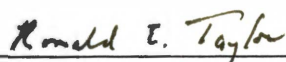


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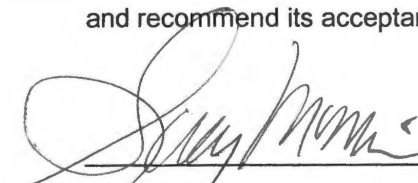
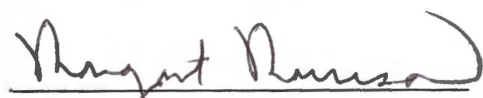
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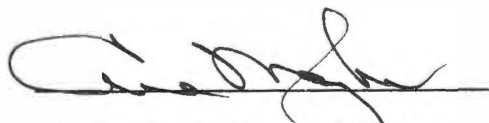
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Expressions of Individualism in German Television Advertising

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science
Degree
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Karin J. Schweizer
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Abstract

Cultural values in advertising are researched for two main reasons: From a pragmatic point of view, understanding cultural values helps to design advertising campaigns that are better targeted towards a specific target audience. From a philosophical point of view, understanding whether cultural values are represented accurately or inaccurately in advertising helps to determine whether advertising might shape and change consumers' values over time.

Different cultural values are important in different cultures and the values that are present across cultures might be expressed differently in these different cultures. Therefore, when researching cultural values in advertising it is important to look at each important value in each culture separately. Taking values and standards defined in one culture and searching for them in the advertisements of other cultures might result in pitfalls, as each culture has its own values and expressions of values.

This study researched how the cultural value 'individualism' is expressed in German TV advertising using an inductive approach through document analysis. Germany was selected as the country of investigation as Germany has a powerful economy, is an important advertising country and the German market seems to be attractive for global companies. Therefore, it is important for domestic and international advertisers to be able to target the consumers in this market effectively. Individualism was chosen as several studies indicated that this is one of the most important values in Germany.

Using a sample of 320 different TV commercials recorded during a week of German primetime, the results of this study show that individualism is present in 72.5 percent of the ads. Eight different ways are identified how to express individualism in German TV advertising: the "Efficient Individual", (used by 19.4 percent of all ads), the "Attractive / Social Individual" (used by 18.4 percent of all ads), the "Sensual Individual" (used by 10.3 percent of all ads), the "Self-Expressive Individual" (used by 7.2 percent of all ads), the "Caring Individual" (used by 5.9

percent of all ads), the “Healthy Individual” (used by 5.6 percent of all ads), the “Safe Individual” (used by 3.8 percent of all ads), and the “Intellectual Individual” (used by 1.9 percent of all ads).

When cross-tabulating these different types of individualism with advertised product categories several relationships emerged between the nature of the products and the type of individualism that was used to promote the product.

Comparing the findings of this study about expressions of individualism in German television advertising with studies about expressions of individualism in advertising in other countries shows that some of the ways to express individualism like efficiency and attractiveness are used in advertising across cultures, whereas other ways like safety were only found in Germany and therefore, seem to be specific to one culture.

Managerial implications of these findings are discussed and the social responsibility that advertisers have when reflecting cultural values in a distorted way is addressed.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

In today's global economic environment, international trade has grown rapidly, resulting in increased international mass media advertising across diverse cultures (cf. Mooij & Keegan 1991). Developments like the European unification - newly stimulated by the introduction of the Euro at the beginning of 2002 - or the rapid development of e-commerce help to unify marketplaces and make international advertising campaigns more important than ever. Globalization makes it possible for all kinds of companies to sell their products and services across diverse countries, potentially even worldwide. But globalization not only introduces a lot of new possibilities, it also includes challenges. One of these challenges is the decision between standardization or specification of international marketing and advertising campaigns: Should a marketing or advertising campaign be adjusted to the local specifications of each individual market or can the same standardized campaign be used across markets? This debate has been going on since globalization became important for all kinds of companies.

One central aspect in this ongoing debate is the consideration of cultural values in local markets: Which role do cultural values play in advertising, to what extent do cultural values affect advertising effectiveness and to what extent can the same values be used in standardized advertising campaigns across markets? From a pragmatic point of view, these are important questions, which research about cultural values in advertising has to answer.

Several studies, mostly in the last ten years, dealt with cultural values in advertising and tried to answer these questions - at least to a certain extent (e.g. Caillat & Mueller 1992, Cheng 1994, Albers-Miller & Gelb 1994, Wolburg 1995, Wolburg & Taylor 1998). Not only studies in advertising, but also studies by researchers from a variety of backgrounds, such as sociology, psychology and business studies, dealt with cultural values, their influence on people and their differences across cultures (e.g. Rokeach 1973, Pollay 1983, Hofstede 1984 and 1991). In

general these studies show that there are different cultural values in different cultures, that there are basic cultural values like individualism / collectivism (cf. Triandis 1989, Hofstede 1991, Gudykunst 1998) that are present in one or the other form in many countries and that cultural values influence people's behavior.

The studies that dealt with cultural values in advertising show that advertising as a form of social communication is influenced by various elements of the originating culture. (cf. Ahmed 1996). Cultural diversity seems to influence marketing and advertising at all levels: consumer behavior, philosophies of how advertising works, advertising strategy, concept, execution and even research methods (cf. Mooij 1998). It is important to advertisers to understand this cultural diversity and especially to understand the different cultural values that create this cultural diversity: They can create better-targeted campaigns and therefore, campaigns that are more effective. Mooij (1998) mentioned that

advertisers take great pains to try to understand certain subcultures, such as youth culture, knowing that they can appeal to the young only if they address them in the right way. When it comes to addressing adult women or men of different national cultures with very different values systems, many advertisers suddenly think one standard message is sufficient. This is paradoxical behavior. (Mooij 1998: 5).

