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AN INVESTIGATION OF THREE CORE CULTURAL VALUES IN AMERICAN  
ADVERTISING: THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL, TIME, AND SPACE

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Joyce M. Wolburg

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## DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated the three people I love most,  
my daughter, Leslie Anne Wolburg,  
whose strong character helped me endure and be tough,  
my son, Eric George Wolburg,  
whose easy-going patience gave me the freedom to work hard,  
and Jim Van Dyke,  
whose understanding and encouragement made me believe in myself.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is the culmination of an idea that began in an advanced communications course in critical theory and research that I took as a master's student under Dr. Ronald Taylor. The topic of cultural values fascinated me then and continued to do so over the years. With Dr. Taylor's wonderful sense of humor, patience, encouragement, and direction, a puzzle with many missing pieces began to take shape. His remarkable wisdom and insight continuously challenged me to think on a higher level than I ever believed I was capable of.

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## ABSTRACT

The study of cultural values in advertising has drawn considerable attention from various researchers; however, the research is still at a rudimentary phase with little consistency and agreement on basic premises. As a document analysis, this study examined the presence of three core cultural values in American advertising -- the role of the individual, time, and space -- in order to provide a better foundation for domestic and international advertising.

Using a sample of 198 television ads drawn during primetime hours, an examination of individualism produced two elements -- main message strategy and contextual support for individualism. Four types of main message emerged -- The Esteemed Individual, the Efficient Individual, The Attractive Individual, and The "I Am Me" Individual. A total of 78% of ads used main message strategy with the Efficient Individual showing the highest frequency, and a total of 97% of the ads contained contextual support.

Eight contextual categories were examined which are gender, occupation, age, race, ethnic group, presence of nuclear family, depiction of recognition ceremonies, and use of camera techniques.

An examination of time produced seven contextual categories. They are Planning Time, Marking Time, More Time, Limited Time, Sequenced Time, Oriented Time, and Synchronic Time. The latter three categories were present in each ad while the other four varied in their frequencies. The Limited Time message was the strongest of the four.

An examination of space produced three contextual categories. They are Ownership of Space, Location of Relationships, and Mastery of Space. The use of private space was used far more frequently than public space for the first two categories, and 77% of the settings for ads used altered space rather than natural space.

Managerial applications were noted, and concerns for the social impact and the responsibility of advertisers were addressed.

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## INTRODUCTION

The advertising literature of the 1980s shows an interest in one of the "unintended consequences" of advertising -- the transmission of cultural values. Much of this attention is the result of a growing interest in international advertising, a field in which the understanding of values within a target culture is essential. However, the focus on values has raised a number of more basic questions such as: (1) how does advertising express elements of cultural values, (2) what applications does an understanding of American cultural values have for international advertising, and (3) what applications does this understanding have for increasing the effectiveness of ads domestically, given the ethnic heterogeneity in the US?

Finding answers to these questions is even more challenging considering that advertising researchers have taken different approaches to the study of values. There is no agreed-upon, standard list of values among advertising researchers. This produces wide variation in which values are chosen for research. Some researchers have examined one broad value (Wolburg and Taylor 1994; Gross and Sheth 1989) while another has examined 42 narrow values (Pollay 1983). Because researchers have made different assumptions about values, the findings are not always comparable.

An added complication is the confusion between the terms "appeals" and "values." McCarty and Hattwick (1992) coded for six "values," including individualism vs. collectivism, while Mueller (1987) coded for 10 "appeals," including group consensus/individual and independence appeals. These items overlap, but they are not equivalent. According to a standard creative advertising text, "an appeal is a message about a need that has the power to arouse innate or latent desires" (Moriarty 1991, p. 76) while a value is "a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others" (Hofstede 1980, p. 18).

Values appear to be the broader category -- appeals relate to elements within the values. For example, Wolburg and Taylor found that "independence" is one characteristic of the "esteemed individual" (one of four expressions of individualism). An **appeal** to

independence assumes that individualism is valued, but it is only one of many ways that advertisers can appeal to the **value**, individualism.

An additional problem is that some content analysis studies measuring values in advertising have noted the presence or absence of values, but have not always addressed how the value is encoded in the advertising message (McCarty and Hattwick 1992; Frith and Wesson 1991). They have not presented their coding schemes in enough detail so that other researchers could apply the same system.

Finally, there is disagreement upon whether advertising merely reflects the existing cultural values (Holbrook 1987) or actually constructs cultural values (Pollay 1986, 1987). Although Holbrook and Pollay debated the issue with persuasive arguments on both sides, there has been little resolution of the issue during the ensuing years.

The lack of comparable findings has prevented this area of research from advancing beyond a rudimentary phase. No summary articles have been written, and researchers pursue separate avenues of interest rather than building on each others' findings.

The author contends that cultural values are pervasive not only within the culture's institutions such as the educational system, the family, and the workplace, but also in cultural products such as novels, films, television programs, popular music, and advertising. The taken-for-granted nature of values can make them nearly invisible to the members of the culture, including the creators of the products. Thus, not only do the audience members fail to recognize the presence of cultural values, but the creators of cultural products fail to realize that their messages contain values.

The taken-for-grantedness has a two-fold effect: (1) it makes cultural values difficult to identify, and (2) it creates greater potential for misunderstandings in communication, especially between people who share different values. For example, the field of international advertising has identified a number of differences such as language, politics, and religion that prevent the use of a standardized message (one that can be used in more than one culture). Advertisers are aware of the need to be sensitive to these types of differences, but they are

not usually aware of the need to be sensitive to such things as the way people use space for privacy and status, or the way people conceptualize time as a limited commodity. The lack of awareness of the taken-for-granted values can prevent advertisers and other communicators from sending messages that resonate with the values of their audience.

James Carey (1975) provides some insight into the American culture blindness by noting that

...the concept of culture is...a weak and evanescent notion in American social thought. We understand that other people have culture in the anthropological sense and we regularly record it -- often mischievously and patronizingly. But when we turn critical attention to American culture the concept dissolves into a residual category useful only when psychological and sociological data are exhausted. (p. 7)

### **Contributions of the Study**

Different cultural values have been identified by various social scientists, and three that have been widely addressed are the role of the individual in society (individualism/collectivism), the experience of time, and the configuration of space. The selection of these three values recognizes three of the common denominators that exist in all cultures. Identifying the elements of these cultural values in American advertising can make a number of contributions to the field. After a theoretical framework for the study is provided, an explanation of contributions to advertising research is given, and managerial applications are identified.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Although the previous research of cultural values in advertising has utilized a quantitative content analysis, this study takes a qualitative approach using document analysis. The shift in theoretical framework has certain advantages and disadvantages. The traditional content analysis methodology places generalization as its highest goal, but in so doing

sacrifices some of the much needed interpretive tools for this area of investigation. In order to maintain generalizability, the content categories in earlier studies have been chosen for their objectivity and ease of identification. As a result, some previously cited studies (Mueller 1987; Pollay 1983) have coded for items that could be better identified as appeals than values, e.g., status, convenience, and safety. Other studies such as McCarty and Hattwick (1992) coded for complex values such as individualism-collectivism but only provide a count of the value's presence or absence in the ad. The quantitative approach used by these researchers has provided much valuable information, but one could argue that the coding of such complex material could benefit from an interpretive approach to gain better insight.

A disadvantage is the inability to make claims of generalization. However, until a better descriptive foundation for cultural values is provided, what is generalized from previous studies may be superficial.

Qualitative research utilizes a variety of methods, one of which is the document analysis, also referred to as the analysis of archival records. Denzin (1978) distinguishes public archival records which "are prepared for the express purpose of examination by some set of others..." from private records which "typically are not prepared for an audience" (p. 219). Denzin describes four types of public records which include actuarial records, political and judicial reports, government documents, and finally, media accounts. Mass-media data include "the study of letters to editors, advertisements as business documents, comics and caricatures as works of fiction, and editorials and syndicated columns as expressions of opinion."

Like other forms of qualitative research, document analysis utilizes the inductive approach, which allows the theory or pattern to emerge from the data. The initial step of this study was to gather information regarding cultural values and review the literature of cultural values expressed in advertising; however, this was done to provide a context for the study -- not to form a hypothesis. The data in this study is a collection of ads that were analyzed using an inductive approach that allowed patterns to emerge from the data.

Taylor (1994b) notes that because meanings change over time and within context, the researcher should not assume that there is a single meaning to a document. "The researcher might be interested in discovering what the document meant to the people who produced it, to the people it was directed to, to the people who read it, or to the people who read it today" (p. 273). The current study examines a finished cultural product, but does not directly or personally access the producers of the ads. Nor does it provide interviews of consumers who have viewed the ads. Instead, the study provides an analysis of the cultural values in ads from the perspective of current anthropological insight into the culture. It attempts to describe in cultural terms what the producers of the ads are saying to their audiences and what the potential impact is upon the audience.

One might argue that interviewing producers and audience members might provide the best insight; however, neither group is highly trained in the study of cultural values. Furthermore, certain biases operate in both groups that can block sensitivity to values. Producers create messages for the purposes of selling a product rather than consciously delivering statements about culture. Additionally, some practitioners might prefer to minimize the impact that ads have upon the culture because it introduces a potential constraint to the creative process. For example, when asked about the negative portrayal of an elderly woman in a Doritos ad, an account director for BBDO in New York replied that no matter who is portrayed in ads, someone always takes offense. Therefore, sensitivity is not worth the effort (Bahr 1995).

Qualitative researchers address questions of external and internal validity in a number of ways. Qualitative research places "meaning" as its highest goal; thus, many studies are not able to claim generalizability beyond the immediate study, even though such generalizability often exists (Taylor 1994b). Researchers often collect data that is not random but, nevertheless, is not atypical, and the "theory" that emerges from a single study may emerge again and again. Glaser and Strauss (1967) refer to qualitative theory as "grounded" in its data; theory applicable to only one setting is "substantive," while theory applicable to more

than one setting or context is "formal."

When addressing internal validity, qualitative researchers must be aware of their reactive effects to the data, missing pieces of information, and changes that occur as subjects reconstruct their lives (Denzin 1979). Since no subjects were interviewed, the latter issue does not apply. Also, the problem of lost letters, missing memos, and discarded diaries does not exist when the researcher draws a sample of readily available ads. In this study, the role of the researcher created the only challenge to internal validity, and this was addressed by examining the data more than once to check for consistency across time, and using a second researcher to verify agreement in coding.

Methodologically, the study exhibits some overlap with text analysis performed in critical or cultural studies. In particular, some of the data that emerged is used to conclude that individualism is privileged by certain groups -- clearly a critical argument. However, this conclusion arose from the data and was not posited at the onset of the study. Furthermore, the major focus of the study was to provide the categories for the three values. Critical interpretations from the study are an essential but secondary part of the study.

### **Research Applications**

The investigation of cultural values in advertising has primarily spanned the last two decades, unlike other issues in advertising that have attracted researchers for numerous decades. The present status of the field of cultural values shows a growing interest in cross-cultural research; however, one of the difficulties is a poor foundation from which to conduct the research. Most American researchers have only a minimal knowledge of their own culture because such knowledge is not stressed in their educational background. Without a solid understanding of one's own cultural values and how these values are expressed in advertising, it is exceedingly difficult to study the advertising of another culture or to make comparisons among several cultures.

This study provides an understanding of three core American cultural values that

have corresponding values in all cultures. The insight into American advertising can guide other researchers both in their investigations of American advertising and that of other cultures.

### **Managerial Applications**

Six managerial applications are identified. First, the study of values has important applications for practitioners of international advertising. For more than 30 years, one of the most important issues in international advertising has concerned whether messages should be standardized or specialized for each culture. A detailed knowledge of the culture and its values is necessary in order to determine to what extent a message that plays well in one culture will be successful in another.

The importance of international advertising is evident by the increases in expenditures in recent years. Russell and Lane (1993) indicate that the advertising expenditures in the seven top-spending countries have increased from \$70 billion in 1989 to \$111 billion in 1994. "In the 1980s, the larger US advertising agencies' gross income from foreign operations increased five times faster than that from domestic operations" (p. 643). As the field continues to grow, there will be an increased demand for practitioners to have insight into their own cultural values so they can effectively communicate with people of other cultures.

Second, when dealing with cultures outside the US, a knowledge of cultural values guards against ethnocentrism, "the belief that one's own culture is superior in every way to all others" (Haviland 1993, p. 48). As an anthropologist, Haviland takes the stance that

To function effectively, a culture must instill the idea that its ways are best, or at least preferable to those of all other cultures. It provides individuals with a sense of pride in and loyalty to their traditions, from which they derive psychological support, and which binds them firmly to their group. In societies in which one's self-identification derives from the group, ethnocentrism is essential to a sense of personal worth. The problem with ethnocentrism is that it can all too easily be taken as a charter for manipulating other cultures for the benefit of one's own, even though...it does not have to be taken as such. When it is, however, unrest, hostility, and violence commonly result (p. 449-450).

Ethnocentrism operates in such a way that members of a culture may not imagine that there are explanations other than the one that is meaningful to them. They may be aware of certain values and hold to a preference for what their culture chooses, e.g., Americans may believe that individualism offers a better way of life than collectivism. But with less easily identifiable values such as time, people may be unaware that there are any other ways of experiencing it. This leads to the assumption that time related behaviors mean the same thing in different cultures. For example, in many US businesses, being 30 minutes late for an appointment is considered an inexcusable insult, but by Mexican standards, it is acceptable behavior. The American who is kept waiting for an appointment by a Mexican will likely interpret the behavior according to the rules that apply in the US, not realizing that the differences in cultural values give the act a different meaning.

Since ads weave everyday scenarios in the context for messages, a correct understanding of culture is essential and starts with one's own culture. Respecting other forms of behavior beyond one's own culture advances understanding and diminishes the likelihood of including advertising messages that fail to resonate with the audience.

Third, there is considerable evidence that failure to correctly understand cultural values leads to expensive business blunders. Ricks (1983) included several examples of ads that could not play in other cultures due to differences in the use of space. In Hong Kong, the Marlboro man was not able to project the strong masculine image accepted in the US and Europe because the exclusively urban population was not able to identify with horseback riding in the open countryside. Philip Morris changed its ad to reflect a Hong Kong-style Marlboro man who is projected as a virile cowboy, but one who is younger, better dressed, and drives a truck in an urban setting.

The location of an ad may also influence the meaning in different cultures. An outdoor ad on a wall in Buenos Aires leading from the airport to town read, "with (brand name) you'd be there already." Unfortunately, the ad was misinterpreted because the wall was beside a cemetery, and the product was associated with death.

There are numerous example of time-related blunders. Chase and Sanborn tried to introduce its instant coffee in France with appeals to its time-saving qualities. The company overlooked the fact that coffee plays a ceremonial role in the French home. Since the preparation of "real" coffee is said to be a "touchstone in the life of the French housewife," the women rejected it because the product's casual characteristics didn't fit into the French pattern.

Similarly, a phone company tried to incorporate a Latin flavor in its commercial by employing Puerto Rican actors. In the ad, the wife told her husband to "run downstairs and phone Mary. Tell her we'll be a little late." The ad was not effective for two reasons: (1) the Latin wife was perceived as being too assertive toward her husband, and (2) Latins don't feel it is necessary to phone people to warn of tardiness since appointment times are flexible, and tardiness is rather expected.

In all these examples, an understanding of the role of the individual, time, and space in American culture would help identify areas in which cultures differ. In so doing, practitioners would be alerted to potential clashes in values.

Fourth, insight into cultural values helps practitioners understand the nature of the appeals in domestic advertising. Creative texts in advertising typically present a list of appeals used in advertising, and some link the appeals to a psychological base such as Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Moriarty 1991). Further insight into the nature of appeals could be obtained by providing a discussion of cultural values. When one recognizes how deeply ingrained is the value of individualism and the many facets it contains, the importance of appeals to security and protection of family, egoism, recognition, achievement, attractiveness, and efficiency become evident. Cultural values provide a context for appeals that make their persuasiveness more evident.

Fifth, a better understanding of the way cultural values are presented in American advertising helps advertisers use creative strategy more efficiently with different audiences. American advertising privileges certain expressions of individualism over others, and it

privileges certain groups of people to a greater extent than others (Wolburg and Taylor). Not only does this presentation raise ethical questions regarding responsibility, but it suggests that the messages may not resonate with less favored groups who, nevertheless, are consumers of products. Advertisers may unwittingly alienate these consumers or simply fail to attract their interest by presenting messages that express values contrary to their own. Identifying how the values are expressed can give advertisers a better sense of how certain audiences will respond to messages.

Finally, an understanding of the three values offers a way that the creators of ads can become more self-conscious in how they depict cultural values so that what Americans value as a culture can become equally accessible to everyone without restricting its availability.

### **Organization of the Study**

The following study explicates the many subtle and not-so-subtle ways in which messages of cultural values appear in American network primetime television advertising.

Chapter 1 begins with a brief summary of cultural values in current textbooks across disciplines, and a description of the three values: depictions of the individual, time, and space. The characteristics of the values and the assumed relationship between the three are discussed.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of nine value systems advanced by leading anthropologists and social scientists, which is followed by an examination of 18 advertising studies of cultural values applying content analysis. A summary of the value systems and advertising studies is provided.

The study proceeds to an interpretive analysis of advertising content focusing on the three values. Chapter 3 describes the methodology for coding depictions of the individual, time, and space.

A list of eight product categories collapsed from the top 25 categories of products

advertised on television provided by the Television Bureau of Advertising (TBA) is used throughout the study to illustrate how the elements from each value appear in each product category. A comparison of the proportion of ads by product category is made between the ads in the sample and the national ads produced annually, according to TBA figures.

Chapter 4 summarizes the data and analyzes the findings across the three values. A series of figures summarizes the analytical process and the findings for the three values.

Chapter 5 offers conclusions and discusses limitations. It addresses the initial questions raised concerning how advertising messages carry cultural values, and how the understanding of values can be applied to advertising, both domestically and internationally. Social implications are also explored.

The study is not intended to be a census of all the ways in which advertisers make use of the roles of the individual, time, and space -- nor to provide an exact count of the instances of the values. Rather it is intended to explore the depth and variation of the portrayal of the three as ingrained values, to bring its use to a conscious level, and to make the taken-for-granted nature of these values available for discussion.

## CHAPTER 1

### THREE CORE CULTURAL VALUES

#### Introduction

The current conceptualization of values is explored in texts across disciplines. From a broad array of values, the individual, time, and space are examined in detail.

#### Current Conceptualizations of Values

A sociology text (Eitzen and Zinn 1991, p. 106) defines cultural values as the "criteria used in evaluating objects, acts, feelings, or events as to their relative desirability, merit, or correctness." The authors list the most dominant American values as: success (individual achievement); competition; the valued means to achieve (hard work, continual striving, and deferred gratification); progress; and individual freedom.

Engel, Blackwell, and Miniard's 1993 consumer behavior text cites Arensberg and Niehoff (1975) in describing the origin of American values. They ask

Where does this American character come from? The values derived from life on the frontier, the great open spaces, the virgin wealth, and the once seemingly limitless resources of a "new world" appear to have affected ideas of freedom. Individualism seems to have been fostered by a commitment to "progress" which in turn was derived from expansion over three hundred years. Much of the religious and ethical tradition is believed to have come from Calvinist (Puritan) doctrine, particularly an emphasis on individual responsibility and the positive work ethic. Anglo-Saxon civil rights, the rule of law, and representative institutions were inherited from the English background; ideas of egalitarian democracy and a secular spirit spring from the French and American Revolutions. The period of slavery and its aftermath, and the European immigration of three centuries, have affected the American character strongly (1993, p. 71).

Based on Arensberg and Niehoff's framework, Engel, Blackwell, and Miniard list the following as the "core" American values: material well-being (having material things is a

right); twofold moralizing (morality is polarized as good/bad, moral/immoral, or legal/illegal); work is more important than play (work is associated with higher purpose than play); time is money (time is exact, and people must be punctual); effort, optimism, and entrepreneurship (for every problem there is a solution); mastery over nature (people can conquer nature rather than striving to be at one with nature); egalitarianism (all people should have equal opportunities for achievement); and humanitarianism (we must come to the aid of the less fortunate). A more detailed description of Arensberg and Niehoff's framework is included in Chapter 2.

A second consumer behavior text (Schiffman and Kanuck 1987) includes the following values: achievement and success, activity, efficiency and practicality, progress, material comfort, external conformity, humanitarianism, and youthfulness. Peter and Olson (1993) add individualism, freedom, mastery and control, and health and fitness to Schiffman and Kanuck's list.

According to a current textbook in anthropology (Haviland 1993, p. 135) core values are those "especially promoted by a particular culture," and the core value "held in highest esteem by North Americans of European descent is that of 'rugged individualism'...."

While at face value these lists are different, the primary difference lies in the breadth applied to the values rather than philosophical differences. Individual achievement, individual freedom, material comfort or well-being, egalitarianism, health and fitness, success, and various aspects of competition are all elements of individualism. Similarly, deferred gratification, time is money, efficiency and practicality, and progress reflect cultural beliefs concerning time; while mastery and control over nature, activity, and other aspects of material comfort reflect beliefs concerning the use of space. Because individualism/collectivism, time, and space are fundamental to all cultures and overlap with many values, a careful examination of the three can provide the basis for understanding other cultural values.

Essential to the understanding of cultural values is the notion that they are not mutually exclusive, and they interact with each other. Because Americans believe in individualism, they learn to compete against individuals rather than groups. Collectivistic societies can be competitive, but individuals are members of groups, and they compete against other groups rather than against individuals. Individualism also influences the use of time so that members of individualistic cultures must plan for their future, unlike their collectivistic cohorts who can live for the present and be assured that the group will care for them in the future. Similarly, individualistic cultures use space to enhance their privacy while collectivistic cultures generally place less emphasis on privacy and tolerate greater proximity among members.

The following section takes a closer look at the aspects of the three chosen values.

### **The Individual**

#### **The Historical Evolution of an Idea**

Individualism is a political idea that has developed over the last few centuries. Throughout the 15th century the notion of individualism was absent -- the medieval concept held that each person was equated with his place in the social hierarchy, and that any separation from the social roles assigned by God, society, and family was unthinkable (Baumeister 1987).

The early modern era (16th to 18th century) marked increased social mobility and the cessation of the hierarchy. The blacksmith's son, for example, was no longer tied to the moral duty to become a blacksmith himself (MacIntyre 1981). The basic unit in society began to shift from the community to the individual, forming a foundation for individualism. John Locke became a prominent spokesman for the belief in the inherent goodness of men, their endowment of inalienable rights by God, and their equality in the pursuit of rank. These ideas are reflected in the Declaration of Independence, which states

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by the creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

The word "individualism" was coined in 1830 by the French philosopher, Alexis de Tocqueville who stated that

Individualism is a calm and considered feeling which disposes each citizen to isolate himself from the mass of his fellows and withdraw into the circle of family and friends; with this little society formed to his taste, he gladly leaves the greater society to look after itself.

While de Tocqueville's definition reflects optimism in separating oneself from society, a more recent political scientist, George Cabot Lodge, views the separation as an isolating, lonely endeavor. He speaks of individualism as the belief that

fulfillment lies in an essentially lonely struggle in what amounts to a wilderness where the fit survive -- and where, if you do not survive, you are somehow unfit (1975, p. 10).

While many cultures are said to be individualistic, not all express individualism in the same way. Americans express individualism through possessions because that endows one with prestige and attractiveness (among other things), but other cultures find different ways. The French, for example, express individualism by being well read in history, politics, philosophy, etc. to be knowledgeable in discussing ideas with others. Ability to articulate ideas is a way of gaining self-esteem, and those who do it well are distinguished (Taylor 1994a).

The American expression of individualism through possessions dates prior to this century, and is evident from William James' view that we are the sum of our possessions (1890).

A man's Self is the sum total of all that he CAN call his, not only his body and his psychic powers, but his clothes and his house, his wife and children, his ancestors and friends, his reputation and works, his lands, and yacht and bank-account. All these things give him the same emotions. If they wax and prosper, he feels triumphant; if they dwindle and die away, he feels cast down -- not necessarily in the same degree for each thing, but in much the same way for all (pp. 291-292).

### **Nuclear versus Extended Families**

Individualism has been described by other social scientists including the Dutch social scientist, Geert Hofstede, who has researched the many ways in which individualism and collectivism affect family life, occupations, education, and relationships in the workplace. For example, he notes that in most collectivist societies the family consists of many people living closely together -- not just the parents and other children, but grandparents, uncles, aunts, and servants. This "extended family" is the only secure protection one has against the hardships of life. One is loyal to this group over a lifetime, and breaking this loyalty is one of the most severe offenses a person can commit.

Although single parent families are commonplace, individualist families typically consist of two parents, the child, and possibly other children, but other relatives live elsewhere and are not seen often. This "nuclear family" teaches the child to be independent, and children are expected to leave the parental home as soon as they can stand on their own feet. In these societies, once children are independent, they reduce their relationships with the parents.

### **Individualism and High Context versus Low Context**

Hofstede has observed that individualism not only affects family life, but it plays a role in the way people communicate, learn, and work. Borrowing from the work of anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1976), Hofstede distinguishes the form of communication among "high-context" and "low context" cultures. High-context communication is more often used in collectivist cultures; it requires little information to be spoken or written because most of the message is either in the physical environment or within the person. In contrast, low-context communication is typical of individualistic cultures, and most of the information is given explicitly.

The US and Japan are often cited as examples of low- and high-context cultures. American contracts (low-context communication) are typically lengthy with details precisely

described, while Japanese contracts (high-context communications) are very short and inexplicit. The Japanese cultivate relationships among those they do business with, and they place more confidence in verbal agreements than in legal contracts. Americans place higher confidence in legal contracts than verbal agreements because they believe that documents override relationships.

As a result of these differences in context, communication strategies are different. In business, Americans often complain that the Japanese aren't direct and don't get to the point, while the Japanese think that intelligent people should be able to discover the point from the context. The Japanese complain that Americans come directly to the point and present ideas through logic, which they see as an effort to "get inside their heads and do their thinking for them" (Hall 1983, p.59).

Because of differences in context, cultures show varying degrees of resistance to propaganda and advertising. High context cultures are more resistant, and advertising is more effective when it is amusing rather than serious. "Low context cultures are, in general, quite vulnerable to propaganda and to advertising. That is, until they learn that the agent behind the message is untrustworthy, and then they may mistrust all advertising" (p. 112).

Differences in family, communication, education, occupations, and the workplace are summarized in Table 1, and a more detailed list of characteristics of individualist cultures is provided in Appendix A.

### **Implications for Products**

The pursuit of individualism creates the need for certain products that would have little use in collectivist societies. Americans express their unique individuality and personality through possessions; they pay for these possessions with their own personal credit card; and they use products to enhance their appearance, make them more efficient, and enhance their self-esteem. While many individualistic cultures share some of these characteristics with Americans, others have found different expressions for individualism. One that is characteristic of the French is to be distinguished for being knowledgeable by being well-read

**TABLE 1**  
**Hofstede's Key Differences Between**  
**Collectivist and Individualist Societies**

| <b>Collectivist</b>                                                                                              | <b>Individualist</b>                                                                      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| People are born into extended families or other ingroups which continue to protect them in exchange for loyalty. | Everyone grows up to look after him/herself and his/her immediate (nuclear) family only.  |
| Identity is based in the social network to which one belongs.                                                    | Identity is based in the individual.                                                      |
| Children learn to think in terms of 'we.'                                                                        | Children learn to think in terms of 'I.'                                                  |
| Harmony should always be maintained and direct confrontations avoided.                                           | Speaking one's mind is a characteristic of an honest person.                              |
| High-context communication.                                                                                      | Low-context communication.                                                                |
| Trespassing [infractions of rules] leads to shame and loss of face for self and group.                           | Trespassing [infractions of rules] leads to guilt and loss of self-respect.               |
| Purpose of education is learning how to do.                                                                      | Purpose of education is learning how to learn.                                            |
| Diplomas provide entry to higher status groups.                                                                  | Diplomas increase economic worth and/or self-respect.                                     |
| Employer--employee relationship is perceived in moral terms, like a family link.                                 | Employer -- employee relationship is a contract supposed to be based on mutual advantage. |
| Hiring and promotion decisions take employees' ingroup into account.                                             | Hiring and promotion decisions are supposed to be based on skills and rules only.         |
| Management is management of groups.                                                                              | Management is management of individuals.                                                  |
| Relationship prevails over task.                                                                                 | Task prevails over relationship.                                                          |
| Hofstede 1991, p. 67.                                                                                            |                                                                                           |

(Taylor 1994). Consequently, French bookstores have thriving businesses.

By considering the possible range of behaviors for expressing individualism and noting the absences in the ways that are reflected in advertising, one can conclude that advertising privileges some expressions over others. For example, people can express individualism in many ways including being helpful, religious, giving, defiant, attractive, efficient, or by attaining self-esteem. Wolburg and Taylor found that expressions of individualism in advertising clustered around only four value locations: self-esteem, efficiency, physical attractiveness, and "I Am Me." (The study is described fully in Chapter 2). Absent from those expressions were elements of being helpful, religious, giving, or defiant.

### **Time**

Hall (1983, p. 4) describes time as a core system of cultural, social, and personal life. Nothing occurs except in some kind of time frame, although each culture has its own unique patterns of time frames. To function in a culture, it is just as necessary to learn the language of time as it is to learn the spoken language.

Hall (1959, p. 141) notes that a well-known authority on children in the US once stated that it took the average child a little more than 12 years to master time. Hall believes this estimate is too conservative, for while 12-year-olds may understand time "formally" by knowing how to tell time from a clock and use a calendar, they have not "fully internalized either the details or the emotional overtones of the formal time system." The way adults experience time is something they take for granted, but it takes many years to learn.

## **Monochronic Time**

Hall (1987; Hall 1983; Hall and Hall 1990) refers to two kinds of time systems in the world. Monochronic time means doing only one thing at a time, and polychronic time means doing many things at the same time. Members of cultures that value monochronic time experience it in a linear fashion and often adhere to a rigid schedule that is "sacred and unalterable." Interruptions are disconcerting because they interfere with the completion of a given task by its deadline.

Doing one thing at a time allows people to predict when a task will be completed, so they can plan for the next task. When they are interrupted, they are not only delayed in completing the current task but the other tasks that follow. Other people may have also planned their schedule based on the promise of a completed task, so the unmet deadline disrupts their schedule as well.

While any culture can view time as a commodity, those using monochronic time experience it as one that can be spent, saved, wasted, or lost. Hall compares this view of time with the metaphor of an empty container waiting to be filled, moving along on a conveyor belt.

If time is wasted, the container on the belt slips by only partially filled and the fact that it is not full is noted. We are evaluated by how those containers look. If they are all full, that is a strong plus. If they are full with good deeds and creative productions, then we can feel we have lived a "full and productive life!" Judged by this standard, some people are seen as more productive than others and require bigger containers while the rest of us sit back in awe of how much they accomplish in their lifetime. To have done little or nothing means no containers are filled. Sitting around passing the time of day with others...is in the "nothing" category. Yet, there are people who judge by other standards, lead very productive lives simply by being encouraging, helpful, and supportive of others. These good souls...are sometimes made to feel that they haven't "made much of their life" because other people's containers are full but where are theirs? (1983, p. 78-79).

In order to fill these containers, Americans and other monochronic people privilege schedules by taking appointments very seriously and apologizing profusely for late arrivals,

unmet deadlines, or unkept appointments (Hall and Hall 1990). Since the schedule must take priority over relationships, an unexpected encounter with a friend must be cut short if it conflicts with one's schedule. Switzerland, Germany, and Scandinavia also experience time in the same linear, compartmentalized fashion.

People in monochronic cultures equate tasks with how much time is spent and often specify how much time it requires to do everything (Hall 1959). "I will be there in ten minutes." "It will take a month to fix that." "I was a student for five years." Time is also closely linked with distance so that if Americans are asked how far it is from place to place, they often express the answer in time -- "Chicago is 10 hours away from here."

Monochronic time is arbitrary and imposed; it is not inherent in biological rhythms nor in creative drives.

### **Polychronic Time**

According to Hall and Hall, polychronic systems are the antithesis of monochronic systems in almost every respect.

Polychronic time is characterized by the simultaneous occurrence of many things and by a *great involvement with people*. There is more emphasis on completing human transactions than on holding to schedules. For example, two polychronic Latins conversing on a street corner would likely opt to be late for their next appointment rather than abruptly terminate the conversation before its natural conclusion. Polychronic time is experienced as much less tangible than monochronic time and can better be compared to a single point than to a road (p. 14).

Members of polychronic cultures place themselves in the hub of activity and do many things at once rather than trying to do only one thing at a time. Relationships take priority in this time system, and relationships rather than schedules create order in one's life (Hall 1987). Time is not experienced in a linear fashion, and interruptions do not have the negative meaning that they do in monochronic cultures. Polychronic people work until the task is done rather than arbitrarily trying to impose a deadline.

Since punctuality is not highly valued, being late for an appointment is not

experienced as the insult that it is in monochronic cultures. Furthermore, in polychronic cultures, so many things happen at the same time that the person kept waiting is not usually idle. Some countries that experience time polychronically include Mexico, France, Japan, and Spain.

Punctuality is so highly prized in the US that Hall notes that there are eight time sets to describe it (1959, p. 150). People are either on time, or they are late/early by 5, 10, 15, 20, 30, 45 minutes or one hour. No American would keep a business associate waiting for an hour because it would be too insulting, but this is not the case in other cultures. Elsewhere, an hour's tardiness may be equivalent to five minutes by US standards.

Hall and Hall emphasize that millions (if not billions) of dollars have been lost in international business because monochronic and polychronic people do not understand each other or realize that two different systems exist. The authors gave an example of a clash between a French and an American businessman.

A French salesman working for a French company that had recently been bought by Americans found himself with a new American manager who expected instant results and higher profits immediately. Because of the emphasis on personal relationships, it frequently takes years to develop customers in polychronic France, and in family-owned firms, relationships with customers may span generations. The American manager, not understanding this, ordered the salesman to develop new customers within three months. The salesman knew this was impossible and had to resign, asserting his legal right to take with him all the loyal customers he had developed over the years. Neither side understood what had happened (1990, p. 16-17).

Table 2 lists the major characteristics of people in monochronic and polychronic cultures.

### **Other Cultural Differences in Time**

Hall (1959) has described numerous clashes between cultures regarding time, many of which leave the reader in disbelief that such "strange" concepts of time exist in other cultures. Hall was once told by a friend that the Navajo Indians have no concept of future

**TABLE 2**  
**CHARACTERISTICS OF TWO TIME SYSTEMS**

| <b>Monochronic People</b>                                                            | <b>Polychronic People</b>                                                                                            |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Do one thing at a time                                                               | Do many things at once                                                                                               |
| Concentrate on the job                                                               | Are highly distractible and subject to interruptions                                                                 |
| Take time commitments (deadlines, schedules) seriously                               | Consider time commitments an objective to be achieved, if possible                                                   |
| Are low-context and need information                                                 | Are high-context and already have information                                                                        |
| Are committed to the job                                                             | Are committed to people and human relationships                                                                      |
| Adhere religiously to plans                                                          | Change plans often and easily                                                                                        |
| Are concerned about not disturbing others; follow rules of privacy and consideration | Are more concerned with those who are closely related (family, friends, close business associates than with privacy) |
| Show great respect for private property; seldom borrow or lend                       | Borrow and lend things often and easily                                                                              |
| Emphasize promptness                                                                 | Base promptness on the relationship                                                                                  |
| Are accustomed to short-term relationships                                           | Have strong tendency to build lifetime relationships                                                                 |
| Hall and Hall 1990                                                                   |                                                                                                                      |

benefits.

If you were to say to a Navajo, "My friend, you know my quarter horse than won all the races at Flagstaff last Fourth of July?" that Navajo would eagerly say "yes, yes," he knew the horse; and if you were to say, "In the fall I am going to give you that horse," the Navajo's face would fall and he would turn around and walk away. On the other hand, if you were to say to him, "Do you see that old bag of bones I just rode up on? That old hay-bellied mare with the knock-knees and pigeon toes, with the bridle that's falling apart and the saddle that's worn out? You can have that horse, my friend, it's yours. Take it, ride it away now." Then the Navajo would beam and shake your hand and jump on his new horse and ride away. Of the two, only the immediate gift has reality; a promise of future benefits is not even worth thinking about (p. 11).

Similarly the Sioux Indians have no word for time, and no word for late or for waiting. They don't know what it is to wait or be late.

Far away from the American Indians, the inhabitants of the atoll of Truk in the Southwest Pacific treat time in a way that does not distinguish between recent and distant past. Events that happened in the distant past are often treated as though they just occurred. According to Hall (1959), after the American occupation of the atoll at the end of World War II, a villager announced at the military government headquarters that a murder had been committed in the village and that the murderer was on the loose. The military government officer was about to send M.P.s to arrest the murderer when he thought better of taking immediate action in order to investigate more details. Routine inquiry established that the murder had not occurred a few hours ago or a few days ago, as one might expect, but 17 years earlier. The murderer had been loose all 17 years. In this and countless other examples, years later, someone started thinking about the wrong and decided that it still had not been righted. The long passage of time did nothing to diminish the intensity of the act, and no statute of limitations applied.

The Tiv, a group who live in Nigeria, also experience time in an unusual way.

Their week is not tied to periodic natural events such as the phases of the moon. The day of the week is named after the things which are being sold in the nearest "market." If we had the equivalent, Monday would be "automobiles" in Washington, D.C., "furniture" in Baltimore, and "yard goods" in New York. Each of these might be followed by the days for appliances, liquor, and diamonds in the respective cities.

This would mean that as you traveled about, the day of the week would keep changing, depending on where you were (1959, p. 17).

While these examples come from so-called primitive cultures, extreme differences exist even among civilized and industrialized countries. Hall notes an example from Afghanistan of a man who appeared in Kabul looking for his brother. He asked all the merchants of the marketplace if they had seen his brother, and he told them where he could be found if his brother arrived. The next year the man returned and repeated the performance. When inquiries were made, it was clear that he and his brother had agreed to meet in Kabul, but neither of them had said what year.

These examples, though extreme, illustrate the vast differences in conceptualization of time. They remind the inhabitants of one culture that what is taken-for-granted and assumed to be universal may be incomprehensible to another culture.

### **Historical Origin of Time Efficiency in the 20th Century**

As a monochronic culture that conceives of time as something to save, waste, spend, etc., it is of interest to locate these ideas historically in the US. The best-known advocate of time-saving and efficiency was Frederick Winslow Taylor, the founder of scientific management during the Progressive Era. According to Taylor, efficiency leads to prosperity, and the principal object of management should be to secure the maximum prosperity for the employer, coupled with the maximum prosperity for each employee.

No one can be found who will deny that in the case of any single individual the greatest prosperity can exist only when that individual has reached his highest state of efficiency; that is, when he is turning out his largest **daily** output (Taylor 1911, p. 11) [emphasis added].

Taylor applied his principles between 1900 and 1910 -- an era when many workers believed that it was in their best interests to do as little work as possible in a given day. "Soldiering," underworking or deliberately working slowly to avoid doing a full day's work, had serious consequences not only for the wages and prosperity of the working man but for

industrial businesses. Taylor maintained that

The elimination of "soldiering" and of the several causes of slow working would so lower the cost of production that both our home and foreign markets would be greatly enlarged, and we could compete on more than even terms with our rivals. It would remove one of the fundamental causes for dull times, for lack of employment, and for poverty, and therefore would have a more permanent and far-reaching effect upon these misfortunes than any of the curative remedies that are now being used to soften their consequences. It would insure higher wages and make shorter working hours and better working and home conditions possible (p. 15).

