Cultural Values in U.S. and Japanese Magazine Advertising: A Comparative Content Analysis

Cultural Values in U.S. and Japanese Magazine Advertising: A Comparative Content Analysis

by

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Abstract

CULTURAL VALUES
IN U.S. AND JAPANESE
MAGAZINE ADVERTISING:
A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

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This study examines cultural aspects of advertising: What "value" does advertising tend to present in differing cultural (national) contexts? In this study, "value" was used as a parameter and value patterns in Japanese and American advertising were compared.

Four thousand and eighty-five samples were drawn from two American and two Japanese consumer magazines over a period of one year. The samples were coded into 42 value categories, using P.W. Pollay's cultural value measures. Value distribution patterns were compared across different magazine and product levels.

Moderate but substantial correlation coefficients were found in the two countries' value rank orders. This suggests that the same kinds of values are used relatively frequently by both countries. On the other hand, differences between the two countries were found in the varying degree of use of the same values.

Similarities were attributed to the universally persuasive nature of advertising. Differences were interpreted as reflection of the characteristics of each national culture. To conclude, advertising has two cultural aspects: international and national. The advertising of these two countries selects universally common values for persuasion but each country's advertising emphasizes certain values according to its own cultural context.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Advertising is more than marketing communication. It does not work only for marketing purposes. It makes us feel something beyond commercial messages. Advertising communication is a part of our modern cultures which have their own forms of symbolic communication.

This study aims to examine cultural aspects of advertising communication.

In order to attain this aim, American and Japanese magazine advertising will be analyzed and compared. The focus here is cultural values in advertising messages. We will not only examine cultural values of advertising but also discuss their implications in a societal perspective. It is our hope to understand advertising's cultural content in a holistic view -- Where does it come from? What does it do? The first thing we would like to do is to study the relationship among advertising, culture and communication.

Advertising, like other communication forms in our society, is multidimensional in its functions. Sandage and Fryburger (1971) described eight dimensions of advertising as: (a) a form of communication; (b) a component of the economic system; (c) a means of financing the mass media; (d) a social institution; (e) an art form; (f) an instrument of business management; (g) a field of employment; and (h) a profession. For a long time, advertising has been studied mainly from the perspective of marketing. Advertising has usually been regarded as an economic system or a marketing instrument.

Recently, however, a new horizon of advertising appears to be

emerging in scholarship. Schultz (1981) contrasted the traditional administrative research of advertising in the United States with the novel trends in advertising research originated by European scholars. In the administrative research tradition, the effects of advertising have been measured in terms of consumer attitude change or buying behaviors. The audience is defined only as potential consumers, and the world is believed to be composed of manipulative variables. On the other hand, under the influences of Marxism, structuralism, and phenomenology, new methods and theoretical frameworks began to be applied to advertising studies, first in Europe and more recently in the United States.[1] One of the basic questions they ask is, "What are the relationships among advertising, culture, and economic interests?" (Schultz, 1981, p. 373).

In this study, advertising is examined not from marketing and economic perspectives but from cultural and communication perspectives. Advertising is defined by Boveé and Arens (1982) as:

> the nonpersonal communication of information usually paid and usually persuasive in nature about products, services, or ideas by identified sponsors through the various media (pp. 6-7).

From our perspective, it is important to note that, first, advertising is a form of symbolic communication via media, and second, advertising functions as a conveyer of marketing information about products, services and ideas from identified advertisers to the public.

These two aspects of advertising are related to two aspects of culture. In symbolic communication, the uses and functions of symbols differ from culture to culture; in this sense, advertising works as a part of an <u>indigenous</u> culture. In its marketing function, it tries to

persuade audiences; this universal function may be derived from capitalistic culture.

The world market is growing more homogeneous. However, people still maintain their own lifestyle in each part of the world. Presumably, advertising has commonalities and differences across cultures in its message content. These two cultural aspects of advertising will be given attention in this study.

What is culture?

Probably one of the simplest definitions of culture is given by anthropologist Edward Hall (1959); for him, culture is "learned and shared behavior" (p. 48). For Hall, culture is an expressed activity, aware or unaware, such as spoken or kinesic language to communicate with other persons. On a more complex level, Geertz (1973) considered culture as an abstract entity which can be discerned only through the "thick description" of anthropologists. He argued that "culture consists of meaning .... it is a psychological phenomenon, a characteristic of someone's mind, personality, cognitive structure, or whatever" (pp. 12-13).

Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1963), after reviewing about three hundred definitions of culture, summarized the concept of culture as follows:

> Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action (p. 357).

From these anthropological descriptions, it is useful for my

further discussion to stress several common understandings of the concept of culture:

(1) Culture has patterns and is transmitted by symbols;

(2) Culture consists of distinctive, traditional, and selected ideas and values of particular human groups; and

(3) Culture conditions further human action.

Culture may be a very broad concept which covers the whole range of human physical and mental activity, including various products, or "artifacts." In this paper, based on Kroeber and Kluckhohn's definition of culture, I use the term "culture" to define a broad set of human activities fitting the parameters outlined above.

Communication and Culture

Communication is defined by Rogers (1983) as "a process in which participants create and share information with one another in order to reach a mutual understanding" (p. 5).

This understanding of communication may not be different from that of culture in describing interrelationships of people in a society. Rogers' definition implies the following characteristics of human communication:

(1) Communication is a process;

(2) People participate in communication activities to share and even to create information; and

(3) Communication is purposive: it aims at mutual understandings.

In this study, I thus understand culture and communication as two dimensions of the same human behavior seen from two different levels. If we suppose a societal group which is maintained by core values and ideas, culture is symbolic and patterned human behavior and the product

of that behavior which aims to transmit these values to the participants. Communication refers to the process of sharing the core values among group members. This activity aims to enhance the communal understanding of the participants.

Hall (1959) recommended to see all kinds of behavior (namely culture) as communication. Every human behavior is sending messages such as language; in this meaning he stated, "Culture is communication" (p. 97).

Further, Smith (1966), in Communication and Culture, noted:

> Culture is a code we learn and share, and learning and sharing require communication. And communication requires coding and symbols, which must be learned and shared. Communication and culture are inseparable (p. 7).

Advertising, Culture and Communication

In this study, advertising is regarded as a culture in the modern, free market society. The author distinguishes the term "culture" from "popular culture" as used by popular culture researchers (e.g. Mieder, 1977). Popular culture is "the typical content produced and disseminated by the media" (McQuail, 1983, p. 37), and is usually distinguished from "high culture" which is produced and consumed by the elite, or from "folk culture," which is paired concept with "mass produced culture" (McQuail, 1983). However, the author's concept of culture, borrowed mainly from anthropology, is inseparable from the existence of people. Kato (1977) stated that the term "popular culture" is ambiguous because "every 'culture' ... is a system of a people's shared experience which, by definition, must be popular" (p. 242).

Then, what are the relationships among advertising, culture and communication?

Advertising is, of course, a form of communication in which advertisers send messages to audiences to sell or to inform about goods and services. Further, advertising is almost always a form of mass communication (or mass-oriented communication) since it employs mass media channels. Here "mass" means "public" and, at the same time, a "large amount of messages" (Gerbner, 1967). Advertising activities mean disseminating large amounts of sales messages to a large audience. Advertising may be explained as both communication and culture in the terms defined above.

On the one hand, advertising communication is a process by which an audience receives and shares advertisers' messages. In this process the audience, as participants, even "create" information for themselves, i.e., select and interpret messages. Advertising is a flow of information from advertisers to audience members who participate in sharing the information.

On the other hand, advertising activities, seen at the cultural level, present distinctive appearances so that we can recognize them as advertising immediately. Advertising messages are transmitted by symbols, e.g. natural language, visual image, music, etc. Advertising's essential core consists of ideas and values deriving from the free enterprise concepts of laissez-faire capitalism and free-market forces. And advertising culture further prescribes audiences' conduct as consumers by stimulating human desires. From a holistic viewpoint, advertising is one part of modern society's culture which interacts with many other cultural forms, such as economy, politics, art, lifestyle, etc.

As anthropologists investigate people's communication activities,

e.g. how people behave when they trnsmit messages, this study aims to look at how advertising transmits its marketing messages in a cultural context. More concretely, this study focuses on values which advertising utilizes to promote products. This focus is chosen because value is the core concept of macroculture system (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1963) and also is the key concept for advertising messages (Olson and Reynolds, 1983). (See Chapter II for detailed discussion.)

In order to examine this cultural aspect more effectively, a cross-national comparative method is employed in this study. The United States and Japan were selected for comparison. These two nations have different cultural backgrounds and also have the world's most developed advertising industries. (See Chapter II for detailed discussion.)

In summary, this study aims to examine cultural aspects of advertising through comparison of values between U.S. and Japanese advertising. This study is an attempt to better understand symbolic communication and culture in Japan and the United States.

Endnote for Chapter I

1. The applications of Marxism and structurism may be seen, according to Schultz, in Ewen (1976), Williamson (1978) and Leymore (1975).

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study takes four approaches as seen from different disciplines. If seen from a mass communication perspective, it is a content analysis of advertising messages. From an anthropological viewpoint, it is an "analysis of symbolic expressive behavior in culture" (DeVos and Hippler, 1969, p. 345). This study may equally be seen as a psychological value study. Lastly, as this study intends to compare American and Japanese advertising, it is a cross-cultural study in mass communication.

Reflecting this interdisciplinary approach, the following three themes will be discussed in this chapter:

A. Advertising and culture studies; Advertising in a societal perspective;

B. Value studies and advertising;

C. Cross-national comparative studies.

A. Advertising and Culture

1. Advertising vs. Cultural "Self"

There are few studies on the relationship between advertising and culture and on the cultural aspect of advertising in mass communication fields. The reason may be that, as Schultz (1981) stated, advertising has been studied mainly within a paradigm of the marketing and business disciplines; in this paradigm, advertising's influences on culture or the cultural content of advertising has been almost neglected except when advertising effects are affected by cultural variables.

From the late '60s to the mid '70s, the relationship of advertising and culture was argued around a question of whether "international" advertising is possible in different cultural contexts.

Elinder (1965) maintained that advertising can overcome the cultural barriers within the European market. Fatt (1967) argued that although cultural differences among peoples cannot be ignored, "universal" advertising formats are going to be more effective based on the homogenization of the world market as societies increasingly industrialize. Ryans and Donnelly (1969) found that many advertising managers agree with the use of a common international approach in spite of the limited application of that approach.

These proposals, however, were rebutted by empirical researchers in the 1970s. Unwin (1973) surveyed how cultural self-identity affects advertising responses, using samples from four areas of the world: American, European, Latin American and Chinese.[1] The results suggested that the cultural "self" continues to exist and to influence advertising response. Ricks, Arpan and Fu (1974) advised that it is crucial for international advertisers to understand cultural differences in

advertising message perception. Green, Cunningham and Cunningham (1975) reported that there exist "substantial and consistent" (p. 25) differences in the perception of the same product attributes among four nationalities.

The main question in this international advertising debate was whether standardized advertising expression is possible across different cultures. It was suggested that culture is an intervening variable in measuring advertising response.

The limitation of this international advertising debate is that the concept of "culture" was used to mean no more than one subject's "nationality" or "home country," and thus that the relationship of advertising and culture was not examined in depth at a theoretical level. This debate was, however, significant for subsequent researchers in making them aware of the cultural aspect of advertising communication.

2. Advertising-as-Culture-Reflector Research

There have been relatively few empirical studies which give attention to advertising content based on the assumption that advertising reflects national cultures. Most of these researches were done as doctoral dissertations or master's theses, and many compare two or more countries' advertising.

Norman (1965) examined American and British print media advertisements and concluded that the difference between these two countries' advertising is partly derived from differences in national characters. For example, the use of language for effect and the interactive combination of headlines and pictures for direct appeal are the reflection of American pragmatism or love of competition. On the contrary, the precise and inhibited use of language and the artistic use

of pictures reflect the self-discipline of the British national character. Although this article described the two countries' national character and advertising in detail, the method was not operationalized in such a way to insure high reliability and validity of measurement.

Marquez (1973, 1975) conducted research on the relationship between culture and advertising using Thai and Filipino print media advertising. He hypothesized that Thai and Filipino advertising contents are similar in spite of the different national-culture environments, because "advertising is a product of certain aspects of Western culture" (1973, p. 19). Marquez argued that in a technological culture such as that of the United States, advertising reflects culture or the way of life. His analysis of advertising content used nine cultural parameters taken from sociology and anthropology. He found that Thai and Filipino advertisements do not reflect their respective indigenous cultures: rather, they reflect Western culture.[2] The other characteristics of Western culture reflected in Filipino advertising were "individualism" "the nuclear family," "the middle class," "preoccupation with time" and "the striking prominence of the Caucasian image" (1975, p. 442).

Marquez (1975) argues that the reasons why Filipino advertising is inclined to reflect Western culture would be: (1) "advertising itself is Western in both origin and orientation" (p. 242), (2) Western advertisers in the Philippines use Western advertising techniques; and (3) Western advertising influenced Filipino advertisers. Marquez doubts the effectiveness of Filipino advertising because it cannot share the same experience with the audience and thus it "miscommunicates with the consumer" (p. 442).