She also stated that ideally, "effective advertising means that the values of the message match the values of the receiver. It is the culture of the consumer that should be reflected in advertising." (Mooij 1998: 8). In order to attract and hold the attention of the potential consumers and create a favorable attitude toward the product, advertising must reflect the cultural values and norms of the society.

Studies not only indicate that cultural values influence advertising and that advertising reflecting cultural values is more effective, but also that the reflection of cultural values in advertising might, in turn, influence consumers and even consumers' value system. Cultural values may determine the different meanings that people derive from advertising messages. Advertising may also shape or affect the values of its consumers over time (cf. Ahmed 1996).

Milton Rokeach, a social psychologist, defined a value as "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.” (Rokeach 1973: 5). This definition of values is an indication of how important values are to the people who hold them. Values influence their goals in life and, therefore, their behavior and their way of thinking. If advertising represents cultural values and consumers are exposed to these representations of cultural values, this might influence their own value system.

Given this influence, advertising researchers see that advertising might reflect cultural values in an inaccurate way and, therefore, change values and value systems according to the needs of advertising. Pollay and Gallagher (1990) stated that values are manifest in advertisements in both art and language. But they also mention that advertising is a “distorted mirror” and does not reflect cultural values accurately. Fiske and Hartley (1978) pointed out that advertising does not represent the “manifest actuality” of the society, but rather symbolically reflects social values. They stated that advertising insists on an idealized goal of achieving personal happiness, success and security by depicting a world that is represented almost exclusively by young, beautiful, happy and wealthy people. Then, these advertisements create a desire in the audience to better their lives or to achieve the desirable attributes of the people in the advertisements. Finally, the products in the advertisements are portrayed as a bridge towards achieving that goal. Pollay (1986) similarly noted that

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? (Pollay 1986: 32-33).

These statements show that it is likely that advertising communicates a distorted view of how consumers can be successful, happy and secure. Closely interrelated with this happiness, success and security advertising also seems to communicate a distorted view of cultural values and their importance in consumers' lives: According to advertising certain values should be more important in consumers' lives than others so they can achieve happiness, success and security.

Influencing and changing consumers' points of view and even attitudes, on the long term, advertising might influence their behavior and shape and change their values system.

Taking this research question – “does advertising shape and change consumers' value systems by how it reflects values?” – into account, researching cultural values in advertising has two main goals: First, to research whether advertising gives its audience a distorted view of cultural values and thus, shapes its audiences' cultural values; second, from a more pragmatic standpoint, if it can be identified which cultural values and expressions of cultural values are reflected in advertising, researchers and practitioners will better understand which aspects of advertising can be shared across countries and which aspects need to be adapted to local cultures.

In general, it is evident that research about cultural values in advertising is important both from a pragmatic point of view and from a philosophical point of view. Nevertheless research in this area was not very popular till the 1980s. Since the 1980s more and more studies about advertising and cultural values have been published – with very different main focuses. Several studies have researched multiple cultural values within one country (e.g. Cheng 1994, Pollay & Gallagher 1990, Pollay 1984, Wolburg 1995, Punyapiroje 2002), others examined cross-cultural differences by comparing two or more countries with regard to cultural values (e.g. Cho et al. 1999, Zhang & Gelb 1996, Caillat & Mueller 1996, Albers-Miller & Gelb 1996, Mooij 1998), and some researched one specific cultural value within one or more countries (e.g. Taylor & Wolburg 1998, Wolburg 1999).

One of the core problems that all these academic researchers conducting studies about cultural values in advertising faced is that a value system that emerged in one culture cannot be used indiscriminately in another culture. A framework that reflects values of one culture might not reflect values of another culture or might at least not reflect how these values are expressed in the other culture. One solution for this problem was proposed by Taylor, Hoy and Haley in 1996. They suggested that an alternative way to address the issue of globalization of advertising is to work from a more inductive approach whereby each culture is seen as unique. This approach

avoids the pitfalls incurred by taking values and standards from one culture and searching for them in the advertising of other cultures.

As a consequence, researchers should look separately at each culture and each cultural value. In the first step, investigation of which cultural values are important for a specific culture is needed. In the second step, researchers can examine how a specific cultural value is expressed in this specific culture. With regard to advertising, researchers can investigate how a specific cultural value is expressed in the advertising of this culture. And only in the following step, different cultures can be compared.

Wolburg (1995), Taylor and Wolburg (1998) and Wolburg and Kim (1998) used this approach and looked for different expressions of specific cultural values in advertising within one or more countries. Wolburg (1995) looked for the different expressions of the cultural values individualism, time and space in U.S. advertising. Taylor and Wolburg (1998) looked for the different ways that individuals express their individualism in U.S., French and Spanish advertising. Wolburg and Kim (1998) looked for the different ways that individualism and / or collectivism are expressed in American and Korean advertising. As a foundation for each of these studies, the particular values that were researched were identified to be basic cultural values in the particular country. For example individualism was identified to be a basic value in the U.S., France and Spain and collectivism was identified as basic value in Korea.

These studies discovered several ways how a specific cultural value was expressed in the advertisements of a particular country. One way to express individualism in the U.S., in France and in Spain was by efficiency. Another way to express one's individuality according to advertising was attractiveness. This attractiveness or efficiency helped the individual to stand out from the crowd as an individual. In addition, the studies found that the same cultural value could be expressed differently in different countries' advertisements and expression that were found in several countries were used more frequently in the advertising of one country than in another.

These findings show how important it is not only to look at the presence of cultural values in advertising in general, but also to find out how a specific value is expressed in a certain country.

1.2 Purpose of this Study

The current study builds on the previously mentioned studies and looks at how the specific cultural value individualism is expressed in German TV advertising.