Taylor first applied his principles of scientific management to the operations at the Bethlehem Steel Company. He observed that the average worker loaded 12 1/2 tons of pig iron per day, but after careful investigation, determined that a strong worker could load 47 tons per day (nearly a 400% increase) if the workers rested at proper intervals. With a raise in pay from \$1.15 to \$1.85 (only a 60% increase), the men still had an added incentive to increase their productivity. In defense of the relatively small increase in salary for the tremendous increase in productivity, Taylor explained that paying these men such high wages would encourage unreliable work habits. Instead of working dependably day after day, they would work until payday and fail to return to work until they needed money again. Essentially, it wasn't "efficient" to pay the men such high wages because it led to a high turnover among unskilled laborers.

While Taylor's principles addressed increases in output, they were clearly dependent upon the use of time. Output was always calculated "daily," and the goal was always to maximize output in the shortest amount of time.

His concepts of scientific management have continued to affect other areas of life beyond the early applications at the turn of the century. Some everyday examples include kitchen planning (placing the refrigerator, sink, and stove in a triangular pattern that minimizes unnecessary steps), air transportation (placing the largest airports in central cities where flights can connect), and education (teaching people to speed read in order to maximize learning within a time frame).

### **Orientation to Past, Present and Future**

According to Hall and Hall, certain countries such as Iran and India, and also the Far East, are oriented in the past. Other countries such as the US are oriented in the present and short-term future; still others are both past- and present-oriented. Differences in orientation create important differences in society so that past-oriented cultures value tradition and make decisions within the context of lengthy historical information. For example, Germans are known to provide a great deal of historical background when beginning a speech or article, much to the annoyance of foreigners. The French and Japanese also think within an historical context; however, because they belong to high-context cultures in which much of the information is expressed implicitly, they only allude to the historical background rather than present it directly.

Members of countries not oriented in the past such as the US rarely provide historical background because the past is not relevant to the present or future. Since the US is a monochronic culture, its members are able to compartmentalize time and look upon the past as finished. The emphasis on individualism also makes Americans more future oriented since they must be financially responsible for themselves and must not rely on others to take care of them. This requires providing not only for the present but also for the future.

The American never questions the fact that time should be planned and future events fitted into a schedule. He thinks that people should look forward to the future and not dwell too much on the past. His future is not very far ahead of him. Results must be obtained in the foreseeable future -- one or two years or, at the most, five or ten. Promises to meet deadlines and appointments are taken very seriously. There are real penalties for being late and for not keeping commitments in time. From this it can be surmised that the American thinks it is natural to quantify time. To fail to do so is unthinkable (1959, p. 148).

Clashes occur between people of cultures with different orientations. Swanson and Hurley (1983) note that Americans are more likely to hold negative attitudes toward people who drop out of school without completing their education because education is considered preparation for the future. From their perspective of health care, the authors have observed that much of the dissonance among subcultures in the US can be explained on the basis of

differences in time orientations. Time orientation has attracted several other researchers across disciplines including consumer behavior (Graham 1981; Gross and Sheth 1989; Ko and Gentry 1991) and counseling (Carter 1991).

### **Time as a Marker**

Many other characteristics of the experience of time have been described by different writers, but some that have important applications for advertising concern how time functions as a marker for important events. The first day of school, turning 16 years old, getting a driver's license, going out on the first date, attending the high school prom, graduating from high school, going away to college, turning 21 years old, graduating from college, getting married -- all are examples of rites of passage that mark time.

Because people within US culture are of different ages, live in different areas, and have different lifestyles, not all people share identical rites of passage, e.g., not all people attend their high school prom or choose to attend college. Thus, some rites of passage are unique to each individual, but because others have experienced them in a different place and time, the culture shares a cultural meaning for these rites, complete with certain associated rituals. Turning 16 is a significant age because it allows teenagers the opportunity to get a driver's license, and it is the age that often signifies being permitted to date. Wolburg and Stankey (1994) found 16 to be such a pivotal year that people 20 to 50 years of age favored the music popular when they were 16 years old over popular music from earlier and later time periods. Turning 16 is a marker that identifies the end of childhood and the beginning of adulthood.

Other markers that are imposed from without rather than from within are times such as holidays and week-ends. While experiences in celebrating Thanksgiving and Christmas vary, the date is fixed so that the members of the culture celebrate it at the same time. These fixed time markers are a way that a culture shares a common bond. Further evidence of this is that people who are alone, temporarily separated from family members, or lacking in

strong family ties are painfully excluded from the cultural experience and are particularly prone to depression during holidays. While suicide rates are not higher, suicide hot-line facilities have record numbers of calls at that time of year (Barr 1994).

Hall identifies rhythm as the "very essence of time," since equal time intervals define a sequence of events as rhythmic (1983, p. 140). In studying proxemics and human interaction, Hall has discovered that conversational distances are maintained with incredible accuracy (to tolerances as small as a fraction of an inch), and that the process is rhythmic. As a result of this rhythm, it is possible to synchronize two events.

Hall believes that synchrony and entrainment (the process that occurs when two or more people become engaged in each other's rhythms) will be discovered to be "even more basic to human survival than sex..." (1983, p. 162). As an example of how basic and pervasive these elements are, Hall noted that one of his students filmed children on a playground and discovered that the children's movements were entirely synchronized with each other. This was evident to such a degree that it was possible to put a previously recorded piece of music to the film without a single frame of the three and a half minute tape missing a beat or getting out of sync with the music.

When people experience time either as passing quickly or dragging, their body clock and the clock on the wall are out of sync. People at different times of life experience this -- children find a year to be interminable, but older people find that the years rush by. People in different moods experience this as well. People enjoying life and having fun feel that time flies, but depressed psychiatric patients feel that time moves unbearably slow. A suicidal woman once described her experience as "the molasses-like feeling of being stuck in endless time" (1983, p. 122).

### **Implications for Products**

Monochronic cultures such as the US value products that save time and work efficiently because they allow people to "spend" time more productively. Microwavable frozen

food, delivered pizza, fast-action headache remedies, telephone services that allow you to "be there now," and overnight express mail services are just a few of those that reflect monochronicity. In these and other products, advertising messages often reflect the underlying assumption that schedules are the driving force for creating order in society, rather than relationships. Analysis of these messages, including their frequency, provides evidence of what advertising privileges.

Other products rely on consumers' ability to plan for the future, e.g., insurance, financial planning, six months free interest on purchases, and educational institutions that promise the future rewards when job hunting. By coding for time orientation, differences in frequency can demonstrate to what extent one orientation is privileged over another.

The use of time as a marker is frequently seen in advertising, both by depicting celebrations and by coordinating sales with holidays and seasons. While synchrony is not part of the advertising message, it is often evident in the way that such things as the season of the year match the season portrayed in the ad. Aside from seasonal products such as suntan lotion in summer, the advertising of year-round products changes during the year. As winter comes, the spokespersons are dressed warmer, indoor scenes may show people enjoying a fireplace, outdoor scenes depict cold weather and snow, etc. As the summer comes, outdoor beach scenes are used, and people are dressed in light-weight clothes. To the extent that the ad characteristics such as the season match the current, real-world environment, there is support for synchrony.

### **Space**

The configuration of space is a topic that crosses many disciplines such as architecture, urban planning, interior decorating, landscaping, art, etc. Because it is always present, it shares a taken-for-grantedness with time; however, space appears to be the more difficult idea to understand in terms of cultural experience. At face value, space is known by

its three visual dimensions -- length, width, and height -- but on a more abstract level, the meaning of space is a complex, abstract idea that has not been as fully developed as time. Time has been called a fourth dimension that is "one of the deepest mysteries known to man. No one can say exactly what it is" (The World Book Encyclopedia 1985). Yet, the cultural experiences have been better articulated.

From a cultural perspective, Hall is one of the most extensive writers about space. The Hidden Dimension (1966) presents an in-depth explanation of how cultures use space, and the other books (Hall 1959; Hall 1987; Hall and Hall 1990) offer summary chapters on the subject.

Psychologists have also studied space and its interaction with the senses and with temperature. For example, a noisy room is often perceived as smaller than a quiet one of the same dimensions, and people living in high population density feel more crowded during high temperatures than low (1966). For the purposes of this study, the visual representation of space is of greater interest because it is what advertising can best reflect to the viewer.

### **Historical Evolution of Space in American Cities**

Lewis Mumford was one of the most respected urban planners in the US and one of the most prolific writers on the subject. In The Urban Prospect (1956) he painted a bleak picture of urban development driven by the need for efficiency, which sacrificed the quality of life for profit.

He notes that the US originally consisted of communities located on the seaboard during the 17th and 18th centuries. By 1850 these communities achieved their maximum development and had worked out a well-rounded industrial and agricultural life with a "fine provincial culture" (p. ix). During the time these communities were established, a series of migrations occurred within the country. The first happened between 1790 and 1890 and was characterized by a desire to take possession of the continent through Westward expansion.

...the farmers and loggers and miners of the country lived symbolically, if not actually, in the covered wagon. The little communities that clustered about the mine or the railway station were towns and villages only by courtesy of the census taker: they lacked the traditional resources of a common life -- their games, their religious revivals, their intellectual stimuli, were all of the crudest. Pleasure never interfered with the "business" of the early pioneer; because business was his pleasure (p. xi-xii).

While some migration was justified, the necessity for opening the continent so swiftly was "mythical," according to Mumford. As a result, the US has felt the effects of this migration in the form of butchered forests, farms gone to ruin, and sterile villages that drive young people to big towns.

The second migration saw a population flow from the countryside and from foreign countries into the factory town. The covered wagon gave way to the iron horse. Before 1820, the main concentration of people had been in the trading centers of the seaboard and the river junctures, but with the introduction of steam power, factories were erected in places where power or factory hands seemed most available.

The conditions that determined this flow of population were narrowly industrial: a city was considered solely as a place of work and business opportunity. That children need a chance to play and grow, that families need decent shelter and privacy and a few amenities, that learning and culture are worth encouraging for their own sake - - these things were too often forgotten and ignored by the men who fostered the new industrialism. The result is familiar, and there is scarcely a town with more than ten thousand people and a working population which will not serve for example. Homes blocked and crowded by factories; rivers polluted; factories and railway yards seizing sites that should have been preserved for recreation; inadequate homes...The result was called prosperity in the census reports, but that was because no one tried to strike a balance between the private gains and the social losses (p. xiii).

Mumford notes that, in short, the first migration robbed the country of its natural resources, and the second cut down its human resources.

The third migration was to large financial centers, such as New York. With the consolidation of industry in the 1880s, the growth of banking and insurance facilities in the 1890s, and the development of advertising at the turn of the century, the sales and promotion departments absorbed a large part of the population. This third migration resulted in a steady drain of goods, people, and financial resources from the industrial towns and villages

of the earlier migrations, and along with it these metropolises acquired cultural resources that the rest of the country lacked. These cities "monopolized" the art museums, libraries, universities, research institutions, and theaters.

...the third migration has not produced a good environment: it has sacrificed home, health, and happiness to the pursuit of business enterprise designed to produce maximum profits. Those centers which have concentrated most feverishly upon business efficiency are farthest away from having adequate homes and all the accessory institutions that round out a well-developed community. The forces that are concerned solely with business enterprise lose no opportunity for stressing the necessity of continuing the third migration; and city planners who fall in line with it plan for the agglomeration of ever-greater urban regions (p. xix).

Mumford placed the US of the mid 20th century in the fourth migration, with its outcome still undetermined. He held that Americans can permit many of the negative outcomes of the past to be repeated, but they have the power to move in new directions.

Historians such as Daniel Boorstin complete the picture that Mumford drew by describing, among other things, the population influx through immigration in the 1800s. According to Boorstin (1974), a mass exodus from Europe occurred after the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, and of the 50 million people who emigrated, 35 million came to the US. As a result, the US went from a predominately rural nation to an urban one. Interestingly, the US Bureau of Census officially distinguished the nation's urban from its rural population for the first time in 1870, and had to redefine "urban" several times in the coming years (p. 267).

This shift added to the existing need to build towns across the continent in the 18th and 19th centuries. The opportunity to build so many new towns offered the temptation to "simplify, schematize, and stereotype" the visual form of a city. The countryside of the West was "checkerboarded into arbitrary neat rectangles for sale," and many new cities of the West were given a "repetitive schematic geometry which ignored their varying landscape" (p. 262).

Boorstin notes that the English astronomer Francis Baily visited Philadelphia and Baltimore in 1795-98, and he called the orderly gridiron of streets "by far the best way of laying out a city. All the modern-built towns in America are on this principle." But by the time he reached Cincinnati and experienced a third city with the gridiron street plan, he

deplored the monotony and called it a "sacrifice of beauty to prejudice, particularly when they persevere in making all their streets cross each other at right angles, without any regard to the...surrounding country" (p. 262).

Boorstin notes that the gridiron plan prevailed despite the "sacrifice to beauty" because it had many advantages for business -- real estate speculators found that the rectangular parcels were easy to survey and convenient to merchandise.

During the late 1800s, many cities were feeling the effects of over-population, and even by the beginning of the Civil War, New York had confronted slum conditions. Despite many efforts in the 19th and 20th centuries to clear the slums and develop urban renewal programs, the results have been called "disappointing."

Boorstin calls the failure of urban renewal a minor episode in a larger epic -- the movement to the suburbs. Figures show that between 1950 and 1960, the suburban population increased by 17 million people. The early suburbs included houses built to a single design around village greens where shops, playgrounds and swimming pools were available. The houses had three or four bedrooms and were built with precut materials on an assembly-line system.

To many, the suburbs were a new frontier. At a time in which the divorce rate was rising, the suburbs with their free standing single-family residences were thought to strengthen home and family. They offered the homogeneity and compatibility which characterized small-town life.

The difference was that each citizen built the community in the small town while the suburban dweller moved into a community in which a shopping center, school, and churches were already built according to the developer's sense of the market -- which according to Boorstin was the paternalism of the marketplace. This form of paternalism was fostered by American talent for organization, by the rising 20th century American standard of living, and by the American genius for mass production.

Both Mumford and Boorstin present a view of the organization of space in American

cities as one that privileges efficient ways of earning profits and takes its toll on relationships and the quality of life.

### **Privacy**

One of the most important aspects of the configuration of space is the maintenance of privacy. Spatially, it is achieved differently in privately owned locations such as the home or office, and publicly owned space such as highways and parks.

While the use of separate rooms within a house for varying purposes is taken-for-granted, it is only since the 1700s that rooms in European houses were divided according to function (Aries 1962).

Members of the family had no privacy as we know it today. There were no spaces that were sacred or specialized. Strangers came and went at will, while beds and tables were set up and taken down according to the moods and appetites of the occupants. Children dressed and were treated as small adults. It is no wonder that the concept of childhood and its associated concept, the nuclear family, had to await the specialization of rooms according to function and the separation of rooms from each other (Hall 1966, p. 104).

During the 18th century the French distinguished the "chambre" from the "salle," and the English named the rooms according to its function -- bedroom, living room, dining room. Rooms became accessible by a corridor rather than walking through one room to enter another.

Unlike the Westerners who compartmentalize space with specific purposes, the Japanese move partitions to change the use of the same space that previously held a different function. Family members often sleep together, study together, and generally have far greater personal contact with one another than American families.

While the cultural differences in arranging the space within the home is of interest architecturally, how it contributes to the way people communicate is of even greater importance. For example, American-style houses in Japan have been blamed for weakening the highly cohesive structure of the Japanese family, which in turn contributes to violence

among the youth. In the shift from the traditional Japanese home to the American mass-produced bungalows, what was taken away was the time that adults and their children spent together. The American home is said to compartmentalize the family, so children grow up leading separate lives. A Japanese builder of the American-style homes voiced concern that the houses she built contributed to the rising violence in Japanese families and schools. She commented, "we have everything, but we don't help each other" (1983, p. 65).

This is not to say that the Japanese system is superior to the American system -- it tells us that the taken-for-granted arrangement of space within homes makes a powerful contribution to family relationships, interaction among members, and social roles.

Because Americans have achieved privacy by spatially removing themselves from others, they are sometimes unable to detect the desire for privacy among others in their midst. The English signal the need for distance and privacy through behavior and facial expressions, which usually goes undetected by Americans (Hall 1966). While middle-class Americans often grow up having a room to themselves, middle- and upper-class English men and women share the childhood nursery with siblings and usually never have a permanent room of their own. Thus, they never developed the practice of using space as a haven for privacy.

### **Privately Owned Space**

The home offers owners a greater opportunity for privacy than public space, which is shared and not available for private ownership. For example, one's home is a refuge in which individuals can be themselves and let down the facade that they present to the world (Goffman 1959). The home not only provides a safe haven for family members, but it offers a place to invite close friends. One of the responsibilities of having a home is to defend it as one's territory.

Hall and Hall define territoriality as "the act of laying claim to and defending a territory," which is a vital link in the chain of events necessary for survival (p. 10).

Trespassing upon another person's property is a punishable act in much of the Western world. "A man's home has been his castle in English common law for centuries, and it is protected by prohibitions on unlawful search and seizure even by officials of his government" (Hall 1966, p. 10).

While all people express some form of territorial behavior, there are great behavioral differences across cultures. American children may think of his or her bedroom as "mine," just as other family members may label various possessions or rooms of the house "theirs." However, in Germany the feeling of territoriality extends to all possessions so that if a German's car is touched, it is as though the individual himself has been touched.

Cultures also differ in how they regard boundaries of their territory. For example, Americans don't believe they have entered another person's space until they have physically entered the room, but Germans believe that once they can look into a room, they have entered another person's space.

Since cultures differ in their use of territory and boundaries, it follows that the meaning of proximity varies. In the US, being a neighbor affords one with the privileges of borrowing things and welcoming neighborhood children as playmates for one's own children, but it carries the responsibility of lending a hand in an emergency. Because most houses in a neighborhood are of similar value, buying a home places people among others who share the same socio-economic status. This "screening" process predisposes neighbors to have a more positive attitude toward a new neighbor than an outsider.

The privileges that come with proximity in the US are not adhered to in other countries, particularly where a class society exists. In England children do not feel a kinship as neighborhood playmates, and in both England and France adult neighbors are less "friendly" toward one another.

In the US where the population density is lower than in many other countries, there is more land available for private ownership. In the US, having more land or greater space for the home provides greater privacy from neighbors and increases one's status.

Offices, too, are examples of privately owned space, and important differences exist in their configuration across cultures. In the US and in Germany, the top floor of the building is reserved for top executives who also enjoy large office suites. Being set apart from people with less important positions affords greater status and power to the executive, decreases the possibility of interruptions, and allows for privacy. In contrast, French executives are placed in the middle of a large area surrounded by subordinates in order to stay informed and to control what is happening (Hall and Hall 1990). Similarly, the Japanese executives rarely use private offices except for meetings with outsiders, and they prefer large open areas surrounded by colleagues to insure constant interaction and immediate access to information flow (Hall 1987).

Seemingly insignificant differences also affect office relations. In US offices, Americans keep the doors open, unlike Germans, who keep the doors closed. Closed doors provide a boundary between people so Germans don't feel they get too involved with each other. When they are forced to work in an environment with open doors, they feel exposed and think the business operation appears too relaxed (Hall 1966, p. 140).

Many of these differences in the use of space reflect the differences in monochronic and polychronic time. The monochronic Americans and Germans use space to set important people apart so they can do their work uninterrupted while the polychronic French and Japanese keep important people in the hub of things.

### **Semi-Private Space**

Other spaces are privately owned, e.g., stores, restaurants, hotel lobbies, movie theaters, and amusement parks, but are publicly accessible. Semi-private places are commercial space which is planned to profit the owner economically. Floor plans in stores are designed to maximize the traffic flow around merchandise.

These places offer friends or family a neutral ground for interaction that usually sacrifices the privacy available in the home but diminishes the responsibilities and need for

territorial behavior. Entertaining guests in the home offers the opportunity to share one's private self with others, but it usually carries a reciprocal obligation to return the invitation. Neutral spaces such as restaurants offer social contact that is less personal but carry no reciprocal, obligatory elements in the relationship.

Although privacy is diminished in such settings, Americans obey certain rules that permit a degree of privacy to individuals out in public. Hall claims that most Americans follow a rule that can be stated as follows: "as soon as a person stops or is seated in a public place, there balloons around him a small sphere of privacy which is considered inviolate...anyone who enters this zone and stays there is intruding" (1966 p. 155).

To illustrate this, Hall notes that once while waiting for a friend in an American hotel lobby, he sat in a solitary chair outside the flow of traffic. A stranger walked up to him and stood close enough so that his breathing was audible. Hall conveyed his annoyance by shifting his position, but instead of moving away, the "intruder" moved in closer. He soon joined a group of Arabs and left. Hall experienced great discomfort that someone did not respected his privacy in a public place.

Later when trying to unravel the meaning of the experience, Hall learned that Arabs do not acknowledge a circle of privacy in a public place. The intruder was apparently standing there because it was the optimal place in the lobby to watch all elevators, doors, and exits. Crowding Hall to get to the best place in the lobby was not meant to be an insult or an intrusion because in the Arab culture, no one can lay claim to privacy in a public place.

### **Accessible Public Space**

Other spaces such as open highways, national parks, bodies of water, government buildings, and public transportation are accessible to the public but not available for private ownership. Members of a culture experience these places in much the same way they do semi-private places; however, accessible public places are government owned and the space is not configured for profit.

An important appeal of many public places such as recreational parks and water is the opportunity to experience open space. As Arensberg and Niehoff noted before, the American values are rooted in the frontier and the great open spaces. Progress was achieved through expansion, and open space symbolizes freedom.

The shift away from private ownership sets up different communication elements. One has freer access to public space than semi-private space because the commercial elements that require people to be patrons of the business do not exist in public space. Consequently, there is an implicit freedom that everyone is welcome to share public space. However, since the public is not restricted, people are unable to use the space privately.

### **Restricted Public Space**

While most public space is unrestricted, military installations and government buildings are secured places, inaccessible to the public except under special supervision such as tours. Those who have free access to restricted spaces (officers and government officials) may carry greater status than general members of the public, particularly when they hold positions of high rank.

### **Personal Space**

According to Hall and Hall, "each person has around him an invisible bubble of space" which changes with the relationship to the people nearby, the person's emotional state, cultural background and the activity being performed (1990 p. 11).

People within the same culture converse at an acceptable distance -- one that is implicitly known to them. But because the distance varies among cultures, it is not unusual to see one person move in closer until feeling at ease, only to see the person from another culture move farther away for the same reason. A Mexican speaking to a American would likely find the American "distant" while the American would find the Mexican "pushy." The misconception occurs because people usually interpret behavior in the context of their own

culture rather than attributing the behavior to cultural differences.

As people go from intimate relationships to personal, social, and public relationships, the appropriate distance changes as well. Hall (1959) has described the specific ranges of personal distance in these four categories which are shown in Table 3. Hall notes that the choice of four categories is not arbitrary but based on the territorial needs of humans and other animals. Proxemic research has identified these same categories among other species.

### **Alteration of Space**

While Hall did not address differences in the experience of altered and unaltered space, Arensberg and Niehoff contend that Americans attempt to conquer nature. "Nature has been something to overcome, to improve, to tear down and rebuild in a better way" (1975, p. 373).

The authors credit Americans with great achievements due to this value, but they also point to serious consequences. They recognize that Americans have achieved enormous agricultural productivity, but caution that

...the American has paid and is continuing to pay high prices for these agricultural successes. Natural resources, particularly forests, water, and the air, have been squandered and despoiled over large areas. Nature's balance has often been upset. Such "wonder" insecticides as DDT are now under strong attack by conservationists as destroying many "useful" insects and birds, as well as for their effect on human health (p. 374).

The manipulation of nature alters space to suit human desires, and evidence of this is apparent in advertising. While all products manipulate nature in some degree (otherwise they would exist in natural form and not be sold), the context in which products are presented conveys additional meaning. Differences in the amount of natural space and altered space can convey the type of space that Americans idealize.

**TABLE 3**  
**SPECIFIC DISTANCES FOR PERSONAL SPACE FOR AMERICANS**

| <b>Distance</b>              | <b>Behavior</b>                                                           |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Intimate Distance</b>     |                                                                           |
| Close Phase (up to 6 inches) | love-making                                                               |
| Far (8 in. to 18 in.)        | comforting, protective behavior                                           |
| <b>Personal Distance</b>     |                                                                           |
| Close (1/2 to 2 1/2 ft.)     | one can grasp another person                                              |
| Far (2 1/2 to 4 ft.)         | can keep someone at "arm's length"                                        |
| <b>Social Distance</b>       |                                                                           |
| Close (4 to 7 ft.)           | distance for impersonal business                                          |
| Far (7 ft. to 12 ft.)        | distance in which 2 people can conduct separate business activities       |
| <b>Public Distance</b>       |                                                                           |
| Close (12 ft. to 25 ft.)     | appropriate for talking to a group; can take evasive action if threatened |
| Far (25 ft. or more)         | distance set around important public figures                              |
| Hall 1959                    |                                                                           |

### **Implications for Products**

Unlike individualism, a value that has a direct bearing on what products are used in a society, space is a value that is usually apparent only in the context, with the exception of a few products that claim to be space savers. Observations of the prevalence of altered and unaltered space, and the use of private, semi-private, and public space will locate what types of places seem most natural setting for relationships and for certain products. By considering the range of possibilities that exist outside advertising and comparing those that are portrayed in advertising, we learn what advertising privileges.

In ads that use the context of the home, important information can be found in noting the arrangement of rooms, such as a child playing with a toy in his/her own room.

Occasionally ads show neighbors interacting in a scenario in which one neighbor recommends the advertised brand to the other neighbor, who typically struggles with brand X. Such ads reflect the privileges of proximity because we take for granted that neighbors are friends who share product information with one another or lend possessions to one another.

The use of intimate, personal, social, and public distance is also apparent in advertising when spokespersons talk directly to the viewer. The distance from the spokesperson to the camera will probably most often reflect Hall's category of social distance. Ads in which the viewer is an invisible bystander cannot be coded for distance in the same manner.

The distance between the subject and the camera is an area well documented in the film literature as an important tool for drawing an emotional response from the audience. Campbell (1991) notes that the use of tight close-ups can make the subject appear suspicious or villainous while medium range shots make the subject look comfortable and respected.

Camera angles also use distance to evoke a psychological reaction. Low-angle shots in which the viewer looks up at the subject can make the subject appear strong and powerful; high-angle shots in which the viewer looks down at the subject can make the subject look

powerless and insignificant (Maland 1992).

### **Summary**

The role of the individual, time, and space are presented as three fundamental values in American culture that are reflected in all the institutions in society, including advertising. They are rich in cultural meaning and provide insight into many areas of American culture, particularly interpersonal relationships.

Each value has been viewed according to their relationship to American society, with emphasis on the work of Geert Hofstede and Edward Hall to make us more consciously aware of the fabric of these values. Since we take them for granted, it is not until realizing that other cultures operate on other systems that we are aware of their effect.

By examining the historical evolution of individualism, it is possible to locate its presence in the US as early as the 1700s with its formalized expression in the Declaration of Independence.

In contrast, the monochronic use of time appears to be rooted after the onset of the Industrial Revolution. Similarly, the present configuration of space evolved from the continuing Westward expansion, the influx of immigrants, the change from a rural to urban society, and the building of suburbs, which occurred in the latter part of the 19th century. Thus, both the current experience of time and space are outgrowths of the same forces in history, which occurred later than the development of individualism.

Although monochronic time appeared to be a logical outgrowth of individualism in the US, it is possible for other countries, e.g. France, to celebrate individualism and value polychronic time. One can speculate that the forms of expression of individualism in the US were compatible with the desire to attain efficiency during the early 1900s, and that American individualism allowed schedules to prioritize relationships. Thus, the efficient individual is highly rewarded in US culture. In polychronic cultures that value individualism,

different expressions may exist that prioritize relationships over efficiency, and perhaps it is the understanding/supportive individual who excels.

Over the decades, as new members of US society grew up in an age that valued both efficiency and individualism, one could not only receive recognition for the efficient use of time, but for the efficient use of space. Members of the culture who configure space to maximize output and to attain privacy from interruptions accomplish more and receive greater recognition.

While individualism may originally have directed the use of monochronic time and the configuration of space for privacy, they are also reinforced. As new members are born into families which provide separate rooms for the children, the use of space supports the beliefs in individualism and monochronic time.

Rather than viewing the three as separate values, they appear to work together both by constructing the need for one another and by reinforcing each other.

The assumed relationship is diagrammed in Figure 1.

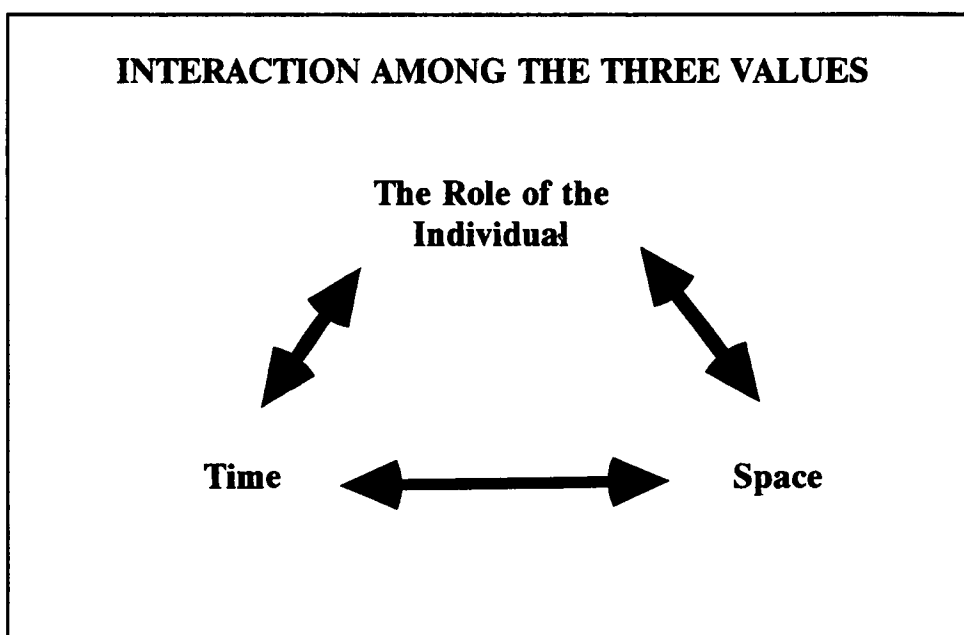


**Figure 1**

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Introduction

Chapter 1 provided an in-depth view of the three values, but to understand them within their proper context it is important to consider the work of other social scientists in anthropology, social psychology, political science and consumer behavior. First, nine of the major systems for the measurement of values are presented and summarized.

Second, 18 content analysis studies of values in the advertising literature from 1980 to 1994 are presented. The leading advertising and marketing journals were selected for examination of advertising studies including: The Journal of Advertising, The Journal of Advertising Research, The International Journal of Advertising, Current Issues in Advertising Research, The Journal of Marketing, The Journal of Marketing Research, The Journal of Business Research, The Journal of Consumer Research, and Advances in Consumer Research. These journals produced 14 of the 18 content analysis studies. Three of the remaining four (including one book chapter, and two articles from additional journals) were discovered in the reference list of the original fourteen studies. A conference paper presented by the author was the 18th study, and it is included because it serves as a pilot study for the current research.

### **Nine Major Value Systems**

Among the nine value systems, one might expect to see a chronological evolution of concepts among researchers; however, this is not the case. While the value systems of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) and Rokeach (1973) show evidence of influence from the earlier work of Clyde Kluckhohn (1951), the other systems use different organizational frameworks. Rather than building on previous works, many systems show independent thinking that lacks historical context -- perhaps a reflection of individualism and present/future orientation in American culture. The first six systems described are those that were often cited in the advertising studies, and they provided theoretical support for the studies. The remaining three did not serve in the theoretical framework but are of general interest.

#### **Clyde Kluckhohn's Value Orientations (1951)**

The anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn defined values as:

a selective orientation toward experience, implying deep commitment or repudiation, which influences the ordering of "choices" between possible alternatives in action. These orientations may be cognitive and expressed verbally or merely inferable from recurrent trends in behavior (1961, p. 18).

According to Kluckhohn, values have three dimensions: (1) modality (positive and negative), (2) content (aesthetic, cognitive, and moral), and (3) intent (preferred style of action). Values are also identified as instrumental and goal (the precursor to Rokeach's terminal and instrumental values). "Instrumental values are those which actors and groups conceive as means to further ends. Goal values represent the aims and virtues which societies and individuals make for themselves" (p. 413).

Kluckhohn further differentiated between values and value orientations, which consist

of "generalized and organized conceptions influencing behavior, of nature, of man's place in it, of man's relation to man, and of the desirable and nondesirable as they may relate to man-environment and interhuman relations" (1951, p. 411). McCarty and Hattwick (1992) agree that cultural value orientations represent the most basic, core beliefs of a society. "These beliefs form the central understandings that members of the culture have and, as suggested by Kluckhohn, they relate to human's relationship with one another and the world around them" (p. 34).

These relationships can be illustrated with three clusters of dichotomies:

Cluster 1-Man and Nature. Kluckhohn proposed that nature could be "determinate," allowing events to happen according to fixed laws in a cause and effect relationship, or indeterminate, allowing events to happen capriciously or by chance. Such a world could be seen as a single entity (unitary) or a collection of spheres in which different principles prevail (pluralistic). Nature could be seen as either good or evil.

Cluster 2-Man and Man. Kluckhohn envisioned several dichotomies that relate to human interaction. The decision whether to prioritize individualism or collectivism can influence whether greater emphasis is placed on the self (egoism) or others (altruism). It also influences whether relationships are autonomous or dependent (individualistic societies value autonomy over dependency).

Humans can take an active, dominant attitude toward nature or an acceptant, subjugated attitude; they can be self-disciplined and cautious, or adventuresome and impulsive; they can lean toward either the physical or mental; they can be tense or relaxed; and, finally, they can live for the moment or live in either the past or the future.

Cluster 3--Both Nature and Man. Kluckhohn also addressed whether humans experience nature quantitatively or qualitatively, and whether they attend to the world

specifically or generally.

Kluckhohn's value orientations appear to address the concepts of individualism and time in his "Man and Man" cluster, and space in the "Both Nature and Man" cluster.

### **Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck's Refinement of Value Orientation (1961)**

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) expanded upon Clyde Kluckhohn's earlier work and made three assumptions of value-orientation systems.

First, it is assumed that there is a limited number of common human problems for which all peoples at all times must find some solution. This is the universal aspect of value orientations because the common human problems to be treated arise inevitably out of the human situation.

The second assumption is that while there is variability in solutions of all the problems, it is neither limitless nor random but is definitely variable within a range of possible solutions.

The third assumption, the one which provides the main key to the later analysis of variation in value orientations, is that all alternatives of all solutions are present in all societies at all times but are differentially preferred. Every society has, in addition to its dominant profile of value orientations, numerous variant or substitute profiles.

Moreover, it is postulated that in both the dominant and variant profiles there is almost always a rank ordering of the preferences of the value-orientation alternatives. In societies which are undergoing change the ordering of preferences will not be clear-cut for some or even all the value orientations (p. 10).

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck raised five guiding questions (p. 11) that determined their value orientations. The first question is "what is the character of innate human nature?"

Human Nature Orientation. The answer to the question of innate human nature forms an orientation which the authors conceptualized as either evil, both good and evil, or good. In the US the Puritan heritage emphasized an evil but perfectible nature, although the authors believe that a shift toward a mixture between good and evil grew within the US at the time of their work in the early 1960s. The authors were unaware of any societies committed to a belief in an immutably good nature, although this position may be held

among individuals within societies.

Man-Nature Orientation. The second question posed is "what is the relation of man to nature?" Within the man-nature orientation the possibilities include subjugation to nature, harmony with nature, and mastery over nature. The mastery over nature position is the dominant orientation of most Americans. It carries a belief that natural forces can be overcome, e.g., rivers can be spanned with bridges, medical care can control illness, and that social problems such as war can be solved through technology. This orientation captures elements that are subsumed by space.

Cultures that emphasize subjugation to nature accept the inevitable and demonstrate fatalistic attitudes. Cultures emphasizing harmony believe that there is no real separation of man and nature.

Time Orientation. The third question posed asks "what is the temporal focus of human life?" Within the time orientation the possibilities include the past, present, and future. Although every society must deal with all three segments of time, different rank-orderings occur regarding their importance. Cultures that emphasize the past stress traditional customs while cultures emphasizing the present live for the moment. Future oriented societies such as the US plan extensively for future events, e.g. Americans hold negative attitudes toward people who drop out of school without completing their education because education is considered preparation for the future. Future oriented societies are critical of people who live for the moment and have not saved enough money to take care of their future needs.

Activity Orientation. The fourth question posed asks "what is the modality of human activity?" The activity orientation includes being, being-in-becoming, and doing. The being orientation focuses on spontaneity of expression but does not imply unchecked impulse

gratification. The Mexican celebration of fiestas is an example of spontaneous activity and enjoyment but one that occurs within limits. Being-in-becoming stresses the idea of self-expression with the goal of integration of the self. Doing emphasizes self-expression that results in accomplishments that are measurable by standards external to the individual. An example is the achievement of a college degree. The authors note that the doing orientation is the dominant one in American society.

Relational Orientation. The fifth question posed asks "what is the modality of man's relationship to other men?" The relational orientation possibilities include the lineal, the collateral and the individualistic. Lineal is characteristic of societies in which lines of authority are clearly established. Collateral (collectivism in other value systems) is characteristic of societies in which individual goals are subordinate to group goals. Individualistic describes societies in which people are autonomous of the group. Individual goals are more important than group goals. Although the US culture has been described as individualistic by many researchers, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck emphasize that both individual and group values exist in varying degrees in the US as well as in all cultures.

The latter orientation is directly comparable to individualism/collectivism described by other researchers. The five orientations that the authors describe are very directly related to the three values chosen for the current study. In fact, individualism, time, and space can incorporate most aspects of the five orientations except, perhaps, the innate goodness/evil of human nature.

### **Milton Rokeach's Value Survey (RSV)-1973**

Rokeach's research in values (1973) is among the most widely cited in social science. His conception of human values was guided by five assumptions that rely heavily on Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's earlier assumptions:

- (1) that the total number of values that a person possesses is relatively small
- (2) that all men everywhere possess the same values to different degrees
- (3) that values are organized into value systems
- (4) that the antecedents of human values can be traced to culture, society and its institutions, and personality
- (5) and that the consequences of human values will be manifested in virtually all phenomena that social scientists might consider worth investigating and understanding (p. 3).

Rokeach has provided the most often cited definition of values and states:

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. A value system is an enduring organization of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance (p. 5).

Rokeach conceptualized two types of values -- instrumental values (modes of conduct) and terminal values (end-states of existence). The 18 terminal values incorporated into the Rokeach Value Survey were obtained primarily from interviews with participants while the 18 instrumental values were selected from Anderson's (1968) list of 555 personality-trait words, which in turn had been derived from 18,000 trait-names originally compiled by Allport & Odbert (1936). The values chosen are "personal" values -- ones that individuals can rank in order of importance to their own life.

The 18 instrumental values include ambitious, broadminded, capable, cheerful and courageous. The 18 terminal values include a comfortable life, an exciting life, a sense of accomplishment, a world at peace, and a world of beauty.

Rokeach provides data for each value by demographic characteristics for Americans including age, gender, race, income, education, political affiliation, and religion. Differences occurred among people of different groups, e.g., men placed a higher value on achievement and intellectual pursuits while women placed a higher value on love, affiliation, and family.