Marquez's (1973, 1975) studies are among the earliest analyses which dealt with the relationship between advertising and culture in mass communication. The major contributions of these studies to communication science are: (1) it provided the first theoretical and methodological basis for advertising-and-culture studies; and (2) the results suggest that advertising does not necessarily reflect culture(s). It should be pointed out, however, that there appear to be some theoretical weakness in the discussion.

The first question is whether advertising is Western in its nature. If advertising were totally alien to non-Western cultures, it would be impossible to reconcile and to be adopted by indigeneous cultures. The second question is whether the cultural content reflected in the Philippines' advertising is really Western. When Roland Barthes (1980) analyzed a French advertisement for Panzani (an Italian food manufacturer) from a semiotic perspective, he extracted a common element which is implied by all the visual images in the advertisement. Barthes called the element italianité (the Italianesque) and said that italianité has nothing to do with Italy, because it is an image of things Italian formulated by and for French people. As this analysis suggests, the cultural content should be scrutinized more to know whether it is a "real" Western culture or nothing more than "pictures in our heads" of Western culture. As is well known, advertisers tend to borrow foreign cultures' images to differentiate the product from other competitors. The third question is the generalizability of Marquez's findings. In many developing countries the readers of print media tend to be upper-class people, and it is likely that these readers are familiar with Western culture. It is possible, thus, that

of printmedia advertisers place advertisements Western cultural content, rather than Filipino indigenous culture, so as to communicate more effectively with the readers. Marquez selected two Filipino newspapers and two Filipino magazines as samples by the criterion that they "have the highest circulation in the language group (namely Tagalog and English) to which they belong" (1973, p. 26). There is still a possibility he could have found Filipino advertising would reflect indigenous culture, if different media or vehicles had been selected.

There are two more empirical studies which are based on the "advertising-reflects-culture" assumption. Tawa (1979) analyzed Japanese and American television commercials and compared the portrayal of women. Milpacher (1981) also compared American and Japanese advertising from the perspective of advertising appeals. Samples were taken from American and Japanese magazines. Each advertisement was classified by its dominant appeals. A category coding scheme was formulated based on Japanese traditional and modern cultural values. For example, "the emphasis on mood" and "nonverbal communication" (Japanese traditional values) were conceptualized as "soft-sell" appeals. "Emphasis on individuality" (Japanese modern values) was interpreted as an "Individual/Independence" appeal.

The results of these two studies suggest numerous differences of values manifest in advertisements between the United States and Japan. Interestingly, the two authors' one common finding which is consistent with Marquez (1973, 1975) is that Japanese advertising does not necessarily reflect Japanese traditional values or the reality of Japanese society. Tawa (1979) found that Japanese television commercials

emphasize the decorative role of the female; young single women characters and female celebrities appear more often in Japanese than in American TV ads. Milpatcher (1981) states,

> the strongly held traditional value of the group and consensus is little reflected in contemporary Japanese advertisements. Instead, we increasingly find the Westernized appeal of individuality/independence being utilized in many areas of Japanese advertising. (p. 111)

Although there are cultural values which are found to be consistent with the advertising appeals and female portrayals, it may be safe to conclude that the "advertising-as-cultural-reflector" thesis has not been substantially supported by Tawa (1979) and Milpatcher's (1981) findings.

3. Advertising in Societal Perspective

Two Points of View

There are mainly two theories which explain the relationship between advertising and culture. One is the "advertising-as-culture-reflector" theory which has been applied in content analysis surveys reviewed above. This thesis assumes that the values and norms manifested in advertising are the reflection of culture, i.e., advertising reflects peoples' way of life. This thesis also implies that this mirror-image of advertising is derived from the effectiveness-seeking nature of advertising, as traditional communication theory suggest that the more message senders and receivers share the same experience, the more "functional" is their communication. Freeman (1972) represents this view, noting that, "Advertising intentionally adopts popular opinion and popular taste so as to be acceptable to the majority of consumers," and may serve "as a useful index of the popular culture which it helps

to transmit" (pp. 83-84).

Challenging this standpoint, some thinkers insist that advertising reflects the dominant ideology of the society, not the peoples' opinion and taste, and that, as a result, it controls the cultural values of the audience. This view will be discussed later on.

Mass Communication as a Social Force

The latter point of view roughly corresponds to the thesis of "collective consciousness" (CC) school in the value and culture study of mass communication (Edelstein, 1982). According to Edelstein, the CC school's view contrasts with that of the "individual consciousness" (IC) school, the latter assuming that the audience is selective in its mass media exposure. Uses and gratifications research is one of the IC school's major approaches in communication research.

The main thesis of the CC school is that:

> mass communication conveys culture and forms the "collective images" held by the community. Society acts together on the basis of images that have been produced (for profit) by media managers (Edelstein, 1982, p. 61).

The major advocate of the CC school is George Gerbner (1967), who argues that the mass media are a social institution which disseminates dominant values and images to the public. In the pre-modern period, the form and contents of popular culture were maintained as folkways through interpersonal communication. But with the rise of mass communication mass media became "the creators of technologically produced and mediated message systems" (p. 55). The main questions this view proposes are: "What perspectives and what patterns of choices do these systems make available to what publics?" and "In what proportions, and with what kinds and degrees of attention, emphasis and appeal do

they weight these choices?" (p. 55). From this point of view, Gerbner (1967) and Edelstein (1983) stress the importance of comparative study across cultures to see what common value perspectives mass media cultivate under different cultural conditions.

Tuchman (1978, 1981) analyzed how the mass media produce "news," inevitably transforming "reality." As mass media news works as a "window on the world."--i.e. the framework of a world view for the audience--consequently the audience receives a reality distorted intentionally or unintentionally by the news makers. Interestingly, Tuchman (1981) also suggests that one of the reasons why reality is transformed through media is that the way we see the reality is culturally defined. She cites an example from the experience of anthropologists, who found that Westerners' film technique is different from that of African informants because the two see the reality differently. This notion suggests that the visual images of mass media are culturally bound.

Real (1977) called the events and images transmitted by mass media, including advertising, "mass-mediated culture". He also took the standpoint that mass communication reflects the dominant values of the society and that mass-mediated culture functions "as a choice-restricting mechanism for individuals and society" (p. 249).

It seems that empirical evidences to support the cultural effect of mass communication on the public have not yet been presented. For example, Hirsch (1980, 1981a, 1981b) critically reanalyzed Gerbner's cultivation research and concluded that cultivation analysis lacks empirical evidence. (See also Gerbner et al's 1981 counterargument.)

Meanwhile the potential impact of advertising on culture and society has recently been given some attention by international communication scholars. One of the problems they have addressed is whether advertising has a negative influence on indigenous culture, especially in less developed countries (Kochevar, 1982).

In Many Voices, One World (1980) it was stated that:

> Advertising is seen by many as a threat to the cultural identity and self-realization of many developing countries: it brings to many people alien ethical values; it may deviate consumer demands in developing countries to areas which can inhibit development priorities; it affects and can often deform ways of life and life-styles (p. 111).

This view on advertising may imply the following assumptions: first, that advertising may contain values alien to indigenous culture; second, those values in advertising may affect people culturally and economically and result in deviating governmental and social consensus.

Kochevar (1982) concluded that international advertising seems to have more social and economic impact on developing countries than on developed countries, although the effects on indigeneous cultures are difficult to evaluate by empirical evidence. His review article suggests that the impact can be both negative and positive and that it is necessary to examine the complex process of culture change from many aspects.

It is quite likely, as Kochevar (1982) suggests, that societies in the process of development tend to be affected more than economically mature societies. Borden (1960), in his classic study on the economic effects of advertising, concluded that advertising itself does not increase demands but that it serves as an intervening variable to "speed

up the expansion of a demand that would come from favoring conditions" (p. 251). In other words, advertising is more effective when demand for goods is increasing and not effective when demand is decreasing.

In many developing countries potential needs for goods are supposingly increasing, whereas in developed countries major durable goods such as automobiles and TV sets are in a mature stage and demands are not increasing remarkably. Consequently, advertising may be more influential in developing countries than in developed countries. By analogy, advertising's economic impact tends to cause changes in traditional ways of life in developing countries, because to change buying conduct means to change behavioral patterns, namely culture. Advertising may affect cultures in explicit ways in developing countries.

Fox (1984) examined American advertising history and concluded that American advertising was most influential on American culture in the 1920s and that since that time advertising has changed its character from an "independent force" to just a mirror of American culture.

It seems that advertising today does not have such a direct impact on culture as it had in the rise of capitalism. It may be possible to assume that in a highly industrialized society advertising has more indirect impact on culture and mores. Advertising may reflect cultural values, but it selects and modifies values so that the message will be more acceptable and stimulative to the audience. And this indirect impact results not in obvious behavioral outcomes, but, intuitively, in "epistemological" change. Chesebro (1984), in his essay "The Media Reality: Epistemological Functions of Media in Cultural Systems", notes:

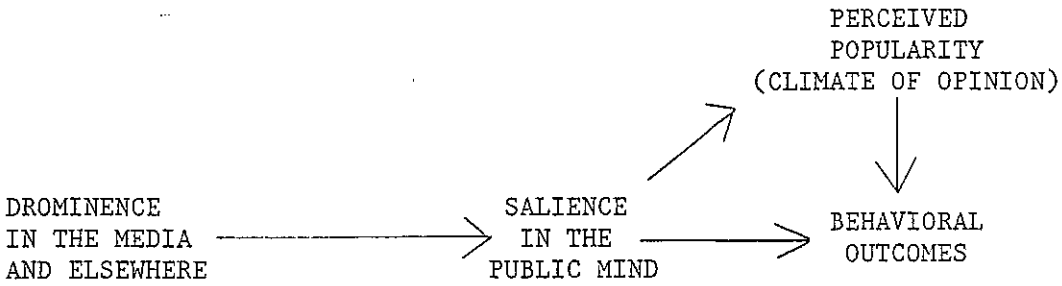
> The electronic media now function as a social reality which provides information, knowledge, and value systems equal in power to the kind of

> understandings produced by science and everyday experiences. ...the format of media stimuli determines the type of mental pattern and concominant cultural systems controlling human communication. (p. 126)

Sutherland and Galloway (1981) presented a new theoretical perspective on advertising's influence on consumer behavior. Their study is based on Krugman's (1965) involvement theory, McCombs and Shaw's (1972) agenda-setting theory, and Noelle-Neumann's (1974) spiral of silence theory. Sutherland and Galloway's advertising effect model is the following: advertising influences the salience of the issue or product in the public mind, i.e., media emphasis on certain products determines the relative "importance" of those products in the consumer's mind. At the same time, media help create a "climate of opinion" among the audience, i.e., "what people think other people think" (p. 28). And these two advertising effects--"salience in the public mind" and "perceived popularity (climate of opinion)"--result in "behavioral outcomes", e.g. buying conduct. (Table 2-1)

Table 2-1

Advertising's Influence on Consumer Behavior



Source: Sutherland and Galloway (1981)

This theoretical assumption is different from theories which assume a direct influence from media to audience (e.g. Gerbner's). Its

strength may be in its sociopsychological perspective.

Chesebro (1984) and Sutherland and Galloway's (1981) theoretical speculations suggest that the effect of mass communication--including advertising--seems to be indirect and latent in modern developed society.

4. Advertising and Cultural Values

Having reviewed the interaction of advertising from societal perspective, let us now look at the studies on advertising communication and cultural values.

Unwin (1974) compared American and British advertising in an impressionistic manner and found several differences of advertising technique between them. For example, "British ads are implicit; American ads are explicit" (p. 25), i.e., British ads try to transmit the total impression of the product and the expression is rather ambiguous compared to American ads. American advertisers put emphasis on subtle differences between products and "want to recognize, appreciate and dramatize only a part" (p. 25). In an attempt to answer the question whether advertising influences society or vice versa, Unwin states that society affects advertising, but not its content. Advertising, which Unwin regards as a medium, reflects cultural norms and values in how it conveys the message.

Sissors (1978) also tried to answer the question: "Does advertising affect values?" Based on studies on values, he concluded that advertising may indeed affect values but not strongly; it may influence only the lowest rank of value hierarchy in one's mind. Rather, in order to send its messages more effectively and to avoid dissonance in the consumer's cognition, advertising reflects the predominant values of

the society.

Justifiably, White (1960) considered the relationship between advertising and cultural values through the examination of the product in a cultural context. Advertising function is related to the three meanings the product bears: (1) brand image; (2) direct experience with the product; and (3) the cultural definition of the product. In a culture which is a "climate of valuation" the individual is acculturated to view the product "in a setting of needs and values that control his action and attitudes about it" (p. 197). The function of advertising, thus, is to reflect the value structure of the society.

However, advertising does not necessarily accept all the values of a society. It selects and reinforces certain values of a product; in this sense advertising may affect values but within the limit of a culture system. Although advertising is not all that defines the value of a product, advertising serves to formulate culturally specific views on a product, just as it helps in forming images of a brand. It is worth pointing out that culture affects advertising in how we see a product, rather than in what advertising tells consumers.