Hofstede (1991) defined individualism as the polar opposite of collectivism and described these two basic values 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 in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty (Hofstede 1991: 51).

According to studies of researchers from a variety of disciplines (e.g. Hofstede 1984, Hall 1990, Triandis 1995, Fernandez et al. 1997, Mooij 1998 and Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000), individualism is one of the core values of the German culture. Therefore, it seemed to be appropriate to research this important value and to find out how this value is expressed in German advertising.

Germany was selected as the country of investigation, as the German industry plays an important role in the global economy. Also, so far, not many studies have investigated cultural values in German advertising at all and no known studies have investigated the specific cultural value of individualism in German advertising.

Germany has a powerful domestic and international industry, is an important advertising country and the German market seems to be attractive for global companies. To be successful in the German market it is important for international as well as domestic advertisers to thoroughly understand their target audience and especially – as they deeply influence their target audience – the cultural values held by the target audience and the expressions of these cultural values in Germany. As individualism is one of the most important cultural values in Germany, it is important to understand this value and to understand how this value is and can be expressed in advertising.

1.3 Implications of this Study

According to Taylor and Wolburg (1998) what it means to be an individual and how it is expressed varies among cultures. Also, Mooij (1998) stated, "each country has its own way of presenting its cultural values" (Mooij 1998: 271). Finding out how the specific cultural value individualism is expressed in German advertising builds on the current body of knowledge about cultural values in advertising and will add further insights to this body of knowledge. These new insights can have several implications.

First, understanding cultural values and their expression in German advertising will help marketers to be more successful in the German market. Being conscious and knowledgeable of which cultural values and which expressions of these values are reflected in German advertising will help marketers create better-targeted advertising and marketing campaigns.

Also, this knowledge can assist international advertisers and marketers to determine whether a standardized or a localized advertising campaign should be used. If cultural values and expressions of cultural values found in German advertising can also be found in the advertisements of other countries, it might be possible to use these values and their expressions for standardized cross-cultural campaigns. If specific cultural values or expressions of these values are only found in German advertising, this might be an indication of a culture-specific value or expression of a value that can not be used unchanged in another country. If the same cultural value (e.g. individualism) is present in two countries, but this value is expressed totally differently in these two countries, advertisers can have the same problem creating a standardized campaign using a specific expression of a cultural value that is not present in one country as they would have using a specific cultural value that is not present in one of the countries at all: They would not communicate effectively with their target audience because they could easily be misunderstood.

But the results of this study can not only help advertisers to create more effective German or international advertising campaigns, it can also make them more conscious of their social responsibility. If only a limited number of ways to express individualism are reflected in

advertising, the viewer can get a distorted view of how he can best succeed as an individual. This can influence his behavior and in the long term the ways how he perceives expressions of individualism and, therefore, expresses himself as an individual. If advertisers are conscious of how they use cultural values in their advertisements and whether they reflect them in accordance or different from the culture in general, they can create their future campaigns accordingly.

1.4 Methodology

To explore how individualism is reflected in German television advertising, this study builds on Taylor's and Wolburg's study (1998) about individualism in French, Spanish, and American television advertising and uses a qualitative approach that allows coding categories to emerge from a sample of German TV advertisements. Each of these categories reflects a different way to express individualism, a different way that an individual is successful in standing out as an individual. The qualitative, inductive methodology used in this study was selected for two reasons.

First, using an inductive approach, which allows categories to emerge while coding, helps to avoid the pitfalls that could occur when using 'individualism categories' that were defined in another country and trying to transfer them to Germany. If the German culture is seen as unique and no predefined categories are used, this acknowledges the fact that different countries have different values and different expressions of values. In this case, predefined categories of how to express individualism in another country would probably be too rigid and not be able to capture all expressions of the cultural value individualism in Germany.

Second, a big problem that research about cultural values in advertising faces is that there is no "agreed-upon, standard list of values among advertising researchers. This produces wide variation in which values are chosen for research." (Wolburg 1995: 1). Also, there is no agreed-upon methodology when researching cultural values in advertising. And, as Mooij (1998) mentions, "rarely are results from content analysis of significance by themselves. To be meaningful, isolated results must be related to other significant findings in this field." (Mooij 1998:

218). Therefore, it seems to make sense to use a cultural value that was researched before, and to use a methodology that was used before, too. Using the same methodology as previous studies in this field, makes it possible to compare the findings of this study with findings of other studies and therefore, to build on the body of knowledge about cultural values in advertising that already exists.

Furthermore, a qualitative, inductive approach makes sense for this study, as this study is not intended to provide exact quantitative data about all ways how and how often the cultural value individualism is expressed in German advertising. Rather, this study wants to explore the variations in the expressions of individualism in Germany and to make advertisers conscious of how individualism can possibly be expressed in German advertising and which ways are neglected (cf. explorative research design; Kubicek 1977).

1.5 Organization of the Study

To address the research question 'how is the cultural value individualism expressed in German advertising?' this study is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 gave an introduction to this study and provided an overview of the reasons for this study. Chapter 2 will build the background for the current study by presenting an overview of the literature that is related to this study. In Chapter 3 the methodology used in this study will be described in detail. In Chapter 4 the results will be presented and Chapter 5 gives a conclusion of this study, discusses the results found in this study and describes the implications of this study and its results for domestic and international advertisers.

2 Literature Review

This chapter places the overall research question – “How is the cultural value individualism expressed in German advertising?” – within the context of previous research on German advertising, German society, German values, and expressions of individualism. It is divided into four sections.

