Exploring Parasocial Interaction in College Students as a Multidimensional Construct: Do Personality, Interpersonal Need, and Television Motive Predict Their Relationships With Media Characters?

Mina Tsay
Boston University

Brianna Mary Bodine
Montgomery County Environmental Services,
Dayton, Ohio

For decades, entertainment scholars have examined audience responses to media personalities. One of the ways in which viewers interact with characters on TV is through developing and maintaining parasocial interactions (PSIs). The goals of the present study are twofold in that it empirically tests PSI as a multidimensional construct (guidance, face-to-face desire, intimacy, and familiarity) and determines the degree to which certain individual difference variables, such as personality, interpersonal needs, and TV motives predict college students' relationships with media characters across such dimensions. Implications for measuring PSI as a construct and the uses and gratifications of these mediated interactions are discussed.

Keywords: parasocial interaction, uses and gratifications, media characters, personality, TV motives

In past decades, entertainment scholars have extensively examined audience responses to media characters or personalities in the context of TV. Literature has documented the significance of the engagement with media figures as such relationships hold implications for audience enjoyment, learning, identification, and need gratification. A wealth of studies have supported the importance of character and viewer relationships, particularly our dispositions toward characters and involvement with character events and experiences, as they indeed impact levels of pleasure, enjoyment, and appreciation viewers derive from media consumption (Oliver, 2008; Oliver, 2009; Raney, 2003; Zillmann & Bryant, 1986). Consequently, such interactions with characters increase the chance that viewers will feel a sense of loyalty, heightening repeated program viewing over time (Schiappa, Allen, & Gregg, 2007). Horton and Wohl (1956) originally explicated parasocial interaction (PSI) as a seeming mediated interpersonal relationship that a viewer perceives and reacts to as if it were an actual face-to-face relationship. Laying the groundwork for the concept of PSI, they outlined key characteristics of parasocial relationships—a bond of intimacy, continuous existence (outside actual viewing time), role adoption, as well as nonmutual, one-sided, and nondialectical communication.

Researchers have taken the notion of PSI and investigated more thoroughly: (a) characteristics of media personalities that encourage the formation of these connections, such as attractiveness, conversational speech, and predictability (Houlberg, 1984; Rubin, Perse, & Powell, 1985); (b) reasons for the development of PSIs (Armstrong & Rubin, 1989; Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1974), such as time spent using a particular medium, personality factors (finding "normal" interpersonal interaction less rewarding), and attachment styles (e.g., Armstrong & Rubin, 1989; Cole & Leets, 1999); (c) factors inherent in media content facilitating these interactions, such as perceived realism

---

Mina Tsay, Assistant Professor, Department of Mass Communication, Advertising and Public Relations, Boston University; Brianna Mary Bodine, Communication Coordinator, Montgomery County Environmental Services, Dayton, Ohio.

Brianna Mary Bodine was formerly affiliated with the University of Kentucky.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Mina Tsay, PhD, 640 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, MA 02215. E-mail: minatsay@bu.edu

and perceived intimacy (Horton & Wohl, 1956; Meyrowitz, 1982; Nordlund, 1978); (d) differences between PSI and identification, homophily, and affinity (Rosengren & Windahl, 1972). While these areas enhance our understanding of the antecedents, process, and effects of PSIs, it is important to recognize that PSI was originally conceptualized as a coping mechanism for individuals who lacked adequate social networks or interpersonal relationships, leading to a dependence on media characters to mediate the emptiness or loneliness in their lives. However, research investigating loneliness (Armstrong & Rubin, 1989; Rubin et al., 1985; Wang, Fink, & Cai, 2008) has failed to provide conclusive evidence to support the assumption that PSI is maladaptive or isolated to individuals without "real" social support. Instead, current PSI research links interpersonal (e.g., Rubin & McHugh, 1987) and mass media (e.g., Wang et al., 2008) communication theories to explain how PSI functions as a healthy alternative or supplement to normal interpersonal interaction.

In light of the functional role of PSI, the present study seeks to examine these relationships by applying theories of enjoyment, attachment, and uses and gratifications. In particular, the goals of this research are twofold. We first apply concepts of the active audience, involvement that encompasses affective, cognitive, and behavioral components, and the pursuit of intimacy to examine PSI as a multidimensional construct. Second, individual, social, and contextual characteristics will be considered as we investigate how personality, interpersonal needs, and TV motives predict various components of PSIs in a college population.

PSI as a Functional Alternative to Face-to-Face Interaction

When the concept of PSI was first explicated, it was characterized as a fantasy that the viewer must accept or reject to become a participant in the interaction (Horton & Wohl, 1956). Later theorizing led scholars to characterize PSI as pathological or maladaptive (e.g., an effort to compensate for loneliness or insufficient social resources) because these relationships with media personae were deemed imaginary or "quasi" friendships (Giles, 2002; Nordlund, 1978; Rosengren & Windhal, 1972). Applying attachment theory, Cole and Leets (1999) found that

anxious-ambivalent individuals were most likely to form PSIs, and that secure individuals engaged with media characters when they experienced relational distrust. These findings support the notion that PSI might serve a compensatory role for some subsets of viewers based on individual attachment differences. Additionally, Armstrong and Rubin (1989) suggested that talk radio programs might function as an alternative, nonthreatening forum for interaction, particularly for listeners who experience apprehension or avoidance in interpersonal social contexts. Across 10 relevant studies in a meta-analysis, Schiappa et al. (2007) found support for a positive relationship between one's degree of loneliness and shyness and his or her likelihood to engage in PSI.

As an extension of PSI, Eyal and Cohen (2006) suggested a concept they term parasocial breakup (PSB) that occurs when favorite media characters leave a show or when favorite media programs end. Whereas they found no association between loneliness and PSI, they did find a positive relationship between loneliness and PSB. These findings point to the notion that individual differences in levels of loneliness do not necessarily prompt viewers to seek mediated interactions, but that loneliness might describe the degree of dependence audience members have on media characters, leading to more distress at breakup. Other analogous social responses, in particular jealousy, were also found among individuals who assessed others with the same favorite media character (Tsay & Banjo, 2007). Specifically, if others have stronger affinity or knowledge of the same favorite media character, responses of envy and resentment are reported, supporting the idea that PSIs are indeed interpersonal in nature. In essence, the literature shows considerable support that PSIs may function similarly to face-to-face interpersonal relationships, wherein a dependent and lonely individual might be exceptionally upset by the loss of a significant other, such a response may be comparative to that towards a media persona.

PSI as a Multidimensional Construct

While PSI has been examined in both interpersonal and mass communication contexts, no specific theoretical framework or model exists for studying these mediated relationships

(Giles, 2002). Some researchers investigate PSI as an antecedent or a result of media interaction (Nordlund, 1978), labeling it as both a process and a state (Schiappa, Gregg, & Hewes, 2005). While the basic definition of PSI remains clear across literature, methods for measuring and conceptualizing these relationships have not been consistent, due to concerns of differentiating PSIs from other forms of media interactions (e.g., identification), as well as the deliberation over classifying PSI under the study of mass communication versus interpersonal communication (Rubin & Step, 2000).