Cheney's (1981) qualitative study on television advertising suggests two modes in advertising communication. It appears that an advertisement conveys two contradictory themes at the same time. On the one hand, it promotes individual choice and accomplishment (e.g., a cosmetic commercial says "write a face as unique as your signature"). On the other it encourages continued use and dependence on the advertised product in a connotative manner. Cheney defines the former themes of individual action and choice as "themes of symbolic action," and the latter--the maintenance of the status quo--as "a ritualistic

mode of communication" (p. 25). He argues that these two dimensions of advertising message--persuasive and ritualistic--function to reinforce each other. This article suggests that advertising functions to maintain the cultural system providing provocative messages.

In summary, the relationship between advertising and culture is interactive. Advertising is not a perfect "mirror" of cultural values nor has it an overwhelming power in changing cultures. Advertising may reflect values, but in a selective manner. Advertising is both dependent on and independent from its cultural context.

B. Value Studies and Advertising

Our purpose is to examine cultural aspects of advertising, and the focus will be the cultural values which advertising messages imply. In this section, several important value studies will be reviewed to answer the following questions: What are values? Why study values as a central theme of culture? and What is the role of values in advertising communication?

What are Values?

The concept "value" has been used in two different ways in our daily life: one individual may say "I have such-and-such values" and may also say "that object has a value" (Rokeach, 1973). According to Rokeach, thinkers of several disciplines have argued which use of value is more fruitful for the systematic study of values. This question is also important to us because advertising also conveys these two kinds of value concept in order to persuade the public. For example, when a cosmetic advertisement may suggest "this lipstick makes you beautiful and it fits your value of beauty," it refers to a person's value. When an ad says "This jewelry has more value than other ones, because...", it means the object's own value(s).

Skinner (1971) maintained that to make a value judgement is the objects' reinforcing effect. According to Skinner, it is things which reinforce individuals to feel values, either positively or negatively. He seems to be saying that the value of things is determined by the things themselves. Skinner states that, "What is ultimately good or bad, are things, not feelings" (p. 107).

Hilliard (1950) defined values as, "affectivity occurring in the relational contexture determined by the reaction of an organism to a

stimulus object" (p. 42); where object means existent or nonexistent things, such as a situation or symbols and organism means any living thing or social organization.

Rokeach (1973), whose definition of values is widely used in the literature, said:

> A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence. (p. 5)

Of these three notions, Skinner is on the object side, Rokeach stands on the human side, and Hilliard seems to be located somewhere between the two. Whereas Rokeach's definition appears to be the most "normal," Skinner's extreme position cannot be rejected out of hand if we interpret his thought as follows. That is, that individual cannot always decide objects' values by him/herself. Rokeach's definition of value also implies this point; the preference is determined by society as well as by a person.

When Kluckhohn (1961) discussed cultural values, he noted that, from an anthropological viewpoint, personal values are "no more than the idiosyncratic variants" (p. 18) of cultural values.

Taken together, our operational definition of cultural values in advertising is a partly modified version of Rokeach's: "A cultural value in advertising is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence, which an advertised product possesses, promotes and/or aides, is culturally preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence."

In addition, Rokeach's definition of values implies two important notions. First, there are two kinds of values. One kind is the instrumental value (mode of conduct) which works to help one attain some

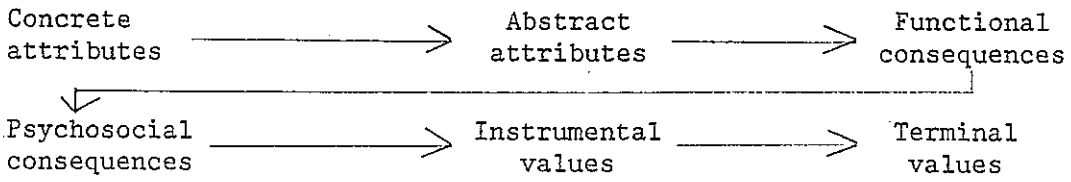
preferable end-state, e.g., ambitiousness, broadmindedness, etc. The other is the terminal value which is one's preferable end-state, e.g., a comfortable life, an exciting life, etc. Second, values constitute a rank-ordered hierarchy in an individual's mind or within the members of a culture.

Values in Advertising

Olson and Reynolds (1983) developed a model of the consumer's cognitive structures as follows:

Table 2-2

A Model of the Consumer's Cognitive



Source: Olson & Reynolds, 1983, p. 81.

This is how consumers process information and store knowledge about products. In this model the mental representations about a product are ranked in a hierarchy from lower to higher levels of abstraction. Values are placed in the highest level of abstraction. This model suggests that values, especially terminal values, are the end-state of the advertising function because, if concrete attributes (e.g. color and shape of a product) are linked with a consumer's terminal values (e.g., a comfortable life or happiness) in the consumer's cognitive structure, the consumer appreciates and remembers the product in the most stable way.

In an advertising message, values are manifested in several ways, according to Pollay (1983):

First, the value which is proper to a product is stated by the copy, e.g., "such and such a product is good because it has certain properties" (p. 74).

Second, the property is stated also by the copy to demonstrate that, "Such a property is instrumental to the attaining of some other valued end-state" (p. 74).

Third, values are also manifest by visual imagery. The mood of feeling showed in the ad is psychically associated with the value of a product.

Fourth, visual matephors are used to represent the product's values. "The artistic presentation of a person, object, setting, or event which contains the properties" (p. 75) is utilized to construct a contiguous relationship between value and the product. In the third and fourth cases, captioning and copy are also used to clarify the meaning of an ad message.

It should be noted here that the relationship between a product and values is arbitrary. As Kluckhohn (1961) stated, "a value, though conditioned by biological and social necessity, is in its particulate form arbitrary and conventional" (p. 18). This statement suggests that the value of a product may be different from one culture to another. Culturally, the specific value of a product contributes to forming a cultural definition of a product. It is in this sense that the cultural values manifest in an ad are worth studying; they help clarify the characteristics of a culture's materialistic valuations.

To summarize, "value" is a central component in advertising as well as in culture. In this section, cultural value in advertising was defined first, and we have seen how value is also important in the

consumers' cognition and how values are represented in advertising expression. Lastly, it was pointed out that the relationship between values and an advertised product is determined not naturally, but arbitrarily or, to some degree, culturally. These notions suggest that "value" is worth studying as a central theme of advertising and culture.

C. Comparative Studies - The United States and Japan

In order to examine the cultural values in advertising, a cross-national comparative method is employed in this study. The reason is that the characteristics of one culture may be best understood by comparing them with other culture (Kato, 1977). Edelstein (1982, 1983) stressed the importance of cross-cultural comparative studies in communication and stated that the purpose of comparison is to find commonalities -- rather than differences -- among individuals and societies. It seems that anthropologists' efforts at cross-cultural research tend to aim at finding idiosyncratic structures in each culture, rather than similarities (De Vos & Hippler, 1969).

The United States and Japan were selected for the comparison. There are two reasons for this selection. First, these two countries have the world's most highly developed free enterprise economies and, at the same time, two very different cultural and historical traditions, i.e., "occidental" and "oriental." Through these similarities and differences, the cultural aspects of advertising will be clarified. Second, the writer is a Japanese and has experience with Japanese culture and advertising business. As noted in the introduction, advertising as a form of culture has two different aspects at the same time--a common character across cultures as a product of international free enterprise and an idiosyncratic character as symbolic communication in each cultural context. In other words, advertising is a common phenomenon through the free enterpise world as a marketing tool, but advertising's symbolism is different from culture to culture. In this sense it is appropriate to compare these two countries because of their similar economic systems and their different cultural traditions.

U.S. and Japanese Advertising

There are few empirical studies which have compared American and Japanese advertising, but it is not difficult to find impressionistic observations on these two countries' advertising.

Krisher (1982) observed Japanese commercials and noted several differences from American ads, such as: (1) Japanese ad appeal is emotional rather than logical; (2) Japanese ads employ more celebrities; and (3) Japanese ads' general mood is romantic rather than persuasive.

Ballon (1973) observed that Japanese copy is more polite in tone than the American copy because "any copy automatically sets up a social relationship between author and reader" (p. 153). He also stated that direct, hard-sell and comparison approaches are disliked by Japanese audiences. It seems that Japanese advertisements are less directly persuasive than their American counterparts.

Kobayashi (1982) tried to explain these differences. He cited Nelson (1974), who had concluded that many advertised goods are "experience goods" whose qualities are not determined prior to the consumer's purchase. As a result, it is difficult to persuade consumers by stating only the benefit of the product through advertising. "American advertisers try to persuade consumers even if they cannot persuade consumers at last. On the contrary, Japanese advertisers choose other methods if direct persuasion has no effect" (p. 51). So Japanese advertising tries to convey the "personality" of the advertiser. The relationship between advertisers and audience reflects the cultural values in interpersonal communication among Japanese people.

Toyama (1983) argued the characteristics of Japanese communication from the aspect of rhetoric. He suggests that in Japanese language, as

seen in Haiku poetry, communication tends to be abbreviated, because there are common understandings among members of the society. By the same token Japanese rhetoric is more synecdochical than European languages.

Hall (1966) described Japanese communication patterns from a proxemical point of view. According to Hall, Japanese behavioral patterns are characterized by the term "indirection". What is important for Japanese communicators is not the logic, such as syllogisms. To create a comfortable feeling, rather than to be convinced logically, is important in persuading Japanese people.

It is a laborious task, albeit rewarding, to correlate characteristics of advertising communication patterns. It is necessary here to suggest at least that there appear to exist differences between the two countries' advertising and that these differences presumably derive from the distinctive communication behaviors of each culture.

D. Summary and Statement of Problem

In order to study advertising from its cultural aspect, previous studies from several disciplines have been reviewed.

The relationship between advertising and culture has been examined in light of two theoretical assumptions: (1) advertising reflects cultural phenomena such as cultural norms, behavioral patterns, national characters, etc.--advertising is nothing more than a mirror of culture; and (2) advertising conveys distorted values and does not reflect reality--as a powerful institution, it affects and changes culture and values.

Previous empirical studies showed that advertising does not always reflect indigenous cultures. It reflects Western cultural values in developing countries in Asian (Marquez, 1973, 1975), and reflects both traditional and alien values in Japanese advertising (Tawa, 1979; Milpatcher 1981). The "advertising-as-cultural-reflector" theory cannot be substantially supported by empirical evidence.

There is no definite answer to whether advertising affects culture and values. By analogy, I assume that advertising effects on culture would be more indirect and less overwhelming than we tend to think. Advertising presumably selects and reinforces cultural values within a national macro-culture.

As we have seen above, the cultural aspect of advertising has not been researched enough nor firmly theorized. Then, what is the key concept for studying culture and advertising? It is that cultural values constitute the essential component of advertising as well as of culture.

To study cultural aspects of advertising, a comparative method is employed. Japanese and Americans have different cultural backgrounds

and their advertising expressions seem also to differ.

As I mentioned earlier (p. 3), advertising has two dimensions as a form of culture. Advertising is a part of capitalistic culture whose function is similar around the world. At the same time, advertising communication is regional because of its unique use of symbols. We expect to see how these two contradictory dimensions are represented as patterns of cultural values in these two countries' advertising.

The foregoing provides the framework for three central research questions.

1. What are the similarities and differences of cultural values between U.S. and Japanese advertising across levels of product and across types of magazine?
2. What are the similarities and differences of cultural values between U.S. and Japanese advertising by magazine type?
   - This question derives from the assumption that if the target audience is different, manifest cultural values will be different.
3. What are the similarities and differences of cultural values between U.S. and Japanese advertising by product level?
   - This question derives from the assumption that if the product class is different, the manifest cultural values will be different.

Patterns of cultural values are represented by the rank-order of manifest values in each countries' advertising. This notion is derived from Rokeach's (1973) theory that values constitute a rank-ordered hierarchy.

Endonotes for Chapter II

1. In this study foreign students were used as samples. The nationalities of European and Latin American students are not specified in the text.

2. For example, in Filipino advertising the male's leadership and independence were emphasized, whereas, Marquez argues, in indigenous Filipino culture male and female roles tend to be equal. The male's portrayal in Filipino advertising seems to be derived from traditional Western culture.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

In order to examine cultural values in American and Japanese advertising, content analysis was employed as a research tool in this study. Krippendorff (1980) defined content analysis as "A research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context" (p. 21).

According to Krippendorff, data convey more than single meanings, and these meanings are not always explicit to everyone. To put it another way, the meaning of data depends on the context determined by the researcher. Content analysis is a research tool to make inferences from messages of symbolic communication.

Since the purpose of the study is to "extract" cultural values which are not directly observed from advertising (symbolic communication) and to examine the implications of value patterns in advertising (to make inferences in a context), content analysis is a more appropriate research technique than other methods.

Categories of Analysis

Categorization of the coding units is of primary importance in content analytical studies, since categories reflect researcher's purposes and formulated thinking (Kassarjian, 1977, p. 12).

In this study, "cultural value measures" (Table 3-1) identified by Richard Pollay (1983) were employed.

