A MODERATED MEDIATION MODEL OF *THE APPRENTICE* AND BUSINESS ATTITUDES: A STUDY OF REALITY-BASED TELEVISION AND PARASOCIAL FEELINGS BY SOCIAL WORKING CLASS AND TRUST IN BIG BUSINESS

by

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ABSTRACT

This study is about medium theory, television, and the presentation of the backstage. Medium theory was used as a theoretical framework to study *The Apprentice* and the show's influence on big business attitudes. The work was primarily concerned with looking at processes of media influence through parasocial feelings for Donald Trump and Martha Stewart. In addition, the moderators of trust in big business and social working class orientation were also included in the study. A moderated mediation model is hypothesized and found to exist in the data. However, an alternative mediated moderation model was also found. The implications for this study are discussed, and future lines of research are outlined.
Chapter 1

A BRIEF HISTORY OF MEDIUM THEORY

Medium theory is a theoretical perspective based primarily on the early work of Marshal McLuhan that emphasizes not just the content of the message, but the medium in which that message is carried as having a broad range of effects on audience members. Medium theory is an important theoretical perspective for mass media studies because "it outlines how media, rather than functioning simply as channels for conveying information between two or more social environments, are themselves social contexts that foster certain forms of interaction and social identities" (Meyrowitz, 1997, p. 61). That is to say, a television is not just the plastic box full of tubes and wires that picks up a cable signal from the plug coming out of the wall and flashes the sounds and images of your favorite program on to the screen. Reading about a sweltering church fire on the front page of the newspaper does not create the same experience as viewing that same fire on the 5 o'clock news. It evokes different reactions and emotions from the viewer and strongly affects the environment in which that communicative act was experienced. Medium theory stands out because so many other mass communication theories are message centered, such as agenda setting, priming and framing theory, (McQuail & Windahl, 1999).

There were two distinct groups of medium theorists; the first generation theorists like McLuhan and the second generation theorists like Meyrowitz. Second-generation theorists attempted to learn from the knowledge of the first generation theorists and also conquer the inherent weaknesses of their perspectives. An important distinction to
recognize in examining medium theory is where it differs from technological
determinism, which it is often accused of preaching. "While media forms and structures
are internalized and function as unacknowledged catalysts for change within the structure
and conduct of thought and discourse, it is the interaction between media technology and
human beings that is the object of the medium theorist, and not the technology itself
(Leverette, 2003). The reliance upon a technological determinist perspective is one of the
issues that plagued early medium theorists like McLuhan. This problem has been directly
addressed in the works of second-generation medium theorists like Meyrowitz (1997) and
Pfau (1990). Their shift toward examining both the technology and the content has
created a balance that has been more favorably received by the scholarly community than
the work of McLuhan.

The core of medium theory comes in conceptualizing media as environment.
Medium theory focuses on the media characteristics themselves (as with media richness
theory), relegating message content and how that information is to be received to a
secondary importance. With medium theory, a medium is not simply a newspaper, the
Internet, or a television show as is traditionally observed. More specifically, it is the
symbolic environment of any communicative act. The medium is likewise responsible for
setting the boundaries for what kind of messages can be sent. Basically, the argument of
medium theory is that media, regardless of the content that is being transmitted, have an
impact on individuals and society.

More common perspectives tend to conceptualize media as either conduit or
language. For instance, in agenda setting, media are the conduit through the message will
arrive and then that media is responsible for setting the tone and focus of the perceived
message. In this theory, all media are treated as functional equivalents, thus medium plays no role. With the visual literacy perspective, media is seen merely as language through which the message comes. Paul Messaris's book *Visual Literacy* (1994) is a staple work in this area of research. Messaris examines "four relatively distinct aspects of this general topic;" visual literacy as a prerequisite for the comprehension of visual media, its general cognitive consequences, the awareness of visual manipulation, and aesthetic appreciation (Messaris, 1994, p. 3). His work was chiefly concerned with understanding and forming a grammatical structure for the visual images we are exposed to through media and still very much a mix of form and content.

All three media metaphors (media as environment, conduit, and language) serve different epistemological functions. The seemingly disparate perspectives all function off of different assumptions about the balance between content and medium. Consequently, all three perspectives ask different questions, and thus lead them to provide different answers and different types of knowledge. It is best to view the utility in each of these perspectives and the best way to study media is to use a combination of all three metaphors. More importantly, not just to use all three perspectives in relative isolation, but to find bridges that span across these research traditions to help advance knowledge.

McLuhan was influenced by a number of scholars, including Robert Albion, Claude Shannon, Warren Weaver, Norbert Weiner, Albert Lord and Milman Parry (Carey, 1998). However, McLuhan was most influenced by the work of Harold Innis. Innis' work *The Bias of Communication* runs in a very similar vein to the works of McLuhan. Innis focused most of his efforts on the study of time and space in communication media throughout history and dedicated some attention to how the rise of
new media affected more traditional forms. Another important area of his research was focused on distance and how this affected the importance of communication. "The paper and printing industries supported the development of monopolies of space in nationalism and the state. Printing emphasized vernaculars, reduced the speed of the movement of ideas and divided the European mind" (Innis, 1951, p. 129).

Meyrowitz (1997) is quick to point out that he uses the term medium theory as opposed to the more frequently used media theory because the former perspective focuses "on the particular characteristics of each individual medium or of each general type of media" (p. 46). "Medium theory seeks to explain how the characteristics of a particular medium make it physically, psychologically, and socially different from other media and from face-to-face interactions, regardless of the particular messages that are being communicated through it" (p. 47). McLuhan was convinced that the medium was all that mattered in the study of communication, and from this standpoint emerged his famous idea that *The medium is the message*. Meyrowitz returned the focus to a more balanced examination that attempted to determine what made the experience of a communicative act contextually different from others.

The work of Marshal McLuhan is widely recognized, though his academic credibility remains fragile at best (Olson, 1981; cf. Holbert 2004; Strate 2006). The debate about the utility of McLuhan's work has been tossed back and forth in the realm of academia for decades and a forgone conclusion does not seem apparent in the near future. The seminal books *Understanding Media* (1964) and *The Medium is the Massage* (1967) were, however, ground breaking texts that have since been used by scholars in many fields ranging from psychology to marketing to mass and interpersonal communication
McLuhan is frequently cited as being one of the pioneers who encouraged scholars to pay closer attention to the medium in which messages are transmitted and relatively less on the content of the message (Carey, J.W., 1998; Hickey, 2005; Holbert, 2004; McGuire, 1986; Moos, 2005).

McLuhan initiated a paradigm shift in the way that media are studied. His new method (probing) combined with his new theory (that of media being completely responsible for the way a communicative act is perceived) altered the course of study for mass communication theorists permanently. This method of probing is best summed up by McLuhan when he wrote "People don't actually read newspapers. They step into them every morning like a hot bath" (McLuhan & Carlson, 2004, p. 184). This quote also provides a concrete example of his work in media environment.

In a work published shortly after *The Medium is the Massage*, McLuhan wrote on medium theory that "media effects are new environments as imperceptible as water is to a fish, subliminal for the most part" (McLuhan & Parker, 1970, p. 34). It was not only medium theorists who took up this viewpoint, either. "Media are occasions for experiences; experiences which are themselves the main products, the main transactions, the main 'effects' of media. This is the big story; the rest is details. The wonder of communications was that the carriers of information did not simply transmit facts or ideology. They occasioned a human experience, a sense of connection to the world" (Gitlin, 2002, p. 54). Media are, in fact, our world as we know it in the sense that each medium has its own way of looking at the world. Television sees the world through a television camera lens. When television becomes the dominant medium relative to other traditional forms of mass communication (as it has been and continues to be today), then
the world sees what the television sees and shares this camera lens perspective. This perspective sets the environment and is accepted as reality.

Early medium theorists faced additional criticism because of their exclusive focus on the effects of media forms while completely disregarding content. As this area of research has progressed, second generation medium theorists have expanded the scope of the research to include both form and content, such as examining how showing a politician's home life can positively affect his/her voter turnout. These more recent theorists have placed a considerable emphasis on studying and researching both the form and the content of the message (Meyrowitz, 1997). Much like the issue of technological determinism, the form versus content problem was solved through this move from first generation medium theorists to the current group of second generation medium theorists.

While McLuhan's paradigmatic shift was an important step, his new ideas were far from empirically testable. "Although McLuhan did much to advance both an academic and popular awareness of the study of media forms, many find his work to lack the necessary focus to allow for systematic analyses of a given set of phenomena" (Holbert, 2004, p. 102). Further complicating the matter was McLuhan's "aversion to the research tradition" (Olson, 1981, p. 139). Irregardless of McLuhan’s viewpoints about how media shape and create messages, his theoretical framework was non-linear. McLuhan actually believed that print was the media environment that created the linear tradition that scholars had long been a part of (E. McLuhan, 1981). His ideas represented a major shift away from social scientific principles and the scholarly research tradition. These ideas, while cutting edge, were still too circuitous to be easily adaptable to empirical research. As McLuhan was not interested in empirically testing his notions, he
never bothered to tailor his work to academic community standards. However, a theory-driven perspective has emerged from the original ideas that McLuhan set forth, medium theory.

Meyrowitz's work in medium theory has managed to push this area of research toward a greater internal consistency in its theory building (Holbert, 2004). Meyrowitz has carefully whittled down the scattered ideas and notions of McLuhan's early work into a theory that has strong internal consistency, attention to the macro-level, and more importantly, boundaries within which scientists can operate and test this theory (Burns & Beier, 1973; Cohen, 1976; Graber, 1990; Keating, 1972; Neuman, Just, & Crigler, 1992; Pfau, 1990; Pfau & Kang, 1993; Weigman, 1989; Wilson, 1973; Worchel et al., 1975). By taking the broader social contexts of McLuhan and using the ideas on a more macro-level of examination, Meyrowitz has set the stage for other scholars to test these ideas empirically. Despite progress in empirically testing medium theory, it remains an uncommon theory to be attempted in the classic social scientific research tradition. My thesis takes one small component of the broad perspective of medium theory (parasocial feelings and relationships) and tests that component empirically, thus advancing our knowledge in this area of research.

Modern medium theory addresses issues that are inherent in both form and content, creating a more inclusive theory from which to conduct research. The presentation of the backstage that is available through television is a strong representation of this balance that has been achieved in this theoretical perspective more recently.
TELEVISION AND THE PRESENTATION OF THE BACKSTAGE

In *No Sense of Place* (1985), Meyrowitz details the presentation of the backstage relative to the presentation of the front. He imagines a house in which all of the walls have been removed suddenly, forcing previously separate and distinct situations thrown together like never before. The distinction between the public and private life becomes hopelessly blurred and alters the way a person might act or communicate in this hybrid situation. While people would retain the ability to act certain ways with certain people, the ability to segregate encounters has virtually disappeared. Presentation of the backstage takes on a whole new meaning when it is applied to electronic media such as television. "Electronic media have undermined the traditional relationship between physical setting and social situation. Electronic media have created new situations and destroyed old ones" (p. 7). In this way, presentation of the backstage becomes the driving force behind television as a medium because television is the ultimate window to present the backstage.

Medium theory links the interpersonal situationism of scholars like Goffman and the work of first generation medium theorists like McLuhan. Television possesses a much broader and simpler access than written forms of communication and is more frequently accessed than radio. "In contrast to reading and writing, television viewing involves an access code that is barely a code at all. Television by no means presents "reality," but television looks and sounds much more like reality than sentences and paragraphs do" (Meyrowitz, 1985, p. 58). For this reason, it is not difficult to understand why it would be easier for a television viewer to experience the backstage life of a race car driver than
a person who is reading about it in the Sunday paper. The sights and sounds are there for consumption, allowing the viewer to indulge in the experience rather than having to imagine it for themselves.

Not only does television provide a more realistic and accessible portrait of the backstage than print media, it also provides a very simple one. Once a person is accustomed to watching one television program, they have the ability and knowledge to watch just about any other television program. Granted, a person may not understand every single thing they see or hear on a given television program, but this is the case with real life as well. Not understanding every portion of the television program (or real life situation) does not exclude a person from being involved in the communicative act (Meyrowitz, 1985). This facet makes the presentation of the backstage that much easier for television viewers because it does not require that they be able to understand what they are watching because the access to the backstage is granted nonetheless. It also does not require any level of education or experience in order for someone to access it; learning how to watch television is exponentially less complex than learning to read or write.

Goffman's research was strictly bound to interpersonal communication. Goffman divides any person's individual behaviors into two very general categories: onstage behaviors and backstage behaviors (Goffman, 1959). "In front regions [onstage], the individual is in front of his "audience" and he plays out a relatively ideal conception of the social role" (Meyrowitz, 1997, p. 64). When "onstage," a person will perform behaviors that are expected of that social role and interact with other individuals that are doing the same thing. What is crucial to realize, however, is that everything that occurs
"onstage" or in the front region is dependent upon the existence of a backstage. The backstage region is a place where "relative to a given performance…the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course" (Goffman, 1959, p. 112).

Goffman regards social roles in terms of the places in which they are performed. For his purposes, the presentation of the backstage was strictly set by physical boundaries that dictate the communicative act. The act is also defined by the audience present and the context of the situation in which a person is performing it. "The dynamism usually rests in the kind of activity needed to adjust to a relatively stable social order with fixed rules, roles, social occasions and institutions" (Meyrowitz, 1985, p. 2). In a traditional sense, people have a set of behaviors matched to physical locations and the audience found in them. In this dynamic, every person performs both in the front stage and the back stage. Additionally, every person will play multiple roles in the front and back stage regions. One person may play the roles of father, professor, advisor, and husband, all within a single day.

The issue with Goffman's work and the study of television is that Goffman's work focuses on interpersonal interactions. Though applicable in many regards, Goffman's research does not venture into the realm of mass communication. Meyrowitz combined the work of Goffman and McLuhan to make much of what Goffman studied applicable to the study of media. "Goffman focuses only on the study of face-to-face interaction and ignores the influence and effect of the media on the variables he describes; McLuhan focuses on the effects of the media and ignores the structural aspects of the face-to-face interaction" (Meyrowitz, 1985, p. 73).
The introduction of McLuhan and mass communication concepts into Goffman's work creates very interesting scenarios for the application of medium theory. Goffman's limitations with regard to physical boundaries are remedied through the application of McLuhan's early medium theory work. Further refined by Meyrowitz, this allows for the study of electronic media such as television through the framework of second generation medium theorists. When brought together, these two worlds combined create a powerful and inclusive research platform. Linking Goffman's work with McLuhan's provides us with a very broad, general framework for studying media and social change (Meyrowitz, 1985). In combining these perspectives, we are able to go beyond the limitations of the traditional focus of media effects and examine these seemingly incompatible perspectives, "each of which offers partial clues to a new approach to the study of media effects" that is medium theory (Meyrowitz, 1985, p. 7).