PSI has typically been operationalized under a single factor, though it is theoretically characterized as a multidimensional phenomenon (Auter & Palmgreen, 2000; Rubin et al., 1985; Sood & Rogers, 2000). Recall that people who engage in PSIs are likely to seek contact with their favorite media characters (Horton & Wohl, 1956), thus letter writers make up a unique group of highly engaged audience members with strong PSIs. Papa et al. (2000) found supporting evidence for affective, cognitive, and behavioral dimensions of PSI, through a content analysis of letters written by viewers of a popular Indian soap opera. Similarly, Sood and Rogers (2000) content analyzed letters written to a TV station in India about a popular edutainment (intentional integration of educational materials into entertainment media) soap opera, showing that audience responses to soap opera characters fell into five dimensions—cognitive, affective and behavioral engagement, and reflective and critical involvement. *Cognitive engagement* refers to the central processing or reflection of messages. *Affective engagement* is the degree of interpersonal reactions reflecting emotional involvement, such as empathizing with a character. *Behavioral engagement* can occur during the show, such as talking back to characters, or after the show when people discuss the characters with others or seek out additional information about the characters (e.g., through the Internet or by reading stories featuring their favorite media characters). *Referential involvement* happens when viewers find similarity (homophily) between themselves and the character, perhaps taking on the role of the character via identification. *Critical involvement* is a process of reconstructing episodes, in which viewers may suggest plot changes, or criticize the actual producers of the show about the direction of the story.

Similar to PSI, literature on the enjoyment of media content has also pointed to various components of involvement, namely affective, cognitive and behavioral, that contribute to one's overall attainment of pleasure when consuming media (see Nabi & Krcmar, 2004 for review). These dimensions may also be applied to the interactions we develop and sustain with media figures. Specifically, disposition theory suggests that enjoyment is a function of both affective character disposition and the gratifications sought from witnessing the justification of character actions (Zillmann, 2000; Zillmann & Cantor, 1976). While Raney and Bryant (2002) focus on moral judgment as a primary cognitive dimension of one's experience with media characters, others have discussed the importance of empathy and the blend of both positive and negative affective states (e.g., tenderness) that guide the enjoyment and appreciation of entertainment content (Oliver, 1993; Oliver & Bartsch, 2010). Lastly, behavioral involvement has been most noted in studies on selective exposure (i.e., the act of program and media selection; see Knobloch & Zillmann, 2002), suggesting that behaviors related to program choice and the characters in those programs might impact enjoyment. Therefore, due to various dimensions of involvement that can occur within one's experience with media personae, it is necessary for scholars to treat the PSI construct as multidimensional both theoretically and operationally.

Need for Refinement of PSI Measure

Antecedents of, motivations for, and effects of PSIs have largely been examined using variations of Rubin et al.'s (1985) PSI scale. The original 29-item version of the scale was constructed to reflect thoughts and feelings related to one's favorite local TV news program, news personality, and news team, and perceptions of and behavioral dispositions towards one's favorite newscaster, guided by early literature on PSI (Gregg, 1971; Horton & Wohl, 1956; Levy, 1979; Miller, 1983). Among those items, 20 items were then selected to comprise a more reliable PSI scale, eliminating irrelevant and nonsalient measures. This scale has been commonly adapted by scholars who have investi-

gated favorite TV personalities and characters (Auter, 1992; Conway & Rubin, 1991; Rubin & McHugh, 1987), soap opera characters (Perse & Rubin, 1989; Rubin & Perse, 1987), and TV shopping personalities (Grant, Gunthrie, & Ball-Rokeach, 1991).

Although the scale initially intended to measure the degree to which guidance is sought from a favorite newscaster, a favorite newscaster is perceived as a friend, and meeting a favorite newscaster is deemed desirable, growing literature supporting the various affective, cognitive, and behavioral dimensions of audience involvement and enjoyment of media experiences (Nabi & Krcmar, 2004) point to a need to revisit this PSI measure and consider it as a multidimensional construct and not as a single factor. In particular, the behavioral involvement component appears to be most lacking in the measurement of the construct, for empirical support has shown that due to the changing nature of mass communication and advances in new media technologies, behavioral participation has become even more salient in heightening audience engagement with media characters and personae. For example, audiences are able to not only watch their favorite characters on TV, but also interact with them online via reading character blogs, joining fan groups, and following Tweets. The consideration of not only emotional, cognitive, and behavioral disposition responses towards one's favorite media character or persona should be taken, but more importantly, actual behaviors in which one engages with the media figure (e.g., discussions with others, use of advice from the media figure, and seeking information about him or her outside of TV viewing). In today's saturated, interactive media environment, where media consumers have increased control and a plethora of choices to fulfill their media usage needs (Sherry, 2002), behavioral components, such as having the opportunity to meet and talk to a favorite media personality or seek guidance, should not be relegated to the periphery.

Theoretically motivated to advance the construct validity of PSI as a multidimensional construct, the present study applies theories of enjoyment, intimacy, and active audience to better operationalize these mediated relationships. This research hopes to advance a revised version of Rubin et al.'s (1985) scale to better capture facets of affective, cognitive, and be-havioral engagement with media characters and personalities. Items included in this scale consist of a viewer's participation in seeking guidance, desiring interpersonal encounter, enhancing relational intimacy, and engaging behaviorally during and outside program viewing. In addition, uses and gratification theory posits that audience members turn to media for specific psychological and social need gratifications depending on individual traits and motives (Blumler & Katz, 1974). Through this lens, we will examine three primary predictors of PSI—personality, interpersonal need, and TV motive, as we utilize the revised PSI scale to test the multidimensional construct.

Roles of Personality, Interpersonal Need, and TV Motive

Personality can be conceptualized as an interrelated set of individual differences in beliefs, attitudes, and values that are relatively stable over time, such that personality consistently guides an individual's approach and interaction with the world (Kraaykamp & van Eijck, 2005). Character differences in personality create variations in the ways individuals approach relationships and pursue intimacy (Sanderson, Rahm, & Beigbeder, 2005), as well as how they use media and are influenced by media content (e.g., Lachlan & Maloney, 2008; Nabi & Riddle, 2008; Shim & Paul, 2007). Though individual characteristics can be conceptualized in a number ways (e.g., impulsive decision making, sensation seeking, need for cognition, and cognitive complexity), for the purposes of this study, personality will be operationalized using four of the Big 5 personality factors—extroversion, openness, agreeableness, and neuroticism. Conscientiousness was excluded due to the conflicting nature of past findings regarding TV viewing (Finn, 1997; Kraaykamp & van Eijck, 2005) and the construct's low face validity when applied to mediated interpersonal relationships.

Extroversion is characterized as being outgoing, sociable, and comfortable around people, as well as preferring situations of high stimulation and arousal. Individuals high in extroversion (extroverts) prefer social activities compared to other activities, such as reading or watching TV (Finn, 1997), whereas those low in extraversion (introverts) prefer more solitary activities. If

PSI is a functional alternative to interpersonal relationships, it is expected that individuals high in extroversion should experience stronger PSI, because they would enjoy mediated relationships on the same level as face-to-face relationships and find them equally stimulating.