Previously, many schemes of content analysis have been developed by psychologists and anthropologists for the purpose of culture and value studies.

For example, Spranger's (1925) value categories of men (employed by Wayne, 1956), Murray's (1938) list of needs (employed by Fowles, 1976), Maslow's (1944) hierarchy of needs (cited by Sandage and Fryburger, 1971), C. Kluckhohn's (1956) cultural value categories, F. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961) value orientation matrix (employed by Henry, 1976) and Rokeach's (1973) value systems are among those which seem applicable for content analysis of advertising cultural content.

The reasons for the employment of Pollay's cultural value categories are: first, the list has been formulated to be consistent with those classic studies on values and needs, such as Fowles' (1976) and Rokeach's (1973); second, the categories have already been pilot-tested and refined by Pollay and his colleagues from several disciplines, and the process of formulation appeared to be reliable; third, as Pollay noted, the categorization was designed to be exhaustive and rich so that all types of advertising and all kinds of values -- of objects and of people -- can be classified; and fourth, this cultural value system is the only scheme developed specifically for the analysis of advertising to date.

Table 3-1

Cultural Value Measures

This product is a "good" because it is:

Practical.....Ornamental (4) -

- (1) Effective
- (2) Durable
- (3) Convenient

- (5) Cheap.....Dear (6) -
- (7) Popular..... Distinctive (8) -
- (9) Traditional..... Modern (10) -
- (11) Natural..... Technological (12) -

This product is a "good" by promoting a sense of:

- (13) Wisdom.....Magic (14) -
- (15) Productivity.....Leisure
Relaxation (16) -
Enjoyment (17) -
- (18) Maturity.....Youth (19) -
- (20) Safety.....Adventure (21) -
Civility.....Wildness
- (22) Tamed.....Untamed (23) -
- (24) Morality.....Freedom (25) -
- (26) Modesty.....Sexuality (27) -
- (28) Humility.....Pride
Security (29) -
Status (30) -
- (31) Independence.....Affiliation (32) -
- (33) Nurturance.....Succorance (34) -
- (35) Family.....Community (36) -

This product is a "good" by aiding consumers to be:

- (37) Vain.....Plain (38) -
- (39) Healthy.....Frail (40) -
- (41) Neat.....Casual (42) -

Source: Pollay (1983), p. 87

The shortcomings of this scheme are, as Pollay noted, first the complexity of the coding task. "Coders need to hold some 40 concepts in mind" (Pollay, 1983; p. 87). Second, the system was developed solely by and for print media advertisements, and it may not be appropriate to other media, such as broadcasting. Third, as the categories are based on references and materials written in English, the applicability to advertising in other languages has yet to be ascertained.

In this study, however, the author felt that these weaknesses were overcome to a certain extent by the following arrangements:

(1) Trial materials were provided coders for training prior to the research in order to get used to the complex coding scheme.

(2) Magazine advertisements were used for the research to match the development process of the coding scheme.

(3) Pilot testing on a sample of 50 Japanese ads was performed to see the applicability of the Pollay's value categories. The author felt that the scheme was applicable to Japanese advertisements.

Each category was defined and given illustrations by Pollay (Appendix A).

Sampling and Unit of Analysis

Sample advertisements were selected from magazines for analysis.

There are several reasons for selecting magazines ads. First, the characteristics of newspaper advertising are different between the U.S. and Japan. Japan's leading newspapers are national and many advertisers, such as foods and automobiles, are also national, whereas American newspaper advertisers are mainly local, e.g. retailer. It was thus difficult to match advertised products. Second, Japanese broadcasting

advertising samples were hard to obtain in the United States. Third, magazine advertising is most suitable for Pollay's value categories which are the only available coding schemes so far. Fourth, magazine advertisers tend to be national and the advertised products are presumably more similar than in newspaper advertising. Fifth, some of both countries' magazines have demographically similar readers.

Although magazine advertisements seem to be easiest to match between the two countries, there are slight differences in the magazine's roles as a mass medium. First, while national newspapers are widely developed in Japan, there is no Japanese news magazine with a giant circulation such as Time and Newsweek have in the United States. Second, in Japan most general magazines are sold at newsstands (kiosk) or bookshops, whereas large-circulation magazines in the United States are primarily sold to subscribers and distributed by mail. However, as an advertising medium, magazines are utilized by many national advertisers in both countries and have demographically segmented readers which other media usually do not have. Taken together, magazine advertising, with its availability, is relatively more suitable to our study.

Two categories of consumer magazines were selected: one is a general news magazine, such as Time and Shukan Asahi, whose main readers are male. Another type is home magazines for women, such as Good Housekeeping and Katei Gaho. As shown below (Table 3-2), this selection of magazine types seems to be adequate, since these magazines attract demographically similar readers.[1]

Shukan Asahi (Weekly Asahi), a Japanese weekly news magazine, and Katei Gaho (Home Graphic), a monthly women's home journal, were matched with Time magazine and Good Housekeeping, respectively.

Table 3-2

Magazine Readers' Characteristics

-by Sex and Marital Status

	Men	Women	Married	Single
Time (4,477)*	59.0%	41.0	62.0%	38.0
Shukan Asahi (456)**	63.9	36.1	68.7	31.3
Good House-keeping (621)***	15.6	84.4	68.9	31.1
Katei Gaho (500)****	2.0	98.0	80.3	19.7

Circulation (by thousand)

* = ABC. 1982. 12.

** = ABC. 1982. 1-12 Average

*** = ABC. 1983. 1-12 Average

**** = claimed circulation. 1983

- by age

	under 24	25-34	35-44	45 and up
Time	22.5%	26.3	16.0	35.2
Shukan Asahi	21.1%	24.5	25.5	28.9
Good House-keeping	14.8%	25.2	17.0	43.0
Katei Gaho	9.3%	51.1	27.6	12.0

Americkan magazine data from 1979 Study of Media and Markets.

Japanese magazine data from Media Data Japan (1983, June).

Shukan Asahi is published by Asahi Shimbun, one of the leading national newspaper companies, and is a family-type journal whose "articles fill in gaps in daily newspaper reporting, delving deeper into news events, providing sidelights and neglected angles" ("Magazine Directory," 1983, p. 171).

Katei Gaho is a monthly, large-format magazine which "presents information for a pleasant and beautiful life" ("Magazine Directory," 1983, p. 173).

While Shukan Asahi and Katei Gaho do not have any geographic or demographic editions (except for Shukan Asahi's several black-and-white advertising pages), Time has four demographic editions (business people, leading-managers, "upscale" zip codes and students/educators) and 11 regional editions. Good Housekeeping also has 11 regional editions. The student/educator edition for the east-central United States of Time and the mid-western edition of Good Housekeeping were used for this study. Because of the limitations of time and budget, other editions were not available.

The circulations of Shukan Asahi (reported by ABC) and that claimed (not audited) of Katei Gaho are the biggest among Japan's four main news magazines and eleven women's domestic magazines respectively.

The reason for this selection of magazines is the readers' demographic similarities. (See Table 3-2.)

All the advertisements for the consumer products (detailed below) over a period of one year were used for the research. Namely, the issues of 1983 (from January to December) of Time and Shukan Asahi and the issues of April 1983 to March 1984 of Good Housekeeping and Katei Gaho were utilized. As Katei Gaho's January through March 1983 issues

were not available, the periods of sample collection between these two types of magazine could not be completely matched.

The author felt that a period of one year is enough to cover all seasonal elements of products, themes and variation of expression.

Only full-color and full-page advertisements were coded for analysis. This is because of the assumption that the advertisers would be concerned more with the quality of these ads than with that of partial page or black-and-white ads (Milpatcher, 1981).

The advertisements analyzed were limited to daily-use consumer product advertising, defined as advertisements to sell personal-use products and to promote their brand names. Service and entertainment advertising, retail, mail-order, trade, industrial, professional and institutional advertising were excluded. The reason for this exclusion was that Pollay's (1983) coding scheme in this study seemed to be best suited for the analysis of consumer products, since each coding instruction seems to be made up on the assumption that the samples are consumer product advertisements, e.g. "This product is a 'good' because it is" (See Table 3-1).

Two product types were also compared here to see if there is any difference between product types:

(1) High-involvement/Low-involvement.

The term "involvement" means here "the normative importance [that] different products [are] perceived to have" (Lastovicka, 1978, p. 36). In other words, involvement is the degree of potential rewards the product type has for the consumer. If there are few distinctions among brands of the product, the involvement is low, and "the more complex the product is in terms of its uses and other values, the greater the

involvement" (Bowen and Chaffee, 1974, p. 615). As suggested by Bowen and Chaffee's 1974 empirical survey, consumers tend to react more favorably toward high involvement products if the products are advertised with pertinent messages, such as explicit comparisons between one brand with another. Based on these findings, it is assumed that, if the product involvement is different, the kinds of values or appeals may differ between high-involvement and low-involvement products.

Although the involvement level may differ from one person to another, several products' average levels of involvement were identified and reported by Bowen and Chaffee (1974) and Lastovicka and Gardner (1977) as follows:

(i) High-involvement products

(a) Diamond rings

(b) Stereo phonographs

(c) Blue jeans

(d) Automobile

(e) Hi-Fi Speakers

(f) Beer

(ii) Low-involvement products

(a) Car tires

(b) Sun tan lotions

(c) Lightbulbs

(d) Facial Tissue

(e) Toothbrush

(f) Soap

(2) Persuasion-Ad Products/Information-Ad Products

Marquez (1977) found that certain product types tend to be

advertised with persuasion and others with information. According to Marquez, "persuasion" is defined as "an act of creating a desire for the advertised product without using specific, relevant and verifiable facts about such a product" (p. 485). "Information" is also defined as "the specific, relevant and verifiable facts about advertised products that are used in creating a desire for such a product" (p. 485). Based on these findings, certain product types were coded values so as to see if different values are used if product types are different. The consumer products are thus classified as follows:

(i) Products advertised through basically persuasive advertisements (Persuasive-ad Products)

(a) Wine and liquor

(b) Cosmetics and toiletries

(c) Food

(ii) Products advertised through informative advertisements (Informative-ad Products)

(a) Books

(b) Cars and automotive parts

(c) Musical Instruments and Recordings.

In all, American and Japanese advertising will be compared at the following seven levels:

(1) By all products

By all magazines

(2) By all products

By news magazines

(3) By all products

By female magazines

(4) By High-involvement products

By all magazines

(5) By Low-involvement products

By all magazines

(6) By Persuasive-ad product

By all magazines

(7) By Informative-ad product

By all magazines.

Findings thus will be arranged in seven tables.

Coding Procedure

The coders -- the author and two independent coders -- coded only one dominant value per advertisement. The reason for coding only one dominant value is to simplify the coding procedure and enhance reliability. Based on the experience during the pilot test, a coding rule was determined in order to execute the coding more consistently and reliably (See Appendix B for coding rules). Each coder was given written coding rules prior to the tests.

Reliability Test

Two kinds of reliability tests were administered: intra-coder reliability and inter-coder reliability tests.

Intra-coder reliability was checked twice -- during and after the test -- to see the stability of the coding process. "Stability" is "the degree to which a process is invariant or unchanging over time" (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 130). One hundred samples were drawn randomly from the population. The samples were recoded by the author, first, during the survey and second after two weeks' lapse. The first score (during the test) was 80.5% and the second (after the test) was 78%.[2]

Overall intra-coder agreement was 79.25%, which is above 70%, and beyond Pollay's (1983) acceptability criterion.

Inter-coder reliability tests were also administered to see the reproducibility of the coding procedure. As an independent coder who is bilingual in English and Japanese was not available, one Japanese and one American were employed to code Japanese magazines and American magazines respectively. The reliability score was 72% between an American coder and the author. Also, the score between the Japanese coder and the author was 79.5%. Overall intercoder reliability was 75.75%. According to Pollay (1983), this score is above 70% and also satisfactory.

Endnotes for Chapter III

1. The selection of magazine types and magazines was suggested by Milpatcher (1981) who used Newsweek, Good Housekeeping, Shukan Asahi and Katei Gaho.

2. The reliability score was given by following formula:

$$R = \frac{2(C_{1,2})}{C_1 + C_2}$$

where "$C_{1,2}$ is the number of category assignments both coders agree on, and C_{1+2} is the total of category made by both coders." (Budd, Thorp and Donohew, 1967).

Chapter IV

FINDINGS

The data were summarized in seven tables, based on which value distribution patterns of the two countries' advertising were examined at seven different vehicle-product levels.

Two statistical tests were administered to determine: (1) correlations in value rank-orders between U.S. and Japanese advertising; and (2) statistically significant differences in each value's frequencies between the two countries. Kendall's tau was employed for the former objective. Kendall's tau is more appropriate than Spearman's rho for data such as these, which are not equally distributed among a large number of ranks (Weaver, 1981; Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner and Bent, 1975). For the second objective, the chi square test was computed to check differences between pairs of cells of the same row.[1] Chi square is "primarily a test of statistical significance, rather than a measure of the strength of association" (Weaver, p. 65).

The significance level (p) of .05 is selected as the criterion for statistical significance in both tests.