However, Rokeach notes that men and women agreed on the most important and least important values and differed on the less extreme ones. Both men and women ranked a world at peace, family security, and freedom as the most important terminal values and ranked an exciting life, pleasure, social recognition, and a world of beauty as least important. "These value patterns that are held in common by men and women thus seem to be characteristic of Americans in general and might be different from, say, Russian or French or Israeli value patterns" (p. 58). Widely held personal values are cultural values.

The early tests of Rokeach's values on cross-cultural samples compared the values of Americans, Canadians, Australians (Feather 1970) with Israelis (Rim 1970) and found that Israeli students ranked national security in first place while American, Canadian, and Australian students placed it seventeenth out of 18 values. From the high consensus of national security as the most important value among individuals, Rokeach inferred that national security is a cultural value of the Israelis.

Rokeach notes that "the overall procedure employed in selecting the two lists is admittedly an intuitive one, and there is no reason to think that others working independently would have come up with precisely the same list of 18 terminal and 18 instrumental values. It would be interesting to see which values others might produce..." (p. 30).

Another way of viewing the Rokeach values sees the instrumental values as ideal behavior characteristics, and the terminal values as ideal goals. Rokeach's values differ from the previous offerings in their larger number and narrower focus. One could argue that the instrumental and terminal "values" are the end results of broader concepts such as depictions of the individual, time, and space.

### **Edward T. Hall's Primary Message System (1959)**

Hall has not only written extensively about time and space during the last 40 years, but has contributed the Primary Message System -- a "map" of culture that offers a different

perspective of how cultures are organized. The ten separate kinds of human activity are described below and are offered as basic elements that apply to all cultures.

Interaction. Humans interact with their environment which includes both people and the physical environment. Among the most highly elaborated forms of interaction are speech and writing. "Ultimately, everything man does involves interaction with something else. Interaction lies at the hub of the universe of culture and everything grows from it" (1959, p. 39). The vast communications systems developed today are the most specialized form of interaction.

Association. All societies and living things arrange their lives in some sort of recognizable pattern of association which can be described as a "pecking order." The best known example is the behavior of chickens. "In each flock there is always one chicken that pecks all the others but does not get pecked by any others, and at the bottom there is one that gets pecked by all the rest" (p. 40). Between the two extremes are the other members of the flock which are arranged in an orderly progression from first to last.

Humans organize themselves in many complex manners. In work settings, higher efficiency can be achieved by assigning various roles to members of the organization. Certain people who have greater authority than others are likely to exhibit leadership skills while others with lower authority follow the leader's instructions. Within families, a division of labor exists, as within all groups.

Subsistence. Food, clothing, and shelter form the basic needs in most societies. Humans have highly developed systems for feeding themselves, working, and making a living. This category of subsistence includes individual food habits as well as the economy of the culture.

The nature and status of different kinds of work to achieve subsistence demonstrate

whether people work alone to satisfy needs or whether people work together for the good of the community or group.

Bisexuality. Hall uses the term bisexuality to refer to "sexual reproduction and differentiation of both form and function along sex lines." Each culture has its own specific rules about masculine and feminine behavior. For example, there are masculine ways of speaking, and there are feminine ways of speaking; there are places where men are allowed, and places where women are allowed. In the past, pool halls, saloons, etc. were off limits for women, and the domestic areas such as the kitchen were places not frequented by men because they were locations where women work.

Men and women have different roles in different cultures. In contrast to the US, Iranian men need to be emotional, sensitive, and intuitive while women need to be coldly practical. Even though those roles vary according to the culture, the necessity of adhering to the cultural definitions is strong.

Territoriality. Territoriality involves taking possession, use, and defense of space on the part of living organisms. "The history of man's past is largely an account of his efforts to wrest space from others and to defend space from outsiders" (p. 45). All organisms use territory. Birds have recognizable territories in which they feed and nest; carnivorous animals have areas in which they hunt; and bees search for honey. Man uses space for all the activities in which he engages.

Space often depends upon status, e.g., the distance one sits from the head of the table on formal occasions. Speech also changes with space, ranging from whispering to shouting depending on distance.

Temporality. Temporality is tied to life in many ways including cycles and rhythms such as respiration rate and heartbeat.

Temporality is also manifest in the ways that humans regard the clock. Most Americans rigidly adhere to the clock, while natives of other cultures have a more flexible outlook. Hall has extensively studied the amount of time that one can "politely" be kept waiting from culture to culture. Americans are more likely to think of time as a commodity than people of other cultures.

Learning. Historically mammals have relied on adaptation to compensate for being warm blooded, of great size, of long life, and having small numbers of offspring. Learning is extended in time and space by means of language. Without language, animals have no way of symbolically storing their learning against future needs. For example, a fawn has no way of being forewarned of the danger of an armed hunter without the use of language, except where an actual demonstration occurs.

Learning to learn happens in different ways for different cultures. Japanese learn more by rote than Americans. Furthermore, time interacts with learning so that Americans are pressured to learn at a certain pace. Learning quickly and at a young age is valued over learning slowly. When children don't know the answer, they are encouraged to guess.

How people learn to learn will continue to be an area of investigation. These differences create one of the barriers between cultures so that people too often ask the wrong questions about members of others cultures. Americans ask "why can't the South Americans learn to be on time?" when the answer lies in the fact that no one taught them in a way that was consistent with how they learned everything else in life.

Play. In the course of evolution, play has been a relatively recent and not too well understood addition to living processes. The use of leisure time for recreation overlaps with dimensions of temporality and territoriality. For example, there are times for play such as weekends, after work, and leisure time, and there are places for play such as parks, neighborhoods, recreation rooms, or dens/bonus rooms in the home. Special amusement

areas are created such as Dollywood and Disney World.

Defense. Humans have carried defensive techniques into warfare in addition to religion, medicine, and law enforcement. They defend themselves not only against potentially hostile forces in nature but against those within human society and within themselves. Religion wards off both the dangers in nature and within the individual. Law enforcement agencies deal with offenders against society. Armies deal with offenders against other societies.

Medicine defends the welfare of the groups and the individual against disease, and different cultures have different attitudes toward being sick. For example, Americans sometimes blame themselves for getting sick, e.g., by not getting enough exercise, while the Navajo may believe he inadvertently stepped on a place that was taboo, or that a bad person bewitched him.

Exploitation. Organisms use or exploit the environment and adapt their bodies to meet specialized environmental conditions. The long neck of the giraffe (an adaptation to the high foliage of trees), the teeth of the saber-toothed tiger, and the human opposable thumb are other examples.

Some animals have developed specialized extensions of their body (the web of the spider, nests of birds) to take the place of what the body itself might do. This frees the body for other purposes.

Today humans have developed extensions for practically all things they previously did with their body. The evolution of weapons begins with the teeth and fist and ends with the atom bomb. Clothes and houses are extensions of biological temperature control mechanisms; money is a way of extending and storing labor; and transportation networks extend what we used to do with our feet and backs.

Hall's system is very useful in offering specific areas of behavior to examine when

evaluating depictions of the individual, time, and space. Each area is affected by the culture's choice of individualism or collectivism so that individualistic cultures interact, form associations, pursue needs for subsistence, differentiate the sexes, etc. differently than collectivistic cultures. By focusing on the areas that Hall has mapped, it is possible to examine how the major behavior areas are affected by individualism.

Hall primarily addresses time in his category of temporality, but play (leisure time) also incorporates concepts of time in a secondary capacity. Space is represented as territoriality, but exploitation, defense, and play (recreational space) offer additional areas that depict use of space. The fact that the cultural map reflects so many aspects pertaining to the individual, time, and space adds support that they are three of the most basic values within cultures.

### **Geert Hofstede's Value Dimensions (1980)**

The Dutch social scientist Geert Hofstede offers a set of four value dimensions based on survey research for a large multinational company in 40 countries. Hofstede derived the four dimensions from a factor analysis which included (1) individualism-collectivism, (2) power distance, (3) masculinity-femininity, and (4) uncertainty avoidance. While these dimensions reflect many of the characteristics described by the earlier anthropologists, some, e.g. uncertainty avoidance, offer a different grouping of behaviors than used in previous systems.

Hofstede locates values in the following manner. He describes human nature, culture, and personality as three layers of a pyramid. Human nature is positioned at the base of the pyramid and is the universal, inherited level within the individual that determines physical and basic psychological functioning. What one does with feelings, and how one expresses emotions is modified by culture -- "the collective programming of the mind which distinguished the members of one group or category of people from another" (1991, p.5). Culture is the middle layer of the pyramid, is learned, and must further be distinguished

from personality -- "the unique personal set of mental programs which (s)he does not share with any other human being. It is based upon traits which are partly inherited with the individual's unique set of genes and partly learned" (p.6).

At the cultural level of the pyramid, differences manifest themselves in several ways. Hofstede envisions symbols, heroes, rituals, and values as the layers of the skin of an onion with values at the core representing the deepest manifestations of culture, while heroes and rituals exist in between, and symbols reflect the most superficial layer.

The four value dimensions are described below.

Individualism-Collectivism. Hofstede (1991) defines the individualism-collectivism dimension as follows:

Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive ingroups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty (p.51).

Individualistic children learn to think in terms of "I" instead of "we." Speaking one's mind is a characteristic of an honest person for individualistic societies while maintaining harmony and avoiding direct confrontations are characteristic of collectivist societies. Task prevails over relationship in the individualistic work place while relationship prevails over task in the collectivistic work place. Other differences between individualistic and collectivistic cultures are shown in Appendix A.

Comparisons of 50 countries on this dimension have shown that the ten leading countries in descending order for individualism are: the US, Australia, Great Britain, Canada, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Italy, Belgium, Denmark and Sweden. The ten leading countries for collectivism are: Guatemala, Ecuador, Panama, Venezuela, Colombia, Indonesia, Pakistan, Costa Rica, Peru, and Taiwan (1991, p. 53).

Hofstede notes that there is a strong relationship between a country's national wealth

and the degree of individualism in its culture -- nearly all wealthy countries score high on individualism, and nearly all poor countries score low. While a cause and effect relationship can only be inferred, it is logical to assume that access to resources allows people more personal freedom. "The storyteller in the village market is replaced by TV sets, first one per village, but soon more. In wealthy Western family homes every family member may have his or her own TV set... Collective life is replaced by individual life" (p.76).

Power Distance. Hofstede notes that inequality exists in all societies -- some people are bigger, stronger, smarter, wealthier, or more powerful than others. However, the way that cultures deal with the inequality differs. Hofstede defines power distance as:

the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally. Institutions are the basic elements of society like the family, school, and the community; organizations are the places where people work (p. 28).

Power distance reflects relationships of dependence. In small power distance countries there is limited dependence of subordinates on authority figures and a preference for interdependence. With small emotional distance, subordinates can readily approach those in authority. These cultures believe in minimizing social or class inequalities and reducing hierarchical structures. In large power distance countries, subordinates depend heavily on authority figures. They believe in a social order in which each person has a rightful and protected place, and that hierarchy presumes existential inequality. Children are expected to be obedient and show respect for parents, while children and parents treat each other as equals in small power distance cultures. There the goal of education is to let children take control of their affairs as soon as they can. Children are allowed to disagree with elders, and formal respect and deference are seldom shown.

The ten countries with smallest power distance are: Austria, Israel, Denmark, New Zealand, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Switzerland, and Great Britain. The US ranks 16th among the 53 countries measured and takes its place among the small power distance

cultures. The ten countries with the largest power distance are: Malaysia, Guatemala, Panama, Philippines, Mexico, Venezuela, the Arab countries, Ecuador, Indonesia, and India.

Countries in which a Germanic language is spoken, countries with higher geographical latitude, and countries with greater wealth generally have lower power distance. Countries in which a Romance language is spoken, and countries with very large populations have higher power distance (1991, pp.42-44).

**Masculinity-Femininity.** Hofstede notes that gender roles vary from various cultures.

He describes the masculinity-femininity dimension as follows:

**Masculinity** pertains to societies in which social gender roles are clearly distinct (i.e., men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success whereas women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life); **femininity** pertains to societies in which social gender roles overlap (i.e., both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life) (p. 82).

In feminine countries both boys and girls learn to be nonambitious and modest. Assertive behavior and attempts at excelling are ridiculed; excellence is something one keeps to oneself; and permissiveness is valued over correctiveness. International conflicts should be resolved by negotiation and compromise. In masculine cultures children learn to admire assertiveness and excellence. Correctiveness is valued over permissiveness, and international conflicts should be resolved by a show of strength or by fighting.

Popular masculine fictional heroes have included Superman, Batman, and Rambo, while in feminine cultures children learn sympathy for the underdog and the anti-hero. Hofstede notes that the small and friendly Rasmus Klump (called Petzi in translations) is a Danish comic hero, and Ollie B. Bommel (Mr. Bumble) is a clumsy and naive anti-hero that has become a national personality among Dutch intellectuals.

The ten highest ranking masculine counties are Japan, Austria, Venezuela, Italy,

Switzerland, Mexico, Ireland, Jamaica, Great Britain and West Germany. The ten highest ranking feminine countries are: Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands, Denmark, Costa Rica, Yugoslavia, Finland, Chile, Portugal, and Thailand. The US ranks 15th in masculinity among the 53 countries measured.

Uncertainty Avoidance. Hofstede notes that ways of handling uncertainty are part and parcel of any human institution in any country. "As human beings, we all have to face the fact that we do not know what will happen tomorrow; the future is uncertain but we have to live with it anyway" (p. 110). He defines uncertainty avoidance as:

the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations. This feeling is, among other things, expressed through nervous stress and in a need for predictability: a need for written and unwritten rules (p. 113).

Countries with weak uncertainty avoidance believe that what is different is curious, while countries with strong uncertainty avoidance believe that what is different is dangerous. Weak uncertainty avoidance is characterized by a subjective feeling of well-being, leniency in rules, the acceptance of dissent, a willingness to take risks, and tolerance for deviation from expected behaviors. Strong uncertainty avoidance is characterized by a subjective feeling of anxiety, the need for extensive rules and regulations, a desire for consensus about goals, and a craving for certainty and security.

Top ranking countries with weak uncertainty avoidance include: Singapore, Jamaica, Denmark, Sweden, Hong Kong, Ireland, Great Britain, Malaysia, India, Philippines, and the US. Cultures with strong uncertainty avoidance include: Greece, Portugal, Guatemala, Uruguay, Belgium, Salvador, Japan, Yugoslavia, Peru, and France.

Uncertainty avoidance has been described by other researchers using different terms. Triandis (1989) suggests that "tight" cultures require individuals to show little tolerance for deviance, to conform to ingroup norms, role definitions, and values. "Loose" cultures either

have unclear norms about most social situations or tolerate deviance from the norms.

In describing the four value dimensions Hofstede notes a confusion in terms and comments that:

the **culture** of a country -- or other category of people -- is not a combination of properties of the "average citizen," nor a "modal personality." It is...a set of likely reactions of citizens with a common mental programming. One person may react in one way (such as, feeling more nervous), another in another way (such as, wanting rules to be respected). Such reactions need not be found within the same **persons**, but only statistically more often in the same **society**. Confusing the level of the individual with the level of the society is known in the social sciences as the **ecological fallacy**. It amounts to a confusion between personality and culture (p. 112).

The Hofstede value dimensions are considered an important contribution to values research and are widely cited. Like Clyde Kluckhohn and Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, Hofstede has organized the values broadly along large systems (dimensions and orientations), rather than the narrower approach of Rokeach that produced 36 values. Hofstede's groupings address gender (like Hall's cultural map) but omit concepts regarding time.

Hofstede's power distance is affected by the culture's attitude toward equality and social class. Small power distance coexists with beliefs in equality while large power distance coexists with fixed social class structures. While many characteristics of the small power distance countries correlate with individualism (teaching children to be independent and assertive, allowing them to disagree with parents), some individualistic cultures also have fixed class systems, e.g., France. Thus, an argument can be made that power distance (or equality) is also a value.

Uncertainty avoidance appears related both to individualism and mastery of nature. Perhaps when cultures expend a great effort to master nature (use space), members experience less uncertainty because they feel in control.

Hofstede's contribution to the values research is a system that keeps values conceptualized along a handful of powerful dimensions that can explain a large number of other behaviors.

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### **George C. Lodge's American Ideology (1975)**

Lodge is a political scientist who has linked values with ideology. With the term ideology, he refers to a collection of ideas that explicitly communicate the role of the "good community." It is the framework that allows a community to define and apply the values of survival, justice, self-respect, fulfillment, and economy (the efficient use of resources) (p. 7).

According to Lodge, all communities have treasured these values, but many communities define them differently due to differences in ideology. For example, the medieval Christian view of justice and Plato's view of justice are both different from the present day view, but the value justice has remained constant.

Lodge believes that ideology is a living structure that legitimizes the existing order and its patterns of action.

Ideology is...a bridge by which values are given specific meaning in various cultures at different points in space and time and conveyed into the life of the community (1975, p. 8).

No community is without an ideology, for it is formed and supported by the institutions in society. Traditional American ideology contains five "great ideas" that originated with John Locke in the 17th century and first appeared in the US during the 18th century. They include:

1. Individualism -- This is the atomistic notion that the community is no more than the sum of the individuals in it. It is the idea that fulfillment lies in an essentially lonely struggle in what amounts to a wilderness where the fit survive -- and where, if you do not survive, you are somehow unfit. Closely tied to individualism is the idea of equality, in the sense implied in the phrase "equal opportunity"; and the idea of contract, the inviolate device by which individuals are tied together as buyers and sellers. In the political order in this country, individualism evolved into interest pluralism, which became the preferred means of directing society.

2. Property Rights -- Traditionally, the best guarantee of individual rights was held to be the sanctity of property rights. By virtue of this concept, the individual was assured freedom from the predatory powers of the sovereign -- the Stuart monarchs for Locke, and Hanoverian monarchs for our revolutionary ancestors.

3. Competition -- Adam Smith most eloquently articulated the idea that the uses of property are best controlled by each individual proprietor competing in an open market to satisfy individual consumer desires. This principle of competition is still the intellectual linchpin of our economic system.

4. The Limited State -- In reaction to the powerful hierarchies of late medievalism, the conviction grew that the least government is the best government. We do not mind how big government may get, but we are reluctant to allow it authority or focus. And we resist the idea of planning by government, preferring instead that it respond to crises and to interest groups -- whoever has the clout can call the tune.

5. Scientific Specialization and Fragmentation -- This is the corruption of Newtonian mechanics which says that, if we attend to the parts, as experts and specialists, the whole will take care of itself.

Lodge's insight into ideology provides a political context for the understanding of values. Interestingly, the "values" he enumerates -- survival, justice, self-respect, fulfillment, and economy -- differ somewhat from those identified by anthropologists and more closely resemble Rokeach's values. His ideology including individualism and competition more closely resembles the values that other authors describe.

### **Conrad Arensberg and Arthur Niehoff's American Cultural Values (1971)**

Anthropologists Arensberg and Niehoff identified nine values which were presented briefly in Chapter 1. They reflect many of the ideas presented in the previous value systems and are examined here in greater depth.

Material Well-Being. Americans not only desire modern comforts, they feel they have a right to them: efficient and pleasant transportation, central heating, air conditioning, labor-saving devices of unending variety, instant hot and cold water, abundant choices in food, clothing that has style and durability, etc.

Achievement and success are measured mostly by the quantity and quality of material goods. There is display value in articles that others can see such as designer clothes, luxury personal cars, hot tubs, and personal computers.

Twofold Judgments. Americans make judgments along polarized dimensions such as amoral/immoral, legal/illegal, civilized/primitive, secular/sacred. This kind of thinking forces Americans into positions of exclusiveness; if one position is accepted, the other must be rejected. Unlike the Americans, the Japanese can hold opposite or parallel ideas. For example, people may worship in a Buddhist temple as well as in a Shinto shrine.

Most Americans base their personal life and community affairs on principles of right and wrong rather than on sanctions of shame, dishonor, ridicule, or horror of impropriety. The American is forced to categorize his conduct in impersonal terms such as "the law is the law" and "right is right," regardless of other considerations.

Moralizing. Americans apply the system of twofold judgments and tend to "moralize." Americans judge people and actions as absolutely right or wrong while other cultures apply different factors. "Rank or esteem, the dignity of the person, the honor of an individual, compassion for an unfortunate, or loyalty to a kinsman or co-religionist may be the basis for judgment as to proper conduct."

One consequence is that Americans often react intensely to the discovery that ideal behavior is not always attainable. Some individuals react by becoming cynical; others form organizations to eliminate the "failures" of others. This outlook can have negative consequences when interacting with people of another culture.

Work is More Important than Play. While work is associated in American values with high purpose and grim effort, play is associated with frivolity, pleasure, and children. In other cultures, festivals, holidays, and children having fun are the most important events in society. In the US "a man is judged by his work," while the nonindustrial societies have patterns of work and play that are intermixed.

Time is Money. American time is thought to be exact -- that people are punctual, activities are schedules, time is apportioned for separate activities, and the measure is the mechanical clock. In other cultures, people have difficulty understanding the values that produce a need to keep hours or appointments precisely.

Effort and Optimism. Americans believe that effort can solve all problems. This attitude is based on the concept that the universe is mechanistic, people are their own masters, and that man is qualitatively different from all other forms of life. With enough effort, people can improve themselves and manipulate the world around them. This viewpoint produces a certain intolerance for people who have failed to do so by those who have succeeded. Failures "don't have the guts, don't make a go of it, or don't get ahead."

The authors believe this is a very severe code that creates frustration in all those who have not been able to achieve high positions. Also, the notion that all problems have solutions moves Americans to take quick action when caution may be the wiser course.

Man and Nature. In the Buddhist and Hindu cultures, people and nature are one; they work with nature rather than attempting to conquer it. Instead, Americans take a conquering attitude toward nature. Americans often change the balance of nature in their use of such things as insecticides, weapons, irrigation, etc. Americans use technology to change the environment to their needs rather than preserving nature.

Equality of Men. American values support the belief that all people should have equal opportunities for achievement. The experiences that Americans underwent along the frontiers and through the process of immigration helped create a "legal and institutional heritage that prescribes equal rights, condemns special privileges, and demands fair representation for every citizen."

Americans favor the "underdog," a trait that is difficult for people of other cultures

to understand. Subordination and deference to royalty or prestige bother most Americans but are not offensive to people of other cultures.

Humanitarianism. Coming to the aid of the less fortunate is widespread in American culture. It expresses itself in the giving of donations to unknown individuals and groups, in the outpouring of aid to victims of famines, floods, and epidemics, and in contributions of time and money to various causes.

Unlike other cultures in which humanitarianism is personal and related to kinship obligations, the US culture organizes and depersonalizes giving.

Arensberg and Niehoff have used different terms to describe several values noted by previous researchers. For example, material well-being, equality, and humanitarianism are all related to individualism since people can distinguish themselves as individuals and be held in high esteem for their humanitarian efforts, and people can use material possessions to gain status and express individualism. The belief in equality allows Americans to believe that anyone can excel or succeed as an individual -- not just the privileged.

The broader concept of time allows one to accept that time is money, and that work is more important than play.

The concepts of space allow one to believe that with effort and optimism, people can effect changes in the environment that can solve all problems. Similarly, man and nature deal with the active manipulation of nature and the reconfiguration of space, both of which are usually accomplished through technology.

Twofold judgments and moralizing are categories that describe how Americans make evaluations, but one could argue that they are more accurately categorized as personality characteristics, e.g., open-mindedness and tolerance, than values. Thus, while the authors offer some departures from the other systems, many of the basic concepts remain the same.

**Lynn Kahle's List of Values (LOV) (1983)**

This widely used system of values in consumer behavior uses a list of eight values "culled" from Rokeach's terminal values and Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs. They include:

1. a sense of accomplishment
2. self-respect
3. security
4. being well-respected
5. self-fulfillment
6. warm relationships with others
7. fun-enjoyment-excitement
8. a sense of belonging

Considerable overlap exists between the LOV and the RVS in the values identified, e.g., the LOV uses security as a single, broad value while the RVS includes both national security and family security among the terminal values.

According to Kahle, values act as a guide that helps individuals adapt to a constantly changing environment with which they always interact. A change in the importance of a given value may reflect changing needs within the environment. Kahle conceptualizes the usefulness of the LOV as an indicator of changes in social values over time and has applied it to indicate changes in values in the US.

For example, a study comparing the values from 1976 to 1986 (Kahle, Poulos, & Sukdial, 1988) showed an increase in the value of warm relationships and a decrease in the value of security among women, which was attributed to increased financial independence with more women working. The values of self-respect and security were assumed to be less important goals for women in 1986 than in 1976 because more women already achieved those goals.

Kahle recommends utilizing these shifts in values in the type of appeal used in advertising. In a decade in which warm relationships are prized, the family and companionship themes often used by AT&T and McDonald's should be more successful than appeals tapping into other values. The decreased concern for security suggests that the

effectiveness of fear appeals may be weaker than at a time when concern for security is strong. Certain industries highly associated with security, e.g., insurance and home-security devices, may be able to utilize this information in creating more effective advertising campaigns.

The LOV's importance has been demonstrated by its application to marketing and advertising; however, conceptually it is akin to Rokeach's work. Differences exist primarily in the broader grouping of elements than Rokeach.

### **The Chinese Value Survey (1987)**

The final value system addresses the concern that the previous instruments may be culture bound. A group of 24 researchers worldwide called the Chinese Culture Connection headed by Michael Bond (1987) notes that social science is Western in origin, practitioners, and instrumentation. They quote Hofstede who said:

If we begin to realize that our own ideas are culturally limited...we can never be self-sufficient again. Only others with different mental programs can help us find the limitations of our own (p. 374).

Bond questions whether an instrument derived from a different cultural tradition and similarly applied around the world will yield the same results.

To address this question, Chinese social scientists were asked to prepare a list in Chinese of at least ten "fundamental and basic values for Chinese people." A list of 40 non-overlapping values was obtained and later translated to other languages. The values include filial piety (obedience to parents, respect for parents, honoring of ancestors, financial support of parents), industry (working hard), tolerance of others, and harmony with others.

The instrument was tested on students from 22 countries from both the East and West. The respondents were asked to indicate on a 9-point scale how important each of the concepts was to them personally. Four factors were identified which the authors call (1) integration, (2) Confucian work dynamism, (3) human-heartedness, and (4) moral discipline.

Integration included the following positive loading factors: tolerance of others, harmony with others, non-competitiveness, trustworthiness, solidarity with others, contentedness, being conservative, and having a close, intimate friend. Negative loading factors included the following: filial piety, patriotism, and chastity in women.

The Confucian work dynamism included thrift, persistence, having a sense of shame, and ordering relationships as positive loading factors. Personal steadiness, protecting your face, and respect for tradition were negatively loading factors.

Human-heartedness included the following positive loading factors: kindness, patience, and courtesy. Negative loading factors included a sense of righteousness and patriotism.

Moral discipline included moderation, keeping oneself disinterested and pure, and having few desires as positive loading factors. Adaptability and prudence were negative loading factors.

Bond performed a comparison of the data with that of Hofstede. Power distance and individualism both correlated significantly but negatively with integration and moral discipline. Human heartedness correlated highly and significantly with Hofstede's masculinity dimension; high human heartedness correlated with feminine rather than masculine valuing. Bond notes that human heartedness is an important dimension because it differentiates Western and Oriental cultures and is unrelated to measures of technology or modernization. "Despite its potential as an explanatory construct few cross-cultural studies have employed it in their rationale" (p. 158).

The Confucian work dynamism factor bore no relation to any of the Hofstede dimensions. Bond notes this is not surprising because the concepts are cumbersome and peculiar to Western thinking.

This system shows less correspondence to the systems proposed by the other researchers. The category of integration appears comparable to collectivism; human

heartedness describes behavior that may also overlap with collectivism; and moral discipline describes personality and behavior but is arguably not a value, per se. A glance at the 40 values shows a heavy emphasis on relationships, which suggests a polychronic culture organized by relationships rather than schedules, and a culture that uses space in a manner that respects nature rather than trying to master it.

### **Summary of Value Systems**

The nine value systems offer both similarities and differences. The two Kluckhohn systems are the most alike, and Hall's map of culture overlaps many of the same concepts. These three systems are the most theoretical and provide a framework that can accommodate all cultural values. The specific elements may vary, e.g., some cultures are individualistic and others are collectivistic, but both are elements that fit in with C. Kluckhohn's "man and man" cluster, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's "relational orientation," and Hall's interaction and association activities.

Hofstede narrowed these broad frameworks to four dimensions of values that have been measured in a number of different countries. They are continuums that can accommodate a broad range of behavior, but they don't include categories for other important behavior such as the experience of time. The Confucian work dynamism factor is another value that the Hofstede system couldn't accommodate.

Lodge, and Arensberg and Niehoff further narrowed the focus by specifically identifying elements that relate only to American culture. While Lodge's values (self-respect and fulfillment) were similar to Rokeach's, Lodge's ideology shared considerable similarity with Arensberg and Niehoff's values (individualism).

The Rokeach system presents an even more specific list of values that apply to American culture. His values such as ambitious and independent are particular characteristics

of individualistic people. While Rokeach's values don't include broad values such as the role of the individual, time, use of space, etc., they include elements of these values. Kahle's system is a regrouping of Rokeach's ideas.

The Chinese value system applies the same level of specific values to another culture and clearly demonstrates the variance of values from culture to culture.

The systems are presented as independent offerings that are not directly comparable due to differences in the breadth of the concept of values. Without acknowledgement and agreement on this issue, future research will continue to show a wide variance in the measurement of values, making comparisons difficult to interpret.

Hofstede, Kluckhohn, Kluckhohn and Strodbeck, and Hall provide the best theoretical basis for the current study. Because depictions of the individual, time, and space are central ideas in those systems and appeared in some form in the other systems, there is a basis for confidence in their explanatory power.

Table 4 summarizes the nine value systems.

#### **A Review of the Advertising Literature from 1980-1994 18 Content Analysis Studies of Advertising**

Many studies have provided a content analysis of advertising, but not all have specifically addressed cultural values. Other related areas such as the portrayal of roles and the use of different advertising appeals across cultures provide a wealth of information, but since their primary focus is not values, they are not examined in this study. For researchers whose interest includes role portrayal the following content analysis studies of advertising will provide additional information: Hispanic roles in American advertising (Czepiec and Kelly 1983), portrayal of older people (Langmeyer 1984; Zhou and Chen 1992), gender role

**TABLE 4**  
**SUMMARY OF VALUE SYSTEMS**

| Authors                      | Year | Values                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|------------------------------|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Kluckhohn, C.                | 1951 | Man and nature, man and man, both nature and man                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Kluckhohn, F. and Strodtbeck | 1961 | Human nature orientation, man-nature orientation, time orientation, activity orientation, relational orientation                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Rokeach                      | 1973 | Instrumental values: ambitious, broadminded, capable, cheerful, clean, courageous, forgiving, helpful, honest, imaginative, independent, intellectual, logical, loving, obedient, polite, responsible, self-controlled. Terminal values: comfortable life, exciting life, sense of accomplishment, world at peace, world of beauty, equality, family security, freedom, happiness, inner harmony, mature love, national security, pleasure, salvation, self-respect, social recognition, true friendship, wisdom |
| Hall                         | 1959 | Interaction, association, subsistence, bisexuality, territoriality, temporality, learning, play, defense, exploitation                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Hofstede                     | 1980 | Individualism-collectivism, power distance, masculinity-femininity, uncertainty avoidance                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Lodge                        | 1975 | Survival, justice, self-respect, fulfillment, economy. Ideology includes individualism, property rights, competition, limited state, scientific specialization and fragmentation                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Arensberg and Niehoff        | 1971 | material well-being, twofold judgments, moralizing, work and play, time is money, effort and optimism, man and nature, equality of men, humanitarianism                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Kahle                        | 1983 | sense of accomplishment, self-respect, security, being well-respected, self-fulfillment, warm relationships with others, fun-enjoyment-excitement, sense of belonging                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |

Continued

**TABLE 4 CON'T**  
**SUMMARY OF VALUE SYSTEMS**

| Author               | Year | Values                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|----------------------|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Chinese Value Survey | 1987 | filial piety, industry, tolerance of others, harmony of others, humbleness, loyalty to superiors, observation of rites and social rituals, reciprocation of greetings, kindness, knowledge, solidarity with others, moderation, self-cultivation, ordering relationships by status, sense of righteousness, benevolent authority, non-competitiveness, personal steadiness and stability, resistance to corruption, patriotism, sincerity, keeping oneself disinterested and pure, thrift, persistence, patience, repayment of good or evil, sense of cultural superiority, adaptability, prudence, trustworthiness, having a sense of shame, courtesy, contentedness with one's position in life, being conservative, protecting your face, close, intimate friends, chastity in women, having few desires, respect for tradition, wealth |

portrayal (England and Gardner 1983; Billy 1988; Wiles and Tjernlund 1991; Lysonski and Pollay 1990; DeYoung and Crane 1992), gender roles in children's advertising (Kolbe 1991), and family roles (Brown 1982).

The following content analysis studies focus on the information content in advertising: American advertising (Soley and Reid 1983; Tom, Calvert, Goolkatsian, and Zumsteg 1984); cross-cultural advertising (Madden, Caballero and Matsukubo 1986; Al-Deen 1991; Keown, Jacobs, Schmidt and Ghymn 1992). Nine additional studies focus on advertising appeals: American advertising (Pollay 1985), and cross-cultural advertising (Zandpour, Chang, and Catalano 1992; Cutler and Javalgi 1992; Ramaprasad and Hasegawa 1992; Di Benedetto, Tamate, and Chandran 1992; Katz and Lee 1992; Nevett 1992; Biswas, Olsen, and Carlet 1992; and Alden, Hoyer and Lee 1993).

The following 18 studies specifically focus on the measure of values either cross-culturally or within a single country, usually the US. Great effort was taken to organize these studies along some dimension that could offer an overview of the findings and point out logical directions for future research. The task became exceedingly difficult due to the minimal evidence of trends or patterns in the research.

A chronological look at the research showed almost no evolution of ideas over time. While some researchers who contributed more than one study applied their own methodology and coding scheme to their subsequent studies, researchers of single studies usually pursued new directions, even when the theoretical framework originates from the same source. For example, both Pollay (1983) and Sayre (1994) based their choice of values on Rokeach's work, but Pollay used 42 values while Sayre used two.

Each author provided a rationale for the study which occasionally referenced other values research in advertising, but few offered an explanation for departures in coding schemes. As a result of independent thinking in the values research, some researchers examined one core value while others examined large numbers. The number of values showed no correlation to other characteristics.

One factor that contributed to the inconsistency is the mixture of single culture and cross-cultural research. Eleven studies examined only one country -- nine examined advertising in the US; one examined political advertising in Poland; and another examined advertising in the People's Republic of China (PRC). The other six studies compared the advertising of two or more countries -- one compared US and British advertising; one compared US and Mexican advertising; three compared US and Japanese advertising; one compared US and Brazilian advertising; and one compared the advertising of the PRC, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

Fourteen studies examined print advertising only; however, two looked at both print and television advertising, and two examined television advertising only.

Despite the difficulties in fit, the studies are presented according to groupings of theoretical concepts and links to the nine value systems previously presented.

### **Studies Based on Rokeach**

Pollay (1983). Pollay maintains that "values exist and operate at the core of the advertising message. Advertisements communicate, celebrate and inevitably reinforce values. Values are manifest in advertisements in every way possible, in both the art and language" (1988, pp. 11-12).

Multiple value alternatives are available to the creators of ads as the basis for an appeal. Soap can be sold as producing cleanliness which in turn can be instrumental to social acceptance, economic success, sexuality or health.

In his 1983 study, Pollay examined possible value alternatives from a list of 50 values used in White's (1951) analysis of World War II propaganda and from the 36 values used by Rokeach. Pollay selected 42 values (both attributes and benefits) that he adapted for content analysis of American ads. The values include effective, durable, convenient, cheap, and traditional.

Pollay's article provided a detailed description of the procedure and its application

for both television and print advertising. Coders analyzed print advertising from magazines from 1900 to 1980 and obtained various findings; however, Pollay presented the conclusions drawn from those ads in the following studies.

Pollay (1984). The measurement system outlined in Pollay (1983) was applied to a sample of 2,000 US magazine ads from 1900 to 1980. A total of 250 ads from each of the eight decades was drawn by random sampling from each of the ten largest circulation magazines in the general interest category for each decade.

Pollay summarized the number of dominant and subordinate values across the decades and noted that the earlier decades typically included only one dominant value with a number of subordinate themes, while ads in the recent decades contained two dominant values and fewer subordinate messages. These ads can be thought of as "more focused, attempting fewer total value appeals, more forceful, and more successful at raising multiple appeals into dominance" (p. 127).

Pollay summarized the most frequently employed values and noted that practical (including convenient, time saving, powerful, efficient) ranked highest among both the dominant and subordinate themes for every decade. The other frequently employed values in descending order were: family, new, cheap, healthy, sexy, wisdom, and unique. There was some fluctuation in these values across the decades, e.g., the second highest value was "cheap" in the 1900s and 1970s; "family" in the 1910s, 1930s, and 1940s; "sexy" in the 1920s; and "new" in the 1950s and 1960s. Pollay summarized the information to show both an overall ranking for each value over the 80 year period and a ranking by decade.

The heavy emphasis on appeals to practicality are evidence of a monochronic culture that uses time to organize life.

Pollay and Gallaher (1990). In this study the authors raised questions regarding: (1) the consistency of values presented across the media and (2) the relationship between the

values portrayed in advertising and the values generally held by the population.

To test the question regarding consistency across media the authors compared the value profile obtained in Pollay's (1984) study of 2000 magazine ads from 1900 to 1980 with a value profile obtained from 250 television ads from 1970 to 1980. They found that despite the differences in format and information content (television advertising is generally less informative than magazine advertising), advertising messages from both media used appeals to the same values. They found that the hierarchy of values and their relative frequency was nearly equivalent.

Comparisons between advertising values and population values required recasting Pollay's value measurement system to the Rokeach schema (1973) which was possible, given that Pollay's system borrowed heavily from the RVS. Values in magazine ads in 1973 were recalculated and compared with the values in the population for 1973. Population values were differentiated for the whole population and the heavy users of TV, magazines, and newspapers.

Pollay and Gallaher found that the three most common terminal values in the ads were pleasure (21%), wisdom (20%), and family security (18%). In contrast, Rokeach's subjects rated pleasure as 15th in importance out of 18 terminal values, wisdom as third, and family security as seventh. Comparison of the two value profiles showed no significant correlation for either the instrumental or terminal values. The authors concluded that "the value character of advertising is apparently (at least in the US), independent of the cultural character of the population on which it operates" (p. 369).

The authors offered these results in support of their position that advertising is a "distorted mirror" -- that it does not merely reflect the values but that it shapes the values within a culture.

Further research will be needed to insure that the method of determining audience values is not biased by methodological differences. These might occur if the task of ranking values in ads is significantly different from the ranking of personal values, either in the

number of values to be ranked or the difference in ego involvement. For example, coders do not lose face when they note the dominant value is pleasure, but individuals may be embarrassed to rank pleasure above more socially acceptable values.

Belk and Pollay (1985a). The authors noted that advertising has often been accused of spreading a "culture of consumption" by contributing to a shift in values in which "the good life" is seen as one that is lived for material comforts and luxuries rather than one that is lived according to moral and religious laws (p. 888). The study examined the central premise of the following arguments:

Does advertising attractively present an ever-escalating image of the good life, portraying it in terms of increasing abundance, luxury, and leisure, while using these themes in increasingly forthright and unabashed appeals to live the good life? (p. 889).

From the original population of 2,000 US magazine ads described in the previous studies, Belk and Pollay selected a sample of 411 ads that portrayed either the interior or exterior of a home in the illustrations. The ads were coded along the following dimensions:

**Having:** Shows either a person displaying or referring to owned object(s) or, from eye level, a house or room into which the viewer seems to be invited.