Openness is described as the desire for varied stimulation, and a willingness to engage in new experiences, situations, or interactions. People high in openness might be more willing to seek out alternative or interesting relationships, such as those with media characters on TV. This is perhaps generated by suspending disbelief with regard to the "fantasy" of such mediated interactions. However, with the constant advancements of new media technologies, open individuals might require greater interactivity or channel variety than can be found through TV (Kraaykamp & van Eijck, 2005). Therefore, this study wishes to explore the nature of the relationship between an individual's openness and his or her PSI.

Agreeableness, or friendliness, is exemplified by empathy, kindness, affection, and an inclination toward interacting with others. Because individuals high on this dimension tend to favor intimate conversations and the transactional nature of interpersonal communication, they might be less likely to accept PSI as a functional alternative. Thus, due to the unidirectional communication with media characters, PSIs are expected not to satisfy the back-and-forth interaction desired by agreeable individuals.

Neuroticism, however, is almost a polar opposite personality trait to agreeableness, comprised of attributes related to unstable moods, irritability, anxiety, and negative affect toward others and social interactions in general. It is expected that neurotic individuals are less likely to find interpersonal communication satisfying, and possibly more likely to experience communication apprehension. Therefore, due to states of anxiousness and the lack of desire for social affiliation, highly neurotic individuals may be less likely to develop PSIs.

Therefore, due to the aforementioned reasons, the following hypotheses and research question are proposed with regard to the association between personality and PSIs:

> *H1:* Higher levels of extraversion are positively associated with PSI.

> *RQ1:* What is the relationship between levels of openness and PSI?

> *H2:* Higher levels of agreeableness are negatively associated with PSI.

> *H3:* Higher levels of neuroticism are negatively associated with PSI.

According to the uses and gratifications perspective, audience members are active agents in their media experiences (Katz et al., 1974). More specifically, this approach assumes that individuals are able to identify and are consciously aware of their internal needs, drives, and motives, as well as external opportunities to gratify such needs (Donohew, Palmgreen, & Rayburn, 1987; Katz et al., 1974). Maslow (1970) suggests that human interaction is essential to the process of development and that interpersonal needs play important roles in explaining why individuals seek interpersonal communication as a means for gratification. More specifically, Schutz (1958) proposes three fundamental types of interpersonal needs-inclusion, control, and affection. Due to the fact that these interpersonal relational motives drive intimacy and are fulfilled through face-to-face interactions, if individuals are lacking fulfillment in their needs for interpersonal interaction and social support, they may turn to media characters or personalities as functional alternatives or supplements to face-to-face communication. In fact, Horton and Wohl (1956) originally explicated perceived intimacy as a major component to the facilitation of PSI, and later research on homophily (similarity) with media characters (Turner, 1993) and attraction (Rubin & McHugh, 1987) support this assumption. Therefore, if PSI is indeed a functional alternative to interpersonal interaction, needs for inclusion and affection are expected to be positively associated with PSI.

On the other hand, the directionality of control in PSIs has been argued to flow from the media character to the viewer (Horton & Wohl, 1956), such that the persona of the media character must be carefully constructed to mimic reality and induce feelings of intimacy (e.g., through direct gaze and self-disclosure). However, with the increased interactivity and user-control experienced by audiences in the current new media market (Cassell, Jackson, & Cheuvront, 1998; Sherry, 2002; Suggs, 2006), the

control for PSIs could feasibly shift to viewers. Thus, the nature of the relationship between need for control and PSI should be explored.

Based on these explanations, the following hypothesis and research question are examined:

> *H4:* Needs for inclusion and affection are positively associated with PSI.

> *RQ2:* What is the relationship between need for control and PSI?

In addition to interpersonal needs, motives that drive audiences to consume TV may also predict variations in PSI. Rubin (1983) suggests a number of motives for why individuals turn to TV for gratification, including relaxation, habit, entertainment, pastime, information, and so forth. Since involvement with mediated texts is assumed to be a form of gratification (employing an active audience approach), the degree to which engagement is experienced should likely facilitate enjoyment and richer forms of PSIs. Therefore, active TV viewing strategies such as seeking pleasure, escaping from everyday stresses, relaxing, and gaining information should likely increase PSI. In contrast, passive strategies of TV viewing, such as habit and pastime, are not indicative of actively seeking out interpersonal relationships with media characters. Because individuals involved in PSIs are characterized as being highly engaged with their favorite media characters by seeking additional or continued interaction with them, and consequently, feeling distress when these media characters are no longer on TV (Eyal & Cohen, 2006), passive viewing strategies should be less pivotal to the development of PSI. Therefore, the present study predicts the following hypotheses:

> *H5:* Motives to watch TV for pleasure, escape, relaxation, and information are positively associated with PSI.

> *H6:* Motives to watch TV to pass time and for habit are negatively associated with PSI.

Method

Participants and Procedure

A total of 272 undergraduate students (45.2% males, 54.8% females) ranging in age from 18 to 37 ($M = 21.01$, $SD = 2.43$) from a large Southern university completed a questionnaire.

The questionnaire consisted of items assessing personality, interpersonal needs, TV motives, nature of parasocial interactions with a favorite media character or personality, and TV viewing habits. Respondents consisted of 81.6% Whites, 1.5% Asians, 10.3% African Americans, 1.8% Hispanics, and 4.4% with no indication of race.

Measures

Below are descriptions of the measures relevant to the analyses presented, which are a subset of the items included in the survey.

Parasocial interaction.   To assess PSI, we reviewed Rubin et al.'s (1985) 20-item PSI scale to parse out the primary dimensions of audience engagement with a favorite newscaster that were originally examined. For the purpose of this study, we decided not to limit the favorite media personality to news specifically, but to rather investigate PSI in a broader context by examining the interaction between audiences with their "favorite media character or personality" on TV (see Auter, 1992; Conway & Rubin, 1991; Rubin & McHugh, 1987). Our goal was to establish a more refined scale that would be externally valid for scholars to use for future research to more comprehensively study PSIs of all media types. To do so, we tapped into the following areas that would provide insight into one's relationship with a favorite media character or personality—guidance (e.g., learning from and seeing their favorite media character or personality as a role model), desire for face-to-face contact (e.g., wanting to meet their favorite media character or personality), closeness (e.g., sharing intimate connection with their favorite media character or personality), and direct behaviors (e.g., would talk to, seek information about, and use advice from their favorite media character or personality). For each of these areas, we adapted existing items from Rubin et al.'s (1985) standardized scale and incorporated new items that were not specifically relevant to a newscaster. In addition, we included components of affective, cognitive, and behavioral engagement with their favorite media character or personality for each of these aforementioned areas. For example, items such as, *I feel good when I turn to my favorite media personality or character for advice* is an affective measure, *I am familiar with the habits of my favorite media per-*

sonality or character is a cognitive measure, and *If I saw my favorite media personality or character on the streets, I would talk to him or her* is a behavioral measure. Participants reported on a 7-point Likert-type scale their agreement with a total of 28 items anchored from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). See Table 1 for a comprehensive list of these items.