Value Pattern Comparison for All Magazine and Product Types

Table 4-1 shows value distributions of all the samples. Kendall's tau is .46, which suggests that there is a moderate, positive correlation between the two countries' value rankings. The coefficient of .46 is moderate but substantial correlation (Weaver, 1981). This relation can be examined more in detail by looking at the top five values for each country, displayed in Table 4-2.

Table 4-1

Value Pattern Comparison for All Magazines and Product Types

Magazine Type: All
Product Type: All

Cultural Values	USA (N=1805)	JAPAN (N=2280)	
1. Effective	25.8%	16.0%	**
2. Durable	1.1	.3	**
3. Convenient	3.3	1.2	**
4. Ornamental	1.6	7.7	**
5. Cheap	3.8	.2	**
6. Dear	1.7	3.4	**
7. Popular	1.7	.9	*
8. Distinctive	8.8	2.9	**
9. Traditional	2.2	5.7	**
10. Modern	11.1	3.5	**
11. Natural	1.7	3.4	**
12. Technological	1.7	1.2	
13. Wisdom	7.8	6.8	
14. Magic	.7	1.1	
15. Productivity	1.2	0	*
16. Relaxation	1.2	3.1	*
17. Enjoyment	3.8	4.2	
18. Maturity	.1	.8	**
19. Youth	.2	.6	
20. Safety	.8	.1	**
21. Adventure	3.4	1.6	**
22. Tamed	0	0	
23. Untamed	0	0	
24. Morality	.2	1.0	**
25. Freedom	.9	.4	*
26. Modesty	0	.1	
27. Sexuality	.7	2.9	**
28. Humility	0	.1	
29. Security	.2	.1	
30. Status	.2	.2	
31. Independence	.9	1.8	*
32. Affiliation	.6	4.1	**
33. Nurturance	.3	0	
34. Succorance	.2	.1	
35. Family	.8	2.9	**
36. Community	.5	.1	
37. Vain	3.8	10.4	**
38. Plain	.3	.6	
39. Healthy	4.0	7.0	**
40. Frail	.2	1.8	**
41. Neat	2.5	2.6	
42. Casual	0	0	

a. Kendall's tau= .46, p= .001
b. *p < .05 **p < .01

Table 4-2

Top Five Values at

All-magazine/All-product level

	U.S.			JAPAN	
1.	Effective	25.8%	1.	Effective	16.0%
2.	Modern	11.1	2.	Vain	10.4
3.	Distinctive	8.8	3.	Ornamental	7.7
4.	Wisdom	7.8	4.	Healthy	7.0
5.	Healthy	4.0	5.	Wisdom	6.8
	(Total	57.5%)		(Total	47.9%)

Table 4-2 suggests that nearly half of the sample clusters in only 5 out of 42 categories in both countries. This indicates that in both countries, magazine advertisements employ only limited numbers of cultural values at least as primary emphases. This does not mean some values never or rarely appear in advertising, but nearly half of the value categories are used less than once in 100 advertisements at least as dominant themes in both countries' magazines.

Across the values in Table 4-1, there are more differences than similarities. Twenty-five out of 42 rows (59.5%) showed statistically significant differences at the .05 level. American advertisers, for example, put more emphasis on "effective," "convenient," "cheap," "distinctive," "modern " and "adventure" values than their Japanese counterparts. On the contrary, Japanese advertisers resort more to values of "ornamental," "dear," "traditional," "natural," "relaxation," "morality," "sexuality," "independence," "affiliation," "family," "vain," "healthy" and "frail" than American advertisers. Meanwhile, 15 categories (35.7%) have frequencies under 1.0% or zero in both countries'

advertisements as primary appeals. Those values which appeared in similar proportions are "technological," "wisdom," "magic," "enjoyment" and "neat."

There are several interesting contrasts in paired values between the two samples.[2] U.S. advertising consistently puts more emphasis on the three "practical" values--"effective," "durable" and "convenient"--than their counterparts. On the other hand, Japanese ads appear to contain more "ornamental" values than the American ads. Between the paired values of "cheap" vs. "dear," the U.S. ads reflect more "cheap" values than the Japanese ads, which employ more "dear" values. There is also a clear contrast in "traditional" vs. "modern" values; Japanese advertising tends to use "traditional" values more while U.S. advertising puts relatively heavy emphasis on "modern" values.

In short, at the all-magazine/all-product level, U.S. and Japanese magazine advertising show similarities rather than differences in rank-ordered values and more differences than similarities in each value category.

Value Pattern Comparison for General News Magazines and All Products

Samples taken from Time and Shukan Asahi are compared in Table 4-3.

The overall correlation coefficient is .44. This tau value suggests that there is also a moderate but substantial correlation between the two countries' magazine advertising.

Table 4-3

Value Pattern Comparison for General News Magazines and All Products

Magazine Type: General news magazine
Product Type: All

Cultural Values	USA (N=793)	JAPAN (N=794)	
1. Effective	30.0%	17.4%	**
2. Durable	.5	.6	
3. Convenient	2.6	1.1	*
4. Ornamental	2.0	5.4	**
5. Cheap	4.3	.1	**
6. Dear	2.9	2.3	
7. Popular	3.0	1.4	*
8. Distinctive	12.0	3.0	**
9. Traditional	4.0	3.5	
10. Modern	9.6	6.3	*
11. Natural	.4	3.0	**
12. Technological	2.0	2.8	*
13. Wisdom	3.3	5.3	
14. Magic	.4	2.0	**
15. Productivity	2.6	.1	**
16. Relaxation	1.8	3.4	
17. Enjoyment	5.8	4.5	
18. Maturity	0	.8	*
19. Youth	0	.8	*
20. Safety	.6	.3	
21. Adventure	3.2	1.4	*
22. Tamed	0	0	
23. Untamed	0	0	
24. Morality	0	1.9	**
25. Freedom	0	.1	
26. Modesty	0	.1	
27. Sexuality	1.3	3.0	*
28. Humility	0	0	
29. Security	0	0	
30. Status	.4	.4	
31. Independence	.9	1.0	
32. Affiliation	1.1	4.7	**
33. Nurturance	0	0	
34. Succorance	.5	.3	
35. Family	1.0	3.0	**
36. Community	1.1	.4	
37. Vain	1.5	4.8	**
38. Plain	.1	0	
39. Healthy	.6	11.1	**
40. Frail	0	0	
41. Neat	.4	3.8	**
42. Casual	0	0	

a. Kendall's tau= .44, p= .001
b. *p < .05 **p<.01

Table 4-4

Top Five Values

at General News Magazine/All-Product Level

	U.S.			JAPAN	
1.	Effective	30.0%	1.	Effective	17.4%
2.	Distinctive	12.0	2.	Healthy	11.1
3.	Modern	9.6	3.	Ornamental	5.4
4.	Enjoyment	5.8	4.	Vain	4.8
5.	Cheap	4.3	5.	Affiliation	4.7
	(Total	61.7%)		(Total	43.4%)

As we have seen at the all-magazine/all-product level (Tables 4-1 and 4-2), there is also a tendency to use a few values as dominant themes. There is, however, a slight difference in the degree of concentration of frequencies in the top five values; 6 out of 10 American advertisements utilize one of the top five values, whereas the top five values in Japanese ads are used in 4 of 10 of all the samples. Also, in Table 4-4, it should be noted that, except for the "effective" value, the other four top values are totally different between the two samples. American advertisers tend to employ "distinctive," "modern," "enjoyment" and "cheap" values while their Japanese counterparts favor "healthy," "ornamental," "vain" and "affiliation" appeals.

Across the values in Table 4-3, significant differences were found in 21 out of 42 rows (50%). In the rest of the rows, no significant difference was found between the two samples. In seven rows, with frequencies of 1.0 or more the volume levels were close. The seven values are "dear," "traditional," "wisdom," "relaxation," "enjoyment," "independence" and "community."

There are also paired values that showed contrasts between the United States and Japan. More American news magazine ads contain "practical" values (33.1%)--the total of "effective," "durable" and "convenient"--than the Japanese (19.1%). On the other hand, there are more "ornamental" values in Japanese ads (5.4%) than in American ads (2.0%). However, at the magazine type level, other paired values such as "cheap" vs. "dear" and "traditional" vs. "modern" did not show contrasting results as they did at the all-magazine/all-product level.

Value Pattern Comparison for Women's Home Magazines and All Products

In Table 4-5, data from two women's home magazines, Good Housekeeping and Katei Gaho are summarized. The overall value rank order coefficient is .42 ($p = .001$), which suggests there is a moderate, but not strong, positive correlation between the journals' value rank orders. The top five values are:

Table 4-6
Top Five Values
at Women's Home Magazine/All-Product Level

	U.S.			JAPAN	
1.	Effective	22.4%	1.	Effective	15.3%
2.	Modern	12.4	2.	Vain	13.4
3.	Wisdom	11.3	3.	Ornamental	8.9
4.	Healthy	6.7	4.	Wisdom	7.7
5.	Distinctive	6.3	5.	Traditional	6.9
	(Total	59.1%)		(Total	52.2%)

Table 4-6 shows that the "effective" value is still prominent in both samples but that other values--such as "modern" and "wisdom" in the U.S. and "vain" in Japan--appear to be used relatively frequently

Table 4-5

Value Pattern Comparison for Women's Home Magazines and All Products

Magazine Type: Women's home magazine
Product Type: All

Cultural Values		USA (N=1012)	JAPAN (N=1486)	
1.	Effective	22.4%	15.3%	**
2.	Durable	1.6	.1	**
3.	Convenient	3.8	1.3	**
4.	Ornamental	1.2	8.9	**
5.	Cheap	3.5	.3	**
6.	Dear	.8	4.0	**
7.	Popular	.7	.6	
8.	Distinctive	6.3	1.4	**
9.	Traditional	.8	6.9	**
10.	Modern	12.4	2.0	**
11.	Natural	2.8	3.6	
12.	Technological	1.5	.4	**
13.	Wisdom	11.3	7.7	**
14.	Magic	.9	.7	
15.	Productivity	0	0	
16.	Relaxation	.7	3.0	**
17.	Enjoyment	2.2	4.0	*
18.	Maturity	.1	.9	*
19.	Youth	.3	.5	
20.	Safety	.9	.1	**
21.	Adventure	3.7	1.7	**
22.	Tamed	0	0	
23.	Untamed	0	0	
24.	Morality	.3	.5	
25.	Freedom	1.7	.5	**
26.	Modesty	0	.1	
27.	Sexuality	.3	2.8	**
28.	Humility	0	.1	
29.	Security	.4	.1	
30.	Status	.1	.1	
31.	Independence	1.0	2.2	*
32.	Affiliation	.2	3.8	**
33.	Nurturance	.6	.1	*
34.	Succorance	0	.1	
35.	Family	.7	2.8	**
36.	Community	0	0	
37.	Vain	5.5	13.4	**
38.	Plain	.4	.9	
39.	Healthy	6.7	4.8	*
40.	Frail	.3	2.7	**
41.	Neat	4.2	2.0	**
42.	Casual	0	0	

a. Kendall's tau= .42, p= .001
b. *$p<.05$ **$p<.01$

(more than 10%) at this level. Although the rank order correlation coefficient is rather positive, 3 out of the 5 most frequently used values do not coincide.

In Table 4-5, of 42 rows, 26 (61.9%) showed statistically significant differences between two countries. Fifteen (35.7%) values had frequencies of less than 1.0% or zero in both columns. Only one category ("natural") appeared with similar frequency (above 1.0%).

In some paired values, distinct contrasts were found (Table 4-5). More U.S. home journals use "practical" appeals (27.8%) than the Japanese (16.7%) in advertisements, whereas Japanese advertising emphasizes the product's "ornamental" values more frequently (8.9%) than the American advertising (1.2%). The constrast is conspicuous in the pairing of "traditional" and "modern" at this level; "traditional" appeals appear eight times more in Japanese ads while "modern" ads are used six times more in the U.S. advertisements than in their Japanese counterparts.

Value Pattern Comparison for All Magazines and High Involvement Products

Table 4-7 summarizes the results from the samples of high involvement products. High involvement products refer to diamond rings, stereo phonographs, blue jeans, automobiles, hi-fi speakers and beer (Bowen and Chaffee, 1974; Lastovicka and Gardner, 1977). Of all the items (N=400), 79.3% were automobile advertisements. Kendall's tau value of .51 indicates there is a moderate rank-order correlation between the two samples.