A grounded example of how Meyrowitz (2003) applied medium theory to the study of mass media can be found in his work in the political arena. He critically and culturally examined the division between the public life and the private lives of U.S. presidents and their families to determine where, if at all, the media draws the line currently when covering the president. A pivotal exemplar was the all consuming media scandal that occurred when former President Clinton admitted to having illicit sexual relations with then White House intern, Monica Lewinsky. Initially, Clinton and his wife were entirely resistant to media inquiries that did not relate to White House business (Meyrowitz, 2003). President Clinton made a habit of dodging all questions about Lewinsky until the public fervor made the incident a media spectacle. The Clintons then completely changed their way of thinking and invited several big name news shows into
their home to sit down and discuss their family, their family values and the mistake that Clinton had made because they had to (Meyrowitz, 2003). In the weeks that followed Clinton's bevy of interviews, the public became miraculously forgiving of the incident and his approval ratings began increasing once again (Meyrowitz, 2003). The access that the Clinton family eventually granted to the viewing public was a major factor in how President Clinton's image would be shaped in the months that followed the incident. By discussing his indiscretion openly and honestly, Clinton let the public get closer than they had been before.

Television was the key to this concept becoming successful for the Clinton family. A radio or print media interview would have expressed the same attitudes and opinions as the television interview did, but would have lacked the important non-verbal cues that were expressed. Through television, the audience was able to physically see the remorse on the president's face when he discussed his indiscretion with his wife sitting next to him, supporting her husband through warm looks or a touch on the hand. Without television, these cues would be lost to the public eye.

At the 1996 Democratic Convention, a montage reel of the Clinton's home videos was shown and became a keystone in Clinton's re-election campaign. The images on the film consisted entirely of what Goffman considers "the backstage." The public witnessed scenes of Bill looking longingly at wife Hillary on their wedding day, to images of the Clintons and daughter Chelsea as a baby to images of the Clintons and the Gore family spending some free time together (Meyrowitz, 2003). Having learned that unprecedented access to the backstage can be a powerful tool in shaping his public image, President Clinton used this tool to his advantage in his quest for a second presidential term.
This maneuver by the Clinton family provided the national news media with more than enough to content to use in their nightly broadcasts. The footage of President Clinton at home with his family acting out the roles of loving father and husband provided him an opportunity to temporarily put aside the role of president and show the nation a different side of himself. This content is enhanced through television because it provides the viewer with a bevy of verbal and non-verbal cues to observe and digest. Instead of only reading or hearing about how dedicated a family man Clinton was, viewers got to witness his interactions with his wife and daughter, and the Gore family.

Meyrowitz's demonstration of how the Clintons used the presentation of the backstage to their political advantage speaks to how the general public connects to these well-known political figures. Initially, President Clinton tried fervently to keep the backstage door closed during the Lewinsky scandal. Eventually, he relented and granted the public full access to himself and his family. Politicians are put into natural leadership positions by the American voting public. The voters look to politicians such as President Clinton for leadership in various areas of their lives; moral leadership, economic leadership, and even civil leadership. Through the exposure of the political backstage, the public is able to connect to much more than just the leadership of these politicians, which can lead to a number of possible effects. Once let into their world, the public will use that connection to form general attitudes about politics. The viewing audience has become accustomed to this type of backstage access to high powered political figures. In fact, the public has actually come to demand this type of access in our media friendly society. Once the backstage door has been opened, it cannot be closed. Another possible effect is desire to be a part of that political world.
Medium theory is providing a heuristically provocative framework for the study of social influence. However, medium theorists have not opted to address the inherently empirical questions that exist within their framework. The presentation of the backstage provides a particularly intriguing area of potential research within medium theory, but has not been addressed in the current literature. Television affords new connections to our leaders, and these new connections influence our attitudes about the businesses they are in. With the rise of reality television in primetime, the window to study the presentation of the backstage has never been more open than it is right now.

What my study accomplishes is an empirical test of Meyrowitz's scenario, but with a whole a completely different type of content. Rather than looking at news pieces, I have employed competition based reality television programs to study the business world instead of the political world. An examination of source cues and parasocial relationships (connections to renowned C.E.O.'s Donald Trump and Martha Stewart as business leaders), attitudes towards the business world in general and the desire to become a part of the business replaces Meyrowitz's glance into politics. The shift from a political context to a business context makes an ideal platform for testing one isolated aspect of medium theory in an empirical fashion.

REALITY TELEVISION AND THE PRESENTATION OF THE BACKSTAGE

It has largely been argued that MTV's premiere season of their hit program The Real World in 1990 was the unofficial birth of a new genre of television known as reality television (Nabi, Biely, Morgan & Stitt, 2003). The show opened the reality television flood gates that have not yet been closed. Reality television is as popular, if not more so,
than it has ever been and the genre shows no signs of slowing down any time soon. For the third week of March, 2006, reality-based programming accounted for five of the top twenty rated programs, including the top two spots. Those five programs brought in a combined audience of more than sixty million viewers (Nielsen, 2006).

Reality-based television is chiefly defined by its lack of a script. Early on, it was also defined by a low production value, but some of the most current and popular reality television programs (Survivor: Exile Island) are also some of the most expensively produced shows on the air (realityblurred.com, 2004). It is partly misleading to call this type of program a "reality" program is misleading because the footage undergoes hours of careful editing by countless producers to achieve a finished product before it reaches our television screens. "There's no real exploration or mystery to these shows. The situations are so extremely manipulated, and these people know what they're getting into" (Fisher, 2005, p. 1). Nevertheless, these shows offer the viewing public the perception of reality, and that is what counts. Though edited, what reality television is offering is the chance to wipe away the backstage barrier and puts viewers into places and contexts that they would have never had access. In The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1959), Goffman argued that the front stage and backstage regions were separated by physical boundaries such as walls, houses, literal miles, etc. Meyrowitz (1985) asserted that television was the perfect medium to present the backstage because it eliminated these physical boundaries and brought other realities to the viewers through their televisions. Reality television takes both these notions one step further and penetrates the most personal and private of contexts to bring television audiences a new presentation of the backstage.
As television became the dominant medium, it showed viewers a presentation of the backstage unlike any other they had experienced. Reality television is a presentation of the backstage in a unique way relative to other types of programs. For the television industry, genres can be defined as a form of social organization that facilitates the coordination of production, and reality television has very much become its own genre of programming. "Over the past several years, the 'reality' series has become recognized as the third basic prime-time genre. The reality genre label is typically applied to inexpensively produced half-hour nonfiction series other than programs produced by the network news division. The reality genre is less established than the sitcom and drama categories. Nevertheless, the reality series' existence as a distinct genre is recognized as such by programmers, producers, creative personnel, advertisers, critics, and the industry press, and increasingly, audiences" (Bielby & Bielby, 1994, p. 1293). This genre offers more than just the presentation of the backstage; it offers a presentation of the raw and real world in the backstage. It has given viewers access to people and places they never imagined they would have access to and then taken them backstage in these "realities."

There are several key ways in which reality television has expanded the scope of what is presented in the backstage area. One of the biggest ways this backstage area has become expanded is the constant presence of television cameras in the living quarters of the people on these shows. Everything, no matter how trivial is shown on screen; every action and reaction is right out there for the viewer to consume. Whether it happens to be in the swank, well decorated houses of The Real World, the confined spaces of Big Brother, or the jungle huts Survivor, cameras are ever-present, capturing participants every waking (and non waking) moment on digital media. It does not matter if the
shows' cast is making a pancake breakfast or preparing the next great American
documentary film; the cameras are always there. More importantly, the people behind
the cameras are rendered neutral and do not shy away from filming any moment,
however personal or sensitive, for the cast member being filmed. Innis (1951) argued
that the rise of new media affected the traditional forms; while reality television is not a
new medium, this new presentation of the backstage alters televisions' ability to present
the backstage. With reality programming, viewers are not only taken deeper into the
backstage they have previously known, but also being exposed to a whole new backstage
environment.

Another aspect of reality television that is taking viewers deeper into the
backstage area is the audio technology that is used when filming these shows. In reality,
it can be difficult to catch every word that is being said in a conversation you witness.
No such problem exists with reality television because of the high-tech microphones that
are always around and often attached directly to cast members. While a small
microphone does not seem particularly out of place on a well-dressed cast member of
America's Next Top Model, it seems oddly out of place attached to the dirty, sun burnt
back of a Survivor cast member. It is however a moot point because in order to give the
true glimpse of reality that these shows attempt to give viewers, every word and
conversation can be of great importance (and entertainment value) to the viewer. For
those few times when technology does fail and the words are hard to hear, there are
always producers willing to carefully analyze the audio track and insert subtitles before
the clip airs. This marriage of sight and sound that McLuhan termed a "mosaic" (1964)
speaks to an audio-visual redundancy that gives the viewers a complete experience in
terms of the program they are watching. Due to the fact that every sight and sound is captured by the latest technology, reality television as a medium is connecting to every possible sense it can. The expectation that every whisper or small hand gesture will be included in the program creates a medium-specific sensori-motor schemata. This means that reality television viewers employ a specific set of stimulus modules to access the information that is presented in these programs (Holbert, 2004).

The final aspect that delves further into the presentation of the backstage is the concept of the confessional. A camera is strategically placed somewhere on the set of the show where cast members can go and vent their thoughts and feelings to a rolling camera without another person hearing what they have confessed. In a way, this is the ultimate tool for expanding the presentation of the backstage for viewers. Through the confessional, the cast members are essentially creating verbal diaries of their innermost thoughts and fears, hopes and worries, all of which gets captured on film. It gives viewers an unparalleled insight into the happenings on the show. *The Real World* uses this confessional concept to often capture cast members venting about a conflict with a fellow cast member or secretly revealing their romantic feelings for someone. On *Survivor*, the confessional camera is used to capture cast members as they cast their votes at tribal council to send a fellow cast member home. Not only do the viewers get an insight as to who that cast member voted for, but are also treated to their final parting message to that person as well.

The confessional provides access to what Goffman termed "the deep backstage" (1959, p. 138). The deep backstage is a region where the actor not only relents their expected role and takes on more of their own personal characteristics, but reveals their
innermost thoughts and feelings as well. The deep backstage also serves to provide access to what Goffman calls "outsiders" (1959, p. 142) who are not typically privy to the secrets and customs of those inside the communicative act. For instance, on a show like Survivor: Exile Island, only the contestants and the crew are keenly aware and a part of the culture of the show and what takes place at the contestants' camps. However, when they film a confessional to discuss what they are experiencing, the viewer goes immediately from being an outsider to an insider.

Reality television is the natural progression of the presentation of the backstage. Television as a medium changed the way that people were able to experience the presentation of the backstage forever, and now reality television has taken that presentation to the next logical level. Before, television allowed us a backstage pass to the lives of our favorite fictional characters. Now, reality television is offering us that same backstage pass to the lives of real people. Meyrowitz (1985) argued that technology creates an ideal channel for the presentation of the backstage. Of the technology available today, television is the most readily accessible door to that backstage. Reality-based television programs have opened that door wider than it has ever been. It not only offers new and innovative ways to show the presentation of the backstage, but offers a peek into the human experience itself. It is clear that reality television was not a flash in the pan and that this sub dimension is going to be a force on television for years to come. With my study, I am seeking to further examine this phenomenon empirically and to expand our understanding of it.
THE MODERATED MEDIATION MODEL OF INFLUENCE

*The Apprentice* takes the viewing public backstage into corporate America in a way that had not been done previously. Prior to the show's appearance, viewers looking for business related programming would need to flip to networks like MSNBC or CNN; the major networks had nothing to offer. This new glimpse of corporate America provides viewers with a perspective that was not previously available on television. This new insight has the potential to affect viewers' attitudes about big business in our country today.

Television has been offering its' own version of corporate America for many years; shows such as *The Drew Carey Show*, *The Loop*, and *The Office* have all shown viewers different vantage points of an American business office of some type over the years. One noticeable similarity amongst all these programs is their half-hour, situational comedy format. Their has been a significant tendency in television in recent memory to show the backstage of the business world in a comedic format. Recent hour long drama programs have generally been procedural crime shows such as *C.S.I.*, medical dramas like *E.R.* and *Grey's Anatomy*, or legal thrillers like *Law & Order*. All have shown various back stages of their own, but none have touched on the corporate side.

With the emergence of reality television and its presentation of the backstage of corporate America, the presentation of the business world has been shifted in a completely different direction on television. While previously, the business backstage was presented in an intentionally comedic and scripted manner, shows like *The Apprentice* now presents that same backstage in a more realistic, unscripted manner. It is not difficult to see the differences between the fictional hi-jinks of the characters on *The Apprentice*. 
Office and the real life activities that go on in the offices of Martha Stewart Living Omnimedia. Reality television has allowed a new and different presentation of this business backstage that has been on television for decades.

RQ1: Does viewing *The Apprentice* affect individual-level attitudes toward big business?

While both Donald Trump's and Martha Stewart's versions of *The Apprentice* use a similar format, the shows focus on different corporate empires and involves contestants in different types of business tasks. With both shows focusing on different regions of corporate America, it creates the possibility that the shows might have varying affects on the viewers' attitudes towards big business.

Trump's empire has been built largely around his success in real estate, property management and his casinos. As such, the types of tasks that contestants on his version of the show face revolve around many of these areas of corporate commerce. A typical task might have contestants being charged with turning an empty Manhattan loft into a rentable real estate property in a short amount of time and then having Trump and his executives inspect the finished job. Stewart's corporate success has been built around her knowledge as a chef, her line of products for the home, and her series of magazines that are anchored by her keystone publication, *Martha Stewart Living*. On Stewart's version of the show, contestants are asked to perform tasks that relate to her empire. One episode had the contestants competing to come up with a new flavor of salad dressing for a major food corporation. While both shows feature these high-profile C.E.O.’s and the corporations that have made them successful, there are inherent differences in the specific areas of product and services that each has become known for.
RQ2: Are there differences in the nature of influence of *The Apprentice* on individual-level business attitudes across viewing the Donald Trump and Martha Stewart versions of the program?