While we intended to tap into guidance, desire for face-to-face contact, closeness, and direct behaviors in a PSI, due to the consideration and inclusion of affective, cognitive, and behavioral components within these areas in the refined scale, we employed an exploratory principal component factor analysis using varimax rotation to more accurately determine the distinct dimensions of PSI that are being measured. The analysis indicated four distinct dimensions of PSI. The first factor included eight items that tapped into involvement with a favorite media character or personality through seeking advice and perceiving him/her as a role model. We labeled this dimension "guidance" which included example items: *I feel good when I turn to my favorite media character or personality for advice* and *I treat my favorite media character or personality as a role model* (Cronbach's alpha = .92; Eigenvalue = 10.58, accounting for 37.79% of the total variance). The next factor included four items that tapped into the desire to communicate with a favorite media character or personality. We labeled this dimension "face-to-face desire" which included example items: *If given the opportunity, I would contact my favorite media character or personality* and *If I saw my favorite media character or personality on the streets, I would talk to him or her* (Cronbach's alpha = .80; Eigenvalue = 2.22, accounting for 7.94% of the total variance). The third factor included three items that tapped into the level of intimacy or desire to learn more about a favorite media character or personality. We labeled this dimension "intimacy" which included example items: *I have an intimate connection with my favorite media character or personality* and *When I am not watching my favorite media character or personality on TV, I seek information about him or her* (Cronbach's alpha = .82; Eigenvalue = 1.65, accounting for 5.91% of the total variance). The final factor included three items that tapped into the degree of familiarity and knowledge one has with a favorite media character or personality. We labeled this dimension "familiarity" which included example items: *I am familiar with the habits of my favorite media character or personality* and *I have a good understanding of my favorite media character or personality* (Cronbach's alpha = .79; Eigenvalue = 1.49, accounting for 5.33% of the total variance). See Table 1 for a comprehensive listing of the PSI factors and items.

Personality. Personalities of openness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism were assessed by using items from Goldberg's (1999) International Personality Item Pool. Participants responded to 7-point Likert-type scales measuring their agreement to statements for each personality. Openness included items, such as *I have a rich vocabulary, I have a vivid imagination, I am quick to understand things, I am a creative person, I have difficulty understanding abstract ideas, I am not interested in abstract ideas, I am insightful,* and *New experiences do not interest me* (Cronbach's alpha = .79). Extraversion included items, such as *I feel comfortable around people, I start conversations, I don't mind being the center of attention, I don't talk a lot, I keep in the background, I am shy around people, I am a quiet person,* and *I am energetic* (Cronbach's alpha = .89). Agreeableness included items, such as *I am interested in people, I sympathize with others' feelings, I take time out for others, I feel others' emotions, I make people feel at ease, I am not interested in other people's problems, I consider myself affectionate,* and *I am a good listener* (Cronbach's alpha = .83). Neuroticism included items, such as *I am relaxed most of the time, I get stressed out easily, I worry about things, I am easily disturbed, I change my mood a lot, I often feel blue, I am often tense,* and *I feel anxious most of the time* (Cronbach's alpha = .84).

Interpersonal needs. Needs for inclusion, control, and affection were measured using 7-point Likert-type items from the Fundamental Interpersonal Relations Orientation (FIRO) instrument[1] (Schutz, 1958). Need for inclusion

---

[1] Modified and reproduced by special permission of the Publisher, CPP, Inc., Mountain View, CA 94043 from Fundamental Interpersonal Relations Orientation - Behavior (FIRO-B) by CPP, Inc. Copyright 1967, 1996, 2004, 2012 by CPP, Inc. All rights reserved. Further reproduction is prohibited without the Publisher's written consent. Additional FIRO-B materials are available at www.cpp.com.

Table 1
Parasocial Interaction Dimensions and Items

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4
Guidance						
1. I feel good when I turn to my favorite media personality or character for advice.	3.59	1.72	.77	.20	.29	.06
2. I use advice that I learn from my favorite media personality or character.	3.55	1.69	.76	.15	.22	.22
3. I am happy turning to my favorite media personality or character for guidance.	3.73	1.86	.75	.01	.13	.09
4. I am comfortable learning from my favorite media personality or character.	4.22	1.70	.75	.23	.08	.21
5. I look up to my favorite media personality or character.	3.90	1.71	.74	.25	.23	.20
6. My favorite media personality or character teaches me important lessons.	3.83	1.77	.73	.21	.09	.23
7. I seek guidance from my favorite media personality or character.	3.04	1.64	.71	.01	.36	.11
8. I treat my favorite media personality or character as a role model.	3.20	1.72	.68	.24	.33	.06
Face-to-Face Desire						
9. I would be happy to meet my favorite media personality or character in person.	5.29	1.42	.17	.79	.03	.01
10. If I saw my favorite media personality or character on the streets, I would talk to him or her.	4.84	1.83	.11	.74	.19	.22
11. I would be comfortable with my favorite media personality or character if we met in person.	4.60	1.59	.10	.72	.12	.23
12. If given the opportunity, I would contact my favorite media personality or character.	4.53	1.87	.20	.66	.30	.06
Intimacy						
13. When I am not watching my favorite media personality or character on television, I seek information about my favorite media personality or character.	2.50	1.62	.27	.20	.77	.01
14. I have an intimate connection with my favorite media personality or character.	2.25	1.56	.22	.04	.76	.17
15. I see my favorite media personality or character as a close friend.	2.38	1.59	.27	.02	.68	.31
Familiarity						
16. I am familiar with the habits of my favorite media personality or character.	4.22	1.70	.16	.21	.32	.70
17. My favorite media personality or character makes me feel comfortable, as if I am with friends.	4.18	1.78	.35	.15	.12	.65
18. I have a good understanding of my favorite media personality or character.	4.34	1.74	.27	.28	.18	.65
Unloaded Items						
19. I am motivated to share my ideas with my favorite media personality or character.	3.46	1.81	.07	.04	.01	.14
20. I respect my favorite media personality or character.	4.99	1.43	.20	.23	.02	.17
21. If my favorite media personality or character appeared on another television program, I would watch that program.	5.11	1.48	.21	.12	.21	.20
22. I think about what it would be like to meet my favorite media personality or character in person.	4.08	1.96	.08	.11	.23	.14
23. Meeting my favorite media personality or character does not matter to me.	4.68	1.74	.20	.19	.13	.04
24. When I am not watching my favorite media personality or character on television, I discuss about my favorite media personality or character with others.	3.43	1.84	.10	.05	.07	.06
25. I see my favorite media personality or character as a natural, down-to-earth person.	4.76	1.70	.09	.02	.08	.01
26. I find my favorite media personality or character to be attractive.	4.27	1.97	.04	.16	.24	.03
27. When I am watching my favorite media personality or character on television, I do other activities while watching my favorite media personality or character.	4.20	1.70	.05	.17	.26	.20
28. When I am watching my favorite media personality or character on television, I give my favorite media personality or character my full attention when they are "on."	3.52	1.74	.17	.04	.17	.05

items included: *I do not want to be lonely, I want to feel part of others' lives, I want to be included in social activities,* and *I need others for advice* (Cronbach's alpha = .76). Need for control items included: *I need to have control over my social interactions, I need to take charge of social situations, I often hold back my opinions,* and *I need to influence others* (Cronbach's alpha = .61). Need for affection items included: *I need to care about others, I want to feel close to others, I want to feel loved,* and *I want to feel intimate with others* (Cronbach's alpha = .83).