Table 4-7

Value Pattern Comparison for All Magazines and High Involvement Products

Magazine Type: All
Product Type: High involvement

Cultural Values	USA (N=287)	JAPAN (N=113)	
1. Effective	35.2%	13.3%	**
2. Durable	1.4	1.8	
3. Convenient	.3	.9	
4. Ornamental	4.5	8.0	
5. Cheap	6.6	0	*
6. Dear	1.4	0	
7. Popular	4.9	0	*
8. Distinctive	10.8	10.6	
9. Traditional	.3	0	
10. Modern	14.6	23.0	
11. Natural	0	.9	
12. Technological	3.5	5.3	
13. Wisdom	4.2	.9	
14. Magic	.3	0	
15. Productivity	0	0	
16. Relaxation	0	0	
17. Enjoyment	2.8	2.7	
18. Maturity	0	0	
19. Youth	0	0	
20. Safety	1.7	0	
21. Adventure	1.7	2.7	
22. Tamed	0	0	
23. Untamed	0	0	
24. Morality	0	0	
25. Freedom	.3	.9	
26. Modesty	0	0	
27. Sexuality	0	3.5	**
28. Humility	0	0	
29. Security	0	0	
30. Status	0	0	
31. Independence	.7	0	
32. Affiliation	.7	1.8	
33. Nurturance	0	0	
34. Succorance	0	0	
35. Family	1.7	15.9	**
36. Community	1.0	0	
37. Vain	.7	8.0	**
38. Plain	0	0	
39. Healthy	0	0	
40. Frail	0	0	
41. Neat	.3	0	
42. Casual	0	0	

a. Kendall's tau= .51, p= .001
b. *$p<.05$ **$p<.01$

Table 4-8

Top Five Values

at All Magazine/High Involvement Level

	U.S.			JAPAN	
1.	Effective	35.2%	1.	Effective	23.0%
2.	Modern	14.6	2.	Family	15.9
3.	Distinctive	10.8	3.	Effective	13.3
4.	Cheap	6.6	4.	Distinctive	10.6
5.	Popular	4.9	5.	Ornamental	8.0
	(Total	72.1%)	5.	Vain	8.0
				(Total	70.8%)

In the United States, more than one-third of the advertisements emphasize the "effective" value; on the other hand, Japanese high involvement products express "modern" and "family" appeals more frequently than "effective" appeals.

For each value category, American ads utilize "cheap" and "popular" appeals rather frequently whereas these values never appeared in Japanese ads. The values which Japanese ads use more frequently are "sexuality," "family" and "vain." Only 6 out of 42 categories (14.3%) were found to be significantly different in frequencies between the two countries.

Value Pattern Comparison for All Magazines and Low Involvement Products

As seen in Table 4-9, very few values overall and only two pairings were found for these magazine and product variables. The overall chi square of 14.72 (df=9) is not statistically significant at the .05 level. Since this chi square test suggests that the differences between columns in Table 4-9 are not meaningful, there are no grounds for further discussion of these findings.

Table 4-9

Value Pattern Comparison for All Magazines and Low Involvement Products

Magazine Type: All
Product Type: Low involvement

Cultural Values	USA (N=11)	JAPAN (N=21)
1. Effective	63.6%	28.6%
2. Durable	0	0
3. Convenient	0	0
4. Ornamental	0	0
5. Cheap	0	0
6. Dear	0	0
7. Popular	0	0
8. Distinctive	9.1	0
9. Traditional	0	0
10. Modern	18.2	0
11. Natural	0	0
12. Technological	0	0
13. Wisdom	0	19.0
14. Magic	0	0
15. Productivity	0	0
16. Relaxation	0	0
17. Enjoyment	0	0
18. Maturity	0	4.8
19. Youth	0	0
20. Safety	0	4.8
21. Adventure	0	0
22. Tamed	0	0
23. Untamed	0	0
24. Morality	0	0
25. Freedom	0	0
26. Modesty	0	0
27. Sexuality	0	4.8
28. Humility	0	0
29. Security	0	0
30. Status	0	0
31. Independence	0	0
32. Affiliation	0	0
33. Nurturance	0	0
34. Succorance	0	0
35. Family	0	0
36. Community	0	0
37. Vain	0	19.0
38. Plain	0	0
39. Healthy	0	9.5
40. Frail	0	0
41. Neat	9.1	9.5
42. Casual	0	0

a. Kendall's tau= .28, p= .036
b. All-over chi square= 14.72 (9df), p= .0988

Table 4-10

Value Pattern Comparison for All Magazines and Persuasive Advertisements

Magazine Type: All
Product Type: Persuasive ad

Cultural Values	USA (N=556)	JAPAN (N=773)	
1. Effective	25.4%	20.2%	*
2. Durable	.2	0	
3. Convenient	2.3	1.6	
4. Ornamental	.2	2.5	**
5. Cheap	2.2	.1	**
6. Dear	1.1	2.2	
7. Popular	1.8	.8	
8. Distinctive	8.5	2.6	**
9. Traditional	1.3	7.8	**
10. Modern	11.0	2.6	**
11. Natural	4.3	6.1	
12. Technological	1.6	.5	
13. Wisdom	11.5	9.6	
14. Magic	1.6	2.2	
15. Productivity	.2	.1	
16. Relaxation	1.1	1.9	
17. Enjoyment	3.8	5.3	
18. Maturity	0	1.0	*
19. Youth	0	.3	
20. Safety	.5	.1	
21. Adventure	4.5	1.6	**
22. Tamed	0	0	
23. Untamed	0	0	
24. Morality	.5	1.4	
25. Freedom	1.6	0	**
26. Modesty	0	0	
27. Sexuality	1.8	2.6	
28. Humility	0	.1	
29. Security	0	.1	
30. Status	.4	.4	
31. Independence	.4	2.3	**
32. Affiliation	1.6	9.2	**
33. Nurturance	.2	.1	
34. Succorance	.4	.3	
35. Family	.7	1.2	
36. Community	1.1	0	*
37. Vain	3.2	6.2	*
38. Plain	0	.1	
39. Healthy	4.5	4.7	
40. Frail	.5	1.7	
41. Neat	.2	.6	
42. Casual	0	0	

a. Kendall's tau= .49, p= .001
b. *$p < .05$ **$p < .01$

Value Pattern Comparison For All Magazines and Persuasive Advertisements

Table 4-10 shows value distributions for persuasive-advertising product types, wine, liquor, women's cosmetics, toiletries (toothpaste, shaving products, soap, etc.) and food.

The overall rank order correlation coefficient was .49, which indicates that the two rank orders are moderately but substantially correlated.

Table 4-11 shows the five most frequent values in each sample:

Table 4-11
Top Five Values
at All Magazine/Persuasive Ad Level

	U.S.			JAPAN	
1.	Effective	25.4%	1.	Effective	20.2%
2.	Wisdom	11.5	2.	Wisdom	9.6
3.	Modern	11.0	3.	Affiliation	9.2
4.	Distinctive	8.5	4.	Traditional	7.8
5.	Adventure	4.5	5.	Vain	6.2
5.	Healthy	4.5		(Total	53.0%)
	(Total	60.9%)			

As shown above, "effective" and "wisdom" are the two most commonly used appeals in persuasive-type advertisements in both countries. However, the values ranked third through fifth are quite different.

In Table 4-10, significant differences between two samples can be observed in nearly one-third (31%) of all the categories. The frequencies in 14 values (33.3%) between the two were not found to be different, whereas 15 categories (35.7%) had frequencies below 1.0%.

Paired values such as "traditional" vs. "modern" showed similar

tendencies between the United States and Japan, as seen in previous tables.

Value Pattern Comparison for All Magazines and Informative Advertisements

The data on Table 4-12 are taken from the samples of persuasive-type advertisements that include books, automobiles, automotive parts, musical instruments and records (Marquez, 1977). Of all the samples (N=327), most of them (96.9%) were automobile ads.

The rank order correlation coefficient is .51, which again means there is a moderate, positive correlation between the U.S. and Japanese samples.

The top five values of the two countries are shown below:

Table 4-13
Top Five Values
at All Magazine/Informative Ad Level

	U.S.			JAPAN	
1.	Effective	34.9%	1.	Modern	40.4%
2.	Modern	16.0	2.	Ornamental	17.3
3.	Distinctive	10.5	3.	Effective	13.5
4.	Cheap	6.9	4.	Technological	11.5
5.	Popular	5.1	6.	Durable	3.8
	(Total	73.4%)	6.	Adventure	3.8
			6.	Independence	3.8
				(Total	86.5%)

In Table 4-12, while the top-five ranking for U.S. ads does not appear to be much different from previous top-five rankings, there is a striking difference in the Japanese top-five rankings. The "modern" value, which has been consistently prominent in the American value

Table 4-12

Value Pattern Comparison for All Magazines and Informative Advertisements

Magazine Type: All
Product Type: Informative ad

Cultural Values	USA (N=275)	JAPAN (N=52)	
1. Effective	34.9%	13.5%	**
2. Durable	1.5	3.8	
3. Convenient	.4	0	
4. Ornamental	4.7	17.3	**
5. Cheap	6.9	0	
6. Dear	1.1	0	
7. Popular	5.1	0	
8. Distinctive	10.5	0	*
9. Traditional	.4	0	
10. Modern	16.0	40.4	**
11. Natural	0	0	
12. Technological	3.6	11.5	*
13. Wisdom	4.4	0	
14. Magic	0.4	0	
15. Productivity	0	0	
16. Relaxation	0	0	
17. Enjoyment	2.5	1.9	
18. Maturity	0	0	
19. Youth	0	0	
20. Safety	1.8	0	
21. Adventure	1.5	3.8	
22. Tamed	0	0	
23. Untamed	0	0	
24. Morality	0	0	
25. Freedom	.4	1.1	
26. Modesty	0	0	
27. Sexuality	0	0	
28. Humility	0	0	
29. Security	0	0	
30. Status	.4	0	
31. Independence	.4	3.8	
32. Affiliation	0	0	
33. Nurturance	0	0	
34. Succorance	0	0	
35. Family	1.8	1.9	
36. Community	1.1	0	
37. Vain	0	0	
38. Plain	0	0	
39. Healthy	0	0	
40. Frail	0	0	
41. Neat	.4	0	
42. Casual	0	0	

a. Kendall's tau= .51, p= .001
b. *$p < .05$ **$p < .01$

hierarchy, ranked at the top for this set of Japanese advertisements. Since the Japanese cases that belong to this advertisement type are relatively few (N=52), this result should be cautiously interpreted.

There are several other differences in the rows of Table 4-12. "Practical" and "distinctive" values are again employed more by American advertisements than Japanese. On the other hand, more Japanese ads use "modern" and "technological" values than their American counterparts.

At this level, out of 42 value categories, only 5 (11.9%) were found to have significant differences between the two columns. No case was found in 20 value categories (47.7%). Relatively fewer value categories are used in this informative type advertising.

Summary

A moderate, substantial rank-order correlation coefficient was found at all magazine-product levels, except for low-involvement product comparisons. It was found that only 5 out of 42 values are used by nearly half of the advertisements as dominant themes by both countries.

The "effective" value appears most frequently in both countries' advertisements, but there are significantly different frequencies between the United States and Japan. Following the "effective" value, "modern" value and "distinctive" value are utilized more by American than by Japanese advertising. More Japanese ads use "vain" and "ornamental" values than the American ads. At different magazine/product levels, several distinctive tendencies were observed. For example, in high involvement product ads, Japanese ads utilize the "modern" value most frequently; in American value ranking, "effective" was still the top value.

Several paired values showed interesting contrasts. More American advertisements use "practical," "cheap" and "modern," while Japanese ads adopt "ornamental," "dear" and "traditional," respectively. In the first three tables (4-1, 4-3, 4-5) in half or more the rows, there were significant differences between the two countries' value patterns.

Chapter V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In order to examine cultural aspects of advertising communication, 4,085 advertisements in two American magazines and two Japanese magazines were coded for forty-two value categories. Value distribution patterns were compared between the two countries.

Both similarities and differences in value distribution were found between the two national samples.

Similarities were found in the value rank-order of the two countries. Although the correlation was not strong, there was a consistent, moderate correlation between the two.

Differences between the two countries were found in the varying degree of occurrence of many values. At three levels (Tables 4-1, 4-3 and 4-5) with larger samples, differences were found in more than half of the value categories between the two countries.

Two questions are advanced here to discuss and to conclude this study: (1) How can these similarities and differences be explained? and (2) What are the implications of these manifest similarities and differences for cross-cultural studies of advertising.

Discussion

A consistent and common tendency throughout almost all the tables is the moderate, positive correlation in the two countries' value rank-orders. This finding suggests that there are two types of values: those which are commonly and frequently used as a primary theme in both countries' magazine advertisements, and other values which tend to be used less frequently (or rarely) as a primary theme by both countries.

For example, "effective" is one of the values most frequently used by both American and Japanese ads at every level; on the other hand, neither "tamed" nor "casual" was found in either country's advertisements as a primary appeal.

If we define "frequently used values" as those which have a more-than-expected frequency (100/42=2.38%), eight frequently used value categories are found in Table 4-1 (all-magazine/all-product level). "Effective" seems to be one of the appeals most commonly used by both nations' advertisers. It is likely for many advertisers to emphasize their products' usefulness and efficiency for consumers. Other frequently used values such as "distinctive" and "modern" are also common product attributes. Placing emphasis on the product's uniqueness in order to compare it with the competitors' product or to emphasize the newness of the product might be necessary in the contemporary marketplace where new and improved commodities are introduced one after another, competing with each other.