**Parasocial Feelings**

One of the potential outcomes of the presentation of this backstage are the parasocial relationships or feelings (Auter, 1992) that the viewing public may feel towards these public figures whom they now have greater access to than ever before. Parasocial feelings, while once considered a side effect of lonely or socially deficient people, are no longer labeled that way and are considered a standard reaction to media figures that we encounter regularly. The parasocial relationships formed through this type of media consumption are unique relationships that are another product of this shift from the business page to the lifestyle pages, from news to entertainment.

Auter's research suggests that while it is not likely that a person would be able to form a true parasocial relationship in a short amount of time (such as the length of one television show), parasocial feelings can be formed almost instantly (Auter, 1992). With Trump and Stewart's already high exposure in the mass media, it is certainly possible for the viewers of the these two shows to have parasocial feelings about them after viewing only one hour long episode. While these may or may not later turn into full blown parasocial relationships, a connection can be formed immediately with these high profile personalities that may have an effect on how the viewer feels towards them, their companies, and even the business world in general. These parasocial feelings might even inspire people to go into business themselves and start their own corporate empire.
While that seems initially far fetched, Auter's research on parasocial feelings support the possibility of this outcome.

Horton and Wohl (1959) initiated an interest into the study of parasocial relationships when they likened them to normal interpersonal relationships. The main tenant of their argument in the comparison was that just like interpersonal relationships, parasocial relationships form over a period of time and are based on similarities between the viewer and the character or personality. The process also involves uncertainty reduction between the two.

One of the possible reasons that television characters are often the focus of parasocial feelings and relationships is due to their recurring nature on a regular television program (Nordlund, 1975). Television provides the ideal platform for this form of high media interaction and makes the formation of parasocial feelings simple. The parasocial relationship, a "seeming face-to-face interaction between the spectator and the performer (Horton & Wohl, 1956, p. 215) is generally one of friendship with a media personality or television character that is the result of felt affective ties with that personality or character (R.B. Rubin & Rubin, 2001).

Parasocial relationships are generally characterized by the feeling or imagination of a friendship that is formed between the viewer and the character or media personality. Often times, the viewer will imagine what an interaction between themselves and that character. As is often the case with real life media personalities who appear on television, the viewer tunes in on a regular basis seeking guidance from that person. Another major characteristic of the parasocial relationship involves the viewer imagining
themselves are part of the characters world or situation (A.M. Rubin, Perse, & Powell, 1985).

Parasocial interaction has often been compared and contrasted with the notion of identification. However, there are inherent differences that separate the two, especially where television is concerned. Identification is generally regarded a short-term or temporary escapist measure that only takes place while the viewing is going on, where as parasocial interactions continue ever after the viewing has ended (Rosengren and Windahl, 1972). Additionally, parasocial relationships have an interaction quality that is lacking in identification (Cohen, 2001).

Parasocial interaction has been studied in a number of different social and educational contexts in the half-century since Horton and Wohl. Psychologists have examined the effects of parasocial relationships with celebrities and how those relationships affect the buying patterns for products they endorse. One of the more intriguing developments to come out of the psychological studies comes from Martin (2003) who found that people, and children in particular, were able to form parasocial relationships with products and brand names. Martin argued that because large corporations have worked so hard to create "identities of substance" (Martin, 2003, p. 72) that have traits and characteristics similar to people, people are able to attach to these products and brands just as they attach to people.

Psychologists also studied how parasocial relationships can lead to celebrity obsession and worship. McCutcheon, Ashe, Houran, and Maltby (2003) found that parasocial relationships were often the initial point of attachment for viewers who ended up worshipping or becoming obsessed with celebrities in both television and film. The
delusion of the parasocial relationship, when viewers failed to be able to decipher reality from imagination, is where the situation transforms from a media interaction into a psychological condition (McCutcheon, Ashe, Houran, & Maltby, 2003).

Communication scholars have used parasocial relationship to study a wide variety of effects. Soukup (2002) conducted a study on how viewers’ parasocial relationships with televangelists and preachers on television increased the perceived effectiveness of their messages. Soukup discovered that regardless of the content of the speech or prayer being given by the televangelist, a parasocial relationship with that person resulted in the message being accepted as correct or truthful a much higher rate than with those viewers who did not have parasocial relationships with them.

Television has not been the only medium that communication scholars focused on when studying parasocial relationships. A.M. Rubin and Step (2000) studied the impact of parasocial interaction on talk radio listening. They found that an exciting radio topic combined with parasocial feelings for the show's host predicted frequent and consistent listening to that particular program. Additionally, they found that parasocial interaction, task attraction, and information motivation led to the perception that the host was a very credible source of important information. These same motivations also predicted that listeners were more inclined to act socially or politically on an issue if the talk show host indicated that he would do the same (A.M. Rubin & Step, 2000).

Meyrowitz (2003) demonstrated how parasocial relationships with high profile political figures such as the Clinton family allowed television viewers an unprecedented backstage pass into the world of politics. By allowing the television media to become a part of his personal and professional life, President Clinton granted viewers a unique
glimpse of the American political process. In this same way, Donald Trump, Martha Stewart, and *The Apprentice* franchise are doing the same thing for the business world. Through reality television, viewers can involve themselves in the corporate culture in ways that have been previously unavailable. Additionally, the difference between Trump and Stewart's business sectors adds to the insight granted to the viewer.

Recent literature about parasocial interaction suggests that these parasocial feelings can be formed during first interactions or meetings, often in a very limited time period. Malcolm Gladwell recently introduced the concept of "thin-slicing," which posits that the first interaction is most frequently an important one because it is in that initial encounter that lasting attitudes and opinions are formed (Gladwell, 2005). Gladwell's book *Blink* is built upon a significant amount of current research and literature that support his notion of the strong, immediate judgments that people form upon initial meetings.

For instance, Gottman and Carrere (1999) were able to use a "thin slice" that consisted of 3 minutes of marital conflict and successfully predict how that marriage would unfold over the course of a six year period. Equally fascinating was that Gottman and Carrere assessed that the first minute was the most important of the three minutes, further strengthening Gladwell's argument. The notion of "thin-slicing" has been used in a number of other areas of social scientific research, including psychology and legal studies.

This recent literature and Gladwell's concept raise an important idea that if these feelings and attitudes can be formed almost immediately in interpersonal communication situations, parasocial feelings might form in a similar manner in mass media situations.
RQ3: Does watching *The Apprentice* with Donald Trump increase parasocial feelings for Donald Trump?

RQ4: Does watching *The Apprentice* with Martha Stewart increase parasocial feelings for Martha Stewart?

Trump International and Martha Stewart Living Omnimedia are both internationally recognized and renowned corporations. Both Trump and Stewart have had success expanding their empires out into multiple dimensions of the corporate world beyond their initial business ventures. Due to their success, Trump and Stewart have both become well known as the leaders of these corporate entities.

Puffer and Weintrop (1991) found that in many Fortune 500 companies like Trump’s and Stewart’s, the C.E.O. plays an integral role in forming the corporate image with the general public and stock holders as well. Due to the size of such corporations, consumers, stock holders, and the general public find it difficult to have an easy association with that company or its product because it seems large and faceless. However, a recent trend toward high-profile, celebrity like C.E.O.’s has overcome this hurdle for some corporations. "For the American buying public, Bill Gates is Microsoft. His actions, his personality, and everything that comes along with that are projected on to the Microsoft brand name and its products because that is the easiest association for people to make" (Puffer & Weintrop, 1991, p. 4).

As the unquestioned leaders of their empires, Trump and Stewart will inevitably be publicly and personally associated with their corporations and the products and services associated with those corporations. A person may not know anything about
Trump International or Martha Stewart Living Omnimedia, but their feelings for Trump and Stewart will be projected on to their respective corporations.

This association could go one step further for those viewers of *The Apprentice* that develop parasocial feelings for Trump and Stewart. As a viewer's attitudes and feelings for Trump and Stewart are affected by the parasocial relationship that can develop, so are the feelings and attitudes that viewer has towards their corporations because of the C.E.O. association. Likewise, an increased like or respect for Trump or Stewart as a result of the parasocial relationship could additionally result in an increased like or respect for their corporation. Due to the fact that Trump and Stewart and widely recognized as savvy business leaders, these parasocial feelings could also result in an increased desire for the viewers to become a part of the business world themselves.

H1: Parasocial feelings toward Donald Trump positively influence individual-level business attitudes.

H2: Parasocial feelings toward Martha Stewart positively influence individual-level business attitudes.

The combination of hypotheses H1-H4 naturally leads to questions about the role of the parasocial feelings. Viewing *The Apprentice* potentially alters the way viewers feel about Trump and Stewart and how they feel about big business. These effects might stand alone, or they might be intertwined in some way.

RQ5: Do parasocial feelings toward Donald Trump serve as a mediator in the relationship between the experimental stimulus condition and individual-level business attitudes?
RQ6: Do parasocial feelings toward Martha Stewart serve as a mediator in the relationship between the experimental stimulus condition and individual-level business attitudes?

**Social Working Class as Moderator**

There are other factors that come into play when examining if and how viewers form parasocial relationships with Donald Trump and Martha Stewart. Characteristics from the viewers' personal background can play a role in how Trump and Stewart are received via their reality television programs. One major characteristic that has the potential to affect the formation and strength of parasocial feelings is social working class.

Despite a recent trend to disregard social working class as an effective means of socially dividing people for research purposes, Grusky and Sorensen (1998) argue that social working class is as effective as it ever was and should continue to be a staple of sociological research studies. They argue that despite a traditional division which has been interpreted by many scholars as the blue-collar/white-collar line, it still holds validity in corporate America today. "The contemporary tendency has been to treat the division of labor as the outcome of a dynamic matching process between occupational groupings on one hand and 'task niches' on the other. This matching process should be understood as a competitive (but often latent) struggle in which occupational groupings vie with one another for jurisdiction over functional niches in the division of labor" (Grusky & Sorensen, 1998, p. 1197). The struggle they refer to between white-collar workers and blue-collar workers speaks to the inherent and continued validity of social working class as a research function.
They also argue that within this system, these occupational groups must be considered sociological and not nominal. When an occupational group is treated as a component in the system of basic groups in a social structure, these occupational groups then become classes. In this way, people are put into a social class by the nature of their occupational group. This sets the stage for a more comprehensive analysis of class by calling into question "the mantra that technical features do not entail social features" (Abercrombie and Urry, 1983, p. 109).

Social working class is typically viewed as dichotomous; people are either considered blue collar or white collar. White collar people occupy the upper-class and hold professional and technical positions. Blue collar people occupy the middle and lower classes and hold manual occupations (Wright, 1980). "Marxist theory adopts a particular stance towards the relationship between occupation and class. Occupations are understood as positions defined within the technical relations of production; classes, on the other hand, are defined by the social relations of production" (Wright, 1980, p. 177).

Growing up, we become socially oriented to a working class one way or the other. Regardless of the particular type of environment a person develops in, each of us will have a social working class orientation. Parents or primary caregivers (such as grandparents or other legal guardians) have been identified as the primary influential force in creating these orientations. The notion of social working class orientation is multi-dimensional in that it is compromised of different social, cultural, and psychological variables. The two social variables that play the biggest roles in determining social class are education and occupational position (Kohn & Schooler, 1959).
Kohn and Schooler (1959) found that parental social working class orientation played a strong role in determining a child's self perception in their own social working class. In very few cases did the child grow up feeling that they had no social working class or a different social working class than the parents or other primary care givers. There is also substantial evidence to support that this social working class orientation stays with people throughout their entire lives and often has a strong influence on the type of career they gravitate towards.

Given the dichotomy that exists between white collar careers and blue collar careers, it seems more likely that people who grew up in white collar households would be more familiar with a big business job position than those who had blue collar upbringings. Being that those white collar socially oriented people are more comfortable and familiar with corporate America than blue collar people, it also seems likely that they would be more prone to parasocial feelings for Donald Trump and Martha Stewart.

Given the nature of the environment that white-collar viewers experienced throughout their lives, it seems only natural that they would form stronger parasocial relationships with Trump and Stewart than blue-collar viewers. As Goodman (2005) points out, people can form parasocial relationships with companies because modern marketing has established personalities to be associated with some corporations and products. White-collar viewers are more likely to have been exposed to Trump's and Stewart's corporate empires (or similar corporate entities) prior to the viewing show. With that seed already planted in white-collar viewers, they are the more likely candidate to form strong parasocial feelings for Trump and Stewart.
H3: Social working class serves as a contributory condition moderator in the relationship between the experimental condition and parasocial feelings toward Donald Trump, with white-collar viewers, relative to blue-collar viewers, of *The Apprentice* with Donald Trump having stronger parasocial feelings for Donald Trump.

H4: Social working class serves as a contributory condition moderator in the relationship between the experimental condition and parasocial feelings toward Martha Stewart, with white-collar viewers, relative to blue-collar viewers, of *The Apprentice* with Martha Stewart having stronger parasocial feelings for Martha Stewart.

**Trust in Big Business as Moderator**

In addition to socialization towards corporate America, there are other factors that have the potential to affect if and how strongly viewers' form parasocial relationships with Donald Trump and Martha Stewart. Regardless of social working class, the amount of trust of person has in big business and corporate America has the potential to play a role in the formation of these parasocial feelings.

Before one can understand how Americans develop or do not develop trust in big business, it is pertinent to first examine how trust is sociologically constructed. Lewis and Weigart (1985) argue that "trust must be conceived of as a property of collective units" (Lewis & Weigart, 1985, p. 968) such as dyads, groups, and collectivities. As a collective attribute, trust is considered in the relationships among people, and not as their individual psychological states.
Although trust seems indispensable in social relationships, the elements of risk and doubt that can potentially surround the relationship are always present. This would not normally be accepted by most people if they could avoid it, but trust has no functional alternative and so people are more or less forced to accept it. Trust is also indispensable because it is impossible to develop plans of action that take into account every possible event or action that might occur in the future. For this reason, trust is inherently sociological because people would have no need of it outside of personal and social relationships (Lewis & Weigart, 1985).

Lewis and Weigart's research is directly applicable to this research because of its focus on personal relationships. In a normal situation, this definition might be operative in a communicative act if that relationship was not present. However, through the presentation of the backstage, Trump and Stewart have opened the door for these parasocial feelings to be formed and thus trust can also exist between viewers and these corporate moguls.