**Being:** Shows or discusses what the reader can become or how the reader will be treated, with the help of the product or service.

**Doing:** Shows or discusses a reader activity that is aided or provided by the product or service.

**Luxury/Pleasure:** Explicitly mentions luxury (or related terms such as leisure, pleasure, regal, or pampered) or else depicts such pleasures visually (depictions should be judged to be clearly more comfortable, lavish, or opulent than most middle class homes of the same period).

**Practical/Functional:** Shows or discusses pragmatic product or service benefits such as practicality, efficiency, cleanliness, or hygiene.

**Beautiful/Pretty:** Shows, implies, or discusses enhancement of appearance of person, possession, or home as a result of product or service use.

The appeals to luxury, practical, and beautiful are taken from Pollay's original list of

42 values based on Rokeach's work. The modes of existence (having/being/doing) also relate to Rokeach since the authors compare "doing" to instrumental values and "having" to terminal values.

The authors found that contrary to expectations, background illustrations did not show items of luxury and comfort with increasing frequency. In fact, they noted a trend away from borrowing status from background items to making the product the "star." They concluded that advertisers do not want other products and services to distract from the advertised item.

Analysis of the thematic patterns revealed that the practical/functional emphasis changed to the luxury/pleasure theme by the mid '60s. Examples of practical appeals included: "KitchenAid Disposers Can Get You Out Of This Jam" and "If Your Kids Get Too Many Cavities, Ask Your Dentist What Kind Of Toothpaste His Kids Use." Luxury appeals were reflected in "A Diamond Is Forever" and "Cannon Royal Family." The authors concluded that the ads became increasingly "hedonistic" in their appeals to luxury, especially over the past 40 years.

Analysis of the existential codes (having, doing, and being) showed a complex pattern with increases and decreases over the years. "Doing" (an experiential mode between the most materialistic mode, "having," and the least materialistic mode, "being") was consistently the most frequent mode represented. As a general trend, "having" increased over the century while "being" decreased.

The authors concluded that advertising does, in fact, promote a view of the good life that emphasizes material comforts and luxury.

Belk and Pollay (1985b). Belk and Pollay continued their look at materialism in

American culture and examined the appeals to status (from Rokeach) in addition to the appeals to luxury and utility previously considered but without the appeal of beautiful/pretty.

They defined status as follows:

**Status appeal:** Shows or discusses prestige or social standing relative to others or uses high prestige source or association (e.g., a testimonial by a socially prominent spokesperson or the depiction of household help or a grand home).

Using the sample of 411 magazine ads portraying either the interior or exterior of homes previously described, the authors expected to find that appeals to status and luxury increased over the decades and that the utilitarian appeals decreased.

Results showed that after 1965, the luxury appeal climbed dramatically, and the utilitarian appeal declined throughout the century. The status appeal was illustrated by slogans (p. 396) such as "Mrs. Nicholas Longworth on keeping one's appearance up to the mark" (cold cream) and "We Peeked into the Kitchens of Fashionable Park Avenue and in 389 out of 400 we found ROYAL" (Baking Powder).

Throughout the century, status appeals were much less frequent than the other appeals, and they were common only during the 1920s and 1930s. The authors note that it may seem paradoxical that status appeals were at their height during the Depression, but portraits of success during this era were conducive to fantasizing and hoping for a better tomorrow.

Belk and Pollay (1985c). The authors examined US and Japanese magazine ads featuring products and services in a home setting to gain evidence of various types of materialism.

The authors utilized a subset of the 411 ads previously used by Belk and Pollay (1985a, 1985b). While the previous studies used American ads with illustrations of homes

from 1900 to 1980, the current study used 220 ads that appeared between 1943 and 1977. A comparable sample of Japanese ads was obtained, resulting in 332 ads from 1953 to 1983 for a total of 552 ads.

Coding categories included the same as in the previous study. The authors found that as expected, recent Japanese advertising has increasingly emphasized status to a much greater degree than recent US advertising, which has continued to emphasize personal efficacy to a much greater degree than Japanese advertising. Both cultures used materialistic themes in their advertising.

Belk and Bryce (1986). The authors noted the increase in appeals to a materialistic lifestyle among American consumers reported in previous research (Belk and Pollay 1985a, 1985b, 1985c), and in the current study they explored materialism and the related value of individual determinism in American and Japanese advertising since World War II. The authors defined individual determinism as the belief that one's acts as an individual determine one's outcomes, which has been called "standing out" and "primary control" by other researchers (Bairry 1967; Rothbaum, Weisz, and Snyder 1982). These ideas correspond to the "man versus nature" orientation in Kluckhohn and Strodbeck's (1961) value orientations, the "man and nature" cluster in Kluckhohn's (1951) value orientations, although these authors were not cited.

The authors utilized the same set of 552 ads previously used by Belk and Pollay (1985c). Coding categories were identical to those used in Belk and Pollay (1985b) which were: (1) luxury/pleasure, (2) status/prestige, (3) having, (4) being, and (5) doing.

Results showed that each of the materialistic themes (luxury, status, and having) grew more frequent in American advertising in the '60s and '70s when compared to the earlier

years. The status appeal was far more prevalent in Japan than in the US, while the luxury appeal was somewhat more prevalent in the US. Emphasis on being decreased while emphasis on having increased in Japan.

The authors further compared a sample of television advertising between the two countries from 1984 along the same dimensions as described above. A noticeable difference in the use of a high status spokesperson was seen in the Japanese ads (41% compared to 12% in U.S. ads). The theme of "doing" was no more common in the US. TV ads than in the Japanese TV ads, although the US ads were more likely to use individualistic appeals.

Tse, Belk, and Zhou (1989). The authors' interest in the issue of how societies learn to consume directed them to measure the transition of the People's Republic of China from a "market socialist" society to a country with a rapidly increasing variety of consumer goods. Tse, Belk, and Zhou suggested that although Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the PRC bear a common ethnic heritage and use the same language, differences in socioeconomic standards, political ideologies, and advertising philosophies will likely cause or reflect differences in the values of consumers and advertisers (p. 458). The present study investigated the consumption appeals in the ads for the three societies.

The researchers sampled ads from the following national newspapers from 1979 to 1985: People's Daily (number one in circulation in the PRC), Central Daily (number one in circulation in Taiwan), and Sing Tao Yat Pao (within the top three in circulation in Hong Kong during the period of investigation) and obtained a total of 964 illustrated consumer ads.

Relying heavily on Rokeach's values, three key elements were coded -- the nature of the product advertised, the consumption appeals, and the advertised benefits and existential

theme. The ten consumption appeals are listed below:

1. Technology-technological content of product
2. Modernity-modern, future, new
3. Hedonism-pretty, luxury, prestige, foreign, have fun
4. Product performance-high quality, performance
5. Performance assurance-certified, widely accepted
6. Ingredients-product ingredients
7. Product variety-variety
8. Distribution-service availability, list of shops
9. Value of purchase-price, economy, practical
10. Image-company history, image

These ten underlying appeals were reflected in a number of elements including: future is good, modern/contemporary, practical/functional, beautiful/pretty, and luxurious/pleasurable.

Analysis of the data showed that the PRC ads emphasize utilitarian appeals of product performance, assurance of performance and technology, promise of a better life, and focus on the consumer's state of being as the major theme. In contrast, Hong Kong ads used more hedonistic appeals, stressed luxury and enjoyment approaches, promised easier living and an American lifestyle, and focused on doing. The Taiwan ads fell between these two extremes.

Although Hong Kong and Taiwan ads converged on the appeal to hedonism, the PRC ads took a different path. The authors presumed that while market forces may push the consumption values toward convergence with those of Hong Kong, political ideology may limit that convergence.

Sayre (1994). Sayre noted that many researchers advocate a cultural approach to political advertising analysis to answer questions regarding which cultural values are the most important for winning elections. To utilize a cultural approach to political advertising, Sayre examined political ads in Europe's first free election in Hungary by using two of Rokeach's values -- equality and freedom.

Sayre raised the following research questions:

1. What are the core values presented in party commercials?
2. How are core and political values expressed in party logos?
3. What is the relationship between freedom and equality in political advertising developed by the four major parties?
4. How well do the values depicted in the commercials correspond to the values stated in party ideology?
5. What do election outcomes suggest with regard to the values presented in campaign advertising?

A content analysis was conducted using 62 television commercials to answer the research questions. To establish criteria for coding, representatives of the major contending political parties identified ten "core values" in addition to freedom and equality: group unity, health, individuality, orderly world, progress, state power, wisdom, national pride, productivity, and self fulfillment.

Campaign managers from the four political parties identified and articulated relevant images of freedom and equality as follows:

**Equality** (security, equal pay for equal work) -- job security by embracing worker, carnation logo, collective farming, unions, bread and food for all, youth programs, agriculture, male party bosses, the earth teen games.

**Freedom** (market economy, free expression and choice, nationalism) -- religion, stores, commerce, Western music, technology, arts and cultural expression, travel, breaking away from the past, documentary film juxtaposed with images of the future, chains breaking, barbed wire fences splitting, Hungarian music.

The 62 sample commercials were produced by four political parties: the Forum, the Socialists, the Free Democrats, and the Young Democrats. The ads were coded for values, and results were summarized by counting and ranking the frequency of the values for each of the four parties.

Differences in emphasis of values were analyzed with regard to the goals of each party and the overall effectiveness. The Forum emerged as the victorious party with its primary emphasis on national pride, and secondary emphasis on freedom and group unity

in a broad attempt to incorporate several values.

Both the Free Democrats and Young Democrats placed an overall emphasis on freedom as the predominant value. Their lack of attention to other values, particularly equality, led analysts to believe that freedom -- to the exclusion of other values -- was too daring a strategy for the first election.

In contrast, the Socialists emphasized equality over freedom as its highest ranking value. The party's goal was to separate itself from the Communists on the issue of freedom, but an evaluation of their campaign found them weak in their effort.

Sayre concluded that by examining the importance of political values and the type of images needed for conveying their messages, advertisers may better communicate in future elections.

Cheng (1994). The author takes the position that cultural values are transmitted through institutions that traditionally include the family, religion, school, court. In the post-industrial age, mass media have become another major institution for the transmission of cultural values. According to Potter (1954), advertising has "joined the charmed circle of institutions which fix the values and standards of society...and it becomes necessary to consider with special care the extent and nature of its influence, how far it extends, and in what way it makes itself felt" (p. 177).

Cheng notes that while some research has been done on cultural values reflected in the advertising of some developing countries, much remains unknown about the values manifest in Chinese advertising.

The following research questions were posed:

1. What are the dominant cultural values manifest in Chinese magazine advertisements?
2. What are the differences, if any in the cultural values reflected in the Chinese magazine advertisements from 1982 and 1992?

To answer the questions, a total of 572 ads were content analyzed, 192 from 1982 and 380 ads from 1992. A coding scheme of 28 values including beauty, collectivism, convenience, courtesy, and economy was developed; 20 western values were borrowed or modified from Pollay's 42 values which are based on Rokeach, and eight eastern values were included from Mueller's values.

Results showed that the three most frequently coded values for both years were modernity, technology, and quality, with frequencies ranging from 40% to 76%. Trends showed that 16 of the 28 values changed significantly in frequency over the years. Those that increased over time included collectivism, courtesy, patriotism, respect for the elderly, social status, wealth, youth, and sex. Those that decreased were economy, neatness, ornamental, practical, and quality.

The author's interpretation of the trend is that the values decreasing in frequency are utilitarian in nature and centered around product quality while the values increasing in frequency are symbolic of human emotions. Cheng explains that product quality was a serious problem in the 1980s but less so in the 1990s; thus, the need for quality appeals might decline.

Cheng concludes by saying that international advertisers need to closely monitor the trend of changing cultural values in China and to employ the most appropriate cultural values, including both eastern and western.

### **Studies Based on Hofstede**

McCarty and Hattwick (1992). McCarty and Hattwick also addressed the global advertising issue and asked to what extent cultural value orientations are reflected in the advertising of a culture. They posed this question because they noted that while values are important for marketing, the values may not be accurately expressed in the advertising. Even

though "core beliefs are important to a cultural group, these beliefs may not represent the best appeal for products or services. It is expected therefore, that while value orientations may be represented in ads, they will not necessarily be the main appeal" (p. 36).

An additional question concerned the extent to which value-orientation appeals were consistent with the stance of the culture or inconsistent with the cultural beliefs. It is intuitive that the values should be consistent, but other researchers (Mueller, 1987) have shown exceptions.

The authors utilized a comparison of magazine ads from the US and Mexico to test their hypotheses. They noted six cultural value orientations that they used as coding categories including:

**(1) Individualism-Collectivism** (Hofstede 1980; Kluckhohn and Strodbeck 1961). According to Hofstede the US is an individualistic country while Mexico is collectivistic, though Mexico may be moving toward individualism as time passes.

**(2) Masculinity-Femininity** (Hofstede 1980). Mexico is a highly masculine culture, and the US is less extreme but tends toward being masculine.

**(3) Time Orientation** (Kluckhohn and Strodbeck 1961). Mexico is considered a present oriented culture while the US is future oriented.

**(4) Uncertainty Avoidance** (Hofstede 1980). Mexico has high avoidance of uncertainty while the US has a greater tolerance for uncertainty.

**(5) Activity Orientation** (Kluckhohn and Strodbeck 1961). The US is considered a very "doing" oriented culture while Mexico is "being" oriented.

**(6) Human's Relationship with Nature** (Kluckhohn and Strodbeck 1961). The US believes in dominance over nature while Mexico accepts subjugation with regard to nature.

The researchers selected 195 ads from 11 Mexican magazines and 100 ads from six US magazines including women's magazines, men's magazines, parenting magazines, and gossip magazines.

Results showed that the individualism-collectivism dimension and the activity dimension were the two value orientations that were displayed in the advertising most frequently for both cultures. In both cultures about 30% of the ads contained messages of

individualism-collectivism; however, of those ads a majority emphasized individualism over collectivism (61% of the US sample and 53% of the Mexican sample). The authors noted that individualism is consistent with US values but inconsistent with Mexican values.

A total of 21% of the US ads contained an activity oriented theme. All (100%) emphasized doing over being and were judged consistent with the culture. A total of 14% of the Mexican ads contained an activity oriented theme. Of those almost all (96%) emphasized doing over being and were judged inconsistent with the culture.

The remaining value orientations were present in less than 10% of the sample and were not evaluated for their consistency within the culture.

The value orientations were the primary appeal in about 20% of the ads, the secondary appeal for about 55% of the ads, and present but not used as an appeal in about 25% of the ads.

Wolburg and Taylor (1994). The authors investigated how elements of individualism are communicated in American advertising. Individualism was chosen because it has been described by numerous anthropologists and social scientists. The work of Hofstede and Hall provided the foundation for the study.

To examine ads aimed at the broadest audience, the authors analyzed a sample of 169 television ads obtained from taping primetime viewing on the four networks on a given weeknight. They applied a four stage analytical process.

The initial stage was to classify the type of products advertised among the total sample. Groups included individual products (those that are intended for individual use such as credit cards, personalized long distance services, cars, and life insurance), collective products (those that are intended for collective use such as national parks, highways, and the military), and neutral products (products that can either be used individually or collectively such as stores, airlines, food, beverages, hotels, and OTC drugs). This step was taken to identify the relationship between the advertising strategy and the product. Results showed

that the nature of the product did not precipitate the use of a particular advertising strategy. Individual products were likely to use individualism messages, but collective and neutral products were also able to use elements of individualism.

The second stage required identifying the elements and presence of individualism and locating them within product categories. "Main message element" and "contextual element" were selected as the units of analysis. Main message element was defined as the "intended overall impression to be gained from viewing the commercial." Most often it could be deduced by asking after viewing the commercial "What will happen if I buy and use the advertised product?" The eight message elements were:

1. Take better care of myself/my family
2. Become more "me"
3. Make children more independent
4. Learn how to learn
5. Gain self-respect
6. Win a promotion or increase skill level
7. Work more efficiently
8. Become more attractive/healthier

Main message elements that focused on product performance, demonstration, uses, and applications were not coded as messages of individualism.

Contextual elements were defined as "secondary characteristics of the commercial that reflect an individualist society but that are not part of the main message strategy."

In Stage 3 the eight message elements were collapsed into four better-defined message strategies which produced a typology of "The Esteemed Individual" (made up of the message elements of "take care of myself/family," "gain self-respect," and part of the "become more me" element), "The Efficient Individual" (made up of "make children more independent," "learn how to learn," "win a promotion or increase skill level"), "The Physically Attractive Individual" (made up of "become more attractive/healthier"), and the "I Am Me Individual" (made up of the remaining elements of "become more me").

Stage 4 required re-examining the commercials for contextual cues of individualism. The ads showed "real life" scenarios that teach acceptable behavior for consumers according

to gender, race, ethnic group, age, education/occupation, and the nature of recognition.

A total of 48% of the ads used direct individualist appeals in the message, and 90% provided contextual cues. The authors concluded that individualism can potentially be expressed in a large number of ways, but that advertising only portrays individualism in four primary ways. Expressions of individualism are not depicted in the same way among groups, which can privilege some at the expense of others. The authors argued for advertisers to become more conscious of the ways in which they portray individualism.

### **Studies Based on Other Systems**

Zinkhan and Shermohamad (1986). The authors note that in The Lonely Crowd, Riesman (1950) described three types of "social character," each of which enforces conformity to social norms in a distinctive manner and are labeled:

- 1. Tradition-directed:** insures conformity by instilling a strong tendency to follow tradition.
- 2. Inner-directed:** insures conformity by instilling early in life a strong tendency to follow an internalized set of goals.
- 3. Other-directed:** insures conformity by instilling a sensitivity to the expectations and preferences of others.

Two previous empirical/historical studies conducted to determine whether other-directedness was gaining strength in American society found little support. Zinkhan and Shermohamad proposed to extend the empirical test of Riesman's theory to the present and to test the theory for both male-oriented and female-oriented magazines.

US magazine ads were analyzed to determine whether other-directed appeals were used. The sample ads of an unspecified number were chosen from issues of the Ladies Home Journal and Popular Science from 1951 to 1980.

Ads were classified as other-directed if any one of the 12 following characteristics were present:

1. Testimonials. "Billie Burke wears Minerva Sweaters."

2. Collective Endorsements. "Housewives like the Singer Sewing Machine."
3. Quantitative Endorsements. "25 million men use Star Blades."
4. Positive Interpersonal. "He'll like you better if you use Revlon."
5. Negative Interpersonal. "Her perspiration drove her friends away. She should have used Mum."
6. Both Positive and Negative Interpersonal. "Jim lost his girl because poor breakfast food gave him no pep. After eating Wheaties, he's won her back."
7. Interpersonal Activities Involving Several People. The headline reads, "Make new friends -- enjoy carefree, 'crowded with fun' weeks at Oregon." The illustration shows four people camping at a lake. Two power boats are in the foreground.
8. Direct Bid for Approval. A furniture ad illustrates a woman showing her new furniture to her friends, and the technical qualities of the product are not stressed.
9. Social Rather than Task-Oriented Activities. A typewriter ad has an illustration of the typewriter in the foreground with a man and woman in the background smiling and looking at some papers.
10. Quality is Determined by the Peer Group. As shown in an ad, the success of the instant coffee is assured only after the bridge club has approved it.
11. Heroes, Symbols of Culture are Personal, Informal. The ad gives advice about how to get along with other people or emphasized the importance of understanding the likes and dislikes of other peer-group members.
12. Use of New, Modern, Up-to-Date Appeals. Other-directed consumers may have a strong desire to keep current with "new" products. Thus, an ad that features this appeal is classified as other-directed (pp. 129-130).

The authors found a significant increase in other-directedness for Popular Science but not for the Ladies Home Journal. Rather than suggesting that other-directedness is less prevalent in women, the authors noted that more research will be necessary to rule out social class differences and product differences between magazines.

Zinkhan, Hong, and Lawson (1990). The authors defined "cultural or social values" as widely held beliefs that serve as a general guide for some set of activities (p. 135). They noted that achievement motivation (attaining success or avoiding failure) and affiliation

motivation (the need to form relationships) are two social values consistent with this definition and serve as the focus of this study.

The authors proposed that Riesman's concepts of inner-directedness (the tendency to follow an internalized set of goals) and other-directedness (the tendency to follow the expectations and preferences of others) are closely linked to the concepts of achievement and affiliation motivation. Both inner-directed individuals and those with a high need for achievement are focused on competition, standards of excellence, and the self. In contrast, both other-directed individuals and those high in affiliation motivation are concerned with relationships with other people.

Previous research (Zinkhan and Shermohamed 1986) tested the hypothesis that the US is in transition from inner-directedness to other-directedness. The present study tested Riesman's prediction as it applies to achievement and affiliation.

The authors selected ads from Time, Ladies Home Journal, and Esquire magazines from 1935 to 1985, and the coders examined every ad one-half page or larger in size from a total of 216 magazines yielding 13,457 ads.

The coding criteria were used to indicate whether: (1) an achievement appeal was present, (2) an affiliation appeal was present, (3) neither were present, or (4) both were present.

Achievement appeals were characterized by:

1. Outperforming someone else
2. Meeting or surpassing some self-imposed standard of excellence
3. Doing something unique
4. Being involved over a long term in doing something well when there is an indication of great involvement over time in the achievement goal, e.g. being a success in life

Affiliation appeals were characterized by:

1. Wanting to establish, restore, or maintain a close, warm, friendly relationship with

another or others

2. Being emotionally concerned over separation from another person, which indicates a desire to restore a close relationship

3. Desiring to participate or being concerned with participating in friendly, convivial activities, such as a club reunion (p. 143).

Results indicated increases in affiliation appeals and decreases in achievement appeals with a correlation between inner-directedness and achievement of .42 ( $p < 0.001$ ), and a correlation between outer-directedness and affiliation of .53 ( $p < 0.001$ ).

Achievement appeals were found to be more frequent in male-oriented magazines, but the decline was not faster in male-oriented publications, contrary to predictions.

The authors concluded that although achievement appeals have decreased, they are still twice as prevalent as affiliation appeals. While this study points to a general trend, the overall frequency of achievement appeals and the implied need for achievement is still great.

Mueller (1987). The author addressed the global advertising issue and compared the type of appeals used in Japanese and American advertising. While appeals differ from values, the two are closely linked because the appeals are often chosen based on assumptions regarding values.

Based on the premise that "advertising tends to reflect the prevalent values of a culture in which it exists," Mueller noted that we should expect the majority of Japanese ads to utilize traditional appeals. If, however, advertising is attempting to shape social values for the commercial purposes of creating a Westernized or world consumer culture, we should expect modern advertising appeals to prevail.

Although Mueller's study relates more directly to appeals than values, the appeals chosen are directly tied to many of the values used in other studies. Due to the emphasis on appeals, the author cited the marketing and advertising literature (Kaynak and Mitchell 1981; Kleppner 1979) rather than the values system literature.

Mueller described five traditional appeals characteristic of Japan and five modern appeals characteristic of the West. The traditional appeals are:

**1. Group Consensus Appeal.** The emphasis here is on the individual in relation to others, typically the reference group. The individual is depicted as an integral part of the whole. References may be made to significant others. Pressure is on consensus and conformity to the will of the group.

**2. Soft-sell Appeal.** Mood and atmosphere are conveyed through a beautiful scene or the development of an emotional story or verse. Human emotional sentiments are emphasized over clear-cut product-related appeals.

**3. Veneration of the Elderly and Traditional Appeals.** Wisdom of the elderly, as well as the veneration of that which is traditional is stressed. Older group members are depicted being asked for advice, opinions, and recommendations. Models in such advertisements tend to be older.

**4. Status Appeals.** Advertisements suggest that the use of a particular product will improve some inherent quality of the user in the eyes of others. Position and rank within the context of the group are stressed. This category also includes foreign status appeals -- use of foreign words, phrases, models, and foreign celebrity endorsements.

**5. Oneness with Nature Appeals.** The goodness and beauty of nature are emphasized in relationship with man. Interaction and affinity of man and nature are stressed. The focus is on back-to nature themes.

The modern appeals include:

**1. Individual and Independence Appeals.** Emphasis is on the individual as being distinct and unlike others. Individuals are depicted as standing out in a crowd or having the ability to be self-sufficient. Nonconformity, originality, and uniqueness are key terms. Dependency is down-played.

**2. Hard-sell Appeals.** Sales orientation is emphasized here, stressing brand name and product recommendations. Explicit mention may be made of competitive products, sometimes by name, and the product advantage depends on performance. This appeal includes such statements such as "number one" and "leader."

**3. Youth and Modernity Appeals.** Emphasis is on modernity and deification of the younger generation, often through the depiction of younger models. Stress is on contemporariness and youthful benefits of the products.

**4. Product Merit Appeals.** Focus is on the product and its characteristics. Some aspect or feature of the product is described in depth. The benefit to the consumer is secondary or implied.

**5. Manipulation of Nature appeals.** The theme here is man triumphing over the elements of nature. Man's superiority over nature is reflected as well as an emphasis on technological achievement.

A sample of magazine ads from Newsweek, Good Housekeeping, Shukan Asahi (a Japanese news oriented magazine), and Katei Gaho, (a Japanese woman's magazine) were chosen for the comparison of Japanese and US ads. All four-color full page ads for nine product categories were collected in the four magazines including 146 Japanese ads and 232 American ads, yielding a total of 378. Each ad was coded for its dominant appeal type.

Results failed to show the high group consensus appeals expected in the Japanese ads. In fact, more American ads used the group consensus appeal than the Japanese ads. Mueller suggested that the most reasonable explanation is that Japanese advertisers have found it more profitable to stress individuality than the traditional group orientation. This shift is reflected in the greater usage of individual and independence appeals in Japanese advertising than American advertising.

Results showed that Japanese advertising tended to use more indirect, emotional appeals characteristic of the soft-sell, and Western advertising favored the hard-sell appeals. The author noted that the Japanese are very reluctant to cause a competitor to lose face and show a traditional distaste for confronting one's competition.

Japanese advertising placed a heavy emphasis on tradition and veneration of the elderly in comparison to American advertising (11% of Japanese ads and 1% of US ads contained this appeal). Both cultures contained appeals to modernity and youth.

Almost twice as many Japanese ads uses status in the appeal (17% vs. 10%). Products that are imported, contain American or European words in the ads, or have the sanction of Western markets were highly prestigious to the Japanese. In contrast, the product merit appeals were much more frequent in American advertising than Japanese (56% versus 28%).

The oneness with nature appeals and the manipulation of nature appeals were both used to a similar degree in the two cultures.

Mueller concluded that the expectation that Japanese ads make primary use of traditional appeals has not been entirely supported. As a possible explanation, Mueller says "that advertising reflects cultural values only as long as it is profitable to do so...In Japan, advertisers have found it more lucrative to focus on the individual, divesting him of the protection and support of the collectivity. The individual consumer is much more susceptible to the ministrations of the advertisers" (p. 58).

Gross and Sheth (1989). In a study of time, the authors noted that "the literature from economics, sociology, and anthropology suggests that consumers in industrialized/urbanized societies are more concerned with time than are consumers in less developed societies and are more likely to regard time as a scarce resource" (p. 77). Although the authors alluded to the anthropological research, they did not cite any of the value systems described earlier. Instead, they referenced the consumer behavior literature on time allocation (Hendrix 1984; Holbrook and Lehmann 1981).

Gross and Sheth provided an analysis of US magazine advertising over the past ten decades (1890 to 1988) and predicted that the advertising would reflect time concerns with increasing frequency after the late 1800s.

A total of 4382 magazine ads covering ten decades of the Ladies Home Journal were analyzed. Ads were coded for the presence of a time oriented appeal. Those containing no time appeals were simply tallied while ads containing a time appeal were analyzed further and put in the following coding categories:

1. Presents the advertised product as fast to use.

2. Presents the advertised product as a means of saving time.
3. Presents the consumer as busy and as regarding time as scarce/valuable.
4. Specifies the amount of time required to use the product.
5. Presents the product as a means of making double use of time.
6. Presents the product as a means of escaping a typically time-oriented lifestyle.

Results showed that the proportion of time oriented ads increased steadily from 1890. The most dramatic increase occurred in 1943 when advertisers attempted to appeal to women busy with "war work" in addition to homemaking responsibilities. After the war, the proportion decreased but was largely maintained above the pre-war level.

The authors also found that the proportion of primary time-oriented appeals has increased over the years. They noted that in the later decades showed greater variety in appeals over the early decades which relied on "fast to use" and "saves time" appeals.

Tansey, Hyman, and Zinkhan (1990). The authors provide a comparison of Brazilian and American ads to address the standardization issue. Several reasons for the choice of countries were given including the fact that both countries have the largest consumer markets in their respective continents and that the social values of the two countries seem to be converging.

The authors focused on the following two pairs of print ad themes: urban versus wilderness, and work versus leisure. These themes were chosen for examination because "historians and sociologists have argued that the cultures of the two countries represent very different values for work, leisure, and urban life" and they believe "these values are important ways of differentiating the two societies" (p. 31). The authors cited the marketing literature on the meaning of products (McCracken 1986) and the advertising literature (Pollay 1983) rather than the value systems described previously.

The authors note that many Americans associate city life with pollution and violence;

they often yearn for the idyllic lifestyle symbolized by rural life. In contrast, Brazilians have grown more enamored of the city while maintaining a fondness for the wilderness. The authors predicted that urban themes are used in more Brazilian ads than US ads but that wilderness settings are used equally in the two countries.

Indicators in the US suggest that respect for the work ethic is giving way to a preference for leisure. In contrast, Brazilian scholars agree that since 1945 a more arduous work ethic has gained in popularity in Brazil. The authors suggest that Brazilian and American attitudes toward work and leisure may be converging. They predicted that work and leisure themes are used in the same percentage of consumer ads in Brazil as in the U.S.

The authors selected a total of 819 auto ads from issues of Business Week and Visao (a Brazilian business magazine published bimonthly) from 1971 to 1980. Ads for Volkswagen, Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler were used because these companies dominated the Brazilian auto industry at the time.

The authors used the following coding categories: (1) urban, (2) wilderness, (3) work, (4) total leisure, (5) physical leisure, and (6) social leisure.

As predicted, Brazilian ads contained more urban themes than US ads, but ads from both countries were equally likely to feature a wilderness theme. Both countries were equally likely to use work themes in advertising, but American ads were more likely to show leisure themes.

The authors concluded that multinational advertisers should be cautious when using standardized ad themes. "Though some of our findings suggest that a 'global village' may yet emerge, other findings suggest that seemingly similar cultures may not converge because of important historical differences and deeply ingrained cultural differences" (p. 36).

Frith and Wesson (1991). The authors commented that countries that share similar historical cultural values and similar communication styles are thought to have less "cultural distance" between them. Proponents of standardization maintain that less cultural distance

between countries makes uniform advertising campaigns possible.

Frith and Wesson tested this proposal by comparing the cultural values present in print advertising in two "superficially" similar countries -- the US and Great Britain.

The authors identified "four core American cultural values" as: (1) individualism, (2) egalitarianism, (3) respect for authority, and (4) direct speech. None of the nine value systems were referenced in the study. Instead, support for the four values was given separately, e.g., the authors cited de Tocqueville (1969) for individualism, Shils (1956) for egalitarianism, Gorer (1964) for respect for authority, and Leech (1966) for direct speech.

**Individualism.** Social scientists have noted that "individualism lies at the very core of American culture" (p. 218). While the authors believe that individualism exists in Great Britain, it is not as highly developed as in the US.

**Egalitarianism and Respect for Authority.** The British have a monarchical tradition, a great respect for their history and a strong sense of class consciousness. The British have been described as elitist and class-conscious; however, Americans have traditionally been characterized as egalitarian and in favor of limited authority.

**Direct Speech.** Americans are known for their directness in speech, while indirectness characterizes both interpersonal speech and institutional communication in England.

The authors hypothesized that American advertising would feature more single individuals rather than groups, use few company representatives as spokespersons, feature more homogeneous, idealized upper-class consumers, and use more direct rhetorical devices than the British ads.

The coding criteria included:

1. Source. Is the ad from an American or British publication?
2. Type of Product. Is the general product category high, middle, or low involvement (according to the FCB grid)?
3. Number of people in Ad. What is the actual number of people shown in the ad?

4. Company representatives. Are any of the models acting as company representatives?

5. Status. Was at least one of the people in the ad identifiable by social class? Was the social class idealized upper class (white collar, professionals)? Was the social class depicted as working class (blue collar, secretary or housewife)?

6. Headline. Does the headline use a direct rhetorical device such as: an imperative; news or straight information about the product; a label (The Marlboro Man); tells a story; asks a question; is poetic, philosophic, euphemistic or historical; uses simile or metaphor; uses humor, pun or double meaning; no headline (p. 219-220).

A total of 372 print ads were selected -- 186 from magazines in the US and 186 from magazines in Great Britain between September 1, 1987 and August 31, 1988.

Results confirmed the American emphasis on individualism in that the percentage of ads with one person was greater than the percentage of ads with more than one person. The reverse trend was seen in British ads.

No difference was observed in the use of company representatives (authority figures) between the two countries; however, the results supported a difference in egalitarianism between the countries. The American ads depicted the idealized upper class consumer significantly more than the British ads, which showed clear distinctions in class.

Headlines were far more likely in US ads than British ads to use direct rhetorical devices, which supported the American use of direct speech.

The authors concluded that while the US and Great Britain are similar (both are urbanized, industrial, politically stable, and English-speaking), there are ideological, cultural and communication differences between these two countries that minimize the chance of success of standardized ads between countries. An ad based on the more direct and less class-sensitive American model may tend to miss all but the British elite and fail to motivate the target audience. If standardization is not possible between two culturally similar countries, the chance of success among culturally distant countries appears slim.

Table 5 summarizes the 18 advertising studies.

**TABLE 5**  
**SUMMARY OF ADVERTISING STUDIES**

| <b>Studies Based on Rokeach</b> |             |                 |                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Author/Country</b>           | <b>Year</b> | <b># of Ads</b> | <b>Medium</b>   | <b>Values</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Pollay (US)                     | 1983        | NA              | NA              | Effective, durable, convenient, ornamental, cheap, dear, distinctive, popular, traditional, modern, natural, technological, wisdom, magic, productivity, relaxation, enjoyment, maturity, youth, safety, tamed, morality, modesty, humility, plain, frail, adventure, untamed, freedom, casual, vain, sexuality, neat, independence, security, status, affiliation, nurturance, healthy, succorance, family, community. |
| Pollay (US)                     | 1984        | 2,000           | Magazine        | Same as above                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Pollay and Gallaher (US)        | 1990        | 2,000<br>250    | Magazine and TV | A comfortable life, exciting life, sense of accomplishment, world at peace, world of beauty, equality, family security, freedom, happiness, inner harmony, mature love, national security, pleasure, salvation, self-respect, social recognition, true friendship, wisdom                                                                                                                                               |
| Belk and Pollay (US)            | 1985a       | 411             | Magazine        | Having/being/doing, luxury/pleasure, practical/functional, beautiful/pretty                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Belk and Pollay (US)            | 1985b       | 411             | Magazine        | Having/being/doing, luxury/pleasure, practical/functional, beautiful/pretty, status appeal                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Belk and Pollay (US and Japan)  | 1985c       | 552             | Magazine        | Having/being/doing, luxury/pleasure, practical/functional, status/prestige                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Belk and Bryce (US and Japan)   | 1986        | 552             | Magazine        | Having/being/doing, luxury/pleasure, status/prestige                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |

Continued

**TABLE 5 CON'T**  
**SUMMARY OF ADVERTISING STUDIES**

| Author/Country                               | Year | # of Ads | Medium    | Values                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|----------------------------------------------|------|----------|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tse, Belk, and Zhou (PRC, Taiwan, Hong Kong) | 1989 | 964      | Newspaper | Future is good, modern/contemporary, practical/functional, beautiful/pretty, luxurious/pleasurable, prestigious, foreign, economical, high quality, have fun, science/technology, product ingredients, product performance, variety, certified, service availability, history of company, list of shops, price, new, widely accepted, image, wealth/success, luxury, American/Western, status, utilitarian, enjoyment, having/being/doing, be better/become more successful, live better/have fun |
| Sayre (Poland)                               | 1994 | 62       | TV        | Freedom, equality                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Cheng (PRC)                                  | 1994 | 572      | Magazine  | Beauty, collectivism, convenience, courtesy, economy, effectiveness, family, health, individualism, knowledge, leisure, magic, modernity, neatness, ornamental, patriotism, popularity, practicality, quality, respect for the elderly, safety, social status, technology, tradition, uniqueness, wealth, youth, sex                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b>Studies Based on Hofstede</b>             |      |          |           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| McCarty and Hattwick (US and Mexico)         | 1992 | 295      | Magazine  | Individualism-collectivism, masculinity-femininity, time orientation, uncertainty avoidance, activity orientation, human's relationship with nature                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Wolburg and Taylor (US)                      | 1994 | 169      | TV        | Individualism                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |

Continued

**TABLE 5 CON'T**  
**SUMMARY OF ADVERTISING STUDIES**

| <b>Studies Based on Other Systems</b>  |             |                 |               |                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|----------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Author/Country</b>                  | <b>Year</b> | <b># of Ads</b> | <b>Medium</b> | <b>Values</b>                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Zinkhan, Shermohamad (US)              | 1986        | not specified   | Magazine      | Tradition-directed, inner-directed, other-directed                                                                                                                                                   |
| Zinkhan, Hong, Fawcett (US)            | 1990        | 13,457          | Magazine      | Achievement, affiliation                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Mueller (US and Japan)                 | 1987        | 378             | Magazine      | Group consensus, soft-sell, veneration of the elderly and tradition, status, oneness with nature, individual and independence, hard-sell, youth and modernity, product merit, manipulation of nature |
| Gross and Sheth (US)                   | 1989        | 4,382           | Magazine      | Time                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Tansey, Hyman, Zinkhan (US and Brazil) | 1990        | 819             | Magazine      | Urban and wilderness, work and leisure                                                                                                                                                               |
| Frith and Wesson (US and England)      | 1991        | 372             | Magazine      | Individualism, egalitarianism, respect for authority, direct speech                                                                                                                                  |

### **Summary of the Advertising Studies**

By grouping the research by theoretical framework, one notes that Pollay has contributed the largest number of studies so far. Pollay, Belk, and their co-authors conducted eight of the studies. Since they have consistently drawn from Rokeach's work rather than Hofstede, Hall, or others, the values research in advertising bears heavy influence from Rokeach. One explanation is that Rokeach's values are easier to operationalize because Rokeach's terminal and instrumental values are less abstract than other concepts, e.g., man and nature. Rokeach's values also lend themselves readily to the appeals used in advertising. Training coders to detect elements of practicality or economy or status is not as difficult as training coders to detect broader concepts such as individualism.

The greatest disadvantage with the Rokeach system is that it is difficult to derive meaning from studies using long lists of values. It is difficult to keep as many as 42 values in one's thoughts, and the findings of the studies are difficult to organize. These findings provide more insight into appeals than values. If these 42 values could be linked to value orientations or dimensions using one of the other systems, they might provide specific examples of individualism, time, etc.

The Pollay and Belk studies that used a shorter set of values generally supported a view that the US has become increasingly materialistic or hedonistic. Appeals to luxury have increased more than appeals to status, which reflects the idea that Americans are not class oriented. Instead, they express individualism through material possessions. The studies are significant by their own merit, but the heavy emphasis on practicality and efficiency would take on new meaning if linked to Hall's concepts of monochronic and polychronic time.

The two Rokeach based studies of cultures outside the US (Poland and the PRC) are strongly linked to appeals. Interpretations regarding the success of various appeals and trends over time would also be more meaningful if anchored to core values.