The reason the values of "wisdom" and "enjoyment" are promoted in both countries' advertising is not hard to understand. "Wisdom" refers to the values of education and intelligence and also to expertise (e.g., "Experts agree....") or to detailed instructions (e.g., recipes, "baking tips"). As noted in many advertising textbooks, employment of an expert or authority is believed to be a persuasive technique in marketing communication. "Enjoyment" may be one of the values most acceptable to every culture and nation. "Vain," "healthy" and "neat" are appeals also frequently used by both countries.

It is quite understandable that these basic human needs, such as to be beautiful, to stay healthy and to be clean, are encouraged by both

nations' advertisements, but why are these three values more frequently emphasized than other basic human needs such as "youth" or "safety"? It can be assumed that among basic human needs, these three values ("vain," "health," "clean") coincide with today's consumers' wants and further that these values are relatively high ranking in both national cultures.

For example, the value of health is felt to be more important only recently in industrialized countries such as the United States and Japan. As a Japanese literary critic noted, health became a metaphorical value in our modern lives to the degree that people are osbessed with being healthy; this is just like tuberculosis which was a metaphorical value in the romantic era of the eighteenth and nineteenth century (Karatani, 1983). In short, "healthy" is a value now in fashion. Arensberg and Niehoff (1975) indicated that cleanliness is an absolute virtue among American traditions. "Neat" may be a value commonly appreciated in both cultures, and this is one possible reason that the "neat" value was commonly ranked relatively higher than other basic human needs.

Several other values were found to have more-than-expected frequencies in both countries' samples for different magazine/product combinations. The "technological" value was a frequently used value in general news magazines for high-involvement products. Also, "natural" was a frequently used value in women's home magazines for highly persuasive advertisements.

These findings indicate that advertisers regard technology as an effective appeal for the news magazine readers and also for high-involvement products whose brand differences attract consumers' attention. The same thing can be said about the "natural" value. Advertisers in

women's home magazines tend to emphasize products' naturalness and/or purity as a major appeal. Also, naturalness is believed to be an appropriate appeal for those products which tend to be advertised with persuasion. The use of these values for specific media and products seems to constitute appeals used in at least these two industrialized nations. It is likely that business-oriented newsmagazine readers are becoming more attuned to high technology while housewives are becoming more aware of product content.

Let us next discuss the differences between the United States and Japan. The differences are found in the varying degrees of occurrence of the same values.

It appears that some of the differences between the two countries can be better understood as reflections of the two nations' cultures. In Table 4-1 (all-magazine/all-product level), American advertising uses the following values more often than the Japanese: "practical" ("effective," "durable," "convenient"); "cheap"; "popular"; "distinctive"; "modern"; "productivity"; "safety"; "adventure"; and "freedom." On the other hand, values more used by Japanese ads than the American are: "ornamental"; "dear"; "traditional"; "natural"; "relaxation"; "maturity"; "morality"; "sexuality"; "independence"; "affiliation"; "family"; "vain"; "healthy"; and "frail".

Many of these values seem to reflect each nation's national values or characters described by anthropologists and sociologists. Williams (1954) identified 15 American (U.S.A.) value orientations based on observations and previous literature. Practicality, he states, is derived from the American people's active orientation and is a criterion by which one's activity is judged. Coleman (1941) also listed

practicality as one of the 27 American traits based upon the relative agreement among the authors who wrote about American ways of life. He defined practicality as the "absence of theories and philosophizing, and disbelief in them" (p. 497). The frequent use of the "practical" value in American advertisements may be seen as a reflection of this orientation of the American people.

Anthropologist C. DuBois (1955) epitomized American culture's dominant values in three phrases: (1) effort combined with optimism; (2) material well-being; and (3) conformity. He suggests that these three "focal" values constitute other specific values of the American middle class value system. He states, "In the American context the linkage between conformity, effort-optimism, and material well-being leads inevitably to mass education with the emphasis on the common man rather than the uncommon man" (p. 1237). As Coleman also noted "glorification of the 'common man'" (p. 497) in his list of American traits, to be "common" may be one of the major value orientations of the American people. The "popular" value in American advertising appears to be related to this orientation; since advertisements which emphasize the product's popular nature may also connote the image of the consumer as a "common" man.

The appraisal of "popular" value in American advertising may also be seen as a reflection of the "external conformity" suggested by Williams (1958); in spite of American culture's heterogeneity, conformity became a kind of "social currency" to make possible the continuity of the society. Williams further indicates that American individualism is different from that of Europe and that it could be called "group individualism", i.e., "sheer adherence to group patterns" (p. 424). It

appears that the emphasis on the "popular" value of the product in advertising is the manifestation of this external conformity.

The emphasis on the "modern" appeal may be related to "freedom from the past" or "openness to change and love of it" (Coleman, 1941, p. 498) in American society. Maring (1969) followed this notion and found this trait's reflection in American industry. He wrotes, "In the United States a man's first impulse is to change things for the better. ....It has remained a trait of the industrial pioneers whose ability to adapt and change has laid the basis for America's supremacy as a manufacturing nation" (p. 12). The frequent use of the "modern" value could possibly derive from this inclination towards innovation in industry.

As Williams (1958) ranked "achievement and success" highest on the value-orientations list, it is no wonder for American advertisements to put stress on the "productivity." Williams noted that, "The comparatively striking feature of American culture is its tendency to identify standards of personal excellence with competitive occupational achievement" (p. 390), but interestingly, the American cultural heroes "must be successful within a certain ethical framework" (p. 392). Arensberg and Niehoff (1975) also support this notion.

Reasons why the "cheap" value appears 19 times more often in American advertisements than their Japanese counterparts (Table 4-1) appear at various levels. In Japanese tradition, samurai (Japanese warrior) pretended "to have no desire for money" (Minami, 1971, p. 90), and there is a hesitation to discuss money, whereas Americans seem to be more frank about it. As Williams (1958) pointed out, an American "makes, loses, spends and gives (money) away with a very light heart" and money is personal worth because it is a "symbolic evidence of success"

(p. 393). With this attitudinal difference toward money, the American people's pragmatic orientation appears to have resulted in an emphasis on the "cheap" value in American advertising.

The "adventure" vlue, which includes appeals of thrills, excitement and sweepstakes, appeared more frequently in American ads. This may be a manifestation of the American people's inclination to experiment, gamble, speculate and explore (Coleman, 1941; Maring, 1969), based in part on their history as pioneers and immigrants.

The emphasis on "freedom" in American advertising is closely related to "American freedom" which is, without a doubt, one of the central values in American culture. As Maring (1969) maintains, "American freedom" may be seen as the "inviolability of the human individual" (p. 5) or "rejecting authority" (p. 7), especially the authoritarian European father. American freedom is not only an ideal but also an actuality to some extent in American society (Coleman, 1941).

Let us look at the values found more frequently in Japanese advertisements. Are they also directly related to common values of the national (Japanese) culture?

Kato and Maeda's (1980) dialogue suggests that at the beginning of Japan's contacts with the West in the late eighteenth century to possess imported foreign goods such as clocks was notable while the practicality of the product was not very important. The new, foreign-made products were status symbols. The author presumes that the Japanese people's love of owning goods, rather than using them, still remains and is reflected in the frequent use of "ornamental" and "dear" values in Japanese advertising.

The Japanese orientation toward "ornamental" values is also

indicated by Yashiro (1977) from an aesthetic perspective. He grasped the characteristics of Japanese art in four areas: (1) impressionistic nature; (2) decorative nature; (3) symbolic nature; and (4) emotion and sentiment. Yashiro's interpretation of Japanese traditional art suggests there is a sort of spiritual symbolism in Japanese art i.e., nature is copied subjectively and decoratively. He wrote:

> The Japanese countryside itself tends to favor this sensibility. Japan is in the temperate and subtropical zones, conductive to healthy and energetic living. ... The landscape is richly endowed with decorative elements. Mere copying results in decorative art (p. 169).

If Japanese aesthetics, as Yashiro stated, tends to interpret nature and objects symbolically and decoratively, there seems to be something common between this aesthetic and Japanese advertisers' emphasis on ornamental aspects.

The use of the "natural" value may well be explained in relation to the sensibility to nature of the Japanese people. Japanese philosopher Nakamura (1962; cited by Murakami and Seidensticker, 1977) noted that the outstanding characteristic of Japanese thinking is the "acceptance of reality as given" (p. 64) and that it results in the Japanese people's great love of nature. This tendency typically is reflected in Japanese art forms such as ikebana (flower arrangement), kimono designs or poetry in which nature is portrayed as a central theme.

The reason why "affiliation" and "family" are used by more Japanese than American ads lies in the difference between the two people's interpersonal relations. One of the Japanese characteristics in behavior is said to be "social preoccupation." As Lebra (1976) wrote, the Japanese are "extremely sensitive to and concerned about social

interaction and relationship" (p. 2). The frequent use of the "affiliation" value in Japanese advertising may be a reflection of this orientation. Concretely, the conventional gift-giving, especially the custom of semi-annual gifts (chugen and seibo) may be the reason for so many Japanese advertisements to reinforce the value of affiliation, because for many advertisers (especially food and beverage manufacturers) June and December are the high seasons to catch many gift-givers' attention. Regarding the "family" value in Japanese advertising, Nakane (1977) noted that, "Interpersonal relationships within this households (ie) group are considered to take precedence over all other human relationships" (p. 81). It is thus likely for Japanese advertisers to emphasize this household relationship in the advertisements since Japanese tend to feel secure within family-type human relationships.

Other differences between values usage in American and Japanese advertising may be better understood in light of several reasons. More Japanese ads employ the "vain" value than their American counterparts presumably because Japanese magazines carry more product categories which tend to emphasize the "vain" value by definition, such as apparel, men's hair-care products and skin-care products. Kateigaho, especially runs four times more apparel advertisements than Good Housekeeping.

"Relaxation" and "healthy" are also used by more Japanese advertisements, because of both environmental and cultural reasons. As has been pointed out by business researchers, Japanese employees tend to devote themselves to their companies body and soul (more than their American counterparts). And for the many Japanese workers in metropolitan areas, their living conditions are not always comfortable and restful because of residential overcrowding and long commuting times. It is

likely for the Japanese advertisers to send messages sof health and relaxation to the metropolitan readers, who value these conditions highly. This notion may well explain why the "healthy" value ranked second in advertisements in Japanese news magazines, whose readers are predominantly male white-collar workers (Table 4-4).

Let us discuss briefly other distinctions observed at different product levels.

As noted in Table 4-8, "modern" and "family" appeals receive greater emphasis in Japanese advertising for high-involvement products. High-involvement products such as automobiles require more consumer commitment to brand selection before purchase (Lastovicka, 1978). In this regard, American advertisers feel "effective" and "modern" are the most adequate appeals toward consumers, whereas Japanese advertisers see "modern" and "family" as more effective appeals to persuade prospectve customers. As seen previously, less emphasis on the "effective" value and more on "family" in Japanese advertising reflects the cultural context: the cultural difference was presumably accentuated more in these values because consumers tend to be more involved in these types of products.

In persuasive advertising (Table 4-11), advertisers of both countries seem to think "effective" and "wisdom" appeals are most appropriate, and this selection of appeals is not unlikely for persuasion. The difference can be observed in the third- and fourth-ranked values. Namely, Japanese advertising utilizes more "affiliation" and "traditional" appeals for persuasion. On the other hand, more American ads use "modern" and "distinctive" values to persuade their audience. As discussed previously, this difference clearly reflect the two countries' cultural

differences.

At the informative ad level, it seems that differences in first-ranked values are also culture bound. While American advertisements regard "effective" as the most important element as information, their Japanese counterparts believe "modern" is the most important appeal for consumers.

In sum, the similarities observed at different vehicle and product levels seem to derive from the common, persuasive nature of advertising. The differences, in turn, may reflect the considerable cultural distinctions between Japan and the United States.

Conclusion

This study was begun with the aim of examining cultural aspects of advertising from the viewpoint of values. U.S. and Japanese magazine advertisements were examined and compared to look at similarities and differences between the two countries' value distribution patterns.

In the collected data, similar and different patterns were found at the same time.

Similarities were found in kinds of values. Both American and Japanese advertisements use some values more frequently than others. Moderate but substantial correlation coefficients (.42～.51) in the two countries' value rank orders were found across different magazine/product levels. These statistical and value distribution patterns suggest that there are certain values which are used relatively frequently by both countries. On the other hand, there are other values which are less frequently used by both countries. And to some extent these two kinds of values coincide between the two countries. For example, "effective"

is the value most frequently used by both American and Japanese advertisements. On the contrary, "casual" was one of the values which never appeared.

As discussed previously, one possible reason some mutual values are used by both countries is the common persuasive nature of advertising. Advertising was born in a free and competitive marketplace where advertising is conditioned to persuade audiences in order to differentiate one brand from others. Therefore, certain values are believed by advertisers to be more appropriate than others in market competition. For example, advertisers of both countries seem to believe that it is more effective to emphasize the functionality of the product (i.e., to use the "effective" value) than to promote a "sloppy" feeling (i.e., to use the "casual" value). To give another example, both American and Japanese advertisers tend to think that to give detailed information or to employ expert testimony (i.e., to use the "wisdom" value) is much more effective than to promote a supernatural value of the product (i.e., to use the "magic" value). This division of values into two categories -- frequently used and infrequently used -- is not hard to understand in this regard, although it is difficult to draw lines of demarcation between them. In short, similarities between the two countries' value distribution patterns seem to be based on the universal, persuasive nature of advertising communication.