Another important aspect of trust that requires examining in this study is the notion of organizational trust. Organizational trust is important because of the nature of this research in studying the corporate organizations of Trump and Stewart. Mayer, Davis and Schoorman (1985) define organizational trust as "the willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party" (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1985, p.712). Retaining a decidedly sociological tone, this definition is similar to Lewis and Weigart's in that it still hinges completely upon relationships.
The intriguing portion of this definition comes in its tenant that trust must be
formed without the ability to monitor or control the actions of the party being trusted.
Yet with *The Apprentice* and its presentation of the backstage of corporate America, that
is precisely what viewers are getting to do. While they still lack the ability to control the
actions of Trump and Stewart, they do have the ability to monitor their actions like never
before.

In general, trust sentiments towards American industries have been in a constant
state of flux for the past half-century. However, this trust is not easily measured or
quantified because the perception of what compromises big business in this country vary
across people (Goodman, 2005). This variation of trust is further compounded by a
misinformed public that is often not aware of which companies are in actually based in
the United States. Research showed that well established American corporations such as
Gilette, Kleenex, Kodak and even Microsoft were not perceived as American companies
(Goodman, 2005).

Goodman also points out that "businesses have often served a large role in our
society than carrying on the activities of commerce" (Goodman, 2005, p. 36). Part of the
trust that is instilled in these corporate empires can be linked directly to how people feel
about the United State's current democratic system. People do not just see these
companies are product machines, but as part of the American backdrop. Goodman was
able to show that patriotism and trust in big business were positively correlated
(Goodman, 2005).

Recent corporate scandals involving major U.S. businesses that were well covered
by the media have also shaken the trust that the public places in corporate America.
Ethical quandaries involving energy giant Enron and telecommunications staple MCI WorldCom made headlines all over the country, damaging the notion of trust in big business. "Executives are focusing on compliance with ethics rules, but they haven't come out and tried to attack the root causes of the problem--the idea that if you're making money, any behavior is acceptable" (Kurlantzick, 2003, p. 69). If Americans perceive themselves as nothing more than a revenue source, it is unlikely that their perception of big business is going to grow.

Sandlund (2002) offers one strategy for maintaining and fostering trust in corporate America that seems impractically simple; one-on-one communication. The interpersonal connection with customers, suppliers, and business partners is the key aspect to creating a trusting relationship. Sandlund also highlights that for large corporations that do not have the luxury of one-on-one interactions with most of their consumers that the C.E.O. is most commonly looked to as a representative or ambassador for the rest of the corporation.

Sandlund's research is important to the study of reality television and big business perceptions for several reasons. As highlighted, corporate empires such as Trump Enterprises and Martha Stewart Living Omnimedia do not have the opportunities or resources to have interpersonal relationships with their buying public. However, through *The Apprentice*, both shows are able to open the door to parasocial feelings which often mirror interpersonal interaction. Additionally, Sandlund's argument that the C.E.O. becomes the public ambassador for such large corporate empires makes for a unique opportunity for both Trump and Stewart. Reality television has given both tycoons an
unprecedented opportunity to open their backstage up to viewers and establish those parasocial feelings.

Adler defines corporate trust as "the subjective probability with which an actor or group of actors will perform a particular action, both before she or he can monitor such action (or independently of his or her capacity ever to be able to monitor it) and in a context in which it affects his or her own action" (Adler, 2001, p. 217). Ring and Van de Ven (1992) defined corporate trust in a more benign way, labeling it merely as confidence in another's goodwill,

Research shows that 43 million Americans have been dismissed in their job positions since 1979, and that an overwhelmingly majority of those dismissed were easily classifiable as blue collar positions (Kieser, 2001). Due to this trend, trust among white collar job holders is higher than it has ever been previously, while trust among blue collar workers has continually fluctuated over the past three decades. Kieser attributes this to white collar industries being "indispensable positions like stock brokers and doctors" (Kieser, 2001, p. 243) while blue collar jobs have roots in areas such as retail sales and labor related work that tends to be a more volatile job market.

The research that has been conducted about trust in corporate America reveals that both white and blue collar workers have developed trust as a pattern of reinforcement over decades. For this reason, it seems logical that for those viewers of The Apprentice that already have some degree of trust in big business, parasocial feelings for a business personality such as Donald Trump or Martha Stewart have the potential to strengthen that trust. Likewise, for those that did not have a pre-existing trust in corporate America, it
seems unlikely that one hour of reality television, however persuasive, has the potential to instill trust in big business.

H5: Trust in big business serves as a contingent condition moderator in the relationship between the experimental condition and parasocial feelings toward Donald Trump, with parasocial feelings toward Donald Trump increasing only among those viewers of the Donald Trump program who retain high trust in big business.

H6: Trust in big business serves as a contingent condition moderator in the relationship between the experimental condition and parasocial feelings toward Martha Stewart, with parasocial feelings toward Martha Stewart increasing only among those viewers of the Martha Stewart program who retain high trust in big business.

What is proposed in this study is a moderated mediation model of influence (Muller, D., Judd, C. M., & Yzerbyt, V. Y., 2005; see Figure 1). Viewing *The Apprentice* holds the potential to have a direct influence on a participant's business attitudes, but also has the potential to work indirectly through the mediators of parasocial feelings toward Trump and Stewart, respectively. There also exists the potential for moderation within the mediation model, with a participant's working class socialization (blue collar or white collar) as well as their pre-established trust in big business potentially increasing or negating the strength of any parasocial feelings that may develop for Donald Trump or Martha Stewart as a result of viewing *The Apprentice*. 
Figure 1. Moderated Mediation Model of Influence
Chapter 2

METHOD

Participants

Subjects ($N = 299$) were recruited from a large interpersonal communication class and two upper level mass communication classes at the University of Delaware in the fall semester of 2005. All of the participants involved were undergraduate students who were offered extra credit for their participation in the study. The gender breakdown for the sample was 68% female and 32% male.

Subjects were asked to identify the occupations of both Donald Trump and Martha Stewart in the pre-stimulus survey. Nearly 100% of subjects were able to correctly identify Donald Trump as a corporate C.E.O. (i.e., 99.3%), while 97.0% of subjects were able to correctly identify Martha Stewart as a business woman. What the results indicate is that an overwhelmingly majority of the subjects retain a strong familiarity with both C.E.O.’s.

Procedures

Subjects were recruited in person during their respective classes and also by e-mail sent by their respective professors to the class lists. An alternative assignment was available to all students in the various classes. All the study parameters, measuring instruments, and the study participation permission form were submitted to and approved by the University of Delaware Human Subjects Committee (see Appendix A for official letter of approval) prior to being sent out to any of the subjects. Participants were told that the research study they were participating in was for a graduate student research project; subjects were told they were submitting data for an empirical investigation of
reality-based television and corporate culture. Subjects were first asked to complete an availability sheet that indicated on what nights and times they would be available to watch a 60-minute program and then complete a subsequent survey which would take no more than 30 minutes. Subjects were then divided as randomly as possible, within the confines the subject availability, into four stimulus groups: The Apprentice: Donald Trump \( (N = 68) \), The Apprentice: Martha Stewart \( (N = 100) \), Survivor: Guatemala \( (N = 59) \), or the pure control group \( (N = 70) \) that saw no stimulus program.

Two weeks prior to the viewing of a stimulus program, all subjects were asked to fill out a survey online via Survey Monkey (http://www.surveymonkey.com, see Appendix B for complete pre-stimulus survey). The pre-stimulus survey assessed social working class orientation, materialism, post-materialism, brand awareness, financial status, leadership, sexism, media use, exposure to reality television programs and trust in big business.

Stimulus viewing took place over two nights in November 2005. All shows were viewed live with commercials in university classrooms. Participants were asked to sign in and sit wherever they were comfortable. After the hour-long programs were over, participants were asked to immediately fill out the post-stimulus survey and turn it in once they were finished with it (see Appendix C for complete post-stimulus survey).

The control group, instead of viewing any program stimulus, was asked to take the same post-stimulus survey as the program stimulus groups, but online via Survey Monkey. The control group post-stimulus survey was completed in the same time frame as the program stimulus post-stimulus survey.
Description of Stimuli

The Apprentice: Donald Trump. The episode used as the stimuli for this study was the seventh episode of the season for the Trump franchise; it was shown live on its original air date, November 21st, 2005 (Burnett & Trump, 2005). The episode's challenge task had contestants designing an in-store advertising display in Best Buy stores for the DVD release of Star Wars Episode III: Revenge of the Sith and an accompanying video game. Trump called both teams into the board room to explain the task before sending both teams out to complete the challenge. For this episode, Trump's right-hand woman, Carolyn Kepcher, and former The Apprentice winner, Bill Rancic, acted as his eyes and ears while each team was working on the task.

Both teams were afforded the opportunity to meet with LucasFilm executives to discuss the product and its strengths, though one team got caught in traffic and missed the meeting, costing them the win in the task. Back in their loft apartment, the participants enjoy an anxious dinner before the board room. Some of them sneak off into more private bedroom quarters where they discuss their strategies for how they will act in the board room and make their project manager look responsible for the team loss. As is standard for the show, the losing team was called into the board room, where their project manager is fired.

During the scenes of the board room that featured Trump and his two top advisors discussing the participants' performances, the audience is treated to a rare and unfiltered glimpse of the backstage of the business world. When the participants are in the board room in front of Trump, the room is a front stage region for them to sell Trump on their qualifications for the job. Yet when Trump asks them to leave temporarily so he can take
counsel with George and Carolyn, that same room becomes a corporate backstage where they three business people debate each participant’s business savvy and ability. In this way, the board room plays a dual role in the show.

The boardroom scenario is a classic front-stage/backstage setup. Just as Goffman argued, the differentiation comes when the contestants are removed from the room, putting physical space and a physical wall between them and Trump. Yet the television cameras remain in the boardroom to capture Trump's conversation with his advisors, and the viewing audience never has to differentiate the front-stage from the backstage. This backstage access is the basic summation of Meyrowitz's argument that television can cut across the physical boundaries of the front-stage and backstage regions.

The episode also featured a 60-second segment of Trump's business advice, which is a permanent feature of the franchise. In this episode's segment, Trump extols the importance of family values in the corporate world, noting that the support of his family had been a crucial part of his personal and professional success. In total, the episode featured approximately 16 minutes of the backstage presentation.

*The Apprentice: Martha Stewart.* The episode used as the stimuli for this study was the tenth episode of the season for the Stewart franchise; it was shown live on its original air date, November 20th, 2005 (Burnett & Trump, 2005). In this episode, both teams are summoned to Stewart's lavish country home in Connecticut, where they meet up with her in her famous gardens where she relates gardening to the business world. For that week's task, the teams find out they will be responsible for creating an interactive showroom display for Buick's newest luxury sedan, the Lucerne. Stewart's business
advisor Charles Koppleman and her daughter, Alexis, act as her liaisons who will report back on how the teams performed.

During an anxious moment in the show room, a worried participant pulls their teammate aside to express concern for their project manager’s lack of drive and organization in the current task. The team members must whisper, as their teammate and project manager is just around a corner, unaware that his ineptitude is being discussed mere yards away. The team members decide to quietly take over the task to ensure their victory and quietly emerge from their conference as if nothing had happened.

The winning team is treated to an expensive dinner with Stewart herself and top executives at Martha Stewart Living Omnimedia, where the contestants get to pick the brains of some of the highest paid business executives in the nation. The losing team was forced to meet Stewart and her liaisons back in the conference room, where Stewart fires one team member who cannot get along with others in a professional manner.

While Stewart's version of the show does feature a signature moment like Trump's does when he speaks directly into the camera and to the viewing audience and gives out a weekly 60-second sound bite of business advice, it does feature some other interesting backstage moments. For instance, prior to the contestants arriving at the conference room to find out which team was the winner, the audience gets to witness Martha working on some unspecified project in a drawing room with a team of artists as she critiques the sketch and offers her suggestions.

During their discussion about the participants in the conference room, Stewart speaks candidly about how much she enjoys the team member in question, but that in business, cooperation is a key component that this participant seems to lack. The three
debate the value of playing nice in business and making strong business connections versus having a cut throat attitude and achieving your goals through aggression. Stewart also notes that she has never been known as a kind-hearted business woman as this contestant is question has been, but that she believes you have to be assertive and disregard the critics.

As was customary on Stewart's version of the show, she closed the episode by writing a farewell note to the newly fired candidate, giving advice on how to increase his success in his future business ventures and wishing him the best in life. In total, the episode featured approximately 11 minutes of the backstage presentation.

**Design**

The design of this study is a 4 (stimulus) X 2 (trust in big business) x 2 (working class) between-subjects factorial design. The independent variables are the stimulus condition (Trump/Stewart/Control - Survivor/Pure Control), trust in big business (High/Low), and working social class (mixed/white collar). The criterion variable is post-stimulus big business attitudes, with parasocial feelings toward Trump and Stewart serving as potential mediators in the relationship between the stimulus condition and post-stimulus big business attitudes. Prior exposure to both *The Apprentice* programs serve as covariates.

**Measures**

*Covariates.* Previous exposure to *The Apprentice: Donald Trump* and *The Apprentice: Martha Stewart*, respectively, was assessed in the pre-stimulus survey. The exposure items were originally eight-point scales; 0 (never), 1 (rarely), and 7 (all the
time). The initial measures proved to be highly skewed and retained a significant number or outliers given the low mean scores. As a result, dichotomous measures were formed for each type of media exposure, with 0 (never) and 1 (rarely) being coded low and 2-7 (always) being coded high. Subjects were also asked how frequently they watched a mix of 12 different television shows, including representative programs from the reality-based (The Amazing Race), sitcom (The Office), and drama categories (Law & Order). Nestled among those 12 were The Apprentice: Donald Trump and The Apprentice: Martha Stewart. Thirty-seven point one percent of subjects (N = 111) watched The Apprentice: Donald Trump with some regularity, while 62.9% (N = 188) had never or rarely seen the program before. Thirteen point four percent of subjects (N = 40) said they watched The Apprentice: Martha Stewart with any regularity and 90.0% (N = 259) had never or rarely seen the program before.

Social Working Class Orientation: Participants were asked to indicate the occupational field of both their parents and all four grandparents (if that information was known to them.) There were too many unknowns in reference to the data involving the social working class orientation of grandparents, so only the data on parents was utilized. The occupational fields listed were classified as either business oriented or non-business oriented, as well as mixed or white-collar. The business fields included medical, business/administrative, clerical, and legal while the non-business fields included military, education, retail sales, non-profit, agriculture, domestic, child care, and laborer. The white collar fields included medical, business/administrative, education, and legal while the mixed fields included military, clerical, retail sales, agriculture, non-profit, domestic, child care, and laborer. An option of "other" was also available. The "other"
answers were then examined and placed into one of the above categories where an
appropriate determination could be made, although a handful of responses did not
adequately fit any of the categories and were left as "other." Examples of those careers
which could not be classified by the confines of this study included actor/actress, stunt
pilot, and inventor.