TV motives. Viewers indicated on 7-point Likert-type scales the degree to which they watched TV for pleasure, escape, relaxation, pastime, information, and habit. Items were from Rubin's (1983) scale for TV use motives. Pleasure included reasons, such as *because it is entertaining, because it is exciting, because it is stimulating,* and *to have a good time* (Cronbach's alpha = .81). Escapism included reasons such as, *to put off doing something I should be doing, get away from what I'm doing,* and *to get away from pressures and responsibilities* (Cronbach's alpha = .80). Relaxation included reasons such as, *because it relaxes me, allows me to unwind,* and *it makes me feel less tense* (Cronbach's alpha = .84). Pass time included reasons such as, *to pass time, because I'm bored,* and *when I have nothing better to do* (Cronbach's alpha = .81). Information included reasons such as *to seek information, to learn something,* and *to gain knowledge* (Cronbach's alpha = .94). Lastly, habit included reasons such as, *because it is convenient, it is part of my routine, I'm used to it,* and *it's a habit* (Cronbach's alpha = .88).

Results

Participants in the college sample reported watching an average of 13.60 ($SD = 3.67$) hours of TV per week and 2.83 ($SD = 1.79$) hours of their favorite media character or personality on TV per week. Below details correlation analyses for the (a) relationships of personality, interpersonal need, and TV motive to the four PSI dimensions, and (b) relationships between PSI dimensions. Furthermore, we include regression analyses that examine the predictive nature of these variables to PSI.

Relationships of Personality, Interpersonal Need, TV Motive, and PSI Dimensions

Partial correlations were employed to examine how personality (openness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism), interpersonal need (inclusion, control, and affection), and TV motive (pleasure, escape, relaxation, pastime, information, and habit) are associated with the components of PSI (guidance, face-to-face desire, intimacy, and familiarity), controlling for age, race, gender, hours of TV viewing per week, and hours of TV viewing of the participant's favorite media character or personality (see Table 2). Among the personality traits, openness ($pr = -.19$) and agreeableness ($pr = -.18$) were negatively associated with intimacy, whereas neuroticism was positively related to all PSI dimensions ($pr = .12-.30$). For interpersonal needs, whereas need for inclusion ($pr = .22$) was positively associated with face-to-face desire, need for control was positively associated with all dimensions except for face-to-face desire ($pr = .17-.21$). Need for affection was found to be positively related to both face-to-face desire ($pr = .19$) and familiarity ($pr = .15$). Among TV motives, pleasure ($pr = .15-.30$) and escapism ($pr = .14-.22$) were positively associated with all PSI dimensions. While relaxation was found to be positively related to all dimensions except for familiarity ($pr = .17-.23$), habit was positively related to all dimensions except for face-to-face desire ($pr = .14-.25$). Information was only positively associated with guidance and face-to-face desire. Lastly, pastime was not correlated with any PSI dimensions.

Relationships Between PSI Dimensions

Correlations were also performed to examine the associations between the four dimensions of PSI: guidance, face-to-face desire, intimacy, and familiarity. All PSI dimensions were positively associated with each other (see Table 3).

Predicting PSI Dimensions

Following the correlation analyses, a series of multiple regressions were conducted to determine whether personality, interpersonal need, and TV motive served as predictors of PSI. For all regressions, age, gender, ethnicity, weekly

Table 2
Partial Correlations of Personality, Interpersonal Need, and TV Motive to PSI Dimensions

	Parasocial Interaction			
	Guidance	Face-to-Face Desire	Intimacy	Familiarity
Personality				
Openness	−.07	.03	−.19**	.05
Extroversion	−.08	.04	−.09	−.05
Agreeableness	−.01	.04	−.18**	.04
Neuroticism	.24***	.12*	.30***	.20**
Interpersonal Need				
Inclusion	.09	.22***	−.01	.12
Control	.21**	.11	.18**	.17**
Affection	.04	.19**	−.12	.15*
TV Motive				
Pleasure	.30***	.23***	.15*	.20**
Escape	.22**	.14*	.21**	.17**
Relaxation	.23***	.19**	.17**	.12
Pastime	.05	.09	−.03	.02
Information	.27***	.12*	.01	.07
Habit	.25***	.09	.14*	.17**

Note. All correlations control for age, race, gender, hours of TV viewing per week, and hours of TV viewing of favorite media character or personality per week,
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

TV viewing hours, and weekly hours viewing the participant's favorite media character or personality were entered in Block 1. The personality variables (openness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism), interpersonal needs (inclusion, control, and affection), and TV motives (pleasure, escape, relaxation, pastime, information, and habit) were entered stepwise in Block 2 (see Table 4).

Guidance. The analysis indicated that TV motives for pleasure ($\beta = .29$, $p < .001$), information ($\beta = .20$, $p < .01$), and escapism ($\beta = .13$, $p < .05$), neuroticism ($\beta = .21$, $p < .001$), and needs for inclusion ($\beta = −.13$, $p <$ .05) and control ($\beta = .14$, $p < .05$) explained significant variance in guidance. Whereas the need for inclusion decreased guidance, all other variables increased guidance.

Face-to-face desire. The motive to watch TV for pleasure ($\beta = .24$, $p < .001$) and need for inclusion ($\beta = .18$, $p < .001$) significantly predicted face-to-face desire. Specifically, viewing TV for pleasure and one's desire for social inclusion increased the likelihood of the individual to want to meet, talk, or contact his or her favorite media character or personality.

Intimacy. Neuroticism ($\beta = .28$, $p <$ .001), needs for affection ($\beta = −.17$, $p < .01$) and control ($\beta = .26$, $p < .001$), and escapism as a TV motive ($\beta = .18$, $p < .01$) explained significant variance in intimacy. While the need for affection reduced intimacy with one's favorite media character or personality, all other variables increased intimacy.

Familiarity. TV viewing of one's favorite media character or personality ($\beta = .16$, $p <$ .05), neuroticism ($\beta = .21$, $p < .01$), and watching TV for pleasure ($\beta = .18$, $p < .01$) significantly predicted familiarity. More specifically, all variables increased the familiarity and knowledge of participants with their favorite media character or personality.

Table 3
Correlations Between Dimensions of Parasocial Interaction

	Parasocial Interaction			
	Guidance	Face-to-Face Desire	Intimacy	Familiarity
Guidance	—	.46**	.57**	.57**
Face-to-Face Desire		—	.36**	.50**
Intimacy			—	.44**
Familiarity				—

** $p < .01$.

Table 4
Predictors of Dimensions of Parasocial Interaction

Dependent Measures	Block 1			Block 2		
	Predictor	β	ΔR^2	Predictor	β	ΔR^2
Guidance				Pleasure TV Motive	.29***	.08***
				Neuroticism	.21***	.04***
				Information TV Motive	.20**	.04**
				Control Need	.14*	.02*
				Inclusion Need	−.13*	.01*
				Escapism TV Motive	.13*	.01*
Face-to-Face Desire				Pleasure TV Motive	.24***	.06***
				Inclusion Need	.18**	.03**
Intimacy				Neuroticism	.28***	.08***
				Affection Need	−.17**	.03**
				Control Need	.26***	.05***
				Escapism TV Motive	.18**	.03**
Familiarity	Hours/Week Viewing Favorite Media Character or Personality	.16*	.03*	Neuroticism	.21**	.04**
				Pleasure TV Motive	.18**	.03**

Note. Stepwise procedures were used with entry criterion set at $^*p < .05.$ $^{**}p < .01.$ $^{***}p < .001.$

In sum, findings do not support H1, H3, and H6, whereas they show support for H2, H4, and H5. The intricacies of these results will be elaborated in the discussion.