The first of two Hofstede studies examined Mexican and US advertising using six core

values -- three derived from Hofstede and three derived from Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck. Of the six values, two appeared more frequently than others and were often at odds with the accepted values within Mexican culture. The specific findings are of considerable interest, but the departure from Rokeach to apply other values systems is of great importance because it opens new theoretical frameworks for other researchers to follow. Since each of the six core values are highly complex, creating a coding scheme for each value requires considerable initial work.

The second Hofstede study, which also cited Hall, looked at individualism in great detail in order to build a coding scheme that would identify the various elements. Aside from the specific findings of the frequency in which individualism messages appear and the social implications, it identified ways in which Americans are shown expressing individualism which might be different from the ways individualism is expressed in the advertising of other countries. McCarty and Hattwick found that Mexican advertising expressed individualism in 53% of the ads examined, but the nature of the individualism is not specified. Very likely, a close examination would show that Mexicans express the value differently than Americans.

Of the six studies based on other frameworks, two used Reisman's concepts, but no other advertising studies referenced that source. The earlier of the two Reisman studies had somewhat inconclusive results since an increase in outer-directedness was observed only in a male oriented magazine. However, the study could provide additional meaning if anchored to individualism. Members of individualistic cultures such as the US also belong to groups, and how and when individuals distinguish themselves could have a meaningful relationship to inner and outer directedness.

Zinkhan and Shermohamad were hesitant to interpret a gender difference, but since Wolburg and Taylor found that men and women express individualism differently, there may be support for a such a difference.

The second Reisman study (Zinkhan, Hong, and Lawson) examined achievement and affiliation, which are also related to individualism. Examining the findings of greater numbers

of achievement messages, particularly in male oriented magazines is an interesting finding when tied to individualism. Reisman's concepts relate well to individualism/collectivism but they cannot easily be linked to other core values.

The four other studies that were based on frameworks outside the values systems each had a different focus and are not easily compared with each other. Gross and Sheth's study confirms an interest in time as a cultural value; Zinkhan, Hong, and Lawson's examination of work vs. leisure and urban vs. rural are specific elements that are strongly affected by values concerning time and space; Frith and Wesson demonstrate differences in cultural values between two very similar countries; and finally, Mueller found both expected and unexpected differences in American and Japanese advertising.

Several researchers doing cross-cultural studies found differences that would prevent a standardized approach to advertising. Some noted a Western influence in the advertising of another culture. Both Mueller, and McCarty and Hattwick found that elements of individualism appeared in the advertising of cultures that are generally thought to be collectivistic.

The general findings of the values research are comparable to separate pieces of a puzzle that don't reveal a clear image yet. Furthermore, the contribution of values research has been recognized primarily for addressing the standardization/specialization issue and the social implications rather than its ability to provide insight into the appeals and the creative executions of ads.

### **Chapter Summary**

The chapter presented nine value systems and 18 advertising studies. The value systems chosen demonstrated the thinking in the field from 1950 to the present day. The systems did not evolve chronologically from earlier ones; thus, they were presented according to theoretical similarities instead of chronology.

Six systems cited in the advertising research as the theoretical base for the studies were included. The remaining three were included for their general interest. All of the systems showed similarities; their major differences stemmed from their breadth in the definition of values.

The 18 advertising studies are best considered separate studies that have not evolved chronologically. Authors who have conducted more than one study have continued to use the same theoretical framework and the same methodology, but others who entered the field took different approaches.

The studies were grouped according to their theoretical basis and included those based on Rokeach, Hofstede, and other systems. Due to the large proportion of articles by Pollay, Belk and their co-authors, the majority of advertising studies are theoretically based on Rokeach's system. While perhaps the easiest to operationalize, this system is the most difficult for dealing with values on an abstract level.

Currently the field of advertising research in cultural values is in an early stage of development. The majority of studies have been motivated by the need to understand values across cultures for international advertising, but the applications for domestic advertising and for creative strategy have not been addressed.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

#### Introduction

Chapter 2 summarized the conceptualization of cultural values among social scientists and the field of cultural values in advertising in order to provide a context for the study. This chapter explains the methodology -- it asks four research questions, describes the procedure for obtaining the sample, and explains the coding process for each of the three values.

#### Research Questions

The study asked four questions concerning how individualism, time, and space are depicted in advertising. Regarding individualism, the study noted that the value could be expressed two ways -- through main message strategy and context.

The study asked:

**RQ1 When it appeals to individualism, how does advertising depict individualism in the main message strategy?**

Through an initial process of examining the claims that the ads made, the overall impression or main message of the ad could be determined. This was primarily determined by asking what would happen if the consumer buys and uses the advertised product. Ten basic elements emerged that were able to summarize all specific claims made by the ads. A more detailed description of main message and context is provided in The Coding Process section.

The ten message elements that were used to express individualism were then

collapsed into four better defined message strategies -- self-esteem, efficiency, physical attractiveness, and "I Am Me."

Additionally, the study asked:

**RQ2 How does advertising depict context to convey information regarding individualism?**

The study identified eight categories of contextual cues -- secondary characteristics of the ad that frame the overall message and lend support for individualism. They are gender, race, ethnic group, age, occupation, the presence of recognition ceremonies, the appearance of nuclear family, and the use of camera techniques. These categories were not chosen to provide an exhaustive list of demographic information about the cast members, but instead were selected for their ability to provide the best accessible information. For example, it was not possible to know the educational background of the cast through observation alone, but age, gender, race, ethnic group, etc. were able to be detected through observation. Thus, the most observable categories were those examined for contextual cues. Figure 2 shows the coding sheet used for individualism.

The study further asked:

**RQ3 How is time depicted in advertising?**

Since a monochronic conceptualization of time permeates the culture, evidence of monochronic thinking such as expression of time as a finite commodity was far more expected than evidence of polychronic thinking.

Originally, a coding sheet was devised to note the presence of monochronicity or polychronicity; however, no evidence for polychronicity emerged. The absence of direct references to time could be indicative of polychronicity if relationships are the driving force rather than schedules, but evidence for this was ambiguous. The decision rule required ads to be coded as polychronic only if multiple tasks are performed simultaneously by the same person, and/or cast members prioritize relationships over schedules.

The strongest evidence for monochronicity is the belief that time is a limited, finite commodity. Since monochronic time was the only time system represented in the ads, the

**CODING SHEET FOR INDIVIDUALISM**

Main message: no \_\_\_\_\_

yes \_\_\_\_\_

(Select one of four)

--&gt; 1. Esteemed Individual \_\_\_\_\_

--&gt; 2. Efficient Individual \_\_\_\_\_

--&gt; 3. Attractive Individual \_\_\_\_\_

--&gt; 4. I Am Me Individual \_\_\_\_\_

Context: no \_\_\_\_\_

yes \_\_\_\_\_

(Note all that apply)

1. Gender
2. Occupation
3. Age
4. Race
5. Ethnic Group
6. Appearance of Nuclear Family
7. Recognition Ceremonies
8. Camera Technique

**Figure 2**

final coding sheet only reflected monochronic time under the category of Limited Time rather than include polychronic time.

By examining the ads for the concepts that were expressed regarding time, six other categories emerged which are described below. One anticipated category failed to emerge because certain elements described by anthropologists were unobservable in ads. The passage of time (slow or fast) from the point of view of the cast member could not be coded.

In addition to Limited Time, the six other categories that captured the concepts expressed for time were -- Sequenced Time (whether the sequence of events in the ads occurred in real time, compressed time, or non-linear time); Oriented Time (the orientation to either past, present, or future); Synchronic Time (synchronization to the current season or holiday); Planning Time (the use of time for making future plans); Marking Time (the use of markers of time such as birthdays, award ceremonies and anniversaries); and More Time (the belief that things improve over time). The final category reflects the belief that the more time that goes by from an arbitrary starting point, the greater the knowledge of technology and the better the product is.

The coding sheet (Figure 3) sorts these categories according to the "characteristics" of time and the "process" of time. The characteristics refer to traits that are present at any given moment. They include Limited Time, Sequenced Time, Oriented Time, and Synchronized Time. The process categories apply to the unfolding of time. They enhance experience and treat time as something that flows continuously. Process categories reflect a duration of time rather than a moment and include Planning Time, Marking Time, and More Time.

The differentiation between main message and context used for individualism was not applicable to time and space since the latter two values provided contextual information only. While the information regarding time was often quite important to the ad, it was considered a frame in which other messages existed. For example, an ad for Tide detergent claimed the product could clean stains effectively "first time, every time." The time element added to the

**CODING SHEET FOR TIME****I. Characteristics of Time****A. Limited Time**

1. Yes
2. No

**B. Sequenced Time**

1. Compressed Time
2. Real Time
3. Non-linear Time

**C. Oriented Time**

1. Past
2. Present
3. Future

**D. Synchronic Time**

1. Synchronized (Seasons, holidays match)
2. Non-Synchronized (Seasons don't match)
3. Undetermined

**II. Process of Time****A. Planning Time****B. Marking Time****C. More Time****Figure 3**

strength of the message for its cleaning power, but it was not the most essential part of the message. All time elements were treated as contextual rather than main message strategies.

The study next asked:

#### **RQ4 How is space configured in advertising?**

Although space "in the real world" can be measured and examined in a number of ways, the use of space in ads is somewhat limited by the camera's presentation. Personal space and distances maintained between people were not measurable; thus, the coding categories used in the study were those that could realistically be examined. These were determined through a preliminary viewing of the ads.

Specifying the ownership of the space used -- whether it is private, semi-private, or public -- and noting the frequencies provides information concerning which type of space is privileged. A coding sheet (Figure 4) includes the following categories: Ownership of Space (the ownership of the space used as the setting in the ad), Location of Relationships (the location used as a setting for relationships in the ad), and Mastery of Space (whether the space was altered or natural).

The elements of space were primarily part of the visual message and were treated as context rather than main message strategy.

The presence of the three values was noted across product categories to determine whether they are equally likely to be associated with all product categories, or whether the values lend themselves more readily to some products than others.

### **Obtaining the Sample**

A sample of television commercials from 14 hours of primetime programming (8:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. Eastern Time) was used in the study. All network programming on ABC,

**CODING SHEET FOR SPACE****I. Ownership of Space**

- A. Private Space
- B. Semi-Private Space
- C. Public Space -- free access
- D. Public Space -- restricted
- E. Primary "No Place"
- F. Secondary "No Place"

**II. Location of Relationships**

- A. Private Space
- B. Semi-Private Space
- C. Accessible Public Space
- D. Restricted Public Space
- E. Primary "No Place"
- F. Secondary "No Place"

**III. Alteration of Space**

- A. Natural
- B. Altered

**Figure 4**

CBS, NBC, and FOX was taped on January 5, 1995, using standard VCRs with 1/2 inch tape. One additional hour of programming was taped on January 6, and two additional hours were taped on January 9.

The sample was created according to the following considerations. A full week of primetime programming consisted of 81 viewing hours and offered a variety of 30 minute situation comedies (sitcoms), 2-hour movies, 1-hour dramas, 1-hour news programs, 1-hour reality programs, and one 2-hour sports program (Monday Night Football). The proportion of each type of programming relative to the week during the month of January was calculated as follows: sitcoms .28, movies .17, drama .35, news .10, reality .07, and sports .03. A single night was selected that best captured the mix of programming in the proportion given. While no single night had all types of programming, Thursday night came closer than other nights. Six sitcoms, six dramas, and two news programs aired. Since sports programming is such a small part of non-cable primetime programming, its omission in the Thursday night lineup was not considered significant enough to add additional programming from another night. However, one reality program and one movie were taped on other nights to add the additional forms of programming.

Taping the four networks on January 5, 1995 provided 11 hours of programming, three hours each from ABC, NBC, and CBS, and two hours from FOX, which airs only two hours of primetime programming per weeknight. The additional taping of reality and movie programming added three hours, bringing the total to 14. A total of 272 ads were taped, and after eliminating local advertising and repetitions, 198 national ads remained.

A comparison of the percentage of ads in the sample to the percentage of ads for network TV in general was made (see Table 6). Dollar figures for 1994 were obtained from the TBA and were converted to percentages for each category. Although the TBA uses 25 product categories (see Appendix B), they were collapsed to match those used in the study. The national figures are presented for comparison with the percentages for both the sample of ads generated from the 14 hours of programming and a partial sample of ads from a

**TABLE 6**  
**PROPORTION OF ADS BY PRODUCT CATEGORY**  
**Comparison of Sample to All Network Television**

| <b>Product Category</b>                  | <b>Extended Sample</b> | <b>Single Night Sample</b> | <b>National Proportions</b> |
|------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Restaurants,<br>Fast Food, Pizza         | 10%                    | 9%                         | 7%                          |
| Appliances,<br>Stores,<br>Entertainment  | 13%                    | 14%                        | 18%                         |
| Services, Long<br>Distance,<br>Financial | 10%                    | 11%                        | 12%                         |
| Food and<br>Beverage                     | 25%                    | 23%                        | 22%                         |
| OTC Drugs                                | 14%                    | 12%                        | 9%                          |
| Cleaning<br>Products                     | 6%                     | 7%                         | 6%                          |
| Health and<br>Beauty                     | 9%                     | 9%                         | 10%                         |
| Automotive                               | 14%                    | 14%                        | 16%                         |

Source of National Figures: Television Bureau of Advertising, Top 25 Network Television Categories for 1994

single night's advertising. The national figures closely match both samples, which lends credibility to the sampling method. Of interest is that the single night sample resulted in a slightly better match to the national figures than the extended sample. Since the difference was slight, the extended sample was used in order to access a larger sample size.

After taping the programming, the ads were dubbed to a second tape with the programming eliminated. Once an ad was recorded, a repeat of that ad was not included. Appendix C provides a list of ads obtained from each network.

As a final step, each ad was transcribed verbatim and a description of the visuals was made.

### **The Coding Process**

#### **Individualism**

Each ad was coded three times -- once for each value. For the coding of individualism, main message element and contextual elements were selected as the units of analysis.

Main Message. Since the main message element was defined as the intended overall impression to be gained from viewing the commercial, most often it could be deduced by asking after viewing the commercial, "What will happen if I buy and use the advertised product?" Using Hofstede's Key Differences Between Collectivist and Individualist Cultures (Table 1), one coder rated each commercial as either having or not having a main message element incorporating individualism. Possible answers to the "What will happen" question related to individualism included, among many others:

1. I can develop my personality; become more "me."
2. I can gain self-respect; elevate my status to others/elevate a family member's status (make my child feel special).
3. I can be more efficient at accomplishing tasks including work and recreation.
4. I can win a promotion, increase skill level, learn to learn.
5. I can make better use of time including staying well to continue working.

6. I can make better use of money including caring for family finances.
7. I can be more attractive.
8. I can be healthier.
9. I can use products to identify my personality to others.
10. I can demand products to suit me.

The ten elements were collapsed into four main message strategies -- "The Esteemed Individual," "The Efficient Individual," "The Physically Attractive Individual," and the "I Am Me Individual."

The "Esteemed Individual" is made up of the message elements of developing personality, becoming more me, gaining self-respect, and elevating my (my family's) status.

The "Efficient Individual" is made up of the message elements of being more efficient, winning a promotion, increasing skill level, learning to learn, and making better use of time and money.

The "Physically Attractive Individual" is derived from message elements of being more attractive and being more healthy.

The "I Am Me Individual" is an extension of the "becoming more me" element of the "Esteemed Individual." The distinction is as follows. Some products promise to help the consumer reach a state of "me-ness" previously not attained. Without the product, the individual has not yet succeeded in attaining the quality and, perhaps, never will. These appeals were subsumed by the "Esteemed Individual" category. The second appeal, however, is used when the state of "me-ness" is already assumed, and the product or service becomes a way not of achieving this state but of symbolically representing it. Within messages of individualism, it holds the value of individualism as supreme. Some ads claim that the product can identify the user's personality to others, while other ads claim that the user can demand products to suit his or her needs.

Main message elements that focused only on product performance, demonstration, uses, and applications were not coded as messages of individualism because they held no promise of enhancing the individual.

**Context.** Contextual elements were defined as "secondary characteristics of the commercial that reflect an individualistic society but are not part of the main message strategy." The set of contextual elements was derived from the same set of questions for identifying main message elements. The contextual cues identified for analysis were: **gender, race, ethnic group, age, occupation, recognition ceremonies, presence of nuclear family, and camera techniques that support individualism.**

Gender, race, ethnic group, age, and occupation are common demographics that need no explanation except to note how these elements were determined in the sample. The remaining three are explained in greater detail.

**Gender.** The designation of male or female was made, and the activity of the person was also noted.

**Race.** Whites, blacks, and Asians were the three racial categories noted. According to the US Census Bureau, the racial categories for statistical reporting are: American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, black, and white. Within the sample of ads, no American Indians, Alaska Natives, or Pacific Islanders appeared leaving Asians as the only remaining category other than black or white.

**Ethnic Group.** According to Census data, people belonging to a particular ethnic group can belong to any race. Ethnic origin refers to country of origin, regardless of race. For example, persons of Spanish/Hispanic origin were those who classified themselves as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or Other Spanish/Hispanic origin without specifying race.

Hispanics and Italians were the only two identifiable ethnic groups represented in the sample. The Asians may have consisted of different ethnic groups, but further categorization beyond the race category was not possible. The Asians are treated as a single group rather than several ethnic groups.

**Age.** An estimate of the age of each individual was made according to the following four age categories: (1) Child and Teens (infancy to 19 years), (2) Young Adult (20 to 39 years old), (3) Middle Adult (40 to 59), and (4) Older Adult (60 and over). Age designations were approximations since determining the age of a cast member with certainty, such as

noting the difference between 39 or 40, was impossible.

**Occupation.** When cast members were at work, an occupation could be noted. Ads set around leisure activities did not provide information for occupation.

**Recognition Ceremonies.** Within an individualistic society, people strive to be recognized for their own merits. In order to grant them the recognition they deserve for their accomplishments, certain opportunities for recognition must exist within the culture. Both formal award ceremonies such as college graduations and informal celebrations such as eating a special meal with the family exist.

**Portrayal of Nuclear Family.** Since one characteristic of individualistic cultures is that children grow up in nuclear families rather than extended families, the presence of nuclear family was noted. Married couples, couples with a child or children, and single parents with a child or children were counted as nuclear family.

**Camera Techniques.** Advertising texts typically instruct copywriters to use first person point-of-view in writing the ads. For example, David Ogilvy recommends

When people read your copy, they are alone. Pretend you are writing each of them a letter on behalf of your client. One human being to another; second person singular (1985, p. 80).

The manner in which commercials are filmed can also support individualism by presenting information in a first person point-of-view. Called the "subjective camera" in film terminology, the use of camera to create subjectivity facilitates identification and is a technique that has been used in film since the 1920s (Cook 1985). In advertising, the camera uses this technique in a variety of ways -- by showing products such as food in close-ups from the viewpoint of one person eating it, or by presenting spokespersons talking directly to the viewer.

For any given commercial, the possible codings were (1) does/does not have a main message of individualism, (2) does/does not contain one or more contextual cues related to individualism. For ads expressing individualism, the single best main message category was chosen per ad, but all contextual cues that applied were noted. Thus, many ads contained

information on not one but several contextual cues.

In some ads, elements of two "individuals" appeared. Some ads flattered the individual, raising self-esteem, while promising to make the person more efficient. In those cases, the stronger of the two messages was coded. This was determined by noting which was more essential to the claim of the ad.

While most commercials with main messages of individualism present the message within a context that further supports individualism, it is possible for main messages to exist without an individualistic context. Thus, the coding decisions regarding main message and context were made independently.

An example of an ad that used both a main message strategy and contextual elements was one for Merrill Lynch. It produced a main message by claiming that the company's financial planning can help parents provide for their child's future education, and also a contextual cue of nuclear family since the viewer sees a mother and daughter together at home. Other ads such as Banana Nut Crunch Cereal lacked main messages of individualism by speaking only of the taste of the product but produced a contextual cue of nuclear family by showing a mother and daughter eating breakfast together at home.

An ad for MCI explicitly claimed that by using the product the consumer would save money over using AT&T, but the audience was presented with a game board that neither included people visually nor referenced them. The ad was coded for a main message without contextual cues.

### **Time**

The coding for time proceeded somewhat differently than for individualism because time did not lend itself to the division between main message and context. Although context served as the only unit of analysis, the time elements remained an essential, highly significant part of the ads.

A coding sheet was devised using the background material for time described in Chapter 1, with particular attention to Hall's Characteristics of Two Time Systems in Table

2. Insight gained from viewing a small sample of ads for the purpose of evaluating time further clarified the items to be coded. Originally eight concepts were incorporated, but after a preliminary trial with the ads in the sample, one item was eliminated -- experiencing the passage of time from the point of view of the cast members. The feeling that time passes quickly/slowly has been identified by social scientists, but it proved to be undiscernible from the ads. All other coding items remained.

One coder rated each commercial as either containing or not containing each of the seven contextual elements of time. Each element was coded separately and independently of the others, just as the contextual categories of individualism were. The four characteristics are presented, followed by the three process elements.

Limited Time. The category reflects the concept of a finite or limited commodity -- something that can be quantified, measured, saved, lost, spent, scheduled, and accounted for. The presence of Limited Time was noted for ads that made any of the following claims:

1. The product is fast-acting.
2. The product is long lasting.
3. The product is sold for a limited time only.
4. The product allows users to avoid spending time unproductively (e.g., being sick).
5. Consumers are urged to not miss out.

While these concepts are different, they are all tied to the belief that time is a finite commodity. Because time is finite, it can be managed by doing one thing at a time in a linear, task-oriented manner. The concept of limits was coded as present or not present in each ad.

Sequenced Time. The sequence of time in ads contains three possible choices including real time, compressed time, and non-linear time. Ads in real time are those in which the action appears to take place chronologically from start to finish within the 30 seconds of the ad. These ads generally have few edits and lend themselves well to

testimonials. Ads in compressed time are those in which the action is speeded up in order to show the completed activity from start to finish within the 30 seconds of the ad. If allowed to run in "real time," the action takes much longer. Problem-solution ads demonstrating efficacy often use this device. Compressed time ads require more editing than real time ads; however, they are expected to be the most common device. In a monochronic culture, compressed time privileges the single focus upon task from beginning to end.

Non-linear time refers to a number of ads that use one of a variety of editing styles that show a series of images that are not chronological. Many of these ads are edited to look like music videos, and some show different people using the product in a different locations. The series of shots creates an image for the product without presenting a chronological series of visuals.

Oriented Time. Orientation refers to the time period the ad is directed toward including the past, present, or future as possible coding responses. All ads show products that are currently available and are calls to action "now." However, some products are used in the present time for reasons set in the past, present, or future. For example, ads oriented in the past may show people using a product because it carries on a tradition that they want to continue. In others, the product is associated with the nostalgia of an earlier time. Some use the product because a family member used to use it.

Products oriented in the future have benefits that will be gained at a later time such as going to school to learn a skill, or joining the military to earn money toward college. While those products are used in the present, the motivation is for future rewards.

Ads oriented in the present only claim immediate benefits or those in the very near future. They are for products that neither have future rewards nor are tied to the past. Present and future are the most expected orientations because monochronic cultures tend to be forward thinking. However, US culture typically only looks ahead in short increments (Hall and Hall).

Synchronic Time. Synchronization is the category most difficult to code because some ads provide limited visuals to make a clear determination. Possible answers for this category include synchronized, not synchronized, and generic. Ads that are synchronized are those in which the season in the ad matches the season when the ad ran. Since the ads ran early in January, cold weather scenes, references to New Year's Day, and indoor scenes of people dressed warmly are counted as synchronized. Some latitude was given for determining season because winter weather might range from snowy conditions to sunny but cool depending on the geographical location.

Ads that are counted as not synchronized show flowers in bloom, deciduous trees with leaves, people at the beach in swim suits, etc.

Ads that are counted as generic show people indoors in clothes that could be worn for "all seasons" (particularly business attire) or show extremely limited visuals such as a blank, studio background. These ads could presumably run at any time of the year without either matching or clashing with the current season. These ads also contain no verbal messages that reference a holiday or season.

Planning Time. Planning encompasses the process of anticipating the future effects of time and using time in the present to prepare for the future. Ads that show opening a savings account, taking out an insurance policy, using financial planning, learning a new skill, or getting an education are examples of things people do in the present that have benefits in the future.

Marking Time. Marking time encompasses the process of commemorating events and counting the passage of time. Depictions of birthdays, anniversaries, award ceremonies, special occasions, or holidays in ads serve as examples as do products that claim to make an ordinary day special.

Because the culture marks birthdays as a passage of time, products related to the

aging process or claiming to give a youthful appearance are included in this category.

More Time. Products improve over time because knowledge of technology accumulates with more time. Those that are new and improved are introduced with certain fanfare, and they are allowed to claim explicit or implicit superiority. Products that have endured in the marketplace for long periods of time also claim superiority due to longevity. Ads claiming the product is new, improved, or superior due to longevity are coded in this category.

### **Space**

The coding for space proceeded similarly to that of time because space messages also did not lend themselves to a division between main message and context. This value is perhaps the most taken-for-granted and most difficult to interpret.

One difficulty lies in differences in background material available for the three values. The role of the individual and the two time systems have both been presented as dichotomies, first by Hofstede and second by Hall. Knowing not only what Americans experience but also what they reject anchors the values and makes the conceptualizations easier. Although Hall has written extensively about space, no simple dichotomy has resulted. Hall has quantified the specific distances that Americans use for personal space (Table 3), but these are not easily identified in advertising due to the use of camera techniques. Based on elements that Hall identified that vary among different cultures, the following three contextual elements were coded: the ownership of space, the location of relationships, and the mastery of space.

Using context as the unit of analysis, one coder rated each commercial as either depicting or not depicting space for each of the three categories. Each category was judged separately and independently of the others, just as the contextual categories of individualism and time were.

Most ads are set in identifiable locations and are able to convey information about space. Others, however, are either shot in such extreme close-ups that no background is visible, or they are filmed using a blank studio background that does not permit conclusions. Since more than one location was present in the ads in the sample, all locations were coded.

Ownership of Space. This category is used for the coding of space in the setting of the ad -- whether privately or publicly owned. The distinction between private and public space as defined in Chapter 1 is used; however, a further division within public space became necessary. Restricted public space such as airport runways or military installations are differentiated from accessible public space such as parks and highways.

Private space allows access only to the owner, including homes of individual families. These are usually locked, and non-family members can enter only by invitation. Semi-private space is privately owned but open to the public under certain conditions. When "closed," these spaces are locked and inaccessible to the public, but during hours of operation, they are open and unlocked. Restaurants, hotels, theaters, shopping malls, stores, etc. fall in this category.

Two additional categories, Primary "No Place" and Secondary "No Place," are used for ads with such limited visuals that no location can be identified, or when a studio background makes it so neutral that the location can be virtually anywhere. Ads shot entirely in a neutral setting are coded as Primary "No Place." Ads that combine two settings -- a neutral setting and a clearly identified "real" setting such as a home, store, or park -- were coded for both locations. The "real" setting (home, store, park, etc.) was coded under the appropriate private or public category, and the neutral space was coded as Secondary "No place."

The six possible coding categories for ownership of space are: Private Space, Semi-Private Space, Accessible Public Space, Restricted Public Space, Primary "No Place," and

Secondary "No Place." All 198 ads were coded for ownership.

Location of Relationships. This category refers to the setting in which a relationship is presented. The same choices for locations apply as for the ownership of space.

Only those ads that depict people in a relationship are coded in this category. While some ads have multiple people, they do not appear to know one another because they are framed in different shots. Also excluded are people in customer interviews who talk to an unseen voiceover but not with each other.

The location of relationships is important because certain locations become privileged when they are depicted as the most natural place for relationships.

Mastery of Space. This category is noted by the presence of altered or unaltered space. Settings for ads in the sample are coded as either natural, altered, or undetermined. Ads with natural settings include those with scenic expanses that are unchanged, e.g., mountains, forests, and beaches. Ads with altered settings includes those set inside buildings or placed outdoors on land that has been improved, e.g., a softball field. The undetermined category is used for ads in the Primary "No Place" because visuals are so limited.

Americans have been described by Arensberg and Niehoff (1975) as people who take control of their environment and modify it to suit their needs. There is a greater expectation for the space depicted in advertising to be altered than natural.

One researcher served as the primary coder for the 198 ads and a second coder viewed 20 ads (10% of the sample). Agreement was very high. By applying Scott's pi to correct for chance agreement, agreement was 90%; without correcting for chance, agreement was 95%. In areas of uncertainty, the two coders discussed the commercials and agreed upon a designation.

### Summary

The chapter asks four research questions, describes the procedure for obtaining the sample, and discusses the coding process for each of the three values.

A sample of 198 ads were used in the study. The ads aired during primetime television on all four networks. Each ad was coded three times -- once per value -- and coding sheets were created to record the elements of individualism, time, and space.

In order to answer the two research questions raised for individualism, both main message strategies and contextual elements were identified. The Esteemed Individual, The Efficient Individual, The Attractive Individual, and The "I Am Me" Individual are the four main message strategies that emerged from the data. The eight contextual elements include gender, age, occupation, race, ethnic group, recognition ceremonies, appearance of nuclear family, and use of camera techniques.

In order to answer the one research question for time, seven contextual elements were identified. These are arranged according to the characteristics of time and the process elements. Characteristics categories are Limited Time, Sequenced Time, Oriented Time, and Synchronic Time. Process categories are Planning Time, Marking Time, and More Time. In order to answer the one research question for space, three contextual elements were identified. These are Ownership of Space, Location of Relationships, and Mastery of Space.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **RESULTS**

#### **Introduction**

Chapter 3 outlined the coding scheme used for the analysis of the 198 ads. This chapter presents the results obtained for each of the three values. Part I discusses the findings for the four message strategies and eight contextual elements of individualism; Part II discusses the findings for the seven contextual elements of time; and Part III discusses the findings for the three contextual elements of space. Each part contains a figure that explains the analytical process for the value and presents a series of tables that show the frequency of the elements related to that value. These elements are further analyzed according to product category. Examples of ads illustrate the different message strategies and contextual elements.

#### **Part I -- Individualism**

A three stage analysis, which is outlined in Figure 5, was used to examine individualism. Stage one identified the elements -- main message strategy and contextual cues. As a result, a total of 155 of 198 ads (78%) contained main messages of individualism, and 192 of 198 ads (97%) supported individualism through the context.

The second stage assigned the various commercials to one of the four types of main message strategies identified, and the third stage analyzed each of eight contextual cues.

### THE ANALYTICAL PROCESS FOR INDIVIDUALISM

Stage 1. Identify elements and presence of individualism.

155 of 198 ads (78%) contained main messages of individualism, and 192 of 198 ads (97%) contained contextual support of individualism.

Stage 2. Collapse elements into main message strategies. Four types of individualism are identified. Individualism messages can be further analyzed by product category.

155 commercials reflect

- a. The Esteemed Individual
- b. The Efficient Individual
- c. The Physically Attractive Individual
- d. The "I Am Me" Individual

Stage 3. Re-examine the 198 commercials for contextual cues of individualism. A total of 192 ads contained contextual cues that reflect:

- a. Gender
- b. Occupation
- c. Age
- d. Race
- e. Ethnic Group
- f. Appearance of Nuclear Family
- g. Recognition ceremonies
- h. Use of Camera Technique

**Figure 5**

### Main Message Strategy

One of the two ways in which individualism was expressed in the ads was through main messages. The ads specifically outlined four ways in which one can stand out and be recognized as an individual within US culture. According to advertising, the four paths to individualism are The Esteemed Individual, The Efficient Individual, The Attractive Individual, and The "I Am Me" Individual. The four are examined below with examples of ads for each category. Table 7 shows the frequency of each category.

The Esteemed Individual. Ads in this group hold a promise to consumers that their esteem will be enhanced by using the product. Seven percent of the ads used The Esteemed Individual strategy.

Some examples make the strategy clearer. A McDonald's ad opened with an African-American teacher (female) introducing the first place essay winner, Jerri Bell, an African-American girl about 8 years old. On stage, Jerri delivers the following lines:

*When I'm a parent I hope I won't have to be a single parent. You have to work all day, spend time with your kids, and take them places like McDonald's for a Happy Meal so they feel special. When I have kids, I hope my husband lives forever, but if I have to be a single parent, I want to be just like my Daddy.*

**TABLE 7**  
**MAIN MESSAGE STRATEGIES FOR INDIVIDUALISM**

| Individualism Category    | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| The Esteemed Individual   | 13        | 7       |
| The Efficient Individual  | 109       | 55      |
| The Attractive Individual | 27        | 14      |
| The "I Am Me" Individual  | 6         | 3       |
| No Main Message           | 43        | 22      |
| Total                     | 198       | 100     |

The ad tells consumers that McDonald's Happy Meals make people feel special, a powerful statement which delivers even more impact when placed in the context of the single parent spending time with a child after working all day. One could also interpret that going to McDonald's is an efficient use of time because it is still possible to go there after working all day, but the efficiency message is secondary in importance to the esteem message. Thus, the commercial was counted in the esteem category.

Another esteem message was delivered in a Saturn ad. A voiceover says:

*This summer we invited everyone who owns a Saturn to visit Spring Hill for a Saturn Homecoming. They could see where their cars were built and meet the people who built them. We thanked them for believing in us. 44,000 people spent their vacations with us. Of course, not everything went exactly as planned. But we're all in it together, the way we always have been.*

*(Written): A different kind of company. A different kind of car.*

The visuals show the Saturns arriving at Spring Hill where the owners are welcomed and meet the workers. By sponsoring the event, introducing the consumers to the workers, and incorporating the homecoming in the ad, the company acknowledges the importance of the customers and elevates them to a valued position, thus raising their self-esteem through owning the product.

Using a different approach, a Pizza Hut ad shows that the product can help win friends in tough situations. On the drive to school, a mother (white, early 30s) tells her 10-year-old son who is nervous about changing schools

*I know it's a new school, honey, but you'll make lots of friends.*

In the classroom, the teacher introduces the student and announces lunch. The students look very unfriendly.

*Meet our new student, Timothy Hayes. (Pause) Lunch break, class.*

Meanwhile on the phone, mother says: *His name is Timmy. It's sort of a surprise.*

At school the delivery person enters the cafeteria where Timmy is sitting alone and says: *Hi. Timmy Hayes?*

Timmy: *Yes?*

Deliveryperson: *Your pizzas are here.* (Timmy looks surprised.)

VO: *Pizza Hut announces two one-topping pan pizzas for just 13 bucks.*

Timmy asks: *Anyone want some pizza?* (Timmy invites the other students to eat with him.)

Kids scream: *I do.* (They surround him, share the pizza, and accept him as their new friend and classmate).

A girl comes over, puts her hand on his shoulder, and says: *Hi.*

VO: *It's a class act.*

(Sung) *You'll love the stuff we're made of, Pizza Hut.*

The ad conveys that by treating his classmates to a pizza party at lunchtime, Timmy became fast friends with the students in a situation that might have turned out differently without the help of the product.

Table 8 shows the frequency of message strategy by product category. The column percentages show that the Esteemed Individual strategy was most often used for the following products: (1) Restaurants, Fast Food, & Pizza, (2) Appliances, Stores & Entertainment, and (3) Automotive.

The Efficient Individual. By far the largest category of main message strategy is the "Efficient Individual" (55%). Ads using this approach claim to make the individual more efficient at work, at home, in recreational activities, etc.

An ad for the Navy focuses on two young men, one white and one black, playing basketball aboard ship as the officers look on. A voiceover says:

**TABLE 8**  
**FREQUENCY AND PERCENT OF INDIVIDUALISM STRATEGY**  
**BY PRODUCT CATEGORY**

| <b>Product Category and<br/>Number of Ads<br/>Per Category</b> | <b>Esteem</b>               | <b>Efficiency</b>         | <b>Attractive</b>        | <b>I Am Me</b>        | <b>No Main<br/>Message</b> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| Restaurants, (19) Fast<br>Food, & Pizza                        | 3<br>16%*<br>23%**<br>2%*** | 13<br>68%<br>12%<br>7%    | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%      | 2<br>11%<br>33%<br>1% | 1<br>5%<br>2%<br>1%        |
| Appliances, (24)<br>Stores, &<br>Entertainment                 | 4<br>17%<br>31%<br>2%       | 18<br>75%<br>17%<br>9%    | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%      | 1<br>4%<br>17%<br>1%  | 1<br>4%<br>2%<br>1%        |
| Services, (20)<br>Long Distance, &<br>Military                 | 1<br>5%<br>8%<br>1%         | 18<br>90%<br>17%<br>9%    | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%      | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%   | 1<br>5%<br>2%<br>1%        |
| Food & (49)<br>Beverage                                        | 2<br>4%<br>15%<br>1%        | 10<br>20%<br>9%<br>5%     | 12<br>24%<br>44%<br>6%   | 2<br>4%<br>33%<br>1%  | 23<br>47%<br>53%<br>12%    |
| OTC Drugs (30)                                                 | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%         | 23<br>77%<br>21%<br>12%   | 1<br>3%<br>4%<br>1%      | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%   | 6<br>20%<br>14%<br>3%      |
| Cleaning (11)<br>Products                                      | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%         | 3<br>27%<br>3%<br>2%      | 2<br>18%<br>7%<br>1%     | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%   | 6<br>55%<br>14%<br>3%      |
| Health & (18)<br>Beauty Aids                                   | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%         | 3<br>17%<br>3%<br>2%      | 12<br>67%<br>44%<br>6%   | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%   | 3<br>17%<br>7%<br>2%       |
| Automotive (27)                                                | 3<br>11%<br>23%<br>2%       | 21<br>78%<br>19%<br>11%   | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%      | 1<br>4%<br>17%<br>1%  | 2<br>7%<br>5%<br>1%        |
| Total (198)                                                    | 13<br>7%<br>100%<br>7%      | 109<br>55%<br>100%<br>55% | 27<br>14%<br>100%<br>14% | 6<br>3%<br>100%<br>3% | 43<br>22%<br>100%<br>22%   |

\* Percent of Product Category (Row Percent)

\*\* Percent of Individualism Strategy (Column Percent)

\*\*\* Percent of Total Ads in Sample

*Wayne Winfield and Ron Williams were two of the most heavily recruited high school kids in the country. Of course, it wasn't for their game. It was for their minds. And thanks to the Navy College Fund and the Montgomery GI Bill they have a chance to really use them. Because they can earn up to \$30,000 for college. So even if the NBA isn't in their future (Ron says 'I guess that's game'), a BA is. For more information call 1-800-USA-NAVY.*

The ad tells how they can prepare for their future by learning a skill and earning money for their college education. The time spent in the Navy will be a very efficient use of those years.

While the majority of efficiency ads were work related, a few were set at home. In an ad set at a beautiful Victorian home, Blockbuster Video tells viewers:

*We'd like to remind you that whenever you make it a Blockbuster night, you never need a babysitter. The parking is always free, the atmosphere is as casual as the dress code, and you always get the best seat in the house. With over 9,000 Blockbuster videos to choose from, we'd like you to remember that when it comes to a great night with the family, there's no place like home. There's no place like home. Make it a Blockbuster night.*

The visuals show an idyllic view of parenthood with a warm, loving, family scene of a young couple and their children watching a video. The family is very attractive, casually dressed, relaxed, and eating popcorn. Soft, golden lighting further enhances the visuals. The ad idealizes family life while enumerating the many efficiencies and advantages of making it a Blockbuster night.