Subjects were ultimately placed into two categories, mixed and white-collar. The
white collar group consists of subjects where both parents are from white collar
professions, while the mixed group retains at least one parent whose occupation has been
categorized as mixed. The N for pure blue-collar subjects was extremely low (N = 35) so
these subjects were collapsed into a category with those who had one mixed parent.
53.4% of participants were labeled as mixed (N = 155), while 46.6% of participants were
labeled as white collar (N = 135).

Trust In Big Business: This variable is an additive index of 7 items, with each
being measured on a 7-point Likert scale. The scale was adapted from an individualized
trust scale from Wheeless and Grotz (1977). Participants were asked to rate their general
perceptions of big business using a series of adjective-opposite pairings including
honest/dishonest, competent/incompetent, reliable/unreliable, friendly/unfriendly,
ethical/unethical, fair/unfair and loyal/disloyal. An exploratory factor analysis (EFA;
principle axis factoring and direct oblimin) produced a single articulated factor and the
scale proved reliable (M = 4.14, SD = .938, and Cronbach's $\alpha = .860$). A mean split of the
variable was used to create two categories (high/low). Those with high trust in big
business accounted for 44.3% of the subjects (N = 132) while those who were low in trust
in big business made up 55.5% of the subjects (N = 166).
Parasocial Feelings: Parasocial feelings were measured for Martha Stewart and Donald Trump, respectively. There were a total 13 items employed for Trump and Stewart, respectively. The measures were adapted from a 20-item measure from Rubin, Perse, and Powell (1985). Participants were asked to provide their feelings for Trump and Stewart on a 5-item scale where options of (strongly disagree), (disagree), (neutral), (agree) and (strongly agree) were available. There were seven items from the original scale that were not utilized because they dealt exclusively with news programs and newscasters: (The news program shows me what the newscasters are like), (When newscasters joke around with one another it makes the news easier to watch), (When my favorite newscaster shows me how he or she feels about the news, it helps me make up my own mind about the news story), (When I'm watching the newscast, I feel as if I am a part of the group), (My favorite newscaster keeps me company when the news is on TV), (I sometimes make remarks to my favorite newscaster during the newscast), and (I am not as satisfied when I get my news from a newscaster other my favorite newscaster).

An EFA (principle axis factoring, direct oblimin) of the 13 Donald Trump parasocial feelings items revealed two articulated factors (see Table 1). Two items were dropped during the EFA analyses due to overly low loadings or functioning as a cross-loader; (I feel sorry for Donald Trump when he makes a mistake) and (I like to compare my ideas to what Donald Trump says). The first articulated factor retained an eigenvalue of 4.56 and accounted for 41.24% of the variance; (I look forward to watching Donald Trump), (If Donald Trump appeared on a television program, I would watch it), (If there were a story about Donald Trump in a newspaper or magazine, I would read it), and (I miss seeing Donald Trump when he does not appear on television). This four item index
is reflective of *Trump-media* relationships, and the measure proved reliable (*M* = 2.50, *SD* = .785, and Cronbach’s α = .815).
Table 1

Final Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) Loadings for Trump Parasocial Feelings Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Trump-Media</th>
<th>Trump-Fantasy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I miss seeing Trump when he is not on TV</td>
<td>.833</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I look forward to watching Trump</td>
<td>.819</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If Trump appeared on TV, I'd watch</td>
<td>.810</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If Trump were in print media, I'd read it</td>
<td>.567</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eigenvalue (variance accounted for)</td>
<td>4.56 (41.24%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like hearing Trump's voice in my home</td>
<td>.741</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When Trump tells a story,…</td>
<td>.676</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I find Trump to be attractive</td>
<td>.663</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Apprentice w/ Trump shows me C.E.O.'s</em></td>
<td>.590</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trump makes me feel comfortable</td>
<td>.589</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like to meet Trump in person</td>
<td>.582</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I see Trump as natural, down-to-earth</td>
<td>.560</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eigenvalue (variance accounted for)</td>
<td>1.95 (17.69%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. The two articulated factors retain a statistically significant correlation, *r* = .297, *p* < .01.

The second articulated factor consisted of seven items and retained an eigenvalue of 1.95. This factor accounted for 17.69% of the variance. The 7-items in the factor reflect a fantasy theme associated with Donald Trump: (Donald Trump makes me feel comfortable, as if I am with friends), (I see Donald Trump as a natural, down-to-Earth
person), (When Donald Trump tells a story, he seems to understand the kinds of things I want to know), (I would like to meet Donald Trump in person), (I find Donald Trump to be attractive), (The Apprentice with Donald Trump shows me what C.E.O.’s are like) and (I like hearing Donald Trump's voice in my home). The Trump-fantasy index proved reliable ($M = 1.75$, $SD = .795$, and Cronbach's $\alpha = .826$).

The same EFA was run for the 13 Martha Stewart parasocial feelings measures and revealed a single articulated factor (eigenvalue 6.06, $R^2 = 46.35\%$). The 13-item Martha Stewart-parasocial feelings proved reliable ($M = 2.16$, $SD = .664$, and Cronbach's $\alpha = .901$). All loadings on the single factor are in the range of .864 to .582.

Post-Stimulus Big Business Attitudes. Participants were asked to give their post-stimulus attitudes toward big business for 6 items of adjective opposite pairings measured on 7-point scales, including (negative/positive), (bad/good), (unfavorable/favorable), (unacceptable/acceptable), (foolish/wise), and (wrong/right). This measure is reflective of the traditional attitude measure used in social psychological and persuasion research (see Holbert, 2000, for summary). The attitude measure produced a single articulated factor (EFA; principle axis, Direct Oblimin, eigenvalue = 4.157, $R^2 = 69.29\%$) and proved to be reliable ($M = 4.38$, $SD = 1.037$, Cronbach’s $\alpha = .910$).

Analyses

The first two research questions, which inquire about the main effect of viewing The Apprentice and differences between the Trump and Stewart versions, will be analyzed using a standard ANCOVA. The IV was the stimulus conditions and the DV...
was the change in big business attitudes. Previous exposure to the shows were inserted as covariates.

Research questions 3 and 4, which inquire about an influence of *The Apprentice* on parasocial feelings for Trump and Stewart will be analyzed using a MANCOVA. The IV for both hypotheses is the stimulus condition and the DV's are parasocial feelings for Trump-media, Trump-fantasy and Stewart.

Hypotheses 1 and 2, which hypothesize parasocial feelings as a predictor of big business attitudes, will be analyzed using OLS hierarchical regression, with the two previous exposure measures entered in Block 1 and the three parasocial measures entered in Block 2. The DV is post-stimulus big business attitudes.

Hypotheses 3 through 6, which inquire about trust in big business and social working class serving as potential moderator variables in the relationship between the experimental condition and parasocial feelings toward Trump and Stewart will be analyzed using a MANCOVA. The IV’s reflect the experimental design (stimulus condition, trust in big business and social working class orientation) and the DV’s are the parasocial feelings variables. The covariates are previous exposure to *The Apprentice: Donald Trump* and *The Apprentice: Martha Stewart*.

**Power Analyses**

A statistical power analysis was performed for this study using the software package, GPower (Faul & Erdfelder, 1992). Power estimates were tabulated for the initial ANCOVA and the multiple regression test given that any power estimate for a multivariate test will be lower than these univariate tests. In short, the estimates of the univariate tests assess the power ceiling to detect different effect sizes. In accordance
with Cohen (1977; see chapter 8), GPower uses the effect size of \( f \) when assessing power in an ANCOVA. This statistic is “the standard deviation of the standardized means” (Cohen, 1977, p. 275). GPower, also in accordance with Cohen (1977), suggests the following \( f \) values for small, moderate, and large effects, respectively: .10, .25, and .40. These \( f \) values translate to the following \( \eta^2 \) values, the most commonly reported effect size statistic in the communication sciences: .01, .06, and .14, respectively (see Cohen, 1977, p. 283, Table 8.2.2). The number of groups for the initial ANCOVA is six (4 experimental groups and 2 convariates), and the sample size is 299. The following results were obtained for the ANCOVA power analysis with an alpha level of .05: \( f = .10 \), power = .218; \( f = .25 \), power = .93; \( f = .40 \), in excess of .99. The following results were obtained for the ANCOVA power analysis with a .10 alpha level: \( f = .10 \), power = .328; \( f = .25 \), power = .96; \( f = .40 \), power = in excess of .99. The following results were obtained for the multiple regression tests (three predictor variables and an alpha level of .05): small (\( f^2 = .02 \)) = .51; moderate (\( f^2 = .15 \)) = in excess of .99; large (\( f^2 = .35 \)) = in excess of .99. The same tests were run for a alpha level of .10, with the following results: small = .64; moderate = in excess of .99; large = in excess of .99. Given that this study can be defined as a small effects research endeavor, we established an alpha level of .10 for the study.

There is still only modest statistical power to detect small effects with the use of the \( p < .10 \) alpha level. However, the use of this alpha level does mark an improvement in reducing Type II error possibilities.
Chapter 3

RESULTS

Main Effect of Stimulus

A single ANCOVA was run to assess the main effect of the stimulus condition on post-stimulus big business attitudes, with previous exposure to the two *The Apprentice* programs serving as covariates. Only one of the two covariates proved to be statistically significant, *The Apprentice: Donald Trump*, $F(1, 287) = 5.25, p < .05, \eta^2 = .018$. The Martha Stewart exposure covariate was non-significant, $F(1, 287) = 0.013, p > .9, \eta^2 = .000$. The stimulus condition was also non-significant at the $p < .10$ level, $F(3, 287) = .980, p > .4, \eta^2 = .000$. In short, the viewing of either *The Apprentice* shows did not demonstrate an effect on post-stimulus big business attitudes relative to the control conditions.

Parasocial Feelings

A single MANCOVA was run to assess the influence of the stimulus condition on the three parasocial feelings indices (Trump-fantasy, Trump-media, and Martha Stewart), with previous exposure to the two programs serving as covariates. Wilks’ $\lambda$ was used to assess the omnibus effects prior to analyses of the univariate tests.

Omnibus effects. Both covariates and the stimulus proved to be significant at the $p < .01$ level; Previous exposure to *The Apprentice: Donald Trump*, $F(3, 284) = 11.34, p < .001, \eta^2 = .04$; *The Apprentice: Martha Stewart*, $F(3, 284) = 5.36, p < .01, \eta^2 = .02$; stimulus, $F(9, 691.33) = 11.94, p < .001, \eta^2 = .04$.

Univariate effects. Previous exposure to *The Apprentice: Donald Trump* had a significant effect on all three dependent variables; parasocial feelings for Martha Stewart,
\( F (1, 286) = 7.007, p < .01, \eta^2 = .03 \); Trump-fantasy, \( F (1, 286) = 8.286, p < .01, \eta^2 = .03 \); Trump-media, \( F (1, 286) = 31.870, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12 \). Here there is a moderate effect on the Trump-media variable. Previous exposure to *The Apprentice: Martha Stewart* has a significant effect on two of the three dependent variables; parasocial feelings for Martha Stewart, \( F (1, 286) = 12.697, p < .001, \eta^2 = .05 \); Trump-media, \( F (1, 286) = 5.737, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02 \). There was no effect on Trump-fantasy; \( F (1, 286) = .009, p > .9, \eta^2 = .00 \).

Exposure to the stimulus had a significant effect on all three dependent variables; parasocial feelings for Martha Stewart, \( F (3, 286) = 5.761, p < .01, \eta^2 = .02 \); Trump-fantasy parasocial feelings, \( F (3, 286) = 8.505, p < .001, \eta^2 = .03 \); Trump-media parasocial feelings, \( F (3, 286) = 19.831, p < .001, \eta^2 = .05 \). Here again the largest effect is on the Trump-media variable. The same can be said for the hypothesized effect of the stimulus condition for Trump-media (adjusted \( M = 2.93 \)). The stimulus effects on Martha Stewart parasocial feelings functioned as hypothesized, with the largest mean being found with the Martha Stewart stimulus condition (adjusted \( M = 2.35 \)). However, the highest adjusted mean for Trump-fantasy can be found with the pure control condition (2.12), with the Trump stimulus condition achieving a slightly lower adjusted mean (1.77). There appears to be a lowering of Trump-fantasy parasocial feelings when engaging in any type of TV use, but there is little else to explain why the pure control condition achieved the highest mean for this particular parasocial feelings index.

**Parasocial Feelings and Big Business Attitudes**

Once again, a single hierarchical regression was run to assess the predictive value of parasocial feelings on post stimulus big business attitudes (see Table 2). Neither of the previous *The Apprentice* exposure measures entered in the first block proved to be
statistically significant, Donald Trump ($\beta = .054, t = .868$) and Martha Stewart ($\beta = -.027, t = -.450$). In addition, only one of the three parasocial indices was a statistically significant predictor of the criterion variable, Trump-media ($\beta = .258, p < .001, t = 3.951$). In short, the only variable to serve as a mediator in the relationship between the experimental stimulus and the criterion variable is Trump-media. The stimulus condition increases parasocial feelings for Trump-media, and in turn, Trump-media parasocial feelings affect post-stimulus big business attitudes. This combination creates a mediated positive indirect effect. Neither Trump-fantasy parasocial feelings ($\beta = -.018, t = -.303$) nor Martha Stewart parasocial feelings ($\beta = .005, t = .072$) function in this capacity. This finding proves partial support of H1, but none for H2.


Table 2

Final $\beta$'s and t-values for previous exposure to stimulus condition and parasocial feelings for stimulus condition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Previous Exposure:</th>
<th>Final $\beta$</th>
<th>t-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Apprentice: Donald Trump</td>
<td>.054</td>
<td>.868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Apprentice: Martha Stewart</td>
<td>-.027</td>
<td>-.450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parasocial Trump-media</td>
<td>.258*</td>
<td>3.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parasocial Trump-fantasy</td>
<td>-.018</td>
<td>-.303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parasocial Stewart</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>.072</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Coefficients are final standardized $\beta$'s. * $p < .001$. Post Stimulus Big Business Attitudes Total $R^2$ (%) = 7.1%, $p < .01$, $N = 290$. 

