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>- % of couples with two incomes</td>
<td>-.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- % of women who are other professionals</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- % of women who own furs</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- % of women who own expensive jewelry</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .01  ***, p < .001; all others significant at p < .05