A Snickers ad shows the importance of staying alert on the job. Rich Espinoza, firefighter trainee, tells viewers:

*In my school, this is a classroom. And you don't want mistakes. You get your hunger under control. At class break, I reach for Snickers, packed with fresh roasted peanuts, thick milk chocolate and caramel. Snickers satisfies. Sure, the days are long. But deep down inside, I know it's worth it.*

*(Sung) There's a hunger inside you.*

As the lines are delivered, the visuals show scenes of firefighters putting out fires. As the camera cuts to show the product, we see the spokesman stopping to eat a Snickers bar. His energy is restored and he continues on. The ad demonstrates that the product will give

you the energy to work hard on the job. Providing his name further emphasizes the role of the individual, just as it has in the previous examples.

Table 8 shows that among the efficiency claims used in the sample (columns percents), the following four product categories utilized them the most frequently -- (1) Appliance, Stores, & Entertainment, (2) Services, Long Distance & Military, (3) OTC Drugs, and (4) Automotive. However, when examining the individualism claims within product categories (row percents), six of the eight product categories used efficiency more than any other individualism message strategy.

The Attractive Individual. Ads for the "Attractive Individual" claim that the product will make consumers healthier or more attractive. Ads offering attractiveness were more often directed toward women than men, but ads for health targeted both. A total of 14% of the ads used an attractiveness/health main message strategy.

In an ad for Ponds Age Defying Lotion a spokeswoman says:

*Women ask me if there's really anything that can make them look younger. I ask them "are you still just using a moisturizer?" I give them Pond's new Age Defying Lotion. It contains alpha nutrium. No age defying ingredient has been found that can beat it. They start to see the proof in two weeks, the look and feel of younger skin. Try getting that from a moisturizer. Age Defying Lotion. New from the Pond's institute.*

The ad clearly promises younger looking skin, which in American culture, is a more attractive look.

An example of an ad directed toward men which claims both health and attractiveness features Dan Dierdorf as a spokesman for Ultra Slim Fast. He says:

*Years ago, I looked like that. (Before and after pictures are shown.) Then I lost 40 pounds in 4 months on the Ultra Slim fast plan. And I've kept it off. It hasn't always been easy, but I eat sensibly and start almost every day with a delicious Ultra Slimfast shake. For me, it's the best breakfast. It gives me as much protein as this. As much calcium as this. And has much fiber as four bowls of Special K plus 19 essential vitamins and minerals. So come on. Lose weight and feel great with the Ultra Slimfast Plan. It's a healthy way to lose weight.*

While the verbal message speaks more of nutrition, the visuals display the

attractiveness that comes with using the product.

A final example makes a health claim outside the realm of attractiveness. A Florida Orange Juice ad opens with an alarm clock ringing while a young man (white, late 20s) gets up and goes down the stairs wearing running shoes, shorts, and a T-shirt. While he pours a glass of orange juice and drinks it, the voiceover says:

*Right now John Morrison isn't thinking about cancer. Or the medical studies that conclude that foods rich in vitamin C like Florida Orange Juice may actually lower the risk of some types of cancer. So while he may not know it, he's doing something good for his body every morning. Even on those days he's not able to exercise. 100% pure Florida Orange Juice. To your health!*

Column percents in Table 8 show that among the attractiveness claims used in the sample, the Food & Beverage and Health & Beauty Aids product categories were the heaviest users. Four product categories contained no examples of this strategy.

The "I Am Me" Individual. The "I Am Me Individual" is the smallest (3%) category of individualism message strategy. It flatters the individual much like the esteem category but differs because the person has already achieved the state of individualism. The following three are examples of ads in which the individuals are so sure of their identities that they can each demand products. In a Burger King ad, an African-American spokesman about 35 years old says:

*Look, I appreciate the fact that fast food is inexpensive (only 99 cents). I know its convenient and all that, but if I'm going to give you 99 of my cents, you gotta give me more than just some burger. I mean is it a Whopper? Is it flame broiled? Or is it fried? Can I get it how I want it or am I going to be scraping off gobs of secret sauce? I mean I can get a roll of duct tape for 99 cents. Doesn't mean I'm going to make it my lunch.*

*VO: The 99 cent Whopper, now at Burger King.*

He is savvy enough to know exactly what he wants, and he is not enticed by mere claims of convenience and price.

An Eggo Waffle ad shows a husband and wife each eyeing the toaster waiting for an Eggo waffle to pop up. The voiceover says:

*When a delectable Eggo waffle is at stake, there are generally two types of competitors: Type A is a tense personality. Funny how they'll grab the Eggo, pour syrup into each and every square and devour it. Type B is relaxed, imagining how they'll savor one scrumptious bite after another. Which type is more likely to win that hot tasty Eggo? Statistical studies show it's Type C, the speedy, hungry kid type. Delicious Eggo Waffles, too delicious to let go.*

Much to their surprise, their son grabs the waffle out from under them, sits at the table smugly and enjoys the prize of his victory. Interestingly, the parents (about 35-40 years old) can be categorized according to personality in the Type A/Type B designation, but the son (about 12 years old) requires a new category -- Type C. As a family member outside of his parents' generation and their personality types, he is the one to win the product.

An Aurora ad shows a group of people at a cocktail party drinking and eating. A woman (white, 30s) looks up at a large picture beside her and sees a car driving on the "road" in the picture. Suddenly she "escapes" from the party and is driving the car, waving to the others she left behind. The voiceover says:

*When something fresh comes into your life at the exact moment you are ready for it, it's not coincidence. Aurora, by Oldsmobile. See what happens when you demand better. Aurora.*

The ad claims that the product has been made in response to consumer demand. Thus, it is the consumer who wills what the product should be. The product doesn't enhance the individual because the person is already secure in his or her role, unlike products like Pizza Hut pizza, which claim to enhance people by bringing them new friends.

Table 8 shows that the product categories that used this strategy most were: (1) Restaurants, Fast Food, & Pizza, and (2) Food & Beverage although the small numbers in each cell make conclusions difficult.

Ads that did not use a main individualism message were also present in each product category, but Food & Beverage and Cleaning Products were the categories that used proportionately fewer individualism messages. Ads for these products were able to incorporate individualism if so desired, but these products could also rely on efficacy claims.

A total of 43 ads (22%) did not contain messages of individualism, but most included information in the context that supports individualism.

### Contextual Categories

A total of 192 of ads (97%) included information in the context that can support individualism. The message strategies show what paths can be taken to achieve individualism, but the added information in the context tells whether people of both genders, all ages, races, and ethnic groups can pursue those paths with equal chances of success. Additionally, the ads show what types of occupations are most fitting, the occasions that are most meaningful, and the definitions of family that are most accepted.

An ad that did not contain a main message strategy but did include contextual information is one for the beef industry.

A voiceover tells viewers:

*When the Clay family dropped over unexpectedly, they had beef and pasta primavera. For the first ever straight A report card, it was stir-fried beef fajitas. And for the upset victory on the bowling league tourney it was bistro steak sauce. Of course, it's not that you need a special occasion to appreciate dinners like these. All you really need is half an hour, and your average Wednesday will do just fine. Beef. It's what's for dinner.*

Meanwhile, the visuals first show a couple (white, about 30 years old) dropping by unexpectedly with a woman (also white, about 30) inviting them in at the door. After a close-up of the food, the camera then cuts to a different group to show a father and son in their den looking at the boy's report card. The father (white, early 40s) pats the son (about 12) fondly on the head. The camera shows the food and then cuts to a celebration at home for a bowling team of four men and a women (early 20s, all white except one black). The camera shows the food and then cuts to show a family eating at the kitchen table. A woman serves dinner to her husband and son (adults are late 20s and the son is about 6).

The four different scenarios provide a vast amount of cultural information. All four are set at home, although four different homes are shown. More camera time is devoted to the food than the surroundings, but the viewer can still note that each setting is a middle class home. All cast members are either friends or nuclear family; children are boys 6 to 12 years old, and adults range from 20s to early 40s. The women in the ad participate in the

following activities: greet guests, arrive as a guest, cook, celebrate her team's victory, and serve food to the family. Meanwhile, the men participate in these activities: arrive as a guest, celebrate earning a good report card, reward the son for a good report card, celebrate his team's victory, and sit at the table waiting to be served dinner. Occasions include an evening with friends, the celebration of an academic achievement, and the celebration of an athletic victory. All cast members are white except one -- the black male who carries the trophy for the bowling team.

The ad shows four different homes, all apparently owned by whites. The ad privileges people from childhood to early 40s with no older people as guests or family members. The two families each show only one child, and the activities are quite gendered. The women are primarily involved in the preparation and serving of the food while the men celebrate the occasions.

If one were to use the ad to learn how to express individualism within the culture, a possible interpretation might be as follows. The way for men to excel is to have a wife who takes care of the home and family, have friends, achieve scholastically, and win at sports. Women excel by caring for the home, husband, and children, having friends, and to a lesser extent than men, winning at sports. Whites may be more successful at attaining these things than blacks or people of ethnic background, and older people are not included in meaningful rituals.

Information regarding occupation was not readily observable in this ad, but the use of camera technique privileges the viewer who sees appetizing close-ups of the food from a first person point-of-view.

While it is not possible to summarize all 198 ads in such detail, the different contextual elements are summarized below.

Gender and Occupation. The 198 ads had a total cast of 703 people in addition to crowds of people too numerous to count. Of the total number of people who could be

counted, 56% were men, and 44% were women. The types of activities that are shown for each gender are of interest.

Men were shown in a wide variety of work and other recreational situations. Recreation usually involved sports; e.g., playing basketball, biking, jogging, playing golf, and, in one case, being on a bobsled team. But occasionally men were shown attending sports events for family members such as the son's little league game or the daughter's basketball game. Other recreational scenes included attending a concert, being with fraternity brothers, attending an air show in addition to family recreation such as swimming with the kids in the pool, attending the daughter's essay contest, playing basketball with the son, and taking the daughter to a ballet performance.

When men interacted with women, they were often at home eating meals or snack foods, watching TV or a video, entertaining friends, helping each other care for a sick child, dancing together at a party, spending time at the beach, or working together.

A total of 41 different occupations were portrayed in the ads. Men were shown in 33 of them (75% of the total): high school teacher, college student, personnel executive, military officer, pizza delivery person, optical technician, construction worker, doctor, billboard painter, government worker, baseball umpire (unemployed), hardware store owner, outdoor tour company owner, tree farmer, dentist, appliance repairman, cleaning crew member, hairdresser, ski patrol member, office supply salesman, medical researcher, tax consultant, telephone company repairman, railroad ticket taker, pilot, football coach, fireman, restaurant owner, telephone linesman, automotive engineer, cowboy, car salesman, and photographer. A few, such as the government worker, tree farmer, and ticket taker, were in zany, far-fetched ads, but the rest were straightforward depictions of occupation.

Men often served as highly credible spokesmen for headache remedies, fast-acting OTC drugs, fast food specials, appliance sales, long distance and financial services, and automobiles -- particularly those making technical claims.

While men benefitted from sinus or allergy medicines, women were generally more

knowledgeable of OTC drugs. Women often directed the men in the ads to take the medicine to feel better. For example, the following Robitussin ad shows a husband and wife sitting at home on the couch. He tells viewers how he nearly missed attending his daughter's game.

*Man: What a time for a cold. Our oldest was in the playoffs. My nose was stuffed. My chest was congested. I was coughing.*

*Woman: So I went to the store. There were a million brands of cold medicine but only one Robitussin. Robitussin Liquid Gels Cold Formulas. The pharmacist says they're really powerful.*

*Man: I feel so much better. Because of Robitussin, I got to watch Terry make the play of the game.*

*MVO: Robitussin Liquid Gels. Discover Robitussin relief for your cold and try new Robitussin Cold Cough and Flu Liquid Gels for severe flu symptoms.*

The product allowed him to attend an important event with the family, but it was the wife's role to select the medicine for her family. This pattern repeated with several other products including children's medicines, household cleaners, and foods claiming high nutritional content. Women seemed the most credible source for these products and for health and beauty aids.

Women were shown in 19 occupations (43% of the total) including elementary school teacher, military officer, restaurant owner, art teacher, waitress, nun, college student, car insurance agent, nurse, cosmetologist, housewife, government worker, engineer, fast food worker, cleaning crew member, car salesperson, doctor, actress, and model.

Women were depicted in other activities besides work, including getting their hair styled, shopping, cooking, serving meals, cleaning, caring for children, chauffeuring children, caring for parents, spending recreational time with family members, and singing in a choir. One additional ad showed a woman playing tennis from a wheelchair with other active, handicapped people in the background.

Age. People of various ages from infancy to about 75 were depicted. Of the cast in the 198 ads, the largest group (66%) was the Young Adults (20-39 years old). Children and

Teens (infancy to 19 years) were the next largest group (21%). Table 9 shows the full range of ages represented.

Children were present in a number of ads that called for nuclear family settings. In the ads children were fed, cared for when sick, entertained or taken on outings, cleaned up after, protected from danger, and provided for financially. Thus, many food items, OTC drugs, fast food restaurants, cleaning products, vehicles offering safety features, and insurance ads incorporated children.

Teenagers appeared in number of ads as fast food workers, high school students, boys who play video games, and girls who talk on the phone.

Young Adults (20 to 39 years old) were most often cast as parents or people in the work force and were generally attractive, interesting, capable, productive, and active.

Middle Adults (40 to 59 years old) comprised only 9% of the cast. Several people in their 40s were shown at work as people in positions of authority, some self-employed. A few gave testimonials, and in each case looked successful and affluent.

Three of the health and beauty aids were directed toward women in their 40s who were able to look young for their age as a result of using the product.

Older Adults (60 years and over) only appeared in 4% of the ads, and they were usually depicted as retirees with time on their hands, parents to be cared for by their adult children, people to stay in touch with by phone, and comic figures. Except for two telephone company ads and one for Ultra Fat Free Margarine, no grandparents appeared in family activities or celebrations.

Older people appeared as comic figures in two Doritos ads, and one each for Little Caesar's Pizza, AT&T, Pace Picante Sauce, and Kelloggs' Rice Crispy Treats. Pace showed a group of "old timers" who each want to win first prize at the county fair, and Kelloggs cast four men over 65 sitting on a porch talking about how they keep their "girlish figures."

| <b>TABLE 9</b><br><b>AGE DISTRIBUTION IN SAMPLE</b>            |                                           |                                            |                                        |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| <b>Child and Teens</b><br><b>Infancy to</b><br><b>19 Years</b> | <b>Young Adults</b><br><b>20-39 Years</b> | <b>Middle Adults</b><br><b>40-59 Years</b> | <b>Older Adults</b><br><b>Age 60 +</b> |
| 148 (21%)                                                      | 462 (66%)                                 | 66 (9%)                                    | 27 (4%)                                |

Race. A total of 629 whites (89%), 67 (10%) blacks, and 7 (1%) Asians appeared as principal characters in the ads, in addition to people in crowds that weren't counted. Hispanics were counted as whites.

Of interest is the nature of their activities in the ads. Ocean Spray, Healthy Choice, and Sprint were a few of the advertisers that interviewed different people who were not really interacting with one another. In these ads, the representation of people of different ages and races appeared to show the broad appeal of the product.

For most of the blacks, simply using the product or giving their testimonial was their only activity in the ad. The only occupations they held were those of teacher, construction worker, restaurant owner, telephone company repairman, college student, fast food worker, and military personnel.

Asians were only depicted in the occupations of model and car insurance agent. In contrast with the Asians and blacks, whites were depicted in a broader range of occupations and activities.

Asians were cast in only five of the 198 ads -- a man being interviewed and passed over for a job because he didn't have experience in the Navy, a woman model with shiny black hair in a Sassoon hair products ad, a woman insurance agent for Allstate, a little girl about 8 years old in a friends and family MCI ad, and a family (father, mother, and son) in a Buick ad. The ad showed a family (presumably Japanese) driving across America through the Amish country and emphasized the car's safety features. Their role seemed to enhance the quality of the car because only a superior American car would have greater appeal than a Japanese car to a Japanese family.

Ethnic Group. Ethnic origin was often difficult to determine in the ads and may have gone undetected in some. Occasional ads with large casts included people who could pass for members of more than one ethnic group, and their purpose in the ad appeared to represent diversity. Of the people who played distinct roles in the ads, only 20 (3%) showed distinguishable signs of ethnic origin.

The two most identifiable groups in the ads were Italians and Hispanics.

Italians were cast in two ads -- an emotional hairdresser who became enraged and spouted words in Italian when his client discovered Salon Style Products to be "salon quality hair products at sensible prices," and an Italian restaurant owner in Italy who was dismayed but amused to learn his American customer brought her own fat free Kraft Red Wine Vinegar Dressing.

Hispanics were cast in four ads -- a firefighter on a break eating Velveeta and Salsa, a firefighter trainee who eats Snickers for energy, a nurse on an emergency medical helicopter who stayed alert on the job because she took Sudafed for her cold, and a woman in a customer interview ad for Sprint.

Additional groups represented included a British model cast in one of the Taster's Choice continuing serial ads, and Louisiana Cajuns cast in a Maalox ad touting the benefits of the product.

Three ads were "set" outside the US. A Ricola ad appeared to take place in Switzerland; a Juan Valdez ad showed scenes of Colombia; and an IBM subtitled ad showed a group of Czechoslovakian nuns talking about the OS/2 Warp system.

Portrayal of Nuclear Family. A total of 52 ads (26%) presented people who appeared to be members of nuclear families. A few ads with a large cast may also have included family members, but due to the rapid editing style, it was not possible to count them.

Among the families represented, seven were black, one was Asian, and 44 were white. A total of 42 families were shown at home, while ten ads portraying families placed

them in other locations. Of the 42 at-home families, 38 were white and four were black.

The ads portraying white families are too numerous to describe, but the eight ads with non-white families are of interest.

The following showed black families: (1) a McDonald's ad about a little girl who won an essay contest which shows her father as a single parent; (2) a Little Debbie Cakes ad in which a father and son play basketball; (3) a Blockbuster ad with a married couple at home watching a video with friends (white); (4) a Kellogg's Corn Pops ad with a father eating breakfast with his two daughters; (5) a Wendy's ad with a family of father, mother and two children who hope to win a vacation; (6) a mother and son using Lysol Anti-Bacterial Spray; and (7) a Quaker Instant Grits ad with a mother and daughter eating breakfast as they rush to get ready in the morning. The Quaker ad includes a second scene -- that of a white family composed of father, mother, and son.

The only ad showing an Asian family is the Buick ad previously described.

The family constellation also differed by race. Among the seven black families, only one was composed of a father and mother with children. Two were families of mother with one child (no father present); three were families of father with one child (no mother present); and one showed a couple and no children. In the ads in which a parent was "absent," one could not interpret whether the absence was permanent or temporary.

Among the white families, the entire family of father, mother and child (children) was the most frequent arrangement. A total of 18 "intact" or "complete" families were shown. Additionally, there were seven families of mothers with children (no father present), 11 families of fathers with children (no mothers present), six couples without children, and two groups of siblings without parents present.

The one Asian family included both parents and one child. Table 10 summarizes this information.

**TABLE 10**  
**NUCLEAR FAMILY CONSTELLATION BY RACE**

| <b>Characteristics</b>          | <b>White</b> | <b>Black</b> | <b>Asian</b> |
|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Percent of Total Individuals    | 89%          | 10%          | 1%           |
| Percent of Total Families       | 85%          | 13%          | 2%           |
| Percent of 2 Parent Families    | 50%          | 17%          | 100%*        |
| Percent of Children with Mother | 19%          | 33%          | 0%*          |
| Percent of Children with Father | 31%          | 50%          | 0%*          |

\* number in sample is too small to be reliable

Small families were the rule. One family showed three children; six included two children; and the rest only showed one child.

Rituals of Recognition. A total of 40 ads (20%) either showed people receiving some form of recognition or spoke of the product as an award winner. Among the personal accomplishments recognized in the ads were: winning an essay contest, graduating from college, getting married, being the best looking grandmother on the block, being a Viet Nam War veteran, losing weight, owning a great restaurant, making the winning play in the basketball playoffs, having the best recycling ideas, having great skin, having younger looking skin, getting the closest shave, getting to sing a solo in a choir, winning a cooking contest, earning straight As, winning at bowling, and helping the schools get needed equipment. The ultimate recognition was entering Heaven in a comical ad for lite popcorn.

Because the culture recognizes achievement, products that receive recognition communicate this in their advertising messages. A number of products claimed recognition or distinction including: (1) the Chrysler Cirrus -- Motor Trend Magazine's car of the year;

(2) Geo Prizm -- ranked best in its class by J.D. Power and Associates; (3) Mercury Mystique -- best in its class; (4) Buick Le Sabre -- winner of the safe achievement award; (5) Dodge Intrepid -- winner of more awards from the major automotive press than Honda Accord and Toyota Camry; (6) Dodge -- best retail sales year ever in 1994; (7) Ace Hardware -- making a name for ourselves for four generations of service; and (8) Ford -- maker of five of the top 10 selling vehicles in America. Several other products made claims of being "the best," but these made the most specific ones.

Camera Techniques. By directing an advertising message to just one person, and by using the subjective point-of-view with the camera, advertising can privilege the individual. Some examples make this technique clearer. An Excedrin ad used this effectively by having a spokesperson give his testimonial from close range. While talking directly to the viewer he says

*I didn't think I'd ever stop using Tylenol. And I didn't, really. I still use it for aches and pains and stuff like that, but for headaches, I stopped taking it. Now I take Excedrin. Why Excedrin? Because I studied all the medical research? No. I tried Excedrin. It relieved my headaches better. Why else would anybody take it?*

Finding his own experience more convincing than medical evidence is a strong statement about individualism and the superiority of one's own opinion.

Another ad that privileges the consumer's ability to decide is one for Lysol Toilet Bowl Cleaner. The ad showed two boys about 10 years old playing ball in the house. The ball bounces off the hardwood floor into the bathroom and lands in the toilet. As the two boys consider whether to reach in with their hands to retrieve the ball, the voiceover says

*Unlike some toilet bowl cleaners, Lysol Toilet Bowl Cleaner cleans and disinfects. Now is disinfection that important? You decide.*

Most ads rely on these techniques to an extent; only six ads (3%) in the sample showed no distinguishable evidence of context. These ads had no spokespersons, nor did they show people in a product demonstration. One example was an MCI ad that used a blue screen with white letters and looked like a game board similar to that of Jeopardy.

*MVO: MCI presents the AT&T True False Quiz. True or False, AT&T always saves you money.*

*(Buzzer rings and sign says False.)*

*Sign: Millions pay the highest rates in America.*

*MVO: Millions pay. Boy do they pay. AT&T savings?*

*Woman's voice sings: It just doesn't ring true.*

The lack of first person technique and the omission of people in the ad required coding this ad as one that does not support individualism through context.

### **Summary Part I**

Elements of individualism were present in both the message and the context. A total of 78% of the ads contained main messages of individualism, and 97% of the ads supported individualism through context.

The messages in the ads showed consumers four paths for being recognized as an individual, but some paths were more traveled than others. Of the four types, the Efficient Individual was by far the most prevalent (55%). This strategy often incorporated examples of becoming more skilled or making better use of time and money, and it was most often used in the following product categories: (1) Appliances, Stores, & Entertainment, (2) Services, Long Distance & Military, (3) OTC Drugs, and (4) Automotive.

The Attractive Individual (14%) was the second most prevalent message strategy. Examples included becoming more physically attractive or healthier, and this strategy was most often used for Health & Beauty Aids and Food & Beverage products.

The two esteem categories, The Esteemed Individual (7%) and The "I Am Me" Individual (3%) were the two remaining strategies. The Esteemed Individual usually incorporated elements of gaining self-respect and developing personality, and it was most often used in these product categories: (1) Restaurants, Fast Food, & Pizza, (2) Appliances, Stores & Entertainment, and (3) Automotive.

The "I Am Me" Individual usually incorporated elements of demanding certain products because the consumer had already reached a state of "me-ness." It was more often used for the following product categories: (1) Restaurants, Fast Food, & Pizza, and (2) Food & Beverage.

Eight contextual elements were identified including gender, occupation, age, race, ethnic group, portrayal of nuclear family, recognition ceremonies, and use of camera techniques.

The 198 ads had a total cast of 703 people -- 56% men and 44% women. A large number of recreational activities and occupations were depicted in the ads, and when examining the information by gender, men and women were depicted differently. Of a total of 44 occupations, 33 (75%) were available to men, and 19 (43%) were available to women.

The most frequent age for cast members in the sample was that of Young Adult. A total of 66% appeared to be 20-39 years old. The second largest group were Children and Teens. A total of 21% of the cast members appeared to be infants to 19 years old. Middle and Older Adults were the smallest group. A combination of the two groups only represented 13% of cast members.

The racial composition of the cast members was 89% white, 10% black, and 1% Asian. Ethnic Group was a subcategory of race, with only 3% of the cast showing distinguishable signs of ethnic origin. The most frequently represented ethnic groups were Hispanic and Italian.

A total of 52 nuclear families were presented, 85% of which were white, 13% were black, and 1% was Asian. Among white families, children were depicted with two parents in 50% of the ads while children in black families were depicted with two parents in 17% of the ads.

Recognition ceremonies showed a vast number of occasions and achievements including graduating from college, getting married, winning an essay contest, making the winning play in the basketball playoffs, and earning straight As.

The use of camera technique was described using examples of ads that privilege a first person point-of-view.

The combined use of message strategy and context is able to present individualism as a very natural choice of behavior within US culture.

## **Part II -- Time**

A two stage analysis was used to examine time, which is outlined in Figure 6. Stage one identified the elements and noted the presence of time. As a result, seven contextual elements were identified. Four of the elements were present in a portion of the ads, and three were found in all 198 (100%) ads.

The second stage required the analysis of each of the seven contextual cues. A detailed description of each follows. The seven categories are: Planning Time, Marking Time, More Time, Limited Time, Sequenced Time, Oriented Time, and Synchronic Time.

### **Contextual Categories**

Planning Time. Among the process categories, ads in the Planning Time category depicted cast members who looked beyond the present for benefits from the products they use. Only four ads (2%) used this approach, which required people to wait until a time in the future to receive the benefit.

For example, an ad for the Navy uses a job interview situation to show how Navy experience prepares people for their next job. Viewers see a man behind a desk who interviews a series of applicants. The first applicants lack Navy experience and are unqualified.

### THE ANALYTICAL PROCESS FOR TIME

Stage 1. Identify elements and presence of time.

7 contextual elements were identified and the presence of at least three were noted in 198 ads (100%).

Stage 2. Examine the 198 ads for contextual information using the categories of:

- a. Planning Time (the use of time for making future plans)
- b. Marking Time (the use of markers of time such as birthdays)
- c. More Time (the attitude that things improve over time)
- d. Limited Time (time is a finite commodity)
- e. Sequenced Time (the sequence of events in the ad -- real, compressed, or non-linear)
- f. Oriented Time (the orientation to either past, present, or future)
- g. Synchronic Time (synchronization to the current season or holiday)

Figure 6

*They say:*

*Loser #1: I'm a real people person.*

*Loser #2: I get along with people.*

*Loser #3: I just love people.*

*Loser #4: I'm a real self starter -- I start by myself.*

*Loser #5: I got brains I haven't even used yet.*

*Loser #3: I'm mono-lingual.*

*Loser #4: I'm a sponge.*

*Loser #6: Information Superhighway?*

*A voiceover interrupts to say: With the high tech skills you learn in the Navy, when it comes time for you to say something in an interview...*

*(pause while an attractive young woman with past Navy experience says:)*

*I have an extensive background in avionics and electronics, I'm computer literate, and I'm pretty good with people.*

*VO continues:...you'll actually have something to say.*

*(Interviewer leans forward and smiles as though he's pleased with her credentials.)*

*VO: For more information, call 1-800-USA-Navy.*

The visuals in the ad show the type of work she previously did in the Navy followed by the interview in which she uses the Navy experience to get her next job. The message to viewers is that by joining the Navy now, one learns skills that build a strong resume and give good preparation for the future.

A Merrill Lynch ad is another example of long-term planning. In an ad with a mother as the single parent of a daughter, the mother says:

*I never wanted to grow up. Much less get older. A daughter. Even the word used to scare me. Now I have commitments -- that she would have an education -- that my parents will always be o.k. Love is expensive.*

*MVO: Take control of your future. A plan from Merrill Lynch can show you how. And a Merrill Lynch financial consultant has more ways to make the plan work for you than anyone else. The difference is planning. The difference is Merrill Lynch.*

Table 11 summarizes the frequency of Planning Time, Marking Time, More Time, and Limited Time across product categories. These four are shown together because the only coding options for these categories were "present" or "not present" -- unlike the remaining three elements (Sequenced Time, Oriented Time, and Synchronic Time) that each have three coding options. They are presented together in a later table.

The results of Table 11 shows that Planning Time was the least used of the four elements, and all ads were within the product categories of Services, Long distance, & Military.

Marking Time. Ads in this category are those that claim the product enhances experience by commemorating events and special occasions, and by keeping track of time through birthdays, anniversaries, etc. A total of 51 ads (26%) incorporated markers.

An ad for General Foods International Coffee opens with a card that says "Sometime after the holidays, St. Louis, Missouri." Two attractive women sit together at the home of woman #2 in the dialogue, who serves coffee.

**TABLE 11**  
**NUMBER AND PERCENT OF ADS THAT INCLUDE**  
**TIME ELEMENTS BY PRODUCT CATEGORY**

| <b>Product Category &amp;<br/>Number of Ads per<br/>Category</b> | <b>Limited<br/>Time</b>          | <b>Planning<br/>Time</b> | <b>Marking<br/>Time</b> | <b>More<br/>Time</b>   |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Restaurants, (19)<br>Fast Food, Pizza                            | 15*<br>79%**<br>15%***<br>8%**** | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%      | 7<br>37%<br>14%<br>4%   | 1<br>5%<br>2%<br>1%    |
| Appliances, (24)<br>Stores,<br>Entertainment                     | 17<br>71%<br>17%<br>9%           | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%      | 9<br>38%<br>18%<br>5%   | 2<br>8%<br>4%<br>1%    |
| Services, Long (20)<br>Distance, Military                        | 6<br>30%<br>6%<br>3%             | 4<br>20%<br>100%<br>2%   | 6<br>30%<br>12%<br>3%   | 4<br>20%<br>7%<br>2%   |
| Food and (49)<br>Beverage                                        | 20<br>41%<br>20%<br>10%          | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%      | 11<br>22%<br>22%<br>6%  | 9<br>18%<br>16%<br>5%  |
| OTC Drugs (30)                                                   | 20<br>67%<br>20%<br>10%          | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%      | 3<br>10%<br>6%<br>2%    | 9<br>30%<br>16%<br>5%  |
| Cleaning (11)<br>Products                                        | 4<br>37%<br>4%<br>2%             | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%      | 2<br>18%<br>4%<br>1%    | 7<br>64%<br>13%<br>4%  |
| Health & (18)<br>Beauty Aids                                     | 8<br>44%<br>8%<br>4%             | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%      | 3<br>17%<br>6%<br>2%    | 8<br>44%<br>14%<br>4%  |
| Automotive (27)                                                  | 9<br>33%<br>9%<br>5%             | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%      | 10<br>37%<br>20%<br>5%  | 16<br>59%<br>29%<br>8% |
| Total (198)                                                      | 99<br>NA<br>NA<br>50%            | 4<br>NA<br>NA<br>2%      | 51<br>NA<br>NA<br>26%   | 56<br>NA<br>NA<br>28%  |

\* Categories are not mutually exclusive; row totals will be greater than 100%.

\*\* Row Percent

\*\*\*Column Percent

\*\*\*\*Percent of Total Ads in Sample

*Woman #1: I am never eating again. What's that?*

*Woman #2: Well, something a little special.*

*Woman #1: Oh, French Vanilla Cafe.*

*Woman #2: Remind you of something?*

*Woman #1: Reminds me of all those frosted gingerbread houses that I was eating, room by room by room.*

*Woman #2: You're not having any? (coffee)*

*Woman #1: Better not.*

*Woman #2: Hello. Excuse me. It's 60 calories.*

*Woman #1: It's 60 calories? You know, I said no, but I didn't really mean no.*

*Woman #2: Yes, no, no, yes. It's all interchangeable.*

*WVO sings: Celebrate the moments of your life.*

While the ad presents information unrelated to time such as the calorie content of the coffee, the product is one that reminds them of another place and time. It brings back memories and makes for an enjoyable experience.

An ad for Healthy Choice which is tied into the season is another example of Marking Time. It opens with a card that says "Healthy Choice's New Year's Resolutions for 1995," and a series of people give their resolutions, all involving Healthy Choice meals.

The next ad is for a product that reduces the effects of aging and uses birthdays to track the passage of time. A black spokeswoman says:

*Sometimes I forget that I'm 45. I don't feel that because I'm 45, I can't be funky. I love looking great. It makes me feel proud to be the age that I am.*

*WVO: Oil of Olay. So sheer. So light. It penetrates quickly to boost skin's renewal process, reducing the look of fine lines and wrinkles.*

*Spokeswoman: I see lots of things in the future, bigger things, better things, and when I'm 90, I'm going to be the best looking grandma on the block.*

*WVO: A life time of beauty with Oil of Olay.*

While some products are tied to times we all celebrate at the same time such as holidays and weekends, others are tied to celebrations that only have meaning to certain people such as the good report card and the bowling team victory in the beef ad. Others are offered as ones to make an occasion out of an everyday experience with "Celebrate the moments of your life" or "Make it a Blockbuster night."

Marking Time was used in all product categories but found the greatest usage among Food & Beverage, and Automotive products.

More Time. Ads in this category recognize that improvements come over time. A total of 56 ads (28%) included these messages.

A voiceover for Resolve Carpet Granules says:

*You used to have to drag a shampooer home to clean high traffic areas and do the whole carpet with all the hassle, the wetness, the waiting. Today there's Resolve High Traffic Carpet Cleaning Granules. Just shake on, brush in. Sponge-like granules absorb the dirt. Later, vacuum clean. Resolve High Traffic Carpet Cleaner.*

The visuals contrast the past with the present and show a frazzled looking woman struggling to get a rented shampooer out of the trunk of the car. Wearing knee high boots, she shampoos the carpet with wet foamy bubbles. In contrast, viewers see the Resolve product used with no mess. She no longer is wearing boots but casual shoes.

An ad for Buick Riviera claims its technological superiority for 1995 when a voiceover says:

*Auto show concept cars. Cars with exciting features like super charged engines. Finally someone's built one for you. Introducing the 1995 Riviera. With an available supercharged engine that breathes deep for maximum power. It's amazing what a breath of fresh air can do. The all new Riviera by Buick. What a concept.*

By saying that "finally someone's built one for you," Riviera claims that it offers something previously unavailable.

While new and improved products are better, products long on the market also claim superiority due to longevity. At first the two claims seem to be contradictions, but they actually tap into the same time concept. From any arbitrary starting point such as the "beginning" of time, the "turn of the century," etc., things that are new or improved reap the benefits of time because knowledge accumulates. Products improve because ideas evolve. From the same arbitrary starting point, products that have been on the market a long time have stood the test of time and proven they work. In both cases the more time that goes by,

the better the product is. Both the newest and the oldest are longevity claims; thus, they have taken "More Time."

The following ad illustrates this. Sportscaster John Madden for Ace Hardware stands in a town square beside his tour bus and tells the viewers:

*You know that in Shamokin, Pennsylvania, Jones Ace Hardware has been helping folks for four generations. And your local Ace has its own history with top of the line products at down to earth prices. That's why Ace is the place with the helpful hardware folks.*

More Time was present in all product categories, but the Automotive category made the heaviest use of the claim.

Limited Time. Limited Time is the first of the four categories for characteristics of time. A total of 99 ads (50%) incorporated the concept.

The two most distinct examples of the Limited Time category were for products that claimed to save time for the user (a total of 69 ads -- 35%) and for products that were offered for a limited time only (30 ads -- 15%). The following ad for Afrin clearly demonstrates the use of a time saving claim. The ad opens with visuals of a man with an oversized head and nose who gets up out of bed while a voiceover says:

*VO: When you're congested, it's like your nose takes over. You can't breathe. You can't sleep. You need Afrin. Afrin works fast. (shows product).*

*VO: While cold tablets travel through your system, Afrin goes right to your nose. So it works **four times faster** than the leading cold tablet and relieves congestion in **less than 5 minutes**.*

*VO: Afrin. Because you shouldn't have to wait to breathe. And for congested noses that are also dry and irritated, try Afrin Extra Moisturizing Nasal Spray.*

The final visuals show his head of regular size. He is dressed and ready for work. The faster action of the product when compared to competitors gives Afrin a strong claim.

A "limited time only" ad for Sear's Home Appliances demonstrates the notion that time expires. It uses a dialogue between an unseen male voiceover and an attractive brunette in her twenties. Other visuals show a variety of people using the different appliances.

*VO: The national home appliance sale is on at Sear's Brand Central.*

*Woman: I've been waiting for it.*

*VO: You can save 60 bucks in this washer-dryer pair.*

*Woman: I may even break down and do the laundry.*

*VO: It's Sear's lowest price ever.*

*Woman: Hm. You can't beat that.*

*VO: True. Save on great brands, too. G.E. Jennair, Sony, Apple and more.*

*Woman: No wonder they call it Brand Central.*

*VO: Right. You know the National Home Appliance Sale is one of the biggest events of the year. So, you're not going to miss it are you?*

*Woman: Miss it? You gotta be kidding.*

*VO: At Sear's Brand Central. While supplies last.*

Ads tell viewers that time can not only be saved but lost. A Suave ad shows a woman who missed out on using the product because she didn't know about it.

*Spokeswoman: Who knows what took me so long. I mean I've always loved Suave Shampoo. It gives me shiny, fabulous hair. Then one day I discovered Suave anti-perspirant. So how long have I been missing out on this? (She tries the product.) Well, no surprise. Suave keeps me dry, really dry, just like an expensive brand except for that little price sticker. It's a lot nicer.*

Since time is limited, windows of opportunity exist. Consumers accept the idea that they should buy products at the most opportune moment rather than buying the product at the moment it is needed. Not buying a product when it's available means missing out.

A final example from Cadillac not only tells viewers that the high quality and dependability of the car saves them time but recognizes that time is valuable. Cadillac engineer Grant Brady says:

*Nowadays people have to depend on their cars more than ever. And it's my job at Cadillac to make sure you can. That's one of the reasons the new DeVille Concours impressed so many people. Our Northstar system made this DeVille one of the first cars ever to go 100,000 miles between scheduled tune-ups. You see there is a car company creating these higher standards. Because they value your time all much as much as you do. That's my company. Cadillac.*

The visuals in the ad show Brady in addition to a woman who has a busy medical practice. She is shown treating children at a hospital, and viewers accept her as someone too important to lose time with an unreliable car.

Because time is limited, it must be spent wisely. Like money, one can justify spending

time only if it is put to good use, and people who waste time are judged negatively. In the sample of ads, spending time at work or with nuclear family members is a "good" use of time. Being sick or having to wait are unproductive, "bad" uses of time.

Table 11 shows that the Limited Time appeal was the strongest of the four, particularly for three product categories: (1) Restaurants, Fast Food & Pizza, (2) Appliances, Stores & Entertainment, and (3) OTC Drugs.

Oriented Time. The second characteristic deals with time as orientation. While ads could be oriented in either the past present, or future, the overwhelming majority (193 ads or 97%) were oriented in the present. Four (2%) were oriented in the future, and only one (1%) was oriented in the past.

The Merrill Lynch ad and the two ads for the Navy previously described are examples of ads oriented to the future because the rewards are in the future, not the present. Although one could argue that being in the Navy provides benefits in the present because one earns a salary, the benefits claimed in the ad (the college fund and the experience to put on the resume) only come later. A few other ads such as weight loss products claim both present and future benefits. Since some benefits are available almost immediately, these ads were coded for present orientation.

All other ads described thus far have had a present orientation. The one ad in the sample with a past orientation is the following for Dove Soap.