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Prior to moving forward with an assessment of the hypothesized moderator variables, it was important to return to an analysis of the initial main effect of the stimulus condition on the criterion variable after accounting for the influence of the mediator variables (i.e., parasocial feelings). In order to perform this task a single ANCOVA was created, with the previous exposure covariates and the three parasocial feelings indices entered as covariates.

One of the main uses of covariates in an experimental setting is to control for the influence of other dependent variables when assessing an IV-DV relationship (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). In this case, I wanted to control for the influence of the three parasocial feelings variables on post-stimulus big business attitudes by treating them as covariates and then assessing anew the relationship between the experimental stimulus condition (IV) and post-stimulus big business attitudes (DV). In short, the post-stimulus big business attitude means for the four experimental conditions have been adjusted so that they are equal on the three parasocial feelings scales (as with the previous exposure items. The experimental stimulus condition influence on the post-stimulus big business attitudes was then assessed after this means adjustment.

The only covariate to produce a statistically significant result was Trump-media parasocial feelings, $F(1, 282) = 24.00, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$. However, of greatest interest to this study is the fact that with the introduction of the additional covariates the previously insignificant main IV-DV relationship becomes statistically significant, $F(3, 282) = 3.50, p < .05, \eta^2 = .028$. The Martha Stewart stimulus condition and the two control group adjusted means all fall in a similar range (4.40-4.65), while the Donald
Trump stimulus condition recorded the smallest mean among the four groups (4.04). In short, once parasocial feelings were accounted for (in particular, Trump-media), viewing *Donald Trump: The Apprentice* results in individuals retaining more negative attitudes toward big business. Most importantly, this negative main effect runs counter to the positive indirect effect of the stimulus condition on big business, traveling through the mediator of Trump-media parasocial feelings.

The finding of a statistically significant IV-DV relationship with the introduction of the parasocial feeling variables as covariates, where a non-significant IV-DV relationship was initially found, points to the parasocial feelings variables (especially Trump-media) acting as suppressor variables for the experimental condition (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Cohen and Cohen (1983) and others (e.g., Conger, 1974) discuss several different types of suppression. There is classic or traditional suppression, cooperative or reciprocal suppression, as well as negative or net suppression. The case of suppression found in this study is reflective of classic suppression. The experimental condition was not found to initially retain a statistically significant influence on the dependent variable, post-stimulus big business attitudes. However, with the introduction of the parasocial feelings variables as covariates, it is found that the effect of viewing Trump-*The Apprentice* produces a lower attitude toward big business relative to the other three conditions.

**Trust in Big Business and Social Working Class as Moderators**

A MANCOVA was run to assess the relationship between trust in big business/social working class orientation, the stimulus condition (IV’s) and parasocial feelings for Trump (media and fantasy) and Stewart. This analysis was run to assess the
contributory condition proposed in H3 and H4 and the contingent condition proposed in H5 and H6.

*Omnibus.* The covariates and the stimulus function as they did in previous MANCOVA results. In addition, the present MANCOVA produces a new two-way interaction between the stimulus condition and trust in big business; $F(9, 642) = 1.64, p < .10, \eta^2 = .01$. None of the additional two-way interactions (stimulus condition x social working class) nor the-three way interaction (stimulus condition x trust in big business x social working class) proved to be statistically significant.

*Figure 2.* Two-Way Interaction of Experimental Stimulus by Trust in Big Business for Trump-Parasocial Feelings-Media
**Univariate.** The trust in big business by stimulus two-way interaction is statistically significant for the Trump-media variable; $F (3, 266) = 2.75, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$ (see Figure 2). The Trump-fantasy and Martha Stewart were not statistically significant; Trump-fantasy, $F (3, 266) = 1.741, p > .15, \eta^2 = .01$; Martha Stewart, $F (3, 266) = 0.485, p > .69, \eta^2 = .00$. Thus, there is partial support for H3 while H4-H6 are rejected.

The Trump-media variable acts as a mediator, while trust in big business functions as a moderator. With these two findings, the model as hypothesized is supported; what is revealed is a moderated mediation model. As hypothesized, the mediation exists but the first half of the mediation path is moderated by trust in big business.

**Post-Hoc Assessment of Mediated Moderation Model**

Within social scientific research, no theoretical model is the ultimate theoretical model, and so it is important to examine alternative models and stories. An additional ANCOVA was run to assess whether the main IV-DV relationship was initially under theorized; more specifically, to assess what interactions exist between the stimulus and the other two independent variables of trust in big business and social working class orientation.. Indeed, a significant two-way interaction was found between the stimulus condition and trust in big business; $F (3, 267) = 3.059, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$ (see Figure 2). Supporting the notion that the main IV-DV relationship was under theorized. As a result, the model is actually revealed to be mediated moderator model (Muller, Judd, & Yzerbyt, 2005). The important moderator is trust in big business, with Trump-media parasocial feelings functioning as the mediator.
Figure 3. Two-Way Interaction of Experimental Stimulus by Trust in Big Business for Post-Stimulus Big Business Attitudes

Viewing *The Apprentice* enables subjects to form parasocial feelings for Donald Trump and Martha Stewart, allowing them to feel more connected to those individuals. Those subjects who coded low for trust in big business on the pre-stimulus survey in the Donald Trump group had decreased post-stimulus big business attitudes after watching the show. Despite those same subjects feeling closer to Donald Trump via parasocial feelings, they think less of big business after watching an episode of the show.
Chapter 4

DISCUSSION

The presence of reality-based programming on prime-time television has clearly changed the way that people watch television, and also changed what people expect to see each night when they turn the television on (Butsch, 2006). Both installments of *The Apprentice* opened a door to the backstage regions of corporate America that television had not yet opened. The show has also provided an opportunity for a large percentage of people who do not have personal access to the business world to experience it. Donald Trump and Martha Stewart are undeniably high profile business leaders, both in the overall corporate world and in their own respective industries. By allowing cameras into their worlds and their homes, these two corporate moguls have managed to have an effect on the way that viewers of their shows think about big business in America today.

Through the presentation of the backstage of both their personal and professional lives, the opportunity for the formation of parasocial feelings with these normally inaccessible celebrities arises. Trump and Stewart allowed America access to their homes, their families, and their empires, and viewers responded warmly to this unprecedented access. By being allowed to feel closer and more connected with Trump and Stewart, viewers have also increased the trust they have in big business because these two moguls are the face of big business in our country today (Holstrom & Kaplan, 2003).

The proposed moderated mediation model worked as theorized, however, the alternative model that surfaced is of equal interest in this study. The subsequent mediated moderation model tells an interesting story all its own that was not proposed in this study. In both cases, four variables were central to the story being told; the stimulus
condition, trust in big business, Trump-media parasocial feelings, and big business attitudes. Both of these models get beyond a simple stimulus-response model and take into account multiple outside factors that occur both before and during the exposure to the stimulus.

Meyrowitz (1985) argued that television presented an opportunity to show the backstage in the most complete way possible. More than two decades later, reality-based programs have taken the medium one step further and allowed an access to the backstage of multiple realities in ways that McLuhan himself never thought about. The present study successfully supported the notion that through television's presentation of the backstage of the business world, viewers can form parasocial feelings with those people who are running the business world and that those feelings can influence their attitudes towards big business.

Something that must always be carefully considered when a theoretical model is hypothesized and subsequently supported is how the parts create the whole. In the proposed moderated mediation model, it is crucial to examine the role of both the mediators (parasocial feelings for Donald Trump and Martha Stewart) as well as the moderator (trust in big business.) It is tempting to glance over the role of the moderator and go directly to the mediation that the parasocial feelings provide, but this is a hasty move at best.

Present day medium theory is concerned with a balance of form and content (Meyrowitz, 1985). This study linked one small content component that has a form element to it (reality-based television) which is in line with the work of second-generation medium theorists. Reality-based television presents a unique presentation of
the backstage that allows us to examine both the form and content issues in this study. This not only produces an interesting story, but poses a form question for future research possibilities; would media consumers be able to form the same media-driven parasocial feelings for Donald Trump through a magazine or the radio? Text is limited in the number of cues it has to offer, as is radio. It would be interesting to expand this line of research into media that do not have both the audible and visual cues combined, as television does.

The model is a representation of a conditional model of media effects (McLeod & Reeves, 1980). Within this O-S-O-R model, it is entirely necessary to look at both mediation and moderation in order to gain a more complete perspective. McLeod and Reeves argue that past research has been handcuffed by "a lack of uniformity and clarity as to labels and meaning of the role of various third 'conditional' variables…affecting the relationship between exposure to media and effect of that exposure" (p. 19). This argument to correctly contextualize media effects in these models is important because it encourages researchers to consider multiple outcomes and possibilities within their findings. The presented conditional model is about addressing the questions of who, why, and when an effect takes place; for this reason, moderators and mediators play an important role in the model.

The parasocial connection than can be formed from watching either installment of *The Apprentice* plays an unquestionably important role in the formation of an altered attitude towards big business. As the results indicate, there was no main effect present between the viewing of the show and subsequent effects on big business attitudes.
However, with the Trump-media parasocial feelings mediating that relationship, there is a positive effect on big business attitudes.

It is important to differentiate here the difference between parasocial feelings and a parasocial relationship (or a relationship of any sort.) What was measured in this study was merely a parasocial feeling, meaning that participants felt that they could associate or identify with Donald Trump and Martha Stewart through the exposure to their reality television programs. These feelings were measured immediately following the viewing of the stimulus and are cross-sectional in nature.

We need to understand the communicative process through which these parasocial feelings are formed, particularly in regard to the mass media. A future research area of great interest could involve making the parasocial feelings the DV and see what leads to the formation of these feelings. Recent literature suggests that it is possible to form an immediate parasocial feeling through a very limited interaction. Malcolm Gladwell (2005) recently coined the term "thin-slicing," which he defines as "the ability of our unconscious to find patterns in situations and people based on very narrow 'slices' of experience" (p. 23). The notion of "thin-slicing" is based on empirical research from a wide variety of scholarly fields. Gladwell points out that snap judgments and first impressions are critical because in many situations, they form the basis of a person's like or dislike for another person. While this idea has been applied mostly to the study of interpersonal communication and impression management (Goffman, 1959, Metts & Groshkopf, 2003) there is no reason why it could not be applied to the study of parasocial feelings and relationships. The concept of "thin slicing" has been used to study a broad
range of topics, including therapist competency ratings, personalities of strangers, and courtroom judges' expectations for trial outcomes (Curhan, Elfenbein, & Xu, 2005).

As hypothesized, there was strong support for the idea that the presentation of the backstage allowed viewers to develop parasocial feelings for Donald Trump and Martha Stewart through their viewing of *The Apprentice*. The significance level for all three parasocial variables was $p < .001$ and the effects were considerably large for a mass communication study.

It is not enough, however, to be content to know that these parasocial feelings mediate the change in big business attitudes, as there are clearly other factors in play for the viewers of these shows. For this reason, it is important to also recognize the moderator role that trust in big business plays. As hypothesized, those viewers who were coded as high trust in big business prior to the viewing of *The Apprentice* were more prone to have favorable attitudes about big business in general. It is a logical finding, as those who are predisposed to trusting the corporate world would be more affected by the presentation of the backstage of the business world than those who were already mistrusting of that side of business.

With big time corporate personalities like Donald Trump and Martha Stewart appearing on these reality-based programs and offering their advice and wisdom to contestants about how to make it in the business world, the door has been opened for viewers to form parasocial connections with them. As both are not only corporate successes, but media celebrities as well, it would not be unusual to catch a glimpse of them on a nightly entertainment show such as *Access Hollywood*. However, these programs allow a more in-depth look into their lives and their empires, which viewers
clearly found appealing. Studying complementary effects within a topic such as this one could be very interesting and beneficial; it is important to examine *The Apprentice* not in a vacuum, but in a more inclusive media context.

The parasocial connection that develops as a result of viewing *The Apprentice* does not just affect the way people feel about Trump and Stewart themselves. Due to the fact that both are the faces of large, multinational corporations, these parasocial feelings are transferring over to big business. It would be difficult to make this leap if the show featured the manager at your local Radio Shack and your neighborhood real estate agent, but Trump and Stewart symbolize big business in our country today. Parasocial feelings lead to feelings of ideation and admiration, and because reality-based programs like have made Trump and Stewart readily accessible to the viewing public, people feel as though they could one day conquer the corporate world.

Parasocial relationships are not typically thought of as something that can be formed quickly or instantly. Indeed, much of the literature on the subject would suggest that one viewing of an episode of *The Apprentice* could not lead one to form a parasocial relationship with Donald Trump or Martha Stewart. Auter (1990) made an important distinction between parasocial relationships and parasocial feelings; Auter argued that parasocial feelings retain the same qualities and characteristics as parasocial relationships, but are less intense and not as developed.

The parasocial feelings that viewers are developing for Donald Trump and Martha Stewart are connected to *The Apprentice* and its' unique presentation of the backstage. Viewers are allowed to watch Trump and Stewart as they counsel contestants, consult
with their highest ranking corporate officers behind closed doors and meet with top ranking executives at some of the most recognizable Fortune 500 companies in the world.

It is important to reexamine the label of the Trump-media parasocial feelings variable. A more accurate label for that variable would be Trump-media appeal. In critically examining it, it is crucial to recognize that all of the items that comprised this variable relate directly to the anticipation of encountering Donald Trump in some form of the media or finding him to be likable when he appears in the media. This variable clearly demonstrates that Trump has a strong appeal in the mass media, and therefore Trump-media appeal is a more appropriate label for it.

Just as important as the mediator in this hypothesized model is the role of the moderator – trust in big business. This moderation actually occurs at two different points in the process of this model. Trust in big business initially plays a role between the stimulus viewing and the formation of parasocial feelings for the Trump-media variable. Those with an existing trust in big business were more open to the formation of parasocial feelings for the Trump-media variable. It stands to reason that those individuals who already displayed some level of trust in big business would be more prone to develop parasocial feelings for Donald Trump. He is one of many faces of corporate America, but for certain, one of the more recognizable ones. Essentially, The Apprentice is preaching to the converted.