Discussion

In general, results from this study imply that PSI may be a multidimensional construct with affective, cognitive, and behavioral components. Not only did distinct dimensions of PSI emerge as a response to the evaluation of favorite media characters or personalities, but also individual difference variables further predicted variations across these components within PSIs. In particular, guidance, face-to-face desire, intimacy, and familiarity are dimensions of engagement with media characters that are related to college students' personality, interpersonal needs, and TV motives.

The most striking finding is that contrary to our prediction, neuroticism was most positively associated with all PSI dimensions. While neurotic individuals often experience states of tension, distress, and fluctuating moods, such conditions are perhaps linked to social anxiety. In fact, neuroticism has been found to predict individuals' positive subjective experiences and curiosity (Kashdan, 2002). As the need for inclusion is considered a fundamental interpersonal desire, people high in neuroticism turn to PSIs to be interpersonally gratified through vicarious experiences, as suggested by Wang et al. (2008). In other words, the notion that PSIs serve as functional alternatives to face-to-face interactions is reflected in the way that neuroticism as a personality trait is closely related to the strength of mediated relationships among college students in this study.

In addition, results indicate that extroversion was not associated with PSI. Although a positive relationship was expected, extroverted people generally have greater communication competency and interpersonal skills due to their sociable nature. Thus, they prefer to spend their time seeking out actual interpersonal interactions (e.g., face-to-face conversations) as compared to mediated ones for social gratification (Finn, 1997). Findings from this study also suggest that more open and agreeable people are less likely to perceive their favorite media personality as intimately close. Theoretically, this can be explained by the notion that mediated PSIs are not considered as rich and stimulating, or provide the affectionate sensations for such individuals. Media richness scholars have argued that face-to-face communication is considered the richest mode of interaction due to its capability to provide immediate feedback, natural language, and the multiplicity of cues

(Trevino, Lengel, & Daft, 1987). In addition, people who are open and desire to engage in new experiences may be hindered by the perceived realism of media characters. Open individuals have been found to be more accepting of a diversity of experiences and recreational practices, not simply viewing TV to engage in mediated relationships with characters (Kraaykamp & van Eijck, 2005).

The present research also found a negative relationship of need for inclusion to PSI guidance and face-to-face desire. Specifically, individuals who were high in need for inclusion were less likely to turn to their favorite media character or personality for guidance purposes, but more likely to desire meeting, talking, and contacting him or her. While need for inclusion is conceptualized as the desire to be included in social groups and to feel a sense of belonging (Schutz, 1958), the results imply that the inclination to realistically encounter a favorite media figure is more affectively driven and offer those who lack inclusion fulfillment. Such interpersonal contact perhaps provides a more realistic gratification for individuals high in need for inclusion. On the other hand, an alternative explanation is that those who strive for inclusion develop mediated relationships with characters similar to themselves. Literature has documented that people gravitate toward TV characters this way, generally being more attracted to characters that are similar to viewers with regard to their attitudes and gender (Hoffner & Buchanan, 2005). Therefore, viewers may be less likely to turn to characters for guidance or perceive them as role models due to a lack of wishful identification.

In addition, this research supports the notion that need for control is positively related to all dimensions of PSI, except for face-to-face desire. In light of the way need for control was measured (see Schutz, 1958), statements that tap into one's necessity to control social interactions, hold back opinions, and influence others suggest that need for control is a more psychological than behavioral variable. Specifically, the exertion of power in social situations and one's control within human interactions may occur on a more perceptual basis, rather than through actions.

With regard to the influence of TV motives on PSI, findings suggest that individuals who turn to TV for pleasure and escapism purposes

are more likely to experience all four dimensions of PSI. A viewer's need for pleasure can be understood as an aspect of media enjoyment, which has been conceptualized by Nabi and Krcmar (2004) as a multidimensional construct of attitude, containing affective, cognitive, and behavioral components. The predictive power of seeking pleasure in TV viewing on PSI clearly supports the hedonically driven nature of such mediated interactions. Furthermore, people who consume TV to escape from real world pressures may rely on PSIs to relieve distress. Similar to the aforementioned explanation of why neuroticism was positively associated with all PSI dimensions, those high in anxiety and tension perhaps seek escapism through media (e.g., TV) for need fulfillment, increasing the likelihood of engaging in PSI.

This study also found that information seeking, relaxation, and habit motives for TV viewing were positively associated with PSI. In particular, individuals who consumed TV for information purposes were more likely to seek and use advice from their favorite media character or personality. In addition, those who were motivated to watch TV to relax had a greater tendency to seek guidance, desire face-to-face interaction, and perceive their PSI as more intimate and close. This finding suggests that people are positively gratified by PSIs, and such relationships are hedonically driven and foster enjoyment responses (see Klimmt, Hartmann, & Schramm, 2006). Furthermore, viewing TV as a habitual routine was positively associated with familiarity, guidance, and perceived intimacy. Contrary to our predictions, prolonged viewing of TV and regular exposure to shows in general were related to one's degree of PSI, suggesting the importance of time as a factor. Lastly, pastime was not associated with PSI, which lends support for the nature of mediated relationships as being motive-driven. In other words, passive viewers of TV are not likely to generate and sustain rich PSIs without much need or motivation to do so.

This research invaluably supports the need for PSIs to be examined as a multidimensional construct, with attention given to refining its measure. While it is important that future studies do confirmatory research to accurately establish the nature of the PSI construct, our exploratory factor analysis does suggest that PSIs consist of a variety of dimensions. More impor-

tantly, differences in the relationships of personality, interpersonal motives, and TV motives to PSI tap into distinct components of these mediated relationships that viewers develop. In particular, it is integral to consider the roles of affective, cognitive, and behavioral components of media involvement, as PSIs are seemingly mediated interpersonal relationships. The new measure indicates dimensions that show theoretical significance to Horton and Wohl's (1956) conceptualization of PSI. Specifically, intimacy and familiarity are reflective of emotional and cognitive elements of pseudofriendships or attachments one may feel with a media character or persona, analogous to friends in real life. On the other hand, the new measure sheds light on two additional components that are imperative to expanding the conceptualization of PSI. In particular, guidance that is sought from a media figure appears to be closely aligned with the concept of wishful identification (Hoffner, 1996), which may be more salient in today's new media environment considering the proliferation of character blogs and celebrity tweets. In addition, with the affordance of new media services that make PSIs potentially more tangible and real, the desire for face to face contact becomes even more relevant. Therefore, behavioral engagement or the pursuit of interpersonal communication is a critical component that needs to be considered in the conceptualization of PSIs, which this study finds to be highly salient. This research provides an initial attempt to develop a more refined scale for PSI by taking into account the multidimensional facets of affective, cognitive, and behavioral involvement with a media figure. While the scale was used to examine exploratory relationships of personality, interpersonal needs, and TV motives to PSIs with favorite media characters or personae, it is important that future research refrains from treating PSI as a unidimensional construct as prior research has tended to do (e.g., Rubin et al., 1985; Schiappa et al., 2007), and consider the dimensions that have emerged from our factor analysis. It is essential for scholars to account for the changing media landscape and continually reflect on how affective, cognitive, and behavioral responses are interrelated (Nabi & Krcmar, 2004) and inform our experiences with entertainment, primarily since they are fundamentally distinct and clearly contribute to qualitatively different lev-

els of intimacy, familiarity, guidance, and face-to-face desire with a media figure. It is hopeful that this PSI scale could be useful for scholars who wish to capture a more holistic perspective of these mediated relationships.