A black woman about 40 years old says:

*My grandmother used it. Say, Cookie, I want you to every night wash your face with the Dove. And she was like very particular about her skin. (viewers see a close-up of bar of soap, a photo of her grandmother, and a close-up of the spokeswoman)*

*MVO: Dove is one quarter moisturizing cream. It won't dry your face like soap.*

*Woman: My grandmother, she had gorgeous skin. You should have seen her skin.*

Table 12 shows the results of the coding for Oriented Time, Sequenced Time, and Synchronic Time -- the three contextual categories that were not adaptable to Table 11 because they each had three coding options.

**TABLE 12**  
**FREQUENCY OF TIME ELEMENTS FOR THREE CHARACTERISTICS**

| Category        | Frequency and Percent     |                              |                       |
|-----------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Sequenced Time  | Real<br>30 (15%)          | Compressed<br>152 (77%)      | Non-Linear<br>16 (8%) |
| Oriented Time   | Past<br>1 (1%)            | Present<br>193 (97%)         | Future<br>4 (2%)      |
| Synchronic Time | Synchronized<br>118 (60%) | Non-synchronized<br>20 (10%) | Generic<br>60 (30%)   |

Sequenced Time. Sequence was the third characteristic coded, and each ad used either real time, compressed time, or non-linear time. The vast majority of ads (152 or 77%) used compressed time; 31 ads (15%) used real time; and 16 ads (8%) used non-linear time.

Many compressed time ads were product demonstrations such as the following Lysol Drain Opener ad.

A man is at the sink, shaving, while his wife is in shower. He tells her:

*Man: Uh, sink is backing up.*

*Woman: Get out the Lysol.*

*Man: Lysol doesn't unclog drains.*

*Woman: It does now.*

*MVO: Introducing professional strength Lysol Drain Opener. It sends more power through standing water than other liquids. It cleans even tough, smelly clogs.*

Meanwhile, visuals show picture of U shaped clogged drain. We read "15 minutes later -- hair and grease are gone" and see the drain unclog.

*Man: It got out the clog.*

*Woman: You did well.*

*VO: Get out the Lysol that gets out the clogs. New Lysol Drain Opener.*

Both the action of the drain cleaner and the woman's activities show time compression. First she is a background figure who speaks while taking a shower, but by the end of the commercial she is out of the shower, dressed in a robe, and her hair is combed.

A testimonial for Advil was created in real time. A woman standing in her living room tells viewers:

*On my really pounding headaches, Tylenol didn't always get rid of all the pain. I found that two Advil worked better than two Tylenol Gel Caps. For my tough headaches, Advil just works better.*

*VO: Advil, advanced medicine for pain.*

She speaks directly to the viewers while staying in the same place. When she says "two Advil worked better than two Tylenol Gel Caps," the ad is edited to show the product instead of her, but it returns to her exactly where she was standing as she continues her lines.

An ad for Bell Telephone used the non-linear technique with a montage of images. The following words are sung:

*There's always a dream that's part of someone. It's over the horizon. Say hello, everyone. More than a dream, it's what we are, working together to come so far. Bring us together, one by one. It's more than a dream. Hello, everyone.*

The visuals show a vast number of scenes including boys in baseball uniforms, a woman on the phone holding a baby, another woman with a small child running toward her, a peace symbol, a list of Viet Nam veterans, the Statue of Liberty, the American flag, Martin Luther King hugging a baby, three young soldiers smiling, a departing Navy ship with people waving goodbye, a graduation ceremony, and two children walking hand in hand. The order of these visuals is not important for chronology but for the juxtaposition of images.

Instead of a montage, other ads using a non-linear technique show different images associated with the use of the product. For example, an MCI ad showed a series of people each in real time, but in different locations. The images were strung together horizontally across the screen in a manner that was neither literally real time nor compressed time.

Synchronic Time. The fourth characteristic category is Synchronic Time. A total of 118 ads (60%) were synchronized with the season or holiday. A few ads showed snow while others showed warmer conditions that still appeared like winter. Two ads used beach scenes in which people were either dressed in jeans and long sleeves, or a wet suit. Indoor scenes showed people wearing long pants and long sleeves, sweaters, etc.

The non-synchronized ads comprised only 20 (10%). They were most often used for car ads in which the scenery showed lush green leaves on the trees. Another example, also

for a car, used a beach scene. A summer storm with thunder and lightning was used to demonstrate the need for four wheel drive.

Sixty generic ads (30%) either depicted no season by using visuals that could match any season or by limiting the visuals so greatly that one could not determine the season.

Table 13 summarizes the frequency and percent of all seven elements.

### **Summary -- Part II**

A total of seven contextual categories were present for time, and they were organized according to process and characteristic elements. The process elements were Planning Time, Marking Time, and More Time. Characteristic elements were Limited Time, Sequenced Time, Oriented Time, and Synchronic Time.

Planning Time is an element that shows cast members using products with benefits that will occur in the future. Only 2% of ads used this approach, and it was used for financial planning ads and military ads.

Marking Time is used in ads that commemorate events and special occasions, or keep track of time through birthdays, anniversaries, etc. A total of 26% of ads incorporated

| <b>TABLE 13<br/>PRESENCE OF EACH CONTEXTUAL ELEMENT OF TIME</b> |                  |                |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| <b>Category</b>                                                 | <b>Frequency</b> | <b>Percent</b> |
| Planning Time                                                   | 4                | 2%             |
| Marking Time                                                    | 51               | 26%            |
| More Time                                                       | 56               | 28%            |
| Limited Time                                                    | 99               | 50%            |
| Sequenced Time                                                  | 198              | 100%           |
| Oriented Time                                                   | 198              | 100%           |
| Synchronic Time                                                 | 198              | 100%           |

markers. Food & Beverage products used markers more than any other product category; however, all product categories used markers to an extent.

More Time reflects the attitude that improvements come over time. A total of 28% of ads incorporated the concept. All product categories used the concept to an extent, but the Automotive category relied heaviest on it.

The Limited Time concept was used in 50% of the ads. Limited time offers with expiration dates and claims for products that save time were the two most frequent uses of the category. The Limited Time appeal was the strongest for these product categories: (1) Restaurants, Fast Food, & Pizza, (2) Appliances, Stores & Entertainment, and (3) OTC Drugs.

Oriented Time was one of three contextual categories present in all ads. The vast majority of ads (97%) were set in the present.

Sequenced Time was also coded for all ads. A total of 77% of the ads used compressed time compared with only 15% that used real time and 8% that used non-linear Time.

The final category, Synchronic Time, was coded for all ads. The majority (60%) were synchronized with the season while 10% were non-synchronized. A total of 30% were coded as generic.

### **Part III -- Space**

A two stage analysis, which is outlined in Figure 7, was used to examine space. Stage one identified the elements and noted the presence of space. As a result, three contextual elements were identified. The location of relationships was present in all ads that included people interacting, and the other two were found in all 198 (100%) ads.

The second stage required the analysis of each of the three contextual cues. A detailed description of each follows. The contextual categories reflecting space are Ownership of Space, Location of Relationships, and Mastery of Space.

### THE ANALYTICAL PROCESS FOR SPACE

Stage 1. Identify the elements and presence of space.

Three contextual elements were identified and the presence of at least two were noted in all 198 ads (100%)

Stage 2. Examine the 198 commercials for contextual information using the categories of:

- a. Ownership of Space
- b. Location of Relationships
- c. Mastery of Space

**Figure 7**

### Contextual Categories

Ownership of Space. Most ads (180 or 91%) were set in one primary location (Private Space, Semi-Private Space, Accessible Public Space, Restricted Public Space, or Primary "No Place"); however, 18 (9%) showed locations in multiple categories. All categories were coded rather than forcing only one selection, which resulted in a total of 222 primary locations. Ads that showed multiple locations within one category were coded only once. For example, the beef ad that showed four different home settings was coded once for Private Space. (See Table 14 for a summary of Ownership of Space).

The 18 ads using multiple primary categories usually presented a combination of Private and Public space. An example is the Navy ad in which the woman with previous Navy experience was the best qualified in the job interview. Both the Navy scenes, which used

**TABLE 14**  
**OWNERSHIP OF SPACE**  
**Frequency and Percent**

| <b>Ownership of Space</b>   | <b>Frequency</b> | <b>Percent</b> |
|-----------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| <b>Primary Categories*</b>  |                  |                |
| Private Space               | 87               | 39%            |
| Semi-Private Space          | 41               | 18%            |
| Accessible Public Space     | 53               | 24%            |
| Restricted Public Space     | 6                | 3%             |
| Primary "No Place"          | 35               | 16%            |
| Total                       | 222              | 100%           |
| <b>Secondary Category**</b> |                  |                |
| Secondary "No Place"        | 89               | 45%            |

\* Some ads contained settings in more than one category and were coded for more than one type of space. A total of 222 settings were recorded in the first five categories; thus, the percent of each location was based on the total of settings rather than the number of ads in the sample.

\*\* The secondary coding of "No Place" only applied to the 198 ads in the sample; thus, the percent is based on the sample number rather than the setting number.

Restricted Public Space, and the office interview scene, which used Private Space, were important locations; thus, both were coded.

Another situation resulted in additional codings. A large number of ads (87 or 45%) used the Secondary "No Place" in combination with a primary space. These second codings are not reflected in the 222 primary codings; instead, they are noted separately.

Several different situations triggered its usage. Sometimes the ad begins with a spokesperson giving a testimonial, cuts to a shot of the product in a neutral location, and then returns to the original location with the spokesperson. The spokesperson doesn't use or show the product -- the viewers see the product only in neutral space. Several OTC drugs

present the product against a grid design to look more "scientific."

For other ads that use a Secondary "No Place," viewers see the cast members using the product in their location, and then see the product presented a second time in the neutral "No Place" for a close-up.

Secondary "No Place" shots can reinforce the information about the product and can frame it in greater detail; however, some additional interpretations can be made regarding its use of space. The presentation of the product in the neutral "No Place" may create a more universal impression of the product that is not just tied to the particular execution of the ad or the particular spokesperson. The neutral presentation may tell the viewer that the product in the "No Place" is theirs -- the one they would purchase -- while the product demonstrated by a cast member belongs to that person. Presenting the product both ways simultaneously creates two images. Showing the product in use builds an image of what kind of person uses the product and under what conditions, but showing the product alone facilitates the subjective and individualistic view of "how the product will look to me when I use it."

The difference in frequency between private and public space is substantial. "Private Space" is the largest single category, but the difference in size between private and public is even more extreme when the subcategories are combined. Private and Semi-Private Space appeared in 128 of the settings (58%) while Accessible and Restricted Public Space only appeared in 59 of the settings (27%).

The use of Private Space was greater than Semi-Private Space (87 uses compared to 41), with homes as the most frequent setting. The use of Accessible Public Space was much greater than that of Restricted Public Space (53 uses compared to 6). Open roads with scenic backgrounds, schools, and parks were common locations for Accessible Public Space.

Table 15 shows the use of space by product categories, and six of the eight categories used Private Space more than any location. One exception was Restaurants & Fast Food. A number of these ads showed the restaurant (Semi-Private Space), and several pizza and fast food ads depicted people eating at school or other public locations (Accessible Public Space).

**TABLE 15**  
**FREQUENCY OF OWNERSHIP OF SPACE**  
**BY PRODUCT CATEGORIES**

| Product Category/<br>Number of Ads *     | Private<br>Space              | Semi-<br>Private<br>Space | Access.<br>Public<br>Space* | Rest.<br>Public<br>Space | Primary<br>No<br>Place   | Second.<br>No<br>Place   |
|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Restaurants, Fast<br>Food<br>(19)[21]    | 5<br>24%**<br>6%***<br>2%**** | 6<br>29%<br>15%<br>3%     | 8<br>38%<br>15%<br>4%       | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%      | 2<br>10%<br>6%<br>1%     | 13<br>68%<br>15%<br>7%   |
| Appliances,<br>Entertainment<br>(24)[24] | 9<br>38%<br>10%<br>4%         | 6<br>25%<br>15%<br>3%     | 6<br>25%<br>11%<br>3%       | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%      | 3<br>13%<br>9%<br>1%     | 11<br>46%<br>12%<br>6%   |
| Services,<br>Military<br>(20)[25]        | 9<br>36%<br>10%<br>4%         | 4<br>16%<br>10%<br>2%     | 3<br>12%<br>6%<br>1%        | 3<br>12%<br>50%<br>1%    | 6<br>24%<br>17%<br>3%    | 5<br>25%<br>6%<br>3%     |
| Food and<br>Beverage<br>(49)[53]         | 25<br>47%<br>29%<br>11%       | 7<br>13%<br>17%<br>3%     | 11<br>21%<br>21%<br>5%      | 2<br>4%<br>33%<br>1%     | 8<br>15%<br>23%<br>4%    | 20<br>41%<br>22%<br>10%  |
| OTC Drugs<br>(30)[34]                    | 15<br>44%<br>17%<br>7%        | 8<br>24%<br>20%<br>4%     | 5<br>15%<br>9%<br>2%        | 1<br>3%<br>17%<br>0%     | 5<br>15%<br>14%<br>2%    | 18<br>60%<br>20%<br>9%   |
| Cleaning Products<br>(11)[12]            | 9<br>75%<br>10%<br>4%         | 1<br>8%<br>2%<br>0%       | 1<br>8%<br>2%<br>0%         | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%      | 1<br>8%<br>3%<br>0%      | 4<br>36%<br>4%<br>2%     |
| Health &<br>Beauty Aids<br>(18)[20]      | 8<br>40%<br>9%<br>4%          | 4<br>20%<br>10%<br>2%     | 2<br>10%<br>4%<br>1%        | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%      | 6<br>30%<br>17%<br>3%    | 10<br>56%<br>11%<br>5%   |
| Automotive<br>(27)[33]                   | 7<br>21%<br>8%<br>3%          | 5<br>15%<br>12%<br>2%     | 17<br>52%<br>32%<br>8%      | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%      | 4<br>12%<br>11%<br>2%    | 8<br>30%<br>9%<br>4%     |
| Total<br>(198)[222]                      | 87<br>39%<br>100%<br>39%      | 41<br>18%<br>100%<br>18%  | 53<br>24%<br>100%<br>24%    | 6<br>3%<br>100%<br>3%    | 35<br>16%<br>100%<br>16% | 89<br>45%<br>100%<br>45% |

\* The figure in parentheses is the number of ads for each product category. The figure in brackets is the number of locations coded for each product category.

\*\* Row Percent -- The percent is calculated using the number of locations as the base for space categories in columns one through five. The percent is calculated by the number of ads for column six since the Secondary No Place only applied to the actual ads.

\*\*\* Column Percent

\*\*\* This percent is the number of entries divided by the number within the entire sample. Entries in columns 1-5 are divided by the 222 locations in the sample, and the entries in column 6 are divided by the 198 ads in the sample.

Automotive ads also used other space categories more than Private Space. Scenic spots with open spaces (Accessible Public Space) were among the most frequent settings for cars.

Private Space was most often used for Food & Beverage products; Semi-Private Space was often used by both OTC Drugs and Food & Beverage; Accessible Public Space was most often used by Automotive; Restricted Public space was most often used by Services & Military; Primary "No Place" was often used in three categories -- Food & Beverage, Services & Military, and Health & Beauty Aids; and the Secondary "No Place" was most often used by both Food & Beverage and OTC Drugs.

Location of Relationships. Of the 198 ads, seven (4%) showed relationships in multiple locations. All categories were coded, but as before, multiple examples of relationships in the same type of space were only coded once per ad.

Within the 222 total primary settings a total of 110 (50%) depicted relationships. Most relationships were among family members or friends. Several were between teachers and students, while others were work-related, either between customers and workers, or among co-workers.

Private Space was the most frequent single location for relationships -- 53 locations (48% of the 110) -- with homes being the most frequent use of Private Space. Semi-Private Space ranked second (23 or 21%); Accessible Public Space ranked third (22 or 20%); the Primary "No Place" ranked fourth (7 or 6%); and the Restricted Public Space was fifth (5 or 5%). No relationships existed in the Secondary "No Place." (See Table 16). The combined use of Private and Semi-Private Space for relationships constituted 69% of all "located relationships." Homes and to a lesser extent, stores, restaurants, and offices, are privileged as the most frequent and, perhaps, the most natural location for relationships to occur.

Schools, beaches, and parks were the most common public places for relationships.

Analysis of location of relationships by product category is shown in Table 17. The preference for Private Space held very strongly within most product categories. Two

**TABLE 16**  
**LOCATION OF RELATIONSHIPS**  
**Frequency and Percent**

| <b>Ownership of Space</b> | <b>Frequency</b> | <b>Percent*</b> | <b>Percent**</b> |
|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Private Space             | 53               | 24%             | 48%              |
| Semi-Private Space        | 23               | 10%             | 21%              |
| Accessible Public Space   | 22               | 10%             | 20%              |
| Restricted Public Space   | 5                | 2%              | 5%               |
| Primary "No Place"        | 7                | 3%              | 6%               |
| Total                     | 110              | 50%             | 100%             |

\* Percent is calculated using the number of total locations (222) as the base.

\*\* Percent is calculated using the number of the total relationships (110) as the base.

categories (Restaurants & Fast Food, Appliances & Entertainment) each had more entries in another location, but the differences were very slight.

Food & Beverage, OTC Drugs, and Cleaning Products showed the strongest use of Private Space -- a logical choice of location since these products are primarily used in the home.

**Mastery of Space.** A total of 201 different uses of space were coded in the ads. In cases where all of the locations in a single ad were "Altered" or "Natural," the ad was coded only once. However, when a single ad had more than once location -- one Altered and one Natural -- both were coded. Thus, the total number of locations is somewhat larger than the total number of ads in the sample, but less than the 222 locations noted before. The reduction occurred because ads using more than one location typically used all Natural Space or all Altered Space.

Three possible choices existed for Mastery of Space: Natural, Altered, and Undetermined. Those ads coded as Natural were set in locations that showed no alterations

**TABLE 17**  
**FREQUENCY OF LOCATION OF RELATIONSHIPS**  
**BY PRODUCT CATEGORIES**

| <b>Product Category and<br/>Number of Ads per<br/>Product Category *</b> | <b>Private<br/>Space</b>      | <b>Semi-<br/>Private<br/>Space</b>    | <b>Access.<br/>Public<br/>Space</b> | <b>Rest.<br/>Public<br/>Space</b> | <b>Primary<br/>No<br/>Place</b> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Restaurants, Pizza<br>Fast Food<br>(19)[9]                               | 3<br>33%**<br>6%***<br>3%**** | 2<br>22%<br>9%<br>2%                  | 4<br>44%<br>18%<br>4%               | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%               | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%             |
| Appliances, Stores<br>Entertainment<br>(24)[13]                          | 4<br>31%<br>8%<br>4%          | 5<br>38%<br>22%<br>5%                 | 3<br>23%<br>14%<br>3%               | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%               | 1<br>8%<br>14%<br>1%            |
| Services,<br>Military<br>(20)[14]                                        | 5<br>36%<br>9%<br>5%          | 2<br>14%<br>9%<br>2%                  | 2<br>14%<br>9%<br>2%                | 3<br>21%<br>60%<br>3%             | 2<br>14%<br>29%<br>2%           |
| Food and Beverage<br>(49)[33]                                            | 17<br>52%<br>32%<br>15%       | 6<br>18%<br>26%<br>5%                 | 7<br>21%<br>32%<br>6%               | 1<br>3%<br>20%<br>1%              | 2<br>6%<br>29%<br>2%            |
| OTC Drugs<br>(30)[16]                                                    | 9<br>57%<br>17%<br>8%         | 3<br>19%<br>13%<br>3%                 | 3<br>19%<br>14%<br>3%               | 1<br>6%<br>20%<br>1%              | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%             |
| Cleaning Products<br>(11)[7]                                             | 7<br>100%<br>13%<br>6%        | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%                   | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%                 | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%               | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%             |
| Health & Beauty Aids<br>(18)[6]                                          | 2<br>33%<br>4%<br>2%          | 2<br>33%<br>9%<br>2%                  | 1<br>17%<br>5%<br>1%                | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%               | 1<br>17%<br>14%<br>1%           |
| Automotive<br>(27)[12]                                                   | 6<br>50%<br>11%<br>5%         | 3<br>25%<br>13%<br>3%                 | 2<br>17%<br>9%<br>2%                | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%               | 1<br>8%<br>14%<br>1%            |
| Total<br>(198)[110]                                                      | 53<br>48%<br>100%<br>48%      | 23<br>21%<br>100%<br>21% <sup>o</sup> | 22<br>20%<br>100%<br>20%            | 5<br>5%<br>100%<br>5%             | 7<br>6%<br>100%<br>6%           |

\* The figure in parentheses is the number of ads for each product category. The figure in brackets is the number of locations coded that depicted relationships for each product category.

\*\* Row Percent -- The percent is calculated using the number of locations depicting relationships [in brackets] as the base.

\*\*\* Column Percent

\*\*\* This percent is the number of entries divided by the total number of locations [110] depicting relationships within the sample.

or improvements. Beaches, mountains, and expanses of open land are examples of Natural Space (as long as no "improvements" were visible). Only 12 locations (6%) used Natural Space, and they were always within Public Space. (See Table 18).

Altered Space was the largest category with 154 codings (77%). Buildings such as homes, restaurants, stores, and schools were Altered Space in addition to "improved" public places (a park with a stone wall, a beach with a picket fence, a military base, etc.).

Ads in the "No Place" were created in studios and technically could be counted as Altered Space; however, they were assigned the category of Undetermined because they represent a neutral space that is not "real." The 35 ads (17%) in the Primary "No Place" were counted as Undetermined.

Table 19 provides an analysis of mastery by product category. Locations using Natural Space were limited to only two product categories. Of the 12 natural locations, three were used in ads for OTC Drugs and nine were used in automotive ads. Car ads that use open spaces contributed heavily to Natural Space, and three of the 30 OTC drugs used natural settings. One cold medicine was used by a member of a ski patrol with an expanse of snow-covered mountains in the distance. Another was used by a photographer taking pictures of animals in the wild. The third was set in the Alps for a cough drop ad.

| <b>TABLE 18</b><br><b>MASTERY OF SPACE</b><br><b>Frequency and Percent*</b> |                  |                |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| <b>Options for Mastery</b>                                                  | <b>Frequency</b> | <b>Percent</b> |
| Natural (Unaltered) Space                                                   | 12               | 6%             |
| Altered Space                                                               | 154              | 77%            |
| Undetermined (Prim. No Place)                                               | 35               | 17%            |
| Total                                                                       | 201              | 100%           |

\* Mastery was coded for 201 primary locations in the 198 ads; thus, the percent of each location was calculated on a base of 201 rather than the number of ads in the sample.

**TABLE 19**  
**FREQUENCY OF MASTERY OF SPACE**  
**BY PRODUCT CATEGORIES**

| <b>Product Category and<br/>Number of ads per<br/>Category*</b> | <b>Natural<br/>Space</b>     | <b>Altered<br/>Space</b>  | <b>Undetermined<br/>Space</b> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Restaurants, Pizza<br>Fast Food<br>(19)[19]                     | 0<br>0%**<br>0%***<br>0%**** | 17<br>89%<br>11%<br>8%    | 2<br>11%<br>6%<br>1%          |
| Appliances, Stores<br>Entertainment<br>(24)[24]                 | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%          | 21<br>88%<br>14%<br>10%   | 3<br>13%<br>9%<br>1%          |
| Services, Financial,<br>Military<br>(20)[20]                    | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%          | 14<br>70%<br>9%<br>7%     | 6<br>30%<br>17%<br>3%         |
| Food and Beverage<br>(49) [49]                                  | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%          | 41<br>84%<br>27%<br>20%   | 8<br>16%<br>23%<br>4%         |
| OTC Drugs<br>(30)[30]                                           | 3<br>10%<br>25%<br>1%        | 22<br>73%<br>14%<br>11%   | 5<br>17%<br>14%<br>2%         |
| Cleaning Products<br>(11)[11]                                   | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%          | 10<br>91%<br>6%<br>5%     | 1<br>9%<br>3%<br>0%           |
| Health & Beauty Aids<br>(18)[18]                                | 0<br>0%<br>0%<br>0%          | 12<br>67%<br>8%<br>6%     | 6<br>33%<br>17%<br>3%         |
| Automotive<br>(27)[30]                                          | 9<br>30%<br>75%<br>4%        | 17<br>57%<br>11%<br>8%    | 4<br>13%<br>11%<br>2%         |
| Total<br>(198)[201]                                             | 12<br>6%<br>100%<br>6%       | 154<br>77%<br>100%<br>77% | 35<br>17%<br>100%<br>17%      |

\* The figure in parentheses is the number of ads for each product category. The figure in brackets is the number of different locations coded for mastery. Automotive is the only category that differed.

\*\* Row Percent -- The percent is calculated using the number of locations coded for mastery [in brackets] as the base.

\*\*\* Column Percent

\*\*\*\* This percent is the number of entries divided by the total number of locations [201] coded for mastery within the entire sample.

Altered Space was represented consistently across all product categories as the most frequent choice for the mastery categories. Also consistent is the use of Undetermined Space as second choice in all product categories except one. Only the Automotive category, which relied heavily on Natural Space, used Undetermined Space to a lesser extent proportionately than other product categories.

### **Summary -- Part III**

Elements of space were present in the context of all ads in the sample. The three contextual categories identified were the Ownership of Space, Location of Relationships, and Mastery of Space.

The most frequently used setting for the ads was Private Space. Private and Semi-Private Space accounted for 57% of the settings; Accessible and Restricted Public Space accounted for 27% of the settings; and the Primary "No Place" was the setting for 16% of the ads. Six of the eight product categories utilized Private Space more frequently than any other setting. The two exceptions were Restaurants & Fast Food, and Automotive, both of which relied on Accessible Public Space.

Relationships were shown in 50% of the locations used in the sample. Most relationships were among family members or friends, and Private Space was the most frequent single location for relationships (48%). Private and Semi-Private Space accounted for 69% of settings for relationships. Six of the eight product categories chose Private Space as the setting when relationships were depicted.

Mastery of Space showed that Altered Space was used in 77% of the locations. Natural Space was only used in 6%, and Undetermined Space was used in 17%. OTC Drugs and Automotive were the only two product categories that used Natural Space. The majority of ads in all product categories used Altered Space.

## Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented the findings from the coding of 198 ads. The ads were first coded and analyzed for individualism, and then the coding and analysis proceeded for time, and finally space.

Elements of individualism appeared both in the message strategy and context -- unlike the other two values that contained contextual elements only. The ads showed four different paths of achievement and recognition for the individual. These message strategies were named The Esteemed Individual, The Efficient Individual, The Attractive Individual, and The "I Am Me" Individual. Of the four types, the efficiency category was the most often used.

Eight contextual categories were also identified as providing additional support for individualism. The demographic categories of gender, occupation, age, race, ethnic group, and nuclear family provided additional information about **who** can be successful in attaining individualism. When an individualism main message was present, these contextual categories defined who the message was intended for. When main messages were absent, the contextual categories still provided information. By showing people in "believable" scenarios, the ads continued to provide useful information about gender, occupation, age, etc. -- even when the actual message was only one of product efficacy.

The other two contextual categories -- recognition ceremonies and camera techniques -- further supported individualism by showing people receiving the recognition they strive for and by showing a subjective, first person point-of-view.

Elements of time appeared only through context; however, the time information was an essential part of many ads. Time was an important part of the total context for main messages of individualism and for messages of product efficacy. Seven categories, organized by process elements and characteristics, were used to describe the material. The seven are: Planning Time, Marking Time, More Time, Limited Time, Sequenced Time, Oriented Time,

and Synchronic Time.

Time messages in several categories gave support for monochronic time. No support was seen for polychronic time.

Because individualism and time (and space) appear to be linked, many of the time categories directly relate to one of the main message strategies of individualism, particularly the Efficient Individual.

The practice of using time as a marker coincides with the desire to recognize achievements. What is celebrated is determined by the culture, but the concept of using time for celebrations and enhancing the moment serves as a foundation for the practice.

The three remaining categories, Sequenced Time, Oriented Time, and Synchronic Time each had three coding options, but one of the three prevailed over the other two. The ads showed an overwhelming tendency to favor compressed time, present orientation, and synchronized time.

Elements of space also appeared only through context. These elements are primarily visual and serve as the background for the ads. The three contextual categories are Ownership of Space, Location of Relationships, and Mastery of Space.

The first two chose a setting from a list of six possible locations. In both cases Private Space was used more frequently than other locations. The difference in frequency between private and public space was even more extreme when the two private categories and the two public categories were combined.

The use of an undetermined, generic space called the "No Place" was noted for its ability to be anywhere but nowhere in particular.

The preference for private space both as a general setting for products and as a setting for relationships can also lend support for individualism. Relationships were noted in half of the locations coded, and the nature of the relationships emphasized relationships between family members, friends, and co-workers.

When examining the Mastery of Nature, Altered Space was much more frequently

used than Natural Space. This finding is in keeping with anthropological observations.

The contextual information for space may be the most taken-for-granted of the three values, but the common use of altered private settings may send important and powerful messages.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSIONS**

#### **Introduction**

Chapter 4 has provided data for the expression of individualism, time, and space. The ads in the sample have provided a detailed view of the ways that members of the US culture express individualism, how they conceptualize time, and how they use space. Some of their depictions accurately reflect the culture (according to outside sources), and some do not. The implications are discussed for the three values.

Originally the study asked (1) how advertising expresses elements of cultural values, (2) what applications an understanding of American cultural values has for international advertising, and (3) what applications this understanding has for advertising within the US.

This chapter first examines the findings for each of the three values, comments on the elements present for each value, and then considers the applications for international and domestic advertising.

The interaction between the three values, advertising's role in reflecting and constructing values, and the responsibility of advertisers are also addressed.

#### **Interpretation of Findings**

##### **Individualism**

The examination of individualism produced four main message strategies and eight contextual elements. Interpretations of the findings are presented below.

Message Strategy. The sample of ads instructs consumers that individualism can be expressed in one of four different ways -- by attaining self-esteem, efficiency, or attractiveness, or by using the attained personality to make demands. Outside of primetime advertising, a number of other ways exist for expressing individualism. Some people are rewarded for their kindness and willingness to help others; some find recognition through intellectual pursuits; others are respected for their religious faith. While these and many other expressions of individualism occur in the general population and perhaps are depicted in other media, they are not depicted in primetime advertising. Because of this, members of the culture may unconsciously feel the advertised expressions are superior.

Of the four methods of attaining individualism, efficiency is by far the strongest. The emphasis on efficiency often sacrifices relationships, just as the preference for monochronic time does. When people continuously apply efficiency models to their life and evaluate whether they spend their time wisely, they tend to prioritize accomplishments over relationships.

Within US culture, attaining attractiveness is an important goal and one that is tied to youth. Attractiveness is offered as the path to sexiness and desirability, but according to advertising attractiveness is only available to the young -- or to older people who look younger than their years.

Of the four individualism message strategies, the "I Am Me" Individual shows the least regard for others. In a Sprint ad that ran frequently in 1994, Candace Bergen claimed that "whoever said the world doesn't revolve around you obviously didn't have Sprint." This sample added a new, and arguably more offensive version with people who know who they are, and therefore, demand better, e.g., "if I'm going to give you 99 of my cents, you gotta give me more than just some burger. I mean is it a Whopper?" If the demanding "I Am Me" strategy increases in popularity among advertisers, viewers will have the most selfish expression of individualism as a model.

Gender and Occupation. The sample of ads had a total cast of 703 people -- 56% men and 44% women. According to US Census figures for the general population for 1992, 48.8% are men, and 51.2% are women (Statistical Abstract of the United States 1994). With regard to gender, the ads in the sample under-represented women, which may suggest to viewers that men are better able to attain individualism.

People were depicted in a number of different occupations in the ads. Of a total of 44 different occupations presented, 33 (75%) were held by men, and 19 (43%) were held by women. (The percentages do not total 100% because a number of occupations were held by both men and women.) From the portrayal of occupation in the ads, one might conclude that women play a small part of the work force. Census figures for 1993 indicate that men outnumber women as **full-time** employees (48.4 million men compared to 36.8 million women), but the difference is not extreme. By converting these figures to percentages, men comprise 57% of the work force of full-time employees, and women comprise 43% -- a difference of only 14%. By portraying women in a limited number of occupations, advertisers minimize their role in the work force.

While the portrayal of gender roles is outside the main focus of the study, a few ads are noteworthy. Many more women than men served as spokespersons for household cleaning products and OTC drugs, and a case can be made that granting women expertise for domestic products instructs them that they can best achieve recognition by caring for the home and family. This may be true for some women in the population but not for others. For women employed in the work force, the ads also show that the care of home and family is still a woman's responsibility. The depiction of shared household duties among married couples who both work outside the home was not present in any ads in the sample. Gender roles may also portray men unrealistically. Pressure upon men to excel through work outside the home and to have a wife and family is strong. While the wife is responsible for the health of family members, the husband is in charge of finances.

Two ads in the sample reversed the traditional gender roles -- a Merrill Lynch ad that

showed a woman who was planning for her family's future, and a Mop & Glo ad in which a man washed the kitchen floor. In both cases the ad was not particularly flattering to the cast members. The woman in the Merrill Lynch ad delivered lines that implied she was afraid of responsibility, and the man in the Mop & Glo ad was more unattractive than most cast members. It appears from this sample that advertising is most comfortable placing people in traditional gender roles, and it subtly penalizes those who venture into new ones. Due to the small number of ads in the sample that reversed the traditional roles, a strong conclusion cannot be made; however, it is an element that should be pursued in future research.

Age. The sample of ads showed people of all ages. However, Children and Teens were 21% of the 703 total cast members (compared with 29% of the general population for 1993 Census figures); Young Adults comprised 66% (cf. 32% general population); Middle Adults comprised 9% (cf. 22%); and Older Adults comprised 4% (cf. 17%). Children and Teens, Middle Adults, and Older Adults were under-represented, and Young Adults were vastly over-represented.

By emphasizing the value of individualism through message strategy but portraying an unrealistic age distribution, advertising depicts Young Adults (20-40 years old) as the most likely to achieve individualism, and the Middle and Older Adults as the least likely.

These figures are of further interest when considering the age of the audience. According to 1993 Simmons Market Research information, approximately 20% of the primetime television audience comes from each of three age groups: 25-34 year olds, 35-44 year olds, and 65 years and older. People 45-54 years old comprise 17% of the audience; people 55-64 years old comprise 13%; and those 18-25 years old represent only 10%. Although these age categories are not equivalent to those used in the study, they are comparable enough for basic conclusions.

The Young Adult group in the ads roughly corresponds to 25-44 year olds, who comprise about 40% of the primetime audience. This means that 60% of the audience is

older or younger than the cast -- 50% of the audience members are older (45-54 years, 55-64 years, and 65 years or older), and 10% are younger (18-25 years old). These audience members may not concern the advertiser except as wasted coverage; however, one can speculate that the preponderance of Young Adults in ads can have an impact on the viewing audience. Older people may feel left out or unproductive when they are rarely included in the advertising scenarios. They may feel their value in society diminishes with age.

The high visibility of Young Adults and the lack of visibility of Middle and Older Adults may also affect young people. They, too, may learn to think of older people as less important members of society. When their own youth passes, they may be quite susceptible or vulnerable to product claims of enhancing youthful appearance.

As noted earlier, the Attractive Individual typically depicted either young models or those older models who look young for their age. Looking younger was presented as a very positive claim made for certain products; thus, advertising is not ambiguous in its association with attractiveness and youthfulness.

Advertising is not the only institution in society that privileges youth; thus, the sole responsibility is not awarded to advertising. However, when advertising joins other mediated messages in its depiction of youth, it is the author's contention that the message becomes more powerful.

An examination of index figures shows a continuous trend of greater likelihood for primetime viewing with increased age. Thus, the oldest are the most likely people in the population to choose TV viewing as an activity.

Race. The racial composition of the sample was 89% white, 10% black, and 1% Asian. The Census figures for 1993 show the population to be 85% white, 12% black, and 3% other including Asian. Interestingly, the racial composition in the ads was correct for the general population in 1970. By over-representing whites, under-representing blacks, under-representing Asians, and showing no representation of other races, the sample of ads depicts

whites as more likely to achieve individualism than would be expected given their proportion in the population.

Ethnic Group. Only 3% of the people in the ads showed signs of ethnicity with the majority depicted as Hispanic or Italian; however, 9.5% of the population is Hispanic according to 1992 Census figures. This suggests that Hispanics as well as other ethnic groups are under-represented in ads.

Family. 1993 Census figures show that for white children under the age of 18, 79% live with both parents, 18% live with the mother only, and 4% live with the father only.

In the ads white children were shown with both parents in only 50% of the ads, and when they were present with only one parent, they were more often shown with the father than the mother (31% compared to 19%).

Among blacks, 38% in the general population live with both parents, 58% live with the mother only, and 3% live with the father only. In the ads, 17% were shown with both parents, 33% appeared with the mother, and 50% appeared with the father.

If the ad depicts the permanent living arrangement, then a distorted view of family constellation is presented. However, since it is not usually possible to determine which depictions are permanent and which simply show specific activities with one of two parents, some caution is exercised in the interpretation. With the exceptions of ads that either verbalize the single parent situation or reference the other parent, the viewer could not fully determine the family constellation.

Despite these cautions, some significance may be attached to these presentations. In the Quaker Instant Grits ad which depicted two households -- a black mother and daughter, and a white mother, father, and son -- viewers are presented with different images of family life. While it is possible that a black father exists in the first family and is not shown because he has already left for work, the viewer is given no cues to presume so. Thus, despite the

uncertainty surrounding the interpretation for this category, the differences in these depictions may be significant.

Table 20 compares the contextual information presented in the ads with the information available from the US Census.

Recognition. The use of recognition ceremonies relies on the time concept of Marking Time. It not only reminds people that their individualistic accomplishments are recognized, but the ceremonies also reinforce the type of accomplishments most prized. When advertisers make claims that their products will make people feel special, become more efficient, or look more attractive, they may already be sending powerful messages to consumers. But when consumers see people in ads being recognized for precisely those accomplishments, the messages are reinforced and perhaps made stronger.

While the use of recognition may be a logical extension of individualism, the role of certain products has been created. In the McDonald's ad that presents a little girl who talks of being a single parent, she says if you are a single parent, "you have to work all day, spend time with your kids, and take them places like McDonald's for a Happy Meal so they feel special." There are many ways that parents can make their children feel special such as spending time with them, but advertising only depicts those associated with products.

When products become so strongly associated with commemoration, the emotional or spiritual significance of holidays such as Mother's Day, Father's Day, and Christmas and ceremonies such as graduations and weddings, can be altered. The events become dependent upon products to enhance the celebration and are centered around gift giving.

## **Time**

Time was depicted using contextual categories based on its characteristics (Limited Time, Sequenced Time, Oriented Time, Synchronic Time) and process elements (Planning

**TABLE 20**  
**A COMPARISON OF CONTEXTUAL INFORMATION FROM TWO SOURCES:**  
**SAMPLE VERSUS US CENSUS INFORMATION**

| Group                                                                                   | Sample | US Census |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|-----------|
| Gender                                                                                  |        |           |
| Males                                                                                   | 56%    | 49%       |
| Females                                                                                 | 44%    | 51%       |
| Age                                                                                     |        |           |
| Children/Teens                                                                          | 21%    | 29%       |
| Young Adults                                                                            | 66%    | 32%       |
| Middle Adults                                                                           | 9%     | 22%       |
| Older Adults                                                                            | 4%     | 17%       |
| Race                                                                                    |        |           |
| White                                                                                   | 89%    | 85%       |
| Black                                                                                   | 10%    | 12%       |
| Asian                                                                                   | 1%     | 3%        |
| Ethnic Group                                                                            |        |           |
| Hispanic                                                                                | 1%     | 10%       |
| White Family Composition:<br>Percent of Children Under 18 Years Old Living in Household |        |           |
| Two Parents                                                                             | 50%    | 79%       |
| Father Only                                                                             | 31%    | 4%        |
| Mother Only                                                                             | 19%    | 18%       |
| Black Family Composition:<br>Percent of Children Under 18 Years Old Living in Household |        |           |
| Two Parents                                                                             | 17%    | 38%       |
| Father Only                                                                             | 50%    | 3%        |
| Mother Only                                                                             | 33%    | 58%       |

Time, Marking Time, More Time). Many elements gave strong support for monochronic time rather than polychronic time.