Trust in big business also functions as a moderator between the stimulus condition and the post-stimulus attitudes towards big business. Just as with the formation of parasocial feelings, it is perfectly logical that those with an inherent trust in big business would ultimately have more favorable attitudes towards big business after being
exposed to the backstage of that world. Through the exposure to a culture that viewers were already familiar with and comfortable with as well, they were able to increase their post-stimulus attitudes towards big business in general. A predisposition to trust big business prior to stimulus viewing turned out to be a very important moderator in this model. This demonstrates that while Trump and Stewart (and the parasocial feelings viewers have towards them) are highly influential, a viewers background and attitudes still play a large role in the formation of big business attitudes. It seems entirely logical that those who already possessed a high trust in big business would be more open and accepting of big time corporate personalities like Trump and Stewart. However, for those who did not possess a high trust in big business, the parasocial feelings were not present.

One of the more intriguing outcomes of this study was the alternative story that emerged from the moderated mediation model that was initially theorized. There was support for the original moderated mediation model, with parasocial feelings acting as the mediator between the stimulus viewing and the subsequent big business attitudes. After a factor analysis revealed that the Trump parasocial variable actually formed two distinct variables (Trump-fantasy and Trump-media) the initial moderator model becomes a mediated moderation model via the Trump-media parasocial variable.

This finding lends an entirely different side to the original model and to the story as a whole. An important distinction to make in a study such as this one is that no one theoretical model is "the" model, regardless of how sound the theory behind it. Where initially a moderated mediation model was hypothesized, a mediation moderation model was discovered. Had no factor analyses been run, the Trump parasocial variable would have acted much like the Stewart parasocial variable and had no significant effect on the
outcome of business attitudes. Both models were using the same key variables, but to
produce different outcomes. As social scientific researchers, we need to recognize that
even with tried and true measures like the one used in this study, factor analyses are
warranted and highly beneficial and should be run during every study, regardless of the
topic or desired outcome. As a scholarly community, it is incumbent upon us to see that
within the data we are collecting, we are getting not just the story that we suspected was
there, but to examine solid alternative stories as well.

While the Trump-media variable proved very useful and produced several
interesting results, the Martha Stewart parasocial data did very little and produced no
significant main effects on the DV. There are several possible reasons for why Stewart's
data did not produce results the way that Trump's data did. The most obvious that can be
drawn is that aside from her version of The Apprentice, Stewart has long been an
embattled figured in the mass media. While it does detract at all from her massive
success as a business woman and corporate mogul, Stewart has had a fickle relationship
with the media over the years, often being branded a power hungry villain. There were
even several television movies made about Stewart, with actress Cybil Sheppard
portraying the C.E.O. elitist.

Stewart's reputation is also inseparable from the year she spent in federal prison
after being convicted for insider trading in regards to the sale of a high profile medical
stock. Her already tenuous reputation took a decided hit when the phrase "convicted
felon" was permanently attached to it. While Stewart emerged from the prison term and
her stock sky rocketed upon her return, the damage to her public image seemed
irreversible.
An argument can also be made that while both Trump and Stewart are high powered C.E.O.'s of hugely successful companies, Stewart's empire is not as readily identifiable as a big business venture. A media mogul in her own right, Stewart's empire was built upon crafty ideas and dainty cakes that eventually evolved into her signature publication, *Martha Stewart Living* and her cooking show. Trump's empire was built primarily upon his real estate prowess and later, his Atlantic City, N.J. casinos. On the surface, Trump is unquestionable a business man; jetting around the world in his private luxury plane, hopping out of limos and constantly developing new real estate ventures. Stewart's ventures do not as easily fit the business stereotype, which might lead people to think of her as more of high class homemaker than a Fortune 500 C.E.O.

Another variable that did not produce any statistically significant results was the social working class variable. One reason for the inactivity of this variable is likely the possible weakness in the measure that was used to assess social working class. Participants were asked to place their parents and grandparents into one of thirteen social working class categories, and then the variable was coded to determine the social working class background of each person. Those with one or more blue collar parent were coded as blue collar, while those with two white collar parents were coded as white collar.

The measure was certainly efficient for the purposes of this study, but it lacks the specificity and attention to detail that is required to really assess a person's social working class background. For instance, a person may have been raised in a two parent home but been truly parented by one parent more so than the other. However, if one of those two parents was blue collar, then the participant was also blue collar for this study. It is very
difficult to assess social working class background using a mathematical formula when such a part of a person's history is really a much more complex and in-depth facet of their personality as a whole.

The other possible weakness in the variable is that the blue collar group is not a pure blue-collar group by any means. While the student population at the University of Delaware and in the sample for this study are considerably diverse in terms of social working class backgrounds, it would be a stretch to consider it a pure blue collar group. A pure blue collar group would be more likely found in a rural setting or near a city that has a strong industrial background (such as Pittsburgh, PA).

There were several other weaknesses of the study that could be corrected for future research purposes. Data was collected on source cues that could prove very interesting in the final analyses, but the sheer volume of data that was utilized prevented the inclusion of this variable in the final theoretical model. Data was also collected using a perceived reality scale to assess just how real participants think reality-based programming can be. It seems logical that a person who does not perceive reality-based programming to be an accurate depiction of true life would not likely form parasocial feelings for Trump and Stewart, nor would they be likely to change their attitudes towards big business based solely upon one hour of television.

Something that was not controlled for was how Stewart's recent stint in federal prison impacted participants' views of her both personally and professionally. While it is not typical to control for every sordid detail of a person's background, there is a very real possibility of a recency effect in this study because Stewart had been released from prison less than one year prior to the viewing of the stimulus. While it would have been nice to
control for this aspect of Stewart's image, it was not immediately relevant to the subject at hand and thus was not included in the study.

The short term nature of the stimulus exposure in this study is also a weakness to be considered. The data was collected immediately after the stimulus exposure occurred and cannot account for anything other than a very short term effect. There is also an issue of generalization in relation to *The Apprentice* and the fact that the each group only saw one episode of the show. That raises the question of whether or not the effects found through this study were specific to the episodes that were used or if these effects could be generalized to the entire series. It also begs the question of whether or not these effects would hold up if the participants were exposed to multiple episodes of the show as opposed to a one time viewing.

Another weakness exists in the fact that subjects were not randomly placed according to their trust in big business; the study was not a pure experimental design. A truly pure experimental design might include giving subjects an article to read prior to the exposure to the stimulus; one preaching the benefits of big business, the other condemning the evils of corporate America today to see what effect that might have.

Additionally, a truly random placement would have resulted in equal numbers of participants in all four groupings. If all four groupings had been equal in this study, the power for the two control groups would have been higher. Participants were also not placed randomly in regards to this pre-stimulus measures such as trust in big business and social working class.

A number of the unused variables from this study would also make excellent avenues for future research in this area. As previously mentioned, the source
characteristic variables could potentially add an interesting side to this already intriguing story (Pfau, 1990). Additionally, data was collected about the behavioral intentions of the participants to work in business fields or pursue their own C.E.O. post like Trump or Stewart some day. It would be very interesting to see if *The Apprentice* sparks a corporate interest in people that would drive them into a business career, and if the parasocial feelings played a mediating role in that drive.

The future for content analyses with these two shows is potentially broad and interesting (despite Stewart's installment of *The Apprentice* being cancelled after only one season on the air.) Additionally, the results of this study lead to questions about content analyses of other reality-based programs as well. One obvious area of research that I would like to conduct would be to observe if these effects hold up over time as they did in a cross sectional examination. I would be very interested gather the same group of participants and show them another episode of Trump's *The Apprentice* to see if the same effects are present.

Another very interesting avenue of research would be to test the nature of parasocial relationships that are formed because of the presentation of the backstage. This data clearly indicates that this presentation can lead to the development of parasocial feelings for Donald Trump after one hour of viewing the show. Would repeated viewings of *The Apprentice* lead people to form full blown parasocial relationships with Donald Trump, or diminish the initial parasocial feelings after participants were more exposed to Trump's personality and his actions.

A potential change that could be made for a future version of this study could involve using the exact same episode as a stimulus for two different participant groupings.
but editing out all of the backstage footage from one group's video and researching if any differences appear as a result. It is an intriguing notion to research Donald Trump would hold the same appeal if he appeared in only one role throughout the show.

The presentation of the deep backstage in reality-based programming also provides researchers with a unique opportunity to study parasocial relationships. Reality television has allowed unprecedented access into people's thoughts and feelings that television never afforded the viewer before. Would an increased level of this deep backstage presentation have an effect on the parasocial feelings that were formed?

While this study demonstrates that the formation of parasocial feelings for Donald Trump affected big business attitudes, there was no inquiry into parasocial feelings that could potentially form for the contestants as well. The contestants are by no means the recognizable business giant that Trump is, but they are all carefully selected for the show because they have some sort of specialized business expertise. Being that in their own right, they too represent big business and corporate America, could parasocial feelings for them also affect big business attitudes?

An intriguing area of content analysis research that emerges from this study concerns the way the episodes of the show are edited and how often Trump appears in different settings. One could examine the amount of time Trump appears in the front stage, the backstage, and the deep backstage during the course of an episode. Additionally, it would be interesting to code Trump for different personality traits (essentially defining different roles of his character) and see what comes of it.

It is also intriguing to consider what else might be leading people to programs like *The Apprentice*. As previously mentioned, Trump is well known for his corporate empire
and his business savvy, but he is also considered a media celebrity. Which begs the question of which Donald Trump viewers are tuning in to see each week, Hollywood Trump or Wall St Trump? More so to that point, does a person's motivation for tuning into the show have an effect on whether or not they form parasocial feelings for Trump and if their attitudes about big business are ultimately affected?

In terms of future effects-based research, there is a wide array of topics that could be considered for potential study. One possible venue for research on the presentation of the backstage would be to compare the fictional backstage with a reality-based program's backstage. For instance, a study could use The Office, which is entirely fictional, and The Apprentice as stimuli and see if the different presentations of the backstage have similar or different effects on big business attitudes. Using those same stimuli, you could also study how a serious or realistic presentation of the backstage versus a comical one affects the formation of big business attitudes.

One method of interest would be a large scale survey that helps researchers understand what predicts use of The Apprentice. The idea of the a captive audience that was used to gather the data for this study does not help understand what might lead people to this type of show, only to understand whether or not they had prior exposure to the program. What this drives at in the O-S-O-R model is the desire to understand the first orientation variable and better understand what needs the show is meeting for different people and possibly why.

Another area of potential interest would be to see if these effects hold up outside of the business world. A researcher could easily use America's Next Top Model as a stimulus to see if viewers form similar parasocial relationships with Tyra Banks the way
that they did with Donald Trump. Additionally, to see if those parasocial feelings mediate a viewers attitudes towards modeling or the fashion industry the way that they did for the business world with *The Apprentice*. It would be good to know if these reality-based programming effects translate into other areas of corporate culture, which would seemingly only enforce the findings of this study.

It would also be of interest to this study to gather the same sample population of subjects together one year later and show them *The Apprentice* again to see if the effects are lasting over time or if they diminish quickly. This study was only designed to study very short term effects, but there exists the possibility that these same effects could also be long term effects.

Examining different potential research areas concerning effects, content analyses and uses for this study bring together the idea of the O-S-O-R model. In the conditional model, it is crucial to examine multiple angles and ideas, which the future research possibilities that emerged from this study provide no lack of, certainly.

Reality-based programs such as *The Apprentice* are the natural evolution of the presentation of the backstage on television. When television emerged as one of the world's most dominant media, it presented the backstage as never before. Now reality television is continuing that evolution process. The presentation of the backstage that reality television has to offer holds endless possibilities for mass communication studies, particularly in the area of parasocial relationships.

The potential for parasocial mediation on reality-based programs is an area of study that is worth pursuing in the future. This study has demonstrated that that mediation can be a powerful influence on attitudes and outcomes. The manipulation of a
popular medium has created not only a television genre, but a presentation of the backstage that is unparalleled in the mass media today.

Watching *The Apprentice* makes people feel closer to Trump where the media is concerned, which in turn leads to those people feeling better about big business in America today. Yet when you take into account these feelings in regards to the whole model, feelings towards big business go decline. Essentially what this means is that the findings in this study are good for Donald Trump, but bad for business.

This study represents a small but solid step forward in this area of research. It creates a very sturdy advancement in the literature about this topic. Most importantly, the study generates future research possibilities, which is one of the most crucial facets of modern social science research today. There is a lot of room for advancement here, and certainly there is more to be done on this topic, but the work presented here asserts many interesting points and contributes a great deal towards the advancement of our understanding.
References


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APPENDIX A – HUMAN SUBJECTS APPROVAL LETTER

HUMAN SUBJECTS REVIEW BOARD ACTION
University of Delaware
Newark, DE 19716

Protocol title: Reality-based Television and Corporate Culture: An Empirical Investigation

Principal investigator(s): Kevin Tressler; Department of Communications

HSRB number: HS 06-112

Type of review: ☑ Expedited ☐ Full Board

The Human Subjects Review Board has reviewed the above-referenced protocol with respect to (1) the rights and welfare of the subjects; (2) the appropriateness of the methods to be used to secure informed consent; and (3) the risks and potential benefits of the investigation, and has taken the following action:

☑ Approved as revised on original document.

☐ Disapproved for reasons noted below

Approval date: November 8, 2005
Approval period: 1 year
Expiration date: November 7, 2006
Submittal date for continuing review: October 7, 2006

Changes in the protocol must be approved in advance by the HSRB.

Comments:

[Signature] Date 11/8/05

Dr. Richard D. Holsten
Associate Provost for Research,
Chairman, Human Subjects Review Board
210 Hullihen Hall
302-831-2136, fax: 302-831-2828, rholsten@udel.edu

cc: Lance Holbert
APPENDIX B – PRE-STIMULUS SURVEY

Pre-Measures

Section 1: This section asks you to provide some basic demographic information.

Name:______________________________________   Age:_________________

Major:_______________________________   Class:_______________________

I grew up in the following type of living environment (please circle one):

Rural                                                      Suburban                                                     Urban

Section 2: This section asks you to provide information about the occupational field in which your grandparents/parents have worked, as well the as the field in which you intend to work. Please circle only response for each person including yourself.

In which of the following occupational fields does/did your mother's father work?

Military          Medical          Business/Administrative           Clerical             Education
Retail Sales          Agriculture          Non-Profit          Domestic/Child Care
Other:

In which of the following occupational fields does/did your father's father work?

Military          Medical          Business/Administrative           Clerical             Education
Retail Sales          Agriculture          Non-Profit          Domestic/Child Care
Other:

In which of the following occupational fields does/did your mother's mother work?