Section 2.1 provides an overview of the German advertising industry with special attention to German television advertising because the data for this study is a sample of television commercials. Section 2.2 reviews the research related to the conceptualization of cultural values. Section 2.3 focuses on German cultural values. Section 2.4 reviews the published studies regarding cultural values in advertising with a special focus on studies reviewing the expressions of individualism in advertising.

Overall, this literature review focuses on the cultural value of individualism and on the German culture.

2.1 The German advertising industry

Germany possesses the world's third most technologically powerful economy, ranking below the United States and Japan. In 2000, the gross domestic product (GDP) in Germany accounted for € 2,041.79¹ billion for a population of approximately 83 million (July 2001 est. in The World Factbook 2001). Within the top advertising countries, Germany ranks third among all nations in terms of worldwide advertising expenditures. Its 1999 total of \$20 billion stands behind only the United States (\$120.2 billion) and Japan (\$33.6 billion) (cf. World Advertising Trends 2001). In Europe, Germany takes the lead by a wide margin, followed by Great Britain (\$17.9 billion), France (\$9.7 billion), Italy (\$7.1 billion), and Spain (\$5.3 billion). The German advertising industry grew quickly after World War II, and in 2001, 361,000 people worked in the industry (cf.

¹ € 1 = \$ 0.8641, as of January 30, 2002. Source: www.dollar-kurs.de

ZAW-Berechnungen 2001). The following sections present an overview of the structure of the German advertising industry and briefly describe advertisers, media, regulations, characteristics of the advertisements, and consumer perceptions regarding advertising in Germany.

Structure of the German advertising industry

Overall, the German advertising industry is very organized, very developed, and very structured (cf. Kloss 2001: 118). All three levels of the German advertising industry – advertisers, advertising agencies, and advertising media – are supported by well-established information systems. These information systems deliver the necessary data for media planning on a highly reliable basis. For example, in the case of television advertising, the advertiser knows as soon as the day after a particular commercial is broadcast how many people watched it and even how these people break down socio-demographically (cf. Kloss 2001: 118). As a result of these well-established information systems, the German advertising scene is rather transparent, “each advertiser knowing exactly what, how, where and how often its competitors advertise” (Kloss 2001: 118).

The main problem the German advertising industry faces - as do advertising industries in other advanced economies - is a massive advertising overload. This leads to an over-saturation of the consumer with advertisements and makes it difficult for German advertisers to gain the consumers' attention: each day about 3,000 advertising messages compete for the attention of a German consumer. Also, in Germany advertisers mostly meet saturated markets, which are characterized by exchangeable products. In those markets advertising can hardly focus on competitive advantages. Thus, how the advertising message is told is more important than what it tells (cf. Kloss 2001: 138-139).

Advertisers

In 2001 the economic sectors spending most on advertising in general were Education / Mass Media (€1.98 billion), Means of Transport (€ 1.89 billion), Trade Organization (€ 1.71

billion), Food Products (€ 1.63 billion), Finance (€ 1.39 billion), and Office Supplies / Computing / Communication (€ 1.33 billion). The top individual advertisers in 2001 were Ferrero (€ 234.1 million), Media-Markt (€ 198.9 million), Proctor + Gamble (€ 185.7 million), L'Oreal (€ 164.4 million), Lidl (€ 142.9 million), and VW (€137.2 million) (cf. ACNielsen Werbeforschung S+P 2002a)

The product categories that advertised most heavily on TV in 2001 were Chocolate and Sweets (€ 559.30 million), Automobiles (€ 534.27 million), Telecommunication (€ 500.29 million), Mass Media (€ 361.42 million), Pharmaceuticals (€313.07million), and Specialty Dispatcher (€ 291.56 million) (cf. ACNielsen Werbeforschung S+P 2002b). Overall, 5,109 different brands were advertised on television in 2000 (cf. Engländer 2001).

Advertising Media

In Germany, marketers can choose between a wide variety of advertising media within a media category and between a wide variety of advertising vehicles. Advertisers can aim their messages either at a mass market or a specific target audience depending on which media category and vehicles they choose.

Table 1 shows that the number of vehicles in most media categories increased noticeably between 1995 and 2000. More and better-targeted media vehicles came into the market. Therefore, German advertisers gained more possibilities to efficiently target their specific target audience by placing their advertisements in a very specified vehicle. The only media category that experienced a reduction of the number of vehicles within the category was newspapers (both daily and weekly).

In Germany a large part of the media exists through advertising. For example, the private broadcasting system is financed almost exclusively by advertising (cf. Kloss 2001: 123). In 2001 Television earned € 7.57 billion from advertising. Popular magazines earned € 4.04 billion, and newspapers earned € 3.61 million (cf. ACNielsen Werbeforschung S+P 2002c).

Table 1

Advertising Media in Germany (1995 and 2000)

Media category	Quantity 1995	Quantity 2000	Change (%)	Circulation 1995 (million)	Circulation 2000 (million)	Change (%)
Daily newspapers	414	388	- 6.3	30.9	28.9	- 6.5
Weekly newspapers	30	24	- 20.0	2.3	2.1	- 8.7
Advertising Journals	1,282	1,336	+ 4.2	77.6	90.8	+ 17
Popular Magazines	709	847	+ 19.5	136.5	138.9	+ 1.7
Professional Journals	984	1,094	+ 11.2	24.1	27.7	+ 15
Sales Bulletins	51	93	+ 82.3	26.9	64.1	+ 138
Commercial / telephone directories, yellow pages	93	160	+72.0	26.9	38.5	+ 43
Bulk mail, newsletters	-	-	-	5,200	6,400	+ 23
National and regional TV programs	87	109	+ 25.3	Registered TV sets (million)		
				32.6	35.1	+ 7,7
National, regional and local radio programs	221	240	+ 8,6	Registered Radio sets (million)		
				36.6	39.7	+ 8.5
Online offers	55	627	-	Page impression (billion)		
				- 17.31	-	-
Billboards or the like	419,645	419,145	-	-	-	-
Movie theatres	3,809	4,783	+ 25.6	Filmgoers (million)		
				124.5	152.5	+22.5

Source: German Advertising Federation (ZAW): Werbeträger in Deutschland, ZAW-Jahrbuch.
Available in www.zaw.de. (27-01-02)

Radio, outdoor and other kinds of advertising like cinema advertising are of minor importance for German advertisers. These categories are either used for special target groups (cinema: 14- to 29-year-olds), special products (outdoor: cigarettes, beer, spirits, mass media, cars) or for local and regional advertisements (radio). (cf. Kloss 2001: 122).