On the other hand, differences between the United States and Japan were found in the varying degree of use of the same values. For example, the "traditional" value is used 2.6 times more in Japanese advertisements, whereas "modern" values appeared 3.2 times more in American advertisements. As argued in the discussion, many, if not all, of these

differences seem to be well explained by the distinctive character of each country's national culture. In other words, each culture's value orientations in interpersonal relationships and world view are reflected in these manifest differences.

Based on these findings, we may conclude that there are two cultural aspects in advertising communication: international and national. "International" means "commonalities in human activities observed in two or more societies or cultures." "National" refers to "distinctive characteristics of human activities observed in a specific society or culture." And these two aspects of advertising culture are not inseparable. For example, the "effective" value is the most utilized appeal in both American and Japanese magazine advertising, but American readers are exposed to this "effective" appeal 1.6 times more than Japanese readers. From the viewpoint of values, international commonalities in advertising can be observed in the selection of value. The same kinds of values tend to be selected for use more than other values by both countries. On the other hand, differences derived from national culture are manifested in the varying degree of use of the same values.

As argued earlier, advertising was born in free enterprise economics, the basis for a large number of sociopolitical systems around the world. Advertising has also developed within the context of individual sociocultural systems, a factor which affects advertising's symbolic communication style. This study's findings seem to have confirmed and clarified these two advertising aspects.

These findings also appear to support one half of the theoretical speculation of White (1960) cited in Chapter II -- that is, that

advertising selects and reinforces cultural values but only within the limits of one cultural system. As we found, values are "selected" by advertising, and some of them are used more frequently so as to be acceptable to the national cultural context.

While this study clarifies the impact of national cultural values on advertising, it does not suppose mutual interaction in this relationship, i.e., that advertising in turn determines national cultural values. The latter question is closely related to the broader question of limited versus powerful social effects of mass communication. Advertising's effect on sociocultural values is most probably a long-term process primarily based on reinforcement.

Limitations of the Study and Further Recommendations

First, only magazine advertising and the advertising of two socioculturally developed countries -- the United States and Japan -- were researched and examined. Findings should be carefully interpreted when applied to the less developed countries or other media. Second, all research procedures, including value definitions, were conducted in English. Each language is culture bound, and the interchangeability of concepts should always be kept in mind in comparative studies.

For further advertising studies based on cultural aspects, I would like to make two recommendations. First, more geographically extensive research should be executed, including less developed countries. Second, a viable combination of quantitative and qualitative research methodology should be applied to this type of study. Also, interdisciplinary collaboration (involving anthropological theory and methods, for example) would be appropriate.

The study of advertising messages in a cultural (and a cross-

cultural) context promises to make a significant contribution to the field of symbolic communication studies.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Definitions of Values

PRACTICAL

EFFECTIVE

- feasible, workable, useful, pragmatic, appropriate, functional, consistent, efficient, helpful, comfortable (clothes), tasty (food)

NOTE: includes strength and longevity of effect

DURABLE

- long-lasting, permanent, stable, enduring, strong, powerful, hearty, tough

CONVENIENT

- handy, time-saving, quick, easy, suitable, accessible, versatile

ORNAMENTAL

- beatiful, decorative, ornate, adorned, embellished, detailed, style, designed

CHEAP

- economical, inexpensive, bargain, cut-rate, penny-pinching, discounted, at cost, undervalued, a good value

UNIQUE

DEAR

- expensive, rich, valuable, highly regarded, costly, extravagant, exorbitant, luxurious, priceless

DISTINCTIVE

- rare, unique, unusual, scarce, infrequent, exclusive, tasteful, elegant, subtle, esoteric, hand-crafted

Examples: The "only....," the "best....," "At leading drug stores."

POPULAR

- commonplace, customary, well-known, conventional, regular, usual, ordinary, normal, standard, typical, universal, general, everyday

Examples: "Largest seller," the "ubiquitous comestible"

TRADITIONAL

- classic, historical, antique, old, legendary, time-honored, long-standing, venerable, nostalgic

Example: "80 years of experience"

MODERN

- contemporary, modern, new, improved, progressive, advanced
- introducing, announcing...

Example: "Slightly ahead of our time"

NATURAL
- references to the elements, animals, vegetables, minerals, farming
- unadulterated, purity (of product), organic, grown, nutritious

Example: "Farm-fresh"

TECHNOLOGICAL
- engineered, fabricated, formulated, manufactured, constructed, processed
- resulting from science, invention, discovery, research
- containing secret ingredients

Examples: "Factory-Fresh," "includes XK-17"

WISDOM
- knowledge, education, awareness, intelligence, curiosity, satisfaction, comprehension, sagacity, expertise, judgment, experience

Examples: "Judge for yourself," "Experts agree..."

NOTE: Detailed information, instructions, or recipes imply "wisdom" at least subsidiary theme.

MAGIC
- miracles, magic, mysticism, mystery, witchcraft, wizardry, superstition, occult sciences, mythic characters

-- to mesmerize, astonich, bewitch, fill with wonder

Examples: "Bewitch your man with...," "Cleans like magic"

PRODUCTIVITY
- references to achievement, accomplishment, ambition, success, careers, self-development
- being skilled, accomplished, proficient
- pulling your weight, contributing, doing your share

Examples: "Develop your potential," "Get ahead."

NOTE: Social recognition of achievement codes as STATUS.

LEISURE

RELAXATION
- rest, retire, retreat, loaf, contentment, be at ease, be laid-back, vacations, holidays, to observe

ENJOYMENT
- to have fun, laugh, be happy, celebrate, to enjoy games, parties, feasts and festivities, to participate

MATURITY
- being adult, grown-up, middle-aged, senior, elderly
- having associated insight, wisdom, mellowness, adjustment
- references to aging, death, retirement, or age-related disabilities or compensations

Example: "You're getting better with age."

YOUTH
- being young or rejuvenated, children, kids
- immature, undeveloped, junior, adolescent

Example: "Feel young again."

MILD

SAFETY
- security (from external threats), carefulness, caution, stability, absence of hazards, potential injury, or other risks
- guarantees, warranties are manufacturers' reassurances

Examples: "Be sure with Allstate," "Contains no harmful ingredients."

TAMED
- docile, civilized, restrained, obedient, compliant, faithful, reliable, responsible, domesticated, sacrificing, self-denying

MORALITY
- humane, just, fair, honest, ethical, reputable, principled, religious, devoted, spiritual

MODESTY
- being modest, naive, demure, innocent, inhibited, bashful, reserved, timid, coy, virtuous, pure, shy, virginal

HUMILITY
- unaffected, unassuming, unobtrusive, patient, fate-accepting, resigned, meek, plain-folk, down-to-earth

PLAIN
- unaffected, natural, prosaic, homespun, simple, artless, unpretentious

FRAIL
- delicate, frail, dainty, sensitive, tender, susceptible, vulnerable, soft, genteel

WILDNESS

ADVENTURE
- boldness, daring, bravery, courage
- seeking adventure, thrill, or excitement

Example: "Go for the Gusto."

NOTE: Code general confidence and psychological security as SECURE.

NOTE: Code sweepstakes, lotteries, etc., for which nothing is risked according to "value" of prizes.

UNTAMED
- primitive, untamed, fierce, coarse, rowdy, ribald, obscene, voracious, gluttonous, frenzied, uncontrolled, unreliable, corrupt, obscene, deceitful, savage

Example: "Go wild with Windsong."

FREEDOM
- spontaneous, carefree, abandoned, indulgent, at liberty, uninhibited, passionate

Example: "X, for the Free Me."

CASUAL
- unkempt, disheveled, messy, disordered, untidy, ruffled, rumpled, sloppy
- casual, irregular, noncompulsive, imperfect

SEXY

VAIN
- having a socially desirable appearance, being beautiful, pretty, handsome, being fashionable, well-groomed, tailored, graceful, glamourous

NOTE: Generalized "conceit" may code as STATUS.
Code beauty of obviously sexual nature or purpose as SEXUAL.

SEXUALITY
- erotic relations: holding hands, kissing, embracing between lovers, dating, romance
- intense sensuality, feeling sexual, erotic behavior, lust, earthiness, indecency
- attractiveness of clearly sexual nature

PRIDE

INDEPENDENCE
- self-sufficiency, self-reliance, autonomy, unattached
- to do-it-yourself, to do your own thing
- original, unconventional, singular, nonconformist

SECURITY
- confident, secure, possessing dignity, self-worth, self-esteem, self-respect, peace of mind

NOTE: Freedom from external risk code as SAFETY.

STATUS
- envy, social status or competitiveness, conceit, boasting, prestige, power, dominance, exhibitionism, pride of ownership, wealth (including the sudden wealth of prizes), trend-setting, to seek compliments

Example: "Keep up with (or ahead of) the Joneses."

BELONG

AFFILIATION

- to be accepted, liked by peers, colleagues, and community at large, to associate or gather with, to be social
- to join, unite, or otherwise bond in friendship, fellowship, companionship, cooperation, reciprocity
- to conform to social customs, have manners, social graces and decorum, tact and finesse

NOTE: Romantic affiliations code as SEXUAL or FAMILY based on context.

NURTURANCE

- to give gifts, especially sympathy, help, love, charity, support, comfort, protection, nursing, consolution, or otherwise care for the weak, disabled, inexperienced, tired, young, elderly, etc.

NOTE: When given within the family code under FAMILY.

SUCCORANCE

- to receive expressions of love (all expressions except sexuality), gratitude, pats on the back
- to feel deserving

NOTE: The desire to be married code under FAMILY and self-respect code under SECURE.

Example: "You deserve a break today."

FAMILY

- nurturance within the family, having a home, being at home, family privacy, companionship of siblings, kinship
- getting married

NOTE: References to ancestry code as TRADITIONAL.

COMMUNITY

- relating to community, state, or national publics, public spiritedness, group unity, national identity, society, patriotism, civic and community organizations of other than social purpose

HEALTHY

- fitness, vim, vigor, vitality, strength, heartiness, to be active, athletic, robust, peppy, free from disease, illness, infection, or addiction

NEAT

- orderly, neat, precise, tidy
- clean, spotless, unsoiled, sweet-smelling, bright
- free from dirt, refuse, pests, vermin, stains and smells, sanitary

* Adopted from Pollay, R.W. (1983). Measuring the cultural values

manifest in advertising. In Current issues and research in advertising 1983. (PP. 80-84). Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan.

Appendix B
Coding Rule

1. Look at the head copy first and code one dominant cultural value in it. Head copy is defined as the sentence(s) printed in the largest character(s) in the advertisement, except for the name(s) of the brand or the advertiser. If there are two or more values in the headlines, choose one that appears first in the sentence(s), except for those emphasized visually in the headlines by underline, italics or other methods.

2. If coder cannot identify one dominant value manifested in the headings, look at the visual message. Code one value in which the visual expression apparently means and supports the head copy.

3. If coder fails to select one dominant value in the headings and visuals, go on to the body copy or other literal messages and find one value which is consistently emphasized throughout the advertising message.

Appendix C

Sample Distribution by Product Category

		Time N=793 %	Good Housekeeping N=1,012 %	Shukan Asahi N=794 %	Katei Gaho N=1,486 %
1.	Cars	33.4	0.2	5.2	0.6
2.	Cycles, vans, tires	0.8	0.1	1.4	0.2
3.	Automotive products	0.1	0	0	0
4.	Books, records, tapes, stereo, TV	1.1	0.5	2.4	0.1
5.	Appliances, sewing and garden care	5.0	2.1	6.4	2.0
6.	Home furnishings, home improvements	0.5	7.5	7.1	20.8
7.	Sports and leisure	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3
8.	Jewelry	0.1	0.6	3.5	4.9
9.	Wristwatches	0.8	0	6.4	4.0
10.	Men's apparel	0.3	0.4	4.3	0.5
11.	Women's apparel	0	5.7	0	15.5
12.	Tobacco products	33.8	0	7.1	0.3

	Time N=793 %	Good Housekeeping N=1,012 %	Shukan Asahi N=794 %	Katei Gaho N=1,486 %
13. Photography	2.5	0.8	1.0	0
14. Alcoholic beverages	16.8	0.3	27.5	4.5
15. Coffee, tea, soft drinks	0.6	4.4	4.3	5.4
16. Food	1.8	31.1	4.0	22.0
17. Soap, laundry, paper products	0	4.2	0	1.6
18. Household cleaners and room deodorizers	0	2.9	0.4	0.5
19. Pet food	0	2.2	0	0
20. Health care products and remedies	0.9	5.9	10.1	2.6
21. Oral hygiene products, skin care and deodorants	0.5	6.4	2.9	5.5
22. Hair care and shaving products	0.3	4.9	4.7	1.7
23. Women's cosmetics	0	12.2	0.6	6.5
24. Games, toys, children's apparel	0.6	7.4	0.8	0.7

* Product categories partly based on The 1980 Study of Media and Markets (1980). New York: Simmons Market Research Bureau.

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