Military          Medical          Business/Administrative           Clerical             Education
Retail Sales          Agriculture          Non-Profit          Domestic/Child Care
Other:

In which of the following occupational fields does/did your father's mother work?

Military          Medical          Business/Administrative           Clerical             Education
In which of the following occupational fields does/did your father work?

Military          Medical          Business/Administrative           Clerical             Education
Retail Sales          Agriculture          Non-Profit           Domestic/Child Care
Other:

In which of the following occupational fields does/did your mother work?

Military          Medical          Business/Administrative           Clerical             Education
Retail Sales          Agriculture          Non-Profit           Domestic/Child Care
Other:

In which of the following occupational fields do you intend to have a career post graduation?

Military          Medical          Business/Administrative           Clerical             Education
Retail Sales          Agriculture          Non-Profit           Domestic/Child Care
Other:

Section 3: This section offers statements that reflect your possible feelings about material objects. Indicate your level of (dis)agreement by circling the number that best reflects your response to each statement.

I admire people who own expensive homes, cars, and clothes

1               2               3              4               5              6              7
Strongly Disagree                                    Neutral                                          Strongly Agree

Some of the most important achievements in life include acquiring material possessions

1               2               3              4               5              6              7
Strongly Disagree                                    Neutral                                          Strongly Agree

I don't place much emphasis on the amount of material objects people own as a sign of success
The things I own say a lot about how well I'm doing in life

I like to own things that impress people

I don't pay much attention to the material objects other people own

If you had to choose, which of the following would you say is the most important (circle one below as your first choice)

- Maintaining order in the nation
- Giving people more say in important government decisions
- Fighting rising prices
- Protecting freedom of speech
- Don't know

If you had to choose, which of the following would you say is the most important (circle one below as your second choice)

- Maintaining order in the nation
- Giving people more say in important government decisions
- Fighting rising prices
- Protecting freedom of speech
- Don't know

Section 4: This section offers statements that reflect possible feelings about brand names in general. Indicate your level of (dis)agreement by circling the number that best reflects your response to each statement.

The brands I buy are a reflection of who I am
When I have a favorite brand I buy it – no matter what else is on sale

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I definitely disagree I generally disagree I moderately disagree Neutral I moderately agree I generally agree I definitely agree

I try to stick to well known brand names

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I definitely disagree I generally disagree I moderately disagree Neutral I moderately agree I generally agree I definitely agree

Given the choice, I would buy a brand name prescription drug rather than a generic prescription drug

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I definitely disagree I generally disagree I moderately disagree Neutral I moderately agree I generally agree I definitely agree

A store's own brand is usually a better buy than a nationally advertised brand

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I definitely disagree I generally disagree I moderately disagree Neutral I moderately agree I generally agree I definitely agree

I prefer to buy products with designer names

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I definitely disagree I generally disagree I moderately disagree Neutral I moderately agree I generally agree I definitely agree

Section 5: This section offers statements that reflect possible feelings about your current financial situation in general. Indicate your level of (dis)agreement by circling the number that best reflects your response to each statement.

Our family is too heavily in debt today

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I definitely disagree I generally disagree I moderately disagree Neutral I moderately agree I generally agree I definitely agree

No matter how fast our income goes up we never seem to get ahead

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I definitely disagree I generally disagree I moderately disagree Neutral I moderately agree I generally agree I definitely agree
Credit cards have gotten me into too much debt

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I am not very good at saving money

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Our family income is high enough to satisfy nearly all our important desires

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Section 6: This section offers statements that reflect possible feelings about opinion leadership in general. Indicate your level of (dis)agreement by circling the number that best reflects your response to each statement.

I am influential in my neighborhood

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I like to be considered a leader

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It's easy for me to get my way

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My friends and neighbors often come to me for advice about brands and products

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I often seek out the advice of my friends and neighbors regarding brands and products

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**Section 7:** This section offers statements that reflect possible feelings about gender differences in general. Indicate your level of (dis)agreement by circling the number that best reflects your response to each statement.

*Women have fewer opportunities in the workplace than men*

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*Men are better at investing money than women*

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*A woman's place is in the home*

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*The father should be the boss in the house*

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*I think the women's liberation movement is a good thing*

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*Baking shows that a woman cares about her family*

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Men are smarter than women

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<td>I generally disagree</td>
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<td>Neutral</td>
<td>I moderately agree</td>
<td>I generally agree</td>
<td>I definitely agree</td>
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Men are naturally better leaders than women

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</table>

**Section 8:** This section asks questions about your weekly media use. Please indicate your answer by circling one of the options beneath each question.

How many hours a week do you spend watching television?

| 0 – 5 | 5 – 10 | 10 – 15 | 15 – 20 | 20 – 25 | 25 + |

How many hours a week do you online (looking at websites, emailing, etc)?

| 0 – 5 | 5 – 10 | 10 – 15 | 15 – 20 | 20 – 25 | 25 + |

How many times in the past year have you made a purchase on the internet?

| 0 – 5 | 5 – 10 | 10 – 15 | 15 – 20 | 20 – 25 | 25 + |

What is the occupation of Donald Trump?

A: Farmer  
B: Television news anchor  
C: Corporate C.E.O.  
D: Football player

What is the occupation of Martha Stewart?

A: Business woman  
B: Doctor  
C: Actress  
D: Tennis player
**Section 9:** On a scale from one to seven, where 1 = "rarely" and 7 = "all the time" how often do watch each of the following television programs? You have the option of circling never if you never watch a particular program. Please circle one number or never for each program.

*Survivor*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Rarely</th>
<th>All the Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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</table>

*Extreme Makeover: Home Edition*

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
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<td>0</td>
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*The Apprentice*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Rarely</th>
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*The Amazing Race*

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*America's Next Top Model*

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**Section 10:** These items ask you to provide your feelings about the business world using a series of adjective pairings. Circle the number that best indicates your perceptions of the business world.

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APPENDIX C – POST-STIMULUS SURVEY

Name (First and Last):____________________________________________________

Section 1: This section asks you to provide information about your feelings toward Martha Stewart. For each statement, please circle the number that best expresses your own feelings about Martha Stewart.

I feel sorry for Martha Stewart when she makes a mistake

1          2               3          4                5
Strongly                  Disagree                Neutral                    Agree                   Strongly
Disagree                                                                                                              Agree

Martha Stewart makes me feel comfortable, as if I am with friends

1          2               3          4                5
Strongly                  Disagree                Neutral                    Agree                   Strongly
Disagree                                                                                                              Agree

I see Martha Stewart as a natural, down-to-Earth person

1          2               3          4                5
Strongly                  Disagree                Neutral                    Agree                   Strongly
Disagree                                                                                                              Agree

I look forward to watching Martha Stewart

1          2               3          4                5
Strongly                  Disagree                Neutral                    Agree                   Strongly
Disagree                                                                                                              Agree

If Martha Stewart appeared on a television program, I would watch that program

1          2               3          4                5
Strongly                  Disagree                Neutral                    Agree                   Strongly
Disagree                                                                                                              Agree

When Martha Stewart tells a story, she seems to understand the kinds of things I want to know

1          2               3          4                5
Strongly                  Disagree                Neutral                    Agree                   Strongly
Disagree                                                                                                              Agree

If there were a story about Martha Stewart in a newspaper or magazine, I would read it
1 | Strongly Disagree | 2 | Disagree | 3 | Neutral | 4 | Agree | 5 | Strongly Agree
---|------------------|---|----------|---|--------|---|-------|---|---------|
I miss seeing Martha Stewart when she does not appear on television

1 | Strongly Disagree | 2 | Disagree | 3 | Neutral | 4 | Agree | 5 | Strongly Agree
---|------------------|---|----------|---|--------|---|-------|---|---------|
I would like to meet Martha Stewart in person

1 | Strongly Disagree | 2 | Disagree | 3 | Neutral | 4 | Agree | 5 | Strongly Agree
---|------------------|---|----------|---|--------|---|-------|---|---------|
I find Martha Stewart to be attractive

1 | Strongly Disagree | 2 | Disagree | 3 | Neutral | 4 | Agree | 5 | Strongly Agree
---|------------------|---|----------|---|--------|---|-------|---|---------|
*The Apprentice* with Martha Stewart shows me what C.E.O.'s are like

1 | Strongly Disagree | 2 | Disagree | 3 | Neutral | 4 | Agree | 5 | Strongly Agree
---|------------------|---|----------|---|--------|---|-------|---|---------|
I like to compare my ideas with what Martha Stewart says

1 | Strongly Disagree | 2 | Disagree | 3 | Neutral | 4 | Agree | 5 | Strongly Agree
---|------------------|---|----------|---|--------|---|-------|---|---------|
I like hearing Martha Stewart's voice in my home

1 | Strongly Disagree | 2 | Disagree | 3 | Neutral | 4 | Agree | 5 | Strongly Agree
---|------------------|---|----------|---|--------|---|-------|---|---------|
**Section 2:** This section asks you to provide information about your feelings toward Donald Trump. For each statement, please circle the number that best expresses your own feelings about Donald Trump.

I feel sorry for Donald Trump when he makes a mistake
Donald Trump makes me feel comfortable, as if I am with friends

I see Donald Trump as a natural, down-to-Earth person

I look forward to watching Donald Trump

If Donald Trump appeared on a television program, I would watch that program

When Donald Trump tells a story, he seems to understand the kinds of things I want to know

If there were a story about Donald Trump in a newspaper or magazine, I would read it

I miss seeing Donald Trump when he does not appear on television
I would like to meet Donald Trump in person

1  2  3  4  5
Strongly Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I find Donald Trump to be attractive

1  2  3  4  5
Strongly Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

_The Apprentice_ with Donald Trump shows me what C.E.O.'s are like

1  2  3  4  5
Strongly Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I like to compare my ideas with what Donald Trump says

1  2  3  4  5
Strongly Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I like hearing Donald Trump's voice in my home

1  2  3  4  5
Strongly Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

**Section 3:** This section asks you to provide information about the likelihood of you pursuing a career in business. For each statement, please circle the number that best expresses your own feelings.

I am likely to pursue a career in business

1  2  3  4  5
Strongly Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

What's good for big business is good for the country

1  2  3  4  5
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

I want to become a C.E.O.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

I want to have my own business some day

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The competitiveness of the business world excites me

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Section 4: Here are some statements people may make about reality-based television in general. For each statement please circle the number that best expresses your own feelings.

Reality-based television presents things as they really are in life

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

If I see something on reality-based television, I can't be sure it really is that way

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Reality-based television lets me see how other people really live

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Reality-based television does not show life as it really is...
Reality-based television lets me see what happens in other places as if I were really there

Section 5: These items ask you to rate Donald Trump using a series of adjective opposite pairings. Circle the number that best indicates your perceptions of Donald Trump.

Selfish 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Unselfish
Bad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Good
Dishonest 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Honest
Incompetent 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Competent
Unintelligent 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Intelligent
Unqualified 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Qualified
Unsociable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Sociable
Gloomy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Cheerful
Irritable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Good-Natured

Section 6: These items ask you to rate Martha Stewart using a series of adjective opposite pairings. Circle the number that best indicates your perceptions of Martha Stewart.

Selfish 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Unselfish
Bad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Good
Dishonest 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Honest
| Incompetent | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Competent |
| Unintelligent | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Intelligent |
| Unqualified | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Qualified |
| Unsociable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Sociable |
| Gloomy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Cheerful |
| Irritable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Good-Natured |

**Section 7:** These items ask you to rate **C.E.O.'s in general** using a series of adjective opposite pairings. Circle the number that best indicates your perceptions of C.E.O.'s in general.

| Selfish | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Unselfish |
| Bad | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Good |
| Dishonest | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Honest |
| Incompetent | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Competent |
| Unintelligent | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Intelligent |
| Unqualified | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Qualified |
| Unsociable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Sociable |
| Gloomy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Cheerful |
| Irritable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Good-Natured |

**Section 8:** These items ask you to rate **big business in general** using a series of adjective opposite pairings. Circle the number that best indicates your perceptions of C.E.O.'s in general.

| Selfish | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Unselfish |
| Bad | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Good |
| Dishonest | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Honest |
| Incompetent | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Competent |
Section 9: Please indicate the degree to which you disagree or agree with the following statements as they apply to **Donald Trump**.

Donald Trump is a typical goof-off when assigned a job to do

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have confidence in Donald Trump's ability to get the job done

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If I wanted to get things done, I could probably depend on Donald Trump

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I couldn't get anything accomplished with Donald Trump

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Donald Trump is a problem solver

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section 10: Please indicate the degree to which you disagree or agree with the following statements as they apply to **Martha Stewart**.
Martha Stewart is a typical goof-off when assigned a job to do

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have confidence in Martha Stewart's ability to get the job done

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If I wanted to get things done, I could probably depend on Martha Stewart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I couldn't get anything accomplished with Martha Stewart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Martha Stewart is a problem solver

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section 11: This section asks you to provide your attitude about Martha Stewart using a series of adjective opposite pairings. Circle the number that best indicates your attitude towards Martha Stewart in general.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Positive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Favorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unacceptable</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Acceptable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foolish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Wise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section 12: This section asks you to provide your attitude about Donald Trump using a series of adjective opposite pairings. Circle the number that best indicates your attitude towards Donald Trump in general.

Negative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Positive
Bad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Good
Unfavorable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Favorable
Unacceptable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Acceptable
Foolish 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Wise
Wrong 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Right

Section 13: This section asks you to provide your attitude about C.E.O.'s in general using a series of adjective opposite pairings. Circle the number that best indicates your attitude towards C.E.O.'s in general.

Negative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Positive
Bad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Good
Unfavorable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Favorable
Unacceptable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Acceptable
Foolish 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Wise
Wrong 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Right

Section 14: This section asks you to provide your attitude about big business in general using a series of adjective opposite pairings. Circle the number that best indicates your attitude towards big business in general.

Negative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Positive
Section 15: On a scale from one to seven, where 1 = "rarely" and 7 = "all the time" how often in the past year have you seen each of the following people on television in any capacity? You have the option of circling never if you never watch a particular program. Please circle one number or never for each program.

The Apprentice: Martha Stewart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The Apprentice: Donald Trump

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Regardless of how much you do watch The Apprentice: Martha Stewart, when you do watch it, how much attention do you pay to it?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No Attention</th>
<th>Some Attention</th>
<th>A Great Deal of Attention</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regardless of how much you do watch The Apprentice: Donald Trump, when you do watch it, how much attention do you pay to it?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No Attention</th>
<th>Some Attention</th>
<th>A Great Deal of Attention</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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