The two trends that are most remarkable with regard to the ad-spending breakdown by medium within the last 16 years are the strong increase of the television advertising share and the similarly strong decrease of the print advertising share, especially the magazine advertising share. (cf. ACNielsen Werbeforschung S+P 2002d)

Advertising Regulations

In Germany there is no unity in advertising law. The advertising framework in Germany consists of a combination of legal regulations (laws, decrees and jurisdiction), market control (organizations, media, mutual control of competitors) and self-regulation (German Advertising Council, European self-regulation organizations). (cf. Kloss 2001: 146). The principal advertising regulations are formulated in the “law against unfair competition” (“Gesetz gegen den unlauteren Wettbewerb”). This law forbids all kinds of advertising that offends morality, for example misleading advertising is prohibited. (cf. ZAW Gesetze 2002).

Advertising control in Germany rests on two pillars. On the one hand, a group of organizations and federations are allowed to pursue violations of advertising regulations legally, whereby control via the competitors works most effectively. On the other hand, the German Advertising Council acts on its own initiative and on the basis of complaints from citizens. The Council can come out with a “public plea”, which means that the medium is no longer allowed to distribute the objectionable advertising. (cf. Kloss 2001: 147).

In addition to those general laws and controls that apply for each kind of advertising in Germany, there are specific laws and regulations for the specific media categories. In this context, only TV advertising is looked at more closely, as a sample of commercials was used for this study.

The German TV market is characterized mostly by its dual broadcasting system: there are broadcasters under public law and private broadcasters. Until 1984 there was a TV-monopoly under public law, but a decision of the German Federal Constitutional Court changed this so private broadcasters were allowed and the market got competitive. For TV advertising this meant a change from an excess demand to an excess supply (cf. Kloss 2001: 131). The main difference between these two types of broadcasting is their source of financing and – interrelated with the source of financing - their regulation by different legal restrictions.

Television in Germany is governed by the Law of the Länder (Bundesländer). The “Broadcasting Treaty” (Rundfunkstaatsvertrag) of the Länder is the basis for the dual broadcasting system and the legal basis of broadcasting in Germany. (cf. Legal Provisions 2000). It is regulated in the “Broadcasting Treaty” that both public service broadcasting and private broadcasting are bound to support the free, individual and public formation of opinion and have to ensure that a diversity of opinion is reflected. (cf. Focus-Lexikon 2002).

Private broadcasters are not obligated to assure the same broadness of program coverage and the same protection of a balanced diversity as public service broadcasters. But, according to the jurisdiction of the German Federal Constitutional Court, only as long as the public service broadcasters can assure the primary supply of diversified program offerings available to everybody in Germany, the private broadcasters are subject to less strict regulations of their program. (cf. ABC der ARD 2002).

In order to insure the independence of the broadcasters under public law from any influence that could minimize their free choice of program offers and their independence in decision-making, the main source of financing of the public broadcasters is broadcasting fees, not advertising. Every owner of a registered radio or TV set pays these fees. The fees amount to € 16.15 per month since January 2002 (cf. Rundfunkgebühren 2002). The broadcasters under public law are additionally allowed to take earnings from advertising. (cf. Kloss 2001: 134). But as they are very restricted in their advertising by public law, these advertising earnings are not the main source of their financing:

“Public broadcasters may only show advertisements until 8:00 p.m. On Sundays and holidays advertisements may not be broadcast at all by public broadcasters (Art. 15 RStV).” (Legal Provisions 2000: 1). Also, broadcasters under public law are only allowed to advertise for 20 minutes per working day. Furthermore, advertising can only be transmitted on ARD and ZDF; all other public channels are free of advertising.

Private broadcasters were excluded from the broadcasting fees but consequently the legislator conceded more generous advertising options to the private channels.

Overall, the main advertising regulations in German TV are the following:

- Advertising has to be broadcast in blocks. A block consists of at least two commercials, and transmission of a single commercial is not allowed. A block can be placed as an intermission within a program or between two programs. Interruptions are not allowed during church services or children's programs.
- Advertising must be clearly recognizable as such. An advertising block has to be preceded by an optional identification separating this block from the surrounding program.
- It is forbidden to advertise for more than 12 minutes during any hour.
- Private broadcasters are allowed an advertising time of 20 percent of their daily broadcasting time, meaning they are allowed to advertise round the clock on any day, including Sundays and bank holidays.
- Public broadcasters can interrupt a program for advertisements once it lasts longer than 45 minutes.
- Private broadcasters can interrupt a program that lasts longer than 45 minutes once every 45 minutes. A 90-minute movie can be interrupted twice, and three breaks are allowed in a program that lasts for 110 minutes. The gross underlying principle is that advertising time depends on the length of the movie. The interval between two blocks of commercials must be at least 20 minutes,
- The transmission of sporting events can only be interrupted when there are no regular breaks (e.g. motor sports). In sporting events with regular breaks advertising is only allowed during these breaks (e.g. soccer, tennis).