Furthermore, future studies should consider the role of content within the context of PSIs. In particular, PSIs may have both positive and negative effects on viewers, depending on program content or the "character" of the media figure with whom they identify (Papa et al., 2000; Sood & Rogers, 2000). Since the guidance dimension of PSI involves admiring, respecting and looking up to a media character (Rubin et al., 1985), viewers who connect with alternatively positive or negative role models might engage in a process of social learning and model the actions of such characters, leading to either antisocial or prosocial behaviors (Baranowski, Perry, & Parcel, 2002).

A noteworthy limitation of the study is that the findings pertain to a college sample. Groups outside the college population indeed consume different amounts of media and also vary across a multitude of demographic (e.g., gender, age and ethnicity) and psychographic (e.g., personality and lifestyle) features. Such factors could have a bearing on the degree to which individuals engage with PSIs. Therefore, it is important that we remain conservative in generalizing our findings to a larger population outside of college students.

In addition, we examined PSIs in the context of a "favorite" media character or personality. While we wanted to test and use a measure of PSI that was not genre specific (e.g., related to newscasters or soap opera and shopping personalities), it is important to address that people may use different criteria to select a favorite character, consequently impacting the nature and strength of PSIs. The selection of a favorite character may be based on a variety of standards, including but not limited to liking, complexity, physical attractiveness, morality and duration of time having watched the character, which may be reflective of different viewing habits and audience motivations. Therefore, there may be more complex emotional and cognitive processes at work which make examining "favorite" media characters or personalities both theoretically and methodologically challenging. Future research may consider using the refined PSI measure to investigate relationships with all types of

characters, rather than limiting it to simply favorites.

Findings from this study enhance our understanding of the uses of and gratifications sought from mediated character interactions among college students, specifically as PSIs relate to viewers' personality, interpersonal needs, and TV motives. While these factors shed light on their associations with multiple PSI dimensions (guidance, face-to-face desire, intimacy, and familiarity), it is important that scholars consider PSI as a construct of manifold components to more comprehensively capture the affective, cognitive, and behavioral characteristics of such relationships. It is clear that individuals actively engage themselves with mediated figures and such interactions continue to provide them with rewarding and positive gratifications.

References

Armstrong, C. B., & Rubin, A. M. (1989). Talk radio as interpersonal communication. *Journal of Communication, 39,* 84–94. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1989.tb01031.x

Auter, P. J. (1992). TV that talks back: An experimental validation of a parasocial interaction scale. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 36,* 173–181. doi:10.1080/08838159209364165

Auter, P. J., & Palmgreen, P. (2000). Development and validation of a parasocial interaction measure: The audience-persona interaction scale. *Communication Research Reports, 17,* 79–89. doi:10.1080/08824090009388753

Baranowski, T., Perry, C., & Parcel, G. (2002). How individuals, environments, and health behavior interact: Social cognitive theory. In K. Glanz, B. Rimer, & F. M. Lewis (Eds.), *Health behavior and health education* (3rd ed., pp. 67–98). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Blumler, J. G., & Katz, E. (1974). *The uses of mass communications: Current perspectives on gratifications research.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Cassell, M. M., Jackson, C., & Cheuvront, B. (1998). Health communication and the Internet: An effective channel for health behavior change? *Journal of Health Communication, 3,* 71–79. doi:10.1080/108107398127517

Cole, T., & Leets, L. (1999). Attachment styles and intimate television viewing: Insecurely forming relationships in a parasocial way. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 16,* 495–511. doi:10.1177/0265407599164005

Conway, J. C., & Rubin, A. M. (1991). Psychological predictors of television viewing motivation. *Communication Research, 18,* 443–463. doi:10.1177/009365091018004001

Donohew, L., Palmgreen, P., & Rayburn, J. D. (1987). Social and psychological origins of media use: A lifestyle analysis. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 31,* 255–278. doi:10.1080/08838158709386663

Eyal, K., & Cohen, J. (2006). When good *Friends* say goodbye: A parasocial breakup study. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 50,* 502–523. doi:10.1207/s15506878jobem5003_9

Finn, S. (1997). Origins of media exposure: Linking personality traits to TV, radio, print, and film use. *Communication Research, 24,* 507–529. doi:10.1177/009365097024005003

Giles, D. C. (2002). Parasocial interaction: A review of the literature and a model for future research. *Media Psychology, 4,* 279–305. doi:10.1207/S1532785XMEP0403_04

Goldberg, L. R. (1999). *The development of five-factor domain scales from the IPIP Item Pool.* Retrieved from http://ipip.ori.org/ipip/memo.htm

Grant, A. E., Gunthrie, K. K., & Ball-Rokeach, S. J. (1991). Television shopping: A media system dependency perspective. *Communication Research, 18,* 773–798. doi:10.1177/009365091018006004

Gregg, P. W. (1971). *Television viewing as parasocial interaction for persons aged 60 years or older.* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Oregon, Eugene.

Hoffner, C. (1996). Children's wishful identification and parasocial interaction with favorite television characters. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 40,* 389–402. doi:10.1080/08838159609364360

Hoffner, C., & Buchanan, M. (2005). Young adults' wishful identification with television characters: The role of perceived similarity and character attributes. *Media Psychology, 7,* 325–351. doi:10.1207/S1532785XMEP0704_2

Horton, D., & Wohl, R. R. (1956). Mass communication and para-social interaction: Observations on intimacy at a distance. *Psychiatry, 19,* 215–229.

Houlberg, R. (1984). Local television news audience and the para-social interaction. *Journal of Broadcasting, 28,* 423–429. doi:10.1080/08838158409386551

Kashdan, T. B. (2002). Social anxiety dimensions, neuroticism, and the contours of positive psychological functioning. *Cognitive Therapy and Research, 26,* 789–810. doi:10.1023/A:1021293501345

Katz, E., Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (1974). Utilization of mass communication by the individual. In J. G. Blumler & E. Katz (Eds.), *The uses of mass communication: Current perspectives on gratifications research* (pp. 21–32). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Klimmt, C., Hartmann, T., & Schramm, H. (2006). Paraosocial interactions and relationships. In J. Bryant & P. Vorderer (Eds.), *Psychology of Entertainment* (pp. 291–313). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Knobloch, S., & Zillmann, D. (2002). Mood management via the digital jukebox. *Journal of Communication, 52,* 351–366. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2002.tb02549.x

Kraaykamp, G., & van Eijck, K. (2005). Personality, media preferences, and cultural participation. *Personality and Individual Differences, 38,* 1675–1688. doi:10.1016/j.paid.2004.11.002

Lachlan, K. A., & Mahoney, E. K. (2008). Game player characteristics and interactive content: Exploring the role of personality and telepresence in video game violence. *Communication Quarterly, 56,* 284–302. doi:10.1080/01463370802240866

Levy, M. R. (1979). Watching TV news as parasocial interaction. *Journal of Broadcasting, 23,* 69–80. doi:10.1080/08838157909363919

Maslow, A. H. (1970). *Motivation and personality* (2nd Ed.). New York, NY: Harper & Row.