Monochronic Time. A total of 50% of the sample contained elements of the Limited Time category which reminds consumers that time is a finite commodity. Other support for monochronicity is the belief that things improve over time in a linear fashion (28% of ads used More Time), the preference for compressed time over real time (77% compressed cf. 15% real), the reliance on present orientation (97%), and the sheer lack of evidence for polychronic time. In some ads, time did not play a role, and not enough information was provided to make a determination regarding chronicity. But no ads showed people disregarding schedules, privileging relationships over the scheduled task, or performing multiple tasks.

Constant reminders make it nearly impossible to think of time in any other way; yet, Americans are probably a minority of the world's population that values monochronic time. Hall has noted in several of his books that Americans share the monochronic view of time with the Swiss, Germans and Scandinavians, and he counts France, Spain, Italy, India, the Arab countries, Japan, South America, and Mexico among the polychronic cultures.

By privileging only one time system, advertising teaches Americans the importance of task over relationships. Advertising also assumes that everyone within the culture values monochronicity. A large number of ethnic groups within the US probably reject the idea in favor of polychronic time.

One may argue that other factors beside advertising have shaped the culture's embracing of monochronic time. However, if the origins of monochronic time are rooted at the turn of the century with Frederick Taylor and his time and motion studies, the system had its beginning at the very time that advertising experienced its greatest advances.

Gross and Sheth (1989, p. 76) examined the proposition that "as the United States

has evolved from an agrarian to an advanced industrial/urban society, advertising themes have changed to reflect an increased concern with time." Their study measured the presence of the concept of time as a limited and finite commodity (monochronic time) in magazine advertising from 1890 to 1988 and found strong support that the time concept increased over the century.

Present Orientation. In addition to teaching consumers that only one time system exists when, in fact, another is more pervasive, advertising teaches consumers to expect instant gratification. Because ads contain a call for immediate action, the present becomes the most valuable time. Even products that have future benefits still require action in the present. By privileging the present for immediate gratification, viewers learn to want their needs satisfied "now."

Sequenced Time. The frequent compression of time adds to the concept of immediate gratification because viewers are able to see the product in use from start to finish, complete with the happy resolution of the problem. Compression in narratives exists in polychronic cultures so that the story of one's life can be told in the course of a play or movie, but compression for product demonstrations apparently does not. By using time compression in advertising, viewers are shown that gratification is almost instantaneous.

More Time. Advertising probably creates more excitement for "new" or "improved" than any other source of cultural information. In this manner, advertising continually teaches the concept of "More Time."

By emphasizing the concepts most compatible with the sale of products, advertising limits the acceptance of alternate ideas regarding time.

## Space

Space was also depicted on the basis of contextual elements. The three space categories are Ownership of Space, Location of Relationships, and Mastery of Space.

Ownership of Space and Location of Relationships. The study showed that 39% of all ads selected Private Space as the setting. A total of 57% of all ads chose either Private or Semi-Private Space compared with 27% of the ads that selected one of the two public space categories. Ads that showed a relationship between cast members were even more likely to choose Private Space. A total of 48% of the ads with relationships chose Private Space and 69% chose either Private or Semi-Private. Relationships were depicted in one of the two public space categories in 25% of the ads.

Census figures for 1991 indicate that private land does exceed public land in the US by a substantial margin. The total square acres of land in the US is 2.3 billion. The Federal Government owns 649 million (28%), which leaves a remaining 1.6 billion (71%). No figures were available for ownership of land by state and local government, but presumably the number of acres is small. This leaves the bulk of the 71% as privately owned land.

Advertising's depiction of space appears to correlate accurately with reality, according to Census figures.

The preponderance of Private Space ads overwhelmingly supports the security, safety, and freedom one enjoys through the ownership of property, particularly the home of the individual. Larger, more affluent homes communicate higher status and greater privacy than smaller ones. The home affords people the privacy for love and affection among family; intimacy and warmth for entertaining friends; seclusion when sick; the opportunity to be uninhibited or self-indulgent; and the freedom to work uninterrupted.

Altered Space. The preference for altered space over natural space supports the belief of taking active control of the environment rather than passively being controlled by

it. While the use of altered space is expected given the cultural beliefs, advertising can strengthen this belief, not only by setting the ad in altered space but by demonstrating products that alter the environment. For example, consumers learn there is an OTC drug to cure every ill, a financial plan to take care of their future, a cosmetic to make them attractive, and a vehicle that can take them through any terrain. By knowing that products can help control the environment, most people look upon new problems as challenges for technology.

If all examples of mastery had been successful, this might be quite positive, but according to Arensberg and Niehoff there are historical examples of Americans rushing into foreign cultures with technology with ineffective results.

They note an example of a well-drilling project in Laos that was based on a system that was effective in Florida where the water table is high the year around. The specialist drilled in Laos during the rainy season and found water almost every time; however, all the wells went dry during the dry season since the water level dropped markedly during this period.

The authors also note the lack of adaptability of American machines in different climates. During the military struggles in Southeast Asia, tanks that were developed for American and European land forms did not perform well in the rice paddies of Vietnam and Laos. They noted that the insurgent forces made their greatest drives just before the heavy rains set in, knowing that the mechanized forces with American equipment would be mostly immobilized until the land dried again (p. 375).

Communication of Space in Ads. Space was primarily a visual element of the ads, but a few mentioned space in the message. Two ads that referenced space did so through the concept of limits.

A Lexus ad shows the car crossing the desert at a high rate of speed.

*MVO: Its space is limitless. Its silence is deafening. Its movements are graceful, yet its power is undeniable. What is it? An entirely new LS400. A new journey.*

*(Written): Lexus -- The relentless pursuit of perfection.*

Another that referenced limits is a Sprint ad.

*Candace Bergen: We would like to demonstrate what happens when you take away the limitations of time and space. Introducing the first international calling plan that is truly global, with a 20% savings on anyone, anytime, anywhere you call in America and across the world, forever. Sprint Worldwide.*

Comparing time and space on the basis of limits shows the similarity in the two values. Space is not comparable to time as an unfolding process, but it shares certain characteristics, particularly the concept of limits. Space does not expire in the same sense as time (for example, once land is owned, it remains so without decreasing); however, certain kinds of space are limited. The Western frontier that has symbolized freedom gradually diminished in the late 1800s until there was no new frontier. Looking back to historical events, the Homestead Act of 1862 encouraged farmers from the East to follow the railroads westward. Easterners took over the land, fenced it in, and barred roving cattle herds (Encyclopedia Britannica 1992). By 1890 the government closed the frontier to homesteaders, and with its closing, people felt a loss of all that it symbolized.

Expansion was idealized through Hollywood Westerns, which were typically set from about 1865 to 1890 -- a time of mining camps, the building of railways, Indian wars, cattle drives, and the coming of the farmer (Cook 1985). Once the genre of Westerns lost their popularity, the idea of expansion continued in Science Fiction. The best example is from the television series Star Trek, in which space is referred to as the "final frontier."

While the historical events of the 1800s are largely forgotten in a culture that doesn't privilege the past, the belief in expansion and the symbolic use of space for freedom remains.

Cigarettes (particularly Marlboro) and beer have long used cowboys and images of the West in their ads to convey "rugged individualism" (Stern 1993). An ad for Arby's tapped into the some of the same beliefs about the West.

*Song: Go West.*

*MVO: Open spaces, where the bigger taste is.*

*Song: Go West.*

*MVO: Whatever pleases. Triple cheeses.*

*Other MVO: Arby's triple cheese melt is back. Slow roasted beef with one, two, three cheeses. Swiss, cheddar and parmesan cheese. If you love cheese, this is as good as it gets.*

*MVO: It's very clear.*

*Song: Go West.*

*MVO: That it's better out here.*

*Other VO: Where else but Arby's are you going to find one sandwich with three cheeses?*

While the ad doesn't capture the concept of individualism quite as strongly as most beer ads, it conveys that the West (with images of open spaces, bronco busting, and a campfire) is a privileged place.

Three additional ads used space to symbolize self-expression, advancement, and superiority. A Visa ad, which claims it's "everywhere" you want to be, expresses a strong message about limits while using a Western setting.

*MVO: There's a place near you where the mountain climbers never touch the ground -- where the bodies are made of iron and the bikes of titanium alloy. It's Performance Bicycle Shop with over 6000 square feet of high tech cycling gear. But if you go, bring a stunt jumping spirit and your Visa card because at Performance, they take cycling to extreme, but they don't take American Express. Visa -- it's everywhere you want to be.*

The ad can be taken literally for Performance Bicycle Shop, or it can be interpreted more broadly. Saying "it's everywhere you want to be" offers unlimited self expression.

Space can also signify advancement and superiority. Microsoft uses advancement in the following ad set at a train station that appears to be somewhere in Eastern Europe.

*MVO: Business is the engine of society. Without it, there would be no jobs, no profits, no competition, no advancements. Business is the engine of society. See how far it takes you. See how far it takes us all. This is the software that moves you forward.*

Geo Prizm is one of several car ads using a pedestal or platform to convey the idea of superiority. A woman elegantly dressed in long flowing clothes walks through impressive columns outdoors on rocks and sand to a pedestal.

*Song: Getting to know you.*

*WVO: Perhaps being ranked best model in its price class in initial quality by J.D. Power and Associates puts the Geo Prizm on something of a pedestal. But being priced starting at \$12,050 puts Prizm very much within reach. Get to know the car ranked best in its class in initial quality. Geo Prizm. At your Chevrolet Geo dealer.*

In each of these ads, space has been used to support individualism. Attaining the best offers superiority; going forward offers advancement; and removing the limits of space offers efficiency and self expression -- all of which are valuable tools in an individualistic society.

### **Limitations of the Study**

One research limitation usually acknowledged is the author's perspective which can sometimes serve as a biasing factor. Since all researchers have a point of view, this study is no different. However, the interpretative nature of the research additionally calls into question the possibility of bias, and such bias is acknowledged. For this reason, the comments and offerings of alternative interpretations among committee members were most welcome additions in order to gain a broader perspective.

Other types of research that use a more quantitative methodology are also subject to bias. The writing of a survey, for example, requires great "subjective" skills on the part of the researcher. These may often be understated because the administration and statistical analysis are thought to be "objective." Thus, while this study has a point of view, the nature of the bias is not felt to be greater than in research as a whole.

A specific issue for speculation concerning the findings of the study is whether the values might exhibit different categories using other television dayparts, cable channels, or other media. Primetime was chosen for this study because it draws the largest audience in sheer size and has the broadest mix of age, race, gender, and ethnic group. However, a greater percentage of products aimed at women (disposable diapers, laundry detergents, and cosmetics) will air on daytime television, just as a greater percentage of products aimed at

men (beer, car parts, and insurance) will air during weekend sports programming. The difference in composition of the audience may allow for some shift in categories or frequencies within categories.

Cable channels offer advertisers an opportunity to target the market further. With narrower age groups and special interests, it is possible that some differences will occur either in categories or frequencies. Other media such as magazines or newspapers may also use different depictions. Other expressions of individualism such as the Intellectual Individual may appear in the print media or on cable TV.

Other dayparts, cable channels, and other media may be included in additional investigations in the future.

### **Applications for International Advertising**

The study identified the way three values are depicted in American advertising. A legitimate question is how the information learned in the study can shed light on another culture.

By having a detailed account of the three values in American advertising, an advertiser planning a campaign in a foreign culture can investigate how those values compare. The advertiser knows the importance of asking, "Is this culture individualistic or collectivistic?" Furthermore, when dealing with another individualistic culture, the advertiser knows to ask, "How do people in this culture achieve individualism? Is it through the same accomplishments as in American culture -- efficiency, self-esteem, and attractiveness -- or is it through other avenues?" The advertiser knows to raise additional questions concerning whether people express individualism differently on the basis of gender, age, race, ethnic group, etc.

The advertiser can also anticipate that another culture will most likely experience time according to one of the two time systems described. If the culture is monochronic,

concepts of time as a commodity can be expected, and advertising claims that tap into the limitations of time will probably be strong and convincing. If the culture is polychronic, making advertising claims that the product saves time will likely be ineffective.

The advertiser can also evaluate the other characteristics of time and the way the process of time is depicted. The categories for Sequenced Time, Synchronic Time, Oriented Time, Limited Time, Planning Time, Marking Time, and More Time can be used as anchors for comparisons. Though the categories may exist, there may be important differences. Probably all cultures have markers for events, but what is commemorated will vary from culture to culture.

Additionally, advertisers can choose their settings more carefully. If they are trying to depict people in the most natural setting, the home or other private settings may not be the best choice in a collectivistic culture. The high frequency of private space is logical for a culture that values private ownership, but not for others. Public space may offer greater advantages as settings in other cultures.

Natural space may also be regarded differently outside the US, and taking the preference for altered space for granted will certainly lead advertisers astray in cultures such as most Asian countries that treat nature with reverence.

Using space symbolically may also have a different meaning in another culture. Wide open spaces, uses of height or pedestals for superiority, and spaciousness in homes and offices to convey privacy or status are a few of the uses of space that may not be comparable.

The importance of knowing the right questions to ask cannot be stressed heavily enough. Most advertisers anticipate cultural differences, but they don't know what dimensions may be important for comparison. By evaluating the other culture on the basis of the role of the individual, time, and space, advertisers should be able to identify the most problematic and taken-for-granted elements. Careful evaluation should help avoid the costly blunders that advertisers have made through ignorance and ethnocentrism.

### **Domestic Applications**

While domestic advertising targets mainstream Americans on a national level, local and regional advertising can target audiences more narrowly. Since many regions have a different racial or ethnic composition than the general population, the target market may hold different values. Advertisers can evaluate the target audience using the same characteristics of the three values noted previously for international advertising.

For example, areas with large Hispanic populations may differ markedly from the general population according to all three values since their countries of origin tend to be more collectivistic than individualistic, and are largely polychronic, and its people are accustomed to smaller living spaces. Some members of Hispanic communities have assimilated so completely that they may have the same set of values as other Americans, but those who hold onto the values of their native countries may not. Researching the values of the target market and applying this information may allow advertisers to create messages that better resonate with the value systems of the target market.

When a region has a very heterogeneous mix that prevents more narrow targeting, advertising carrying mainstream values may be the best strategy. However, advertisers should expect the messages to be weaker among certain individuals than others.

Another domestic application is the insight that the study brings to the nature of advertising appeals. As noted earlier, creative texts typically list appeals such as achievement, acquisitiveness, economy, convenience, and egoism without bringing any other explanation than the psychological needs of the individual. By not only linking appeals with the psychological needs of the individual but also with the values of the culture, students can gain much greater insight into the meaning of the appeals.

### **Interaction of the Three Values**

Chapter 1 presented some speculation that the three values may be interconnected rather than independent of one another. Figure 1 represents the proposed relationship in

which each value affects the others while simultaneously receiving effects from them. The findings of the study suggest that the proposed relationship does indeed exist.

Advertising presents four main paths for achieving individualism -- two through self-esteem, one through efficiency, and another through attractiveness. Both time and space enhance each expression of individualism -- particularly efficiency, which is the most frequently chosen expression in the sample. By using products that work fast and save time, the individual becomes adept at time management and is recognized for efficiency. Using time for planning one's future is another sign of efficiency because greater rewards can be obtained through planning than through impulsive behavior. Altering the environment to one's needs by arranging space to maximize privacy further allows the individual to be free of interruptions that hinder efficiency.

By using products that claim to mark time by creating special occasions, the individual can also gain self-esteem. Celebrating "the moments of your life" gives importance to events or accomplishments and can either make the individual feel special or appear special to others. Spaciousness surrounds the individual with status, which also enhances self-esteem.

Products tied to time and space also help the individual attain attractiveness. An argument can be made that time supports attractiveness because cosmetics designed to create a youthful appearance recognize the aging process. Space further supports attractiveness by portraying the individual applying cosmetic products alone, either in private space or in the neutral "No Place." Individuals are sometimes shown being admired by others in public space after receiving the benefits of the product, but the actual use of the product occurs in private. While there is nothing intrinsic about the products that require their use in privacy, the use of private space helps maintain the illusion that the look is natural. For example, by applying cosmetics in private and appearing in public after applying cosmetics, differences in the "before" and "after" remain separate.

These particular uses of time and space enhance individualism, but individualism also

strengthens these expressions of time and space. A culture that requires the individual to be independent, self-sufficient, and worthy of recognition for personal accomplishments must offer the individual a means for becoming successful. Different individualistic cultures choose from a variety of ways to accomplish this, and the American uses of time and space are only two possibilities from many that exist.

Originally, the need to stand out may have driven people to test out a number of possibilities and evaluate the best opportunities for success. Efficient use of time and space may have been the easiest way to stand out, given the influence of people like Frederick W. Taylor and, later, Henry Ford, who revolutionized the auto industry by applying assembly line efficiency. Later generations grew up learning to be comfortable with a great deal of private space and to adhere to schedules. By constantly reinforcing one another, the three values are interconnected.

### **Does Advertising Construct or Merely Reflect Values?**

Advertisers sometimes weave their messages into scenarios that are idealized yet down-to-earth presentations of people who seem genuine and sincere. The presentation of "real" people in ads shows viewers the way people work, the way they play, how they engage in relationships, what type of home they live in, what type of occupation they hold, what appearance they try to achieve, what possessions they desire, what they believe possessions will do for them, etc.

According to Pollay, these depictions have the potential to "penetrate our consciousness and channel our very modes of thinking...if not for individual ads, then at least for advertising in the aggregate" (1986, p. 21). Pollay offers several reasons for advertising's effect.

It is: (1) pervasive, appearing in many modes and media; (2) repetitive, reinforcing the same or similar ideas relentlessly; (3) professionally developed, with all of the attendant research sophistication to improve the probabilities of attention, comprehension, retention, and/or behavioral impact; and (4) delivered to an audience that is increasingly detached from traditional sources of cultural influence like families, churches, or schools (p. 21).

Given the possibility that advertising influences modes of thinking, the lack of realistic depictions becomes a matter for concern. According to Schudson (1984) the realism of the scenarios which advertising uses is actually artificial. Instead of using "real" homes, advertisers use props that perfectly complete the stereotyped image of how the home should look.

Nothing in the commercial should distract the viewer...so each piece of furniture had to be consistent with the overall image of the house even if, in fact, few houses are like the one depicted (p. 217).

Not only are the homes and the props chosen for their ability to create an image, but people are as well.

Similarly, the people pictured in magazine ads or television commercials are abstract people...The actor or model does not play a particular person but a social type or a demographic category. A television actress, for instance, will be asked to audition for commercials that call for a "twenty-six to thirty-five-year-old P&G housewife." She is not supposed to represent a twenty-six-year-old or a thirty-five-year-old but a "twenty-six-thirty-five-year-old" housewife, the sort likely to buy Procter & Gamble products. The age range from twenty-six to thirty-five corresponds not so much to a physical type as to a presumed social type with predictable consumer patterns (pp. 211-212).

Schudson notes that an exception to the "rule of abstractness" is the use of celebrities who give their own name. However, actors create an impression of who they are based on past roles that they have played. Karl Malden for American Express was chosen not for his off-camera persona but because he was perceived as an authority on crime based on his role as Lt. Mike Stone in "The Streets of San Francisco."

Not only are the props and the people chosen to create an image, the interactions between characters are idealized versions of relationships.

There is no intention of capturing life as it "really" is, but there is every intention of portraying social ideals, representing as normative those relatively rare moments of specialness, bliss, or dreamlike satisfaction. What kind of satisfaction is pictured may vary widely -- it may be sexual, it may be familial, it may be the expression of social values like the long-term commitment of a husband and wife to each other. It may be the values of male friendship at a bar or on a fishing trip, the intimacy of parent and child relations expressed in a telephone call or in a mother-daughter conversation that revolves around a commercial product (pp. 220-221).

Following this argument, the disproportionate representation of people seen in this study is built upon advertisers' desire to present the world to consumers in a manner that meets their idealized expectations rather than trying to accurately depict the world.

Schudson delves further by examining the nature of the persuasion that is involved in advertising. He notes that literary critics have been more sensitive than social scientists to the possibility that communications do not mean what they say, and that "this may be the very center of their power" (p. 226). This idea is echoed by Herbert Krugman of General Electric Co. research, who holds that television engages the audience in low-involvement learning. "The special power of television advertising is that the ads interest us so little, not that they appeal to us so much" (p. 226).

Following Krugman's line of reasoning, people may learn an "ideology" without always going through an entire succession of levels. Schudson notes that anthropologist Melford Spiro distinguished between five levels at which people may learn an ideology ranging from the weakest (learn about the concept) to the strongest level (internalize the concept so that it guides and instigates action). Despite the belief among many advertisers that the stages are successive, Krugman (through Schudson) argues that "one can reach Level 4 without ever passing through Level 3. The voices of advertising may inform a person's 'behavioral environment' without inspiring belief at any time or at any fundamental level" (p. 229). Thus, advertising may alter behavior without requiring a shift in belief.

In a series of journal articles Pollay (1986, 1987) and Holbrook (1987) debated whether advertising merely reflects existing cultural values or whether it also constructs cultural values. There was little dispute between them that advertising reflected values -- it was assumed that it had to reflect values within the culture to be effective. The main dispute was whether advertising was powerful enough to go beyond the level of merely reflecting.

But Pollay addressed the idea that advertising reflects the culture by saying

A common defense of advertising against criticisms of its cultural role is that it must, of necessity, be in harmony with its culture; messages must employ symbols and cultural values that are readily understood and accepted by the intended audience.

In this view, advertising is seen as a mirror that only reflects and exposes existing cultural values and behaviors (1986, p. 32).

Pollay pointed out that those who make this argument typically ignore some important points, particularly the following one.

Not all values are equally suited for use in commercials. Some are more plausibly linked to the products in current production, some are more dramatically visualized, and some are more reliably responded to by the consuming public. Thus, in the aggregate, some of our cultural values are reinforced far more frequently than others. Hence, while it may be true that advertising reflects cultural values, it does so on a very selective basis, echoing and reinforcing certain attitudes, behaviors, and values far more frequently than others. Thus, it becomes a serious research question, which values are subjected to this selective reinforcement and which suffer from neglect, however benign? (pp. 32-33).

The data in this study strongly supports Pollay's "distorted mirror" position that advertising reflects some but not all existing values, and that advertising's reflection of values is disproportionate to the population in which it exists. For example, the message strategy of individualism showed a limited number of ways to express the value to the exclusion of others, and the contextual information gave a distorted view of who could express individualism.

The question concerning whether advertising is able to construct values still remains. One can argue that advertising is able to construct values because it not only reinforces certain behaviors but obscures consumers' awareness that alternatives exist, both when advertising reflects proportionately and when it reflects disproportionately.

Schudson's writings make this issue clearer. He essentially made the same argument as Pollay by discussing the lack of fit between the real world and the world of advertising, but he made the argument stronger.

The pictures of life that ads parade before consumers are familiar -- scenes of life as in some sense we know it or would like to know it. Advertisements pick up and represent values already in the culture. But these values, however deep or widespread, are not the only ones people have or aspire to, and the pervasiveness of advertising makes us forget this. Advertising picks up some of the things that people hold dear and re-presents them to people as *all* of what they value, assuring them that the sponsor is the patron of common ideals (p. 233).

Both writers recognize that advertising only represents part of values held by the culture, but Schudson says that advertising presents them as all of what people value. He claims advertising is powerful in its ability to make other articulations of values "relatively hard to locate in the culture" (p. 233).

By limiting alternate views of the world and showing people in ads whose behavior is rewarded, advertising reinforces these expressions. When advertising sends repeated messages to consumers that they can attain individualism through efficiency, and as a result consumers choose that behavior, advertisers and consumers reinforce each others' belief in efficiency -- thus constructing its use in a stronger manner than when originally presented.

### **The Responsibility of Advertisers**

The study shows that the advertising seen on a night of television viewing is likely to give viewers a distorted view of who can best succeed in expressing individualism, a limited variety of the ways to express individualism, and a limited selection of ways to use time and space. The question arises as to whether advertisers have a responsibility to consumers when they encode their "sales pitches" in cultural messages that may be limiting for some members of the population. Unless advertisers become more self-conscious in the ways they depict values, what we value as a culture may not be equally accessible to everyone because the availability of the values is restricted.

Responsibility can be felt both on an individual and industry-wide level. As individuals, many advertisers may feel little responsibility for each single ad due to the sheer pervasiveness of advertising. Oglivy (1985) estimated that Americans are exposed to over 30,000 television ads in a year, and when combined with the other media, the impact from a single ad seems minimal. Furthermore, sociologists have noted that certain situations create a "diffusion of responsibility" -- a phenomenon in which people feel less personal responsibility and greater willingness to let others take responsibility (Vander Zanden 1987). Advertisers may feel no sense of personal responsibility in the matter because others are

equally responsible or irresponsible.

The responsibility of the industry has generally been limited to (1) holding advertisers accountable for deceptive claims through FTC regulation, (2) preventing offensive ads from entering the media through the clearance process, and (3) protecting children and other vulnerable groups from various persuasive tactics through self-regulatory groups such as the Children's Advertising Review Unit of the National Advertising Division.

In addition to requiring advertising to be truthful, in good taste, and not unduly persuasive to vulnerable groups, the industry has an obligation to the economic system. Rotzoll, Haefner, and Sandage (1986) note that classical liberalism is the economic system that can offer the most "fertile seedbed" for advertising, but the system can only work when individuals are free to (1) be self-seeking and pursue self-interests (egoism), (2) be informed and make deliberate and calculating decisions (intellectualism), (3) remain inactive and disinterested until motivated to action (quietism), and (4) be an essential, sovereign element in society (atomism). The final element assumes that the whole is the sum of its parts, and it requires that no single individual is more powerful or influential than the other. Consequently, the market should be determined by the aggregate of individual decisions -- all individuals, not simply the elect or select (p. 33).

Within this view, the market is seen as a system harmonious with the "natural order."

It follows that the market, as a self-contained, self-repairing, complex mechanism must be left alone (*laissez-faire*) to follow its natural course. Its greatest enemy, then, was, predictably, *any* concentration of power that could disrupt the natural process of the system (p. 36).

By over-representing some individuals and under-representing others, ads can concentrate power that can disrupt this natural process.

It is understood that the target market of a product has certain characteristics such as 18--25 years old, single, college educated, etc. Ads should portray users of the product who represent that group; however, when other demographic information such as ethnic group or gender are not essential to the ad, the advertiser could include a broader mix to provide a greater balance.

The study asks that advertisers become more aware of the general characteristics of the population and more self-conscious in the ways they depict values so that they show the use of the products by people who more accurately reflect the true population. In other words advertisers are asked not only to tell the truth about products but about the culture.

### **Research Agenda**

The study has noted many areas for additional research. An early appraisal of the values research in advertising noted that no summary articles have been written that might serve as a base for other research to follow. A number of researchers have pursued different paths without evaluating the relationship of the single study to the whole field of values research. The literature review of this study could be rewritten accordingly to serve as a summary article, and it might encourage a better delineated plan for future research.

The study has provided categories for various expressions for each of the three values. Future studies might examine the advertising of other specific countries for a comparison of these elements. The presence of the same elements would confirm that the target culture shares the same expressions of values. Similar advertising messages might resonate in both cultures. On the other hand, the absence of elements would suggest that the values have different expressions. Using an element from one culture to the target culture may not resonate with the audience. Cross-cultural research for the values provides valuable opportunities to more accurately anticipate which claims that are taken-for-granted in one culture can or cannot carry over to another.

The study also has applications for advertising to subcultures within the US. Since Hispanics and many other ethnic groups originated from polychronic cultures, many people may still operate on that time system instead of the monochronic time system. Research that investigates the effectiveness of the various time elements seen in this study may reveal that certain elements resonate better than others. Perhaps the Limited Time category is not a

strong motivator to certain members. Research in this area should examine the effectiveness of various appeals to different subcultures within the US, which would be of considerable value for regional advertising that targets these subcultures.

Finally, the examination of contextual information introduced several areas for further research. Age portrayal, depictions of family according to race, treatment of men and women who deviate from traditional gender roles, and depictions of ethnicity are areas that should be further investigated.

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## Appendices

**APPENDIX A**  
**Hofstede's Characteristics of Individualistic Cultures**

**Family Life**

1. Children grow up in nuclear families
2. Children learn to spend time alone unlike collectivist children who are almost never alone
3. Child-rearing sets independence as a goal
4. Speaking one's mind is a virtue and is characteristic of a sincere and honest person
5. Confrontation is believed to lead to a higher truth
6. Adults should have learned to take direct feedback constructively
7. Coping with conflict is a normal part of living
8. Children are expected and encouraged to develop opinions of their own, and children who never voice opinions is thought to have a weak character
9. Children are encouraged to take small jobs in order to earn pocket-money of their own, which they alone can decide how to spend
10. There are a lack of both financial and ritual obligations to the family. Baptisms, marriages, and funerals are not as compulsory as in collectivist cultures
11. Verbal communication (social conversations) are compulsory. Silence is considered abnormal.
12. Communication is explicit and not self-evident (low context communication)
13. Self-respect is the closest counterpart to the collectivistic concept of face
14. Self-respect is defined from the point of view of the individual -- not the social environment
15. Children break with parents or keep relationships to a minimum
16. People look after themselves and immediate family

**Education**

1. Children are encouraged to speak up in class and express their own opinion without consulting the group or working in groups
2. Two-way communication between teacher and student is encouraged
3. Students expect to be treated impartially
4. Students from different ethnic groups mix more freely and do not expect preferential treatment
5. Teachers who favored same ethnic background students would be considered guilty of nepotism and immoral behavior
6. Students form groups on an ad hoc basis according to the task or to particular friendship and skills
7. The purpose of education is independence
8. Learning creates a positive attitude toward new situations
9. People must learn to cope with new, unknown, unforeseen situations that will arise through life
10. Diplomas improve the holder's economic worth but also his or her self-respect because it provides a sense of achievement

## Work

1. Work should be organized so self-interest and employer's interest coincide
2. Workers are economic men -- people with a combination of economic and psychological needs
3. Family relationships at work are considered undesirable because they may lead to nepotism or conflict of interest.
4. The relationship between employer and employee is primarily conceived as a business transaction between buyers and sellers on a labor market
5. Poor performance on the part of the employee or a better pay offer from another employer are legitimate and socially accepted reasons for terminating a work relationship.
6. Management of individuals is valued.
7. Subordinates can be moved around individually
8. Bonuses are given according to individual performance
9. Formal appraisal interview communicate "bad news" directly to employees without going through subtle, face-saving tactics
10. Universalism (treating everybody alike) is more ethical than particularism (treating one's friends better than others)
11. The task prevails over personal relationships, and such things as trust are not required to be developed prior to conducting business
12. Important goals on the job are:
  - a. Personal time -- having a job which leaves you sufficient time for your personal or family life
  - b. Freedom -- having considerable freedom to adopt your own approach to the job
  - c. Challenge -- having challenging work to do -- work from which you can achieve a personal sense of accomplishment.

## Ideas and Philosophy

1. Individual interest prevail over collective interests
2. Everyone has a right to privacy
3. Laws and rights are supposed to be the same for all
4. Economy is based on individual interests
5. Individualistic cultures are wealthier--higher GNP
6. Restrained role of government in the economic system
7. Political power is exercised by voters
8. Freedom of press rather than state control
9. Ideologies of individual freedom prevail over ideologies of equality
10. Self-actualization by every individual is the ultimate goal
11. According to Maslow's hierarchy, realizing to the fullest possible extent the creative potential present within the individual is the supreme motivation.

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(Hofstede 1991, pp. 49-78)

**APPENDIX B****Top 25 Network Television Categories for 1994**

1. Automotive
2. Food and Food Products
3. Toiletries and Toilet Goods
4. Proprietary Medicines
5. Consumer Services
6. Restaurants and Drive-Ins
7. Confectionary, Snacks and Soft Drinks
8. Movies
9. Beer and Wine
10. Apparel, Footwear and Accessories
11. Household Equipment and Supplies
12. Sporting Goods and Toys
13. Soaps, Cleaners and Polishes
14. Department Stores
15. Computers, Office Equipment and Stationery
16. Travel, Hotels and Resorts Outside US
17. Home Electronics Equipment
18. Insurance
19. Discount Department Stores
20. Jewelry, Optical Goods and Cameras
21. Financial Planning Services
22. Gasoline, Lubricants, and Fuel
23. Pet Foods and Supplies
24. Home Centers and Hardware Stores
25. Building Materials, Equipment and Fixtures

**APPENDIX C**  
**List of the 198 Unduplicated Ads**

**Fox**

1. Navy
2. Nintendo -- War Lords
3. Dominos -- Buffalo Wings
4. Chi Chi's Salsa
5. Banana Nut Crunch cereal
6. Red Food
7. Nintendo Wario Wood
8. McDonalds
9. Army
10. Lenscrafters
11. Dominos
12. Sassoon
13. Halls
14. Ocean Spray Cran Raspberry Fruit Waves
15. 1-800-CALLATT
16. Burger King
17. Sprint
18. Suave Deodorant
19. Advil
20. Playtex Lingerie
21. Navy
22. Sears Lawn and Garden
23. Kellogs Pop Tarts
24. Eggo Waffles
25. Grape Nuts
26. Tampax Multi Pax
27. Nintendo

**NBC**

28. Doritos
29. MCI
30. Chrysler Cyrrus
31. Energizer Bunny
32. Lumina
33. Wendys
34. Nabisco Shredded Wheat
35. Oil of Olay
36. Visa
37. Doritos
38. Sensor Excell
39. Blockbuster
40. AT&T
41. General Foods International Coffee

42. McDonalds
43. Jeep
44. Kellogs Nutri Grain
45. Chevy Blazer
46. Totino Pizza
47. Mercury Mystique
48. Purina Cat Food
49. Pizza Hut
50. Eagle Vision
51. Thera Flu
52. Alka Mints
53. Healthy Choice
54. Little Caesar
55. Alka Seltzer Cold Formula Plus
56. South Central Bell
57. Hardees
58. Tasters Choice
59. Eagle Vision
60. Tavist-D
61. True Value Hardware
62. Mop 'N Glo
63. Lysol Bowl Cleaner
64. Lysol Drain Opener
65. Lexus
66. Geo Prizm
67. Payless
68. Alka Mints
69. Afrin
70. Sonic
71. Contour (Ford)
72. Compaq Presario
73. Maytag Refrigerator

### ABC

74. Saturn
75. Pro 409
76. Children's Tylenol Suspension
77. Ultra Slim Fast
78. Loreal Casting Tone on Tone Color
79. Trident Strawberry Breeze
80. Ocean Spray Ruby Red tangerine and Grapefruit Juice Drink
81. Florida OJ
82. Master Card
83. Winter Fresh
84. Tampax
85. Triaminic AM
86. Mercury Mystique

87. Maalox
88. Alka Seltzer Plus
89. American Dairy Products
90. Mercury Mystique
91. Salon Style Products
92. Kellogs Rice Crispy Treats
93. Sudafed Cold and Cough
94. Celestial Seasonings
95. Wendy's
96. Jeep Grand Cherokee
97. Office Max
98. Nestle Sweet Success
99. Arthritis Foundation Pain Relief
100. Ace Hardware
101. Mentadent
102. Country Crock
103. Riviera
104. Dodge Cars
105. Hardees
106. AT&T
107. Compaq Presario
108. Kettle Creations
109. Alka Seltzer Plus Liquid Gels
110. Lysol Plus Bleach
111. Resolve Carpet Granules
112. Lysol Anti Bacterial Spray
113. Redenbudders Light
114. Total
115. Buick
116. Honey Bunches of Oats
117. Microsoft Office
118. Ultra Fat Free Margarine
119. USAir
120. Quaker Rice Cakes
121. AT&T
122. IBM OS/2
123. Actifed
124. Schick Tracer

### CBS

125. Robitussin
126. Ace Lawn and Garden
127. Jeep Cherokee
128. Rayovac Renewal Batteries
129. Pedia Care
130. Allstate
131. Food City

- 132. Applebees
- 133. Ford
- 134. Ricola
- 135. Amex
- 136. Sears Home Appliances
- 137. First Alert Carbon Monoxide Detector
- 138. Sudafed Sinus
- 139. Aurora
- 140. Windex
- 141. Three Musketeers
- 142. Ponds Age Defying Lotion
- 143. Boboli
- 144. H&R Block
- 145. Little Debbie
- 146. Windex
- 147. Three Musketeers
- 148. Ultra Slim Fast
- 149. Arby's
- 150. Tidy Scoop
- 151. Olive Garden
- 152. MCI
- 153. Merrill Lynch
- 154. Lever 2000
- 155. Snickers
- 156. Dodge Intrepid
- 157. Ace Hardware
- 158. Dove
- 159. Sprint
- 160. Little Debbie
- 161. Butterball Fresh Chicken
- 162. Dodge Avenger

#### Unsolved Mysteries

- 163. Fleishman's Low Fat Margarine
- 164. Advil
- 165. Ensure Vitamin Supplement
- 166. Robitussin Cough Drops
- 167. Selsun Blue Dandruff Shampoo
- 168. Juan Valdez Colombian Coffee
- 169. Pizza Hut

#### Movie Justice on the Bayou

- 170. Toyota
- 171. Kellogg's Corn Pops
- 172. AT&T
- 173. Pizza Hut

174. Cadillac De Ville
175. Advil
176. Velveeta N Salsa
177. Pace Picante Sauce
178. Pontiac Bonneville
179. Quaker Instant Grits
180. Beef -- Its What's for Dinner
181. Blockbuster
182. Vicks 44
183. Kellogs Low Fat Granola
184. Saturn
185. Banquet Chicken Breast
186. Dairy Queen
187. Kraft Fat Free Red Wine Vinegar
188. Snackwells
189. Cover Girl Clean Make-Up
190. Excedrin
191. Alka Seltzer Plus Nighttime
192. Hillshire Farm Smoked Sausage
193. A-1 Steak Sauce
194. Murphy's Kitchen Care
195. Long John Silver
196. Cadillac De Ville
197. Kellogs Corn Flakes
198. Tide and Whirlpool Washers

## VITA

Joyce Wolburg is a native of Norfolk, Virginia, but living in Knoxville for 14 years has made her feel like a native Tennessean. Regardless of the travels ahead, Knoxville is home.

Wolburg's degrees include a Bachelor of Science in Psychology from Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia in 1970 and a Master of Science in Communications with a concentration in Advertising from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville in December 1992. She received her Doctorate in Communications with a concentration in Advertising from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville in August 1995.

Between degrees, Wolburg had several career changes. She first spent a few years working for various psychiatric facilities doing psychological testing. Later, raising two children led the career path to "stay at home mother." More recently, Wolburg owned a drapery and interior decorating business.

After re-entering academic life, the Master's Degree only set a quest for more knowledge, and the Doctorate provided the opportunity to become further immersed in learning. The years spent as a student were among the richest and most rewarding.

After graduation, Wolburg joined the faculty of Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin as Assistant Professor of Advertising.