(Kloss 2001: 134-135)

Manipulation of the program by advertisements or advertisers is prohibited. Also, tobacco advertising, political and religious advertising (with exceptions), surreptitious advertising, misleading advertising and product-placements are forbidden in both public and private broadcasting. In addition, teleshopping is prohibited in public law broadcasting. Furthermore, alcohol advertising, drug advertisements and advertisements with children are restricted by the law. (cf. Weinknecht 2001).

In 2001 3.49 million TV households received TV by antenna, 18.92 million TV households received TV by cable and 11.15 households received TV by satellite. All households, whether receiving TV by antenna, satellite or cable, received ARD and ZDF (broadcasters under public law). 72 percent of the households receiving TV by antenna could watch RTL and Sat.1, whereby these two channels are received by all households receiving TV by cable and 99 percent of the households receiving TV per satellite. Overall, in 2001 97.9 percent of all adults in Germany had one or more TV sets. (cf. AGF/GfK Fernsehforschung 2002).

Characteristics of German advertisements

The development of advertising in Germany has undergone five different modes of advertising since World War II. These different modes of advertising were highly related to the development of the market in general. Immediately after the end of World War II the advertising of the first mode merely announced the return of brands and companies. The advertisements were purely product based, with no argumentation quality. Advertising of the second mode started to involve arguments as the market changed from a seller's to a buyer's market and it got more difficult to sell products. But still, the ads were merely rational. In the 1960s advertising changed from selling products to selling images. These advertisements of the third mode equipped products with attributes and had to persuade consumers in the first saturated market since World War II. In the fourth mode, advertising became more self-reliant and made fun of itself. The message implicit in these ads is that whoever can create good ads, can also create good products. Advertising of the fifth mode is an event, a provocation, a matter of common knowledge. This way of advertising was introduced by Benetton. (cf. Kloss 2001: 139-142).

According to Kloss (2001) the current advertising scene in Germany is a mixture of advertising of the third with advertising of the fifth mode. This means that advertising in Germany is on a very high and subtle level, combining elements of attention-seeking and psychological knowledge.

Consumer perceptions of advertising

As mentioned, there is a massive advertising overflow in Germany. Each day about 3,000 advertising messages compete for the attention of a German consumer (cf. Kloss 2001: 138). Therefore, it is surprising that according to a recent study of the ARD-Werbung Sales & Services (ARD is one of the TV channels under public law) most of the respondents have a positive attitude toward advertising. 82 percent of the respondents agreed that advertising is important for the economy and 75 percent said that advertising is a part of modern life. (cf. W&V Aktuelle Studien 2001).

Nevertheless, as in other advanced economies, in Germany it is difficult for advertisers to gain the costumer's attention. (cf. Kloss 2001: 118). Other studies - for example a study of the Zeitungs Marketing Gesellschaft in 2000 or a study of the Nürnberger Gesellschaft für Konsumforschung (GfK) in 1998 - indicated that the attitude of German consumers toward advertisements vary widely. The first of the two studies that were mentioned showed that most of the respondents of this study agreed that advertisements are beneficial with regard to information about new products. They also agreed that advertising is a normal part of life, entertaining, and actually helpful. But, on the other hand, 44 percent of the respondents assented that advertising is prevalently deceptive and false and 75 percent were bothered by the increasing amount of advertising in the private TV channels. (cf. Zeitungs Marketing Gesellschaft 2000).

The second study pointed out that German consumers think there is too much advertising and that advertising mostly is not entertaining. (cf. Nürnberger Gesellschaft für Konsumforschung (GfK) 1998). These strongly polarized opinions of different people toward advertising are a challenge for the German advertising industry: On the one hand, consumers want to be entertained by advertising, but, on the other hand, they also seem to get annoyed easily.

Summary of the characteristics of the German advertising industry

Overall, the German advertising industry is very organized, very developed and very structured. A wide variety of media categories and media vehicles offer advertisers possibilities to

target either a very specified or a very broad audience. But German advertisers also face some challenges: First, they have to deal with a massive advertising overload. Second, German advertisers mostly advertise in saturated, very competitive markets. Third, there are multiple legal regulations that restrict the use of the different advertising media, especially of television, and that regulate advertising in Germany in general. And last, German advertisers have to deal with demanding consumers, who want to be entertained by advertising, but who also get annoyed by advertising easily.

Within this framework, consisting of the different characteristics of the German advertising market, German advertisers have to gain their consumers' attention and have to communicate as effectively as possible with them. Therefore, advertisers have to understand their target audience as thoroughly as possible, and thus understand their culture as thoroughly as possible.

In addition to culture, the described framework also influences and restricts the execution of German advertisements. For example Zandpour and Harich (1996) noted, "it is reasonable to assume that conditions in the advertising industry in a given market could independently affect the nature of advertising messages in that market. Type of market, level of government regulation and media characteristics have all been suggested to influence advertising." (Zandpour & Harich 1996: 328). Therefore, when taking a look how German culture affects advertising in Germany it is important to be aware of the advertising conditions in Germany, because those definitely also influence the execution of the ads.

2.2 Definition and Conceptualization of Cultural Values

Definitions of cultural values

Cultural values have been explored in studies across various disciplines and from various points of view. Especially in sociology and cultural anthropology, the values concept has a long history (cf. Durgee 1996). All studies that dealt with cultural values have one common denominator: they see cultural values as an important influencing factor on a wide variety of

human behaviors such as consumption behavior, group behavior or even thinking patterns. (e.g. Kahle et al. 1988, Hofstede 1991, Durgee et al. 1996, Becker 1998, Kuehnen et al. 2001). But, although all those studies agree on the fact that cultural values are a significant influence in society, they do not agree on a common definition of the term 'value'.