Meyrowitz, J. (1982). Television and interpersonal behavior: Codes of perception and response. In G. Gumpert & R. Cathcart (Eds.), *Inter/media: Interpersonal communication in a media world* (pp. 221–241). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Miller, R. V. (1983). *A descriptive study of television usage among older Americans: Refining the parasocial concept.* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Pennsylvania State University, University Park.

Nabi, R. L., & Krcmar, M. (2004). Conceptualizing media enjoyment as attitude: Implications for mass media effects research. *Communication Theory, 14,* 288–310. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.2004.tb00316.x

Nabi, R. L., & Riddle, L. (2008). Personality traits, television viewing, and the cultivation effect. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 52,* 327–348. doi:10.1080/08838150802205181

Nordlund, J. (1978). Media interaction. *Communication Research, 5,* 150–175. doi:10.1177/009365027800500202

Oliver, M. B. (1993). Exploring the paradox of the enjoyment of sad films. *Human Communication Research, 19,* 315–342. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2958.1993.tb00304.x

Oliver, M. B. (2008). Tender affective states as predictors of entertainment preference. *Journal of Communication, 58,* 40–61. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2007.00373.x

Oliver, M. B. (2009). Affect as a predictor of entertainment choice: The utility of looking beyond pleasure. In T. Hartmann (Ed.), *Media choice: A theoretical and empirical overview* (pp. 167–184). New York, NY: Routledge.

Oliver, M. B., & Bartsch, A. (2010). Appreciation as audience response: Exploring entertainment gratifications beyond hedonism. *Human Communication Research, 36,* 53–81. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2958.2009.01368.x

Papa, M. J., Singhal, A., Law, S., Pant, S., Sood, S., & Rogers, E. M. (2000). Entertainment-education and social change: An analysis of parasocial interaction, social learning, collective efficacy, and paradoxical communication. *Journal of Communication, 50,* 31–55. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2000.tb02862.x

Perse, E. M., & Rubin, R. B. (1989). Attribution in social and parasocial relationships. *Communication Research, 16,* 59–77. doi:10.1177/009365089016001003

Raney, A. A. (2003). Disposition-based theories of enjoyment. In J. Bryant, D. Roskos-Ewoldsen & J. Cantor (Eds.), *Communication and emotion* (pp. 61–84). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Raney, A. A., & Bryant, J. (2002). Moral judgment and crime drama: An integrated theory of enjoyment. *Journal of Communication, 52,* 402–415. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2002.tb02552.x

Rosengren, K. E., & Windahl, S. (1972). Mass media consumption as a functional alternative. In D. McQuail (Ed.), *Sociology of mass communications* (pp. 166–194). Middlesex, UK: Penguin.

Rubin, A. M. (1983). Television uses and gratifications: The interactions of viewing patterns and motivations. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 27,* 37–52.

Rubin, A. M., & Perse, E. M. (1987). Audience activity and soap opera involvement. *Human Communication Research, 14,* 246–268. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2958.1987.tb00129.x

Rubin, A. M., Perse, E. M., & Powell, R. A. (1985). Loneliness, parasocial interaction, and local television news viewing. *Human Communication Research, 12,* 155–180. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2958.1985.tb00071.x

Rubin, A. M., & Step, M. M. (2000). Impact of motivation, attraction, and parasocial interaction on talk radio listening. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 44,* 635–654. doi:10.1207/s15506878jobem4404_7

Rubin, R. B., & McHugh, M. P. (1987). Development of parasocial interaction relationships. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 31,* 279–292. doi:10.1080/08838158709386664

Sanderson, C. A., Rahm, K. B., & Beigbeder, S. A. (2005). The link between the pursuit of intimacy goals and satisfaction in close same-sex friendships: An examination of the underlying processes.

Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 22, 75–98. doi:10.1177/0265407505049322

Schiappa, E., Allen, M., & Gregg, P. B. (2007). Parasocial relationships and television: A meta-analysis of the effects. In R. Preiss, B. Gayle, N. Burrell, M. Allen, and J. Bryant (Eds.), *Mass media effects: Advances through meta-analysis* (pp. 301–314). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Schiappa, E., Gregg, P. B., & Hewes, D. E. (2005). The parasocial contact hypothesis. *Communication Monographs, 72,* 92–115. doi:10.1080/0363775052000342544

Schutz, W. C. (1958). *FIRO: A three dimensional theory of interpersonal behavior.* New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.

Sherry, J. L. (2002). Media saturation and entertainment-education. *Communication Theory, 12,* 206–224.

Shim, J. W., & Paul, B. (2007). Effects of personality types on the use of television genres. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 51,* 287–304. doi:10.1080/08838150701304852

Sood, S., & Rogers, E. M. (2000). Dimensions of parasocial interaction by letter writers to a popular entertainment-education soap opera in India. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 44,* 386–414. doi:10.1207/s15506878jobem4403_4

Suggs, L. S. (2006). A 10-year retrospective of research in new technologies for health communication. *Journal of Health Communication, 11,* 61–74. doi:10.1080/10810730500461083

Trevino, L. K., Lengel, R. H., & Daft, R. L. (1987). Media symbolism, media richness, and media choice in organizations: A symbolic interactionist perspective. *Communication Research, 14,* 553–574. doi:10.1177/009365087014005006

Tsay, M., & Banjo, O. (2007). *A true test of friendship: Testing the interpersonal nature of parasocial interactions.* Presented at the 57th annual conference of the International Communication Association, San Francisco, CA.

Turner, J. R. (1993). Interpersonal and psychological predictors of parasocial interaction with different television performers. *Communication Quarterly, 41,* 443–453. doi:10.1080/01463379309369904

Wang, Q., Fink, E. L., & Cai, D. A. (2008). Loneliness, gender, and parasocial interaction: A uses and gratifications approach. *Communication Quarterly, 56,* 87–109. doi:10.1080/01463370701839057

Zillmann, D. (2000). Basal morality in drama appreciation. In I. Bondebjerg (Ed.), *Moving images, culture, and the mind* (pp. 53–64). Luton, UK: University of Luton Press.

Zillmann, D., & Bryant, J. (1986). Exploring the entertainment experience. In J. Bryant & D. Zillmann (Eds.), *Perspectives on media effects* (pp. 303–324). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Zillmann, D., & Cantor, J. (1976). Affective responses to the emotions of a protagonist. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 13,* 155–165. doi:10.1016/S0022-1031(77)80008-5