The researchers face the problem that the term 'value' or 'values' is abstract and, therefore, has been defined by scholars from various fields in different ways. One of the earlier definitions comes from Smelser (1967). He defines values as "cultural standards that indicate the general goals deemed desirable for organized social life." Milton Rokeach, a social psychologist, proposed another definition that is commonly used. Rokeach (1973) defined a value as "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." (Rokeach 1973: 5). This definition seems to be appropriate when studying values in advertising and their influence on consumer behavior, as advertising tries to reinforce the belief that a person reaches a specific state of existence when behaving according to what the commercial tells the consumer. Advertisements, then, should reflect cultural values to make the beliefs imparted by advertising match the enduring beliefs held by the consumer. Furthermore, Rokeach (1973) defined a value system as "a learned organization of principles and rules to help one choose between alternatives, resolve conflicts, and make decisions." (Rokeach 1973: 5). If the advertisement reflects his value system, the consumer might be influenced to make a decision according to what the commercial suggests.

Culture is an important influence on these individual values and value systems. Cultural values are values held by a specific culture and thus are regarded as the governing ideas and guiding principles for thought and action in a given society (cf. Srikanth 1991). They are a powerful force shaping consumers' motivations, life-styles and product choices (cf. Tse et al. 1998) and are usually transmitted through institutions such as family, religion, school and court. (cf. Cheng 1994). Some articles on values and consumer behavior advocate the view that cultural

values could be one of the most powerful influences on consumer behavior. (e.g. Clawson and Vinson 1978; Kahle 1985, Caillat & Mueller 1996).

Values are an important concept and idea used and reflected in advertising. Pollay (1983) stated that “values are probably the single most important dimension of advertising” (Pollay 1983: 111). To clearly understand the value concept in advertising, it is important to differentiate between the terms ‘appeals’ and ‘values’, which have been used interchangeably in several studies. Wolburg (1995) addressed this issue and pointed out that the items overlap but that they cannot be used equivalently. She referred to Moriarty who stated that “an appeal is a message about a need that has the power to arouse innate or latent desires” (Moriarty 1991: 76) and to Hofstede who said that a value is “a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others.” (Hofstede 1980: 5). Therefore, Wolburg (1995) concluded that values appear to be the broader category – appeals relate to elements within the values.

According to Hofstede, values are the deepest manifestations of culture, whereas symbols represent the most superficial manifestation of culture and heroes and rituals fall somewhere in between. He depicted these four manifestations of culture like the layers of an onion. (Hofstede in Mooij 1998). Hofstede (1980) defined culture as “the interactive aggregate of common characteristics that influences a group’s response to its environment.” (Hofstede 1980: 19). He also referred to culture as the “collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from those of another.” (Hofstede 1991: 5).

Zhang and Gelb (1996) stated that according to some researchers fundamental cultural differences could be identified by examining the culturally generalizable aspects of values. To study these differences, cultural values need to be defined and models need to be developed to lay a foundation on which a reasonable comparison can be built. Mooij (1998) pointed out that a relatively small number of models have been developed for the systematic comparison of cultures and that, for the purpose of global marketing and advertising, the most useful ones are those that distinguish dimensions of culture. They can be used to compare cultures and to cluster cultures according to behavioral characteristics. Among the value systems applied in advertising research,

four often-cited value systems are those of Edward Hall (1990), Milton Rokeach (1973), Lynn Kahle (1983) and Geert Hofstede (1980).

Conceptualizations of cultural values

Hall (1990) distinguished cultures according to the degree of context in their communication system. He stated that the cultures of the world could be compared on a scale from high to low context. He defined a high context (HC) communication or message as one in which most of the information is already in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. A low context communication (LC) is just the opposite; i.e., the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code. (Hall 1990: 6). The degree of context in a specific culture is visible in many different manifestations of this specific culture. Any of the basic cultural systems and subsystems can serve as a focus for observation. Mooij (1998) stated that an important consequence of context is that words and sentences as well as pictures have different meanings depending on the context in which they are embedded. In addition to the degree of context, Hall also differentiated cultures according to dimensions of time and space.

Rokeach (1973) developed a value system consisting of 18 terminal values (end-states of existence) and 18 instrumental values (modes of conduct) to address American values. The 18 instrumental values that were selected from Anderson's (1968) list of 555 personality-trait words include ambitious, broadminded, capable, cheerful, clean, courageous, forgiving, helpful, honest, imaginative, independent, intellectual, logical, loving, obedient, polite, responsible, and self-controlled. The 18 terminal values that were obtained primarily from interviews with participants of the Rokeach Value Survey include a comfortable life, an exciting life, a sense of accomplishment, a world of peace, a world of beauty, equality, family security, freedom, happiness, inner harmony, mature love, national security, pleasure, salvation, self-respect, social recognition, true friendship, and wisdom. Rokeach analyzed the two lists by correlating them to demographic characteristics of Americans, such as gender, race, and income. His results showed that value differences occur among people of different groups. However, Rokeach also stated that his procedure to come up

with this list was an intuitive one and that other researchers working independently could come up with different lists. Therefore, the results of Rokeach's study are not necessarily generalizable and other researchers could find different results. Nonetheless, Rokeach's list was later applied by several studies examining cultural values.

One of the researchers who used Rokeach's list is Richard Pollay. In 1983, he employed Rokeach's list, but also works of White (1951) and Fowles (1976) to develop a typology for measuring cultural values in advertising. He defined a final set of 42 value categories to measure cultural values. His list includes both attributes and benefits of the defined values. Among these values are community, family, modern, traditional, popular, effective, durable, independence, security, traditional, adventure and freedom. Pollay used this list of values to content analyze American advertisements. His typology has been widely used and tested among scholars who are interested in measuring values in advertising, although according to Punyapiroje (2002) the findings of several studies that used Pollay's list suggest that Pollay's typology – based on a western perspective – misses some values that exist in countries that are culturally dissimilar to the United States. Punyapiroje (2002) concluded that consequently, to make Pollay's typology cover all values manifested in advertising, the researchers have to combine the values in Pollay's typology with existing values in the countries they study.

Lynn Kahle's List of Values (LOV) (1983) provides another conceptualization of cultural values that is widely used in advertising in the effort to develop some cumulative knowledge on values and consumer behavior. (cf. Becker 1998). Kahle derived his LOV "from Rokeach's (1973) list of 18 terminal values, Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs, and various other contemporaries' value research." (Kahle 1988: 36). Originally Kahle included nine different values in his list and tested them in a survey among 2,264 adults over 21 years in the United States by asking the respondents to select their first and second most important values from this list of nine values. But as hardly any respondents chose the value "excitement" as their first choice, Kahle relegated this category into the "fun and enjoyment" category. The remaining eight values in Kahle's LOV are:

1. A sense of accomplishment
2. Self-respect
3. Security
4. Being well-respected
5. Self-fulfillment
6. Warm relationship with others
7. Fun-enjoyment-excitement
8. A sense of belonging

Kahle himself applied this List of Values to indicate changes of values in the United States. He recommended utilizing these changes in value prioritizations in the type of appeals used in advertising.

Geert **Hofstede** - a Dutch social scientist - offers another set of value dimensions that has often been used in marketing and advertising research. Based on survey research for a large multinational company in 40 countries in 1967, and from 1971 to 1973, Hofstede (**1984**) distinguished between four dimensions of culture: Power Distance (the extent to which less powerful members of a society accept that power is distributed unequally), Individualism versus Collectivism (the degree to which individuals make choices in their private lives and opinions), Masculinity versus Femininity (the degree to which people in a society admire traditional male values such as achievement and success), and Uncertainty Avoidance (the extent to which people feel threatened by uncertainty).

Hofstede's questionnaires asked employees about multiple aspects of their work experience. Based on these questionnaires he gave each country a score on each of the four dimensions.

Hofstede's model was originally used to explain differences in work-related values. But later Mooij (1998) applied the model to consumption-related values and motives. She stated that applying the model to consumption-related values was validated in two ways:

- (a) by content analysis of a large sample of television commercials and print advertisements, to determine whether and how cultural values are reflected in advertising; and
- (b) by linking the Hofstede data to the 1995 results of the European Media & Marketing Survey (EMS) and to Reader's Digest Eurodata – a Consumer Survey of 17 European Countries, to determine whether and in what way(s) consumption behavior correlates to the Hofstede dimensions. (Mooij 1998: 73).

She found that actual data and data on related behavior indeed appeared to correlate with the cultural dimensions Hofstede defined.

Amongst Hofstede's dimensions especially, the relative presence of individualism and collectivism within various cultures has been discussed by many researchers across various disciplines. Collectivism in the social sciences is seen as the polar opposite of individualism (Taylor & Wolburg 1998). Zhang and Gelb (1996) stated that "although culture is a complex, multifaceted construct, one of its most basic dimensions is the value placed on individualism versus collectivism, as an aspect employed in many studies (see Kim et al. 1994)." Social psychologist Harry Triandis (1985) even suggests that individualism / collectivism might be the most important dimension of cultural differences in social behavior across the diverse cultures of the world because this dimension affects so many institutions in society. He stated that the core meaning of individualism is giving priority to personal goals over the goals of the in-group; that of collectivism is the reverse (cf. Triandis 1989). For him the relative importance of in-groups is one of the major factors that differentiate individualistic and collectivistic cultures. People in individualistic cultures have many specific in-groups that influence their communication. They tend to apply the same value standards to in-groups and out-groups. People in collectivistic cultures have few general in-groups, which has a strong influence on their communication across situations and tends to be particularistic. People in collectivistic cultures also apply different value standards to in-groups and out-groups. (Triandis 1988). Triandis (1995) later argued that individualistic and collectivistic cultures could be differentiated by whether relations among people in the culture are horizontal or vertical. In horizontal, collectivistic cultures, people are not expected to stand out from others. In vertical, individualistic cultures, people are expected to try to stand out from the crowd. In horizontal cultures, people tend to see themselves as the same as others. In vertical cultures, people tend to see themselves as different from others and equality is not valued highly.

Hofstede's definition of individualistic versus collectivistic cultures uses the same central theme as Triandis definition does (see Hofstede 1991). Hofstede defined the individualism/collectivism dimensions 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 in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty (Hofstede 1991: 51).

In individualistic societies people tend to be self-oriented and identity is based in the individual. In contrast, in collectivistic societies people's identity is based on a social system. Thus, the main focus in individualistic cultures is the individual, whereas the main focus in collectivistic cultures is the group and the individual is part of the group. This difference influences all parts of life in a society. From their early childhood on, children are instilled with the dominant value. Whereas children within individualistic societies learn to think in terms of 'I', children in collectivistic societies learn to think in terms of 'we'. Collectivistic societies focus on harmony and avoid direct confrontation; the group coherence cannot be violated. In contrast, in an individualistic society speaking one's mind is a characteristic of an honest person. In individualistic societies task prevails over relationship in the work place, while relationship prevails over task in the collectivistic work place. In individualistic cultures, individuals make choices in their private life and have their own, independent opinion. In collectivistic cultures hardly any decision is made without consulting the specific in-group. Opinions are group opinions, not individual opinions. Therefore, according to Hofstede individualism / collectivism can be defined as the degree to which individuals make choices in their private lives and opinions.

As seen above, individualism / collectivism affects many of the institutions in society, including family life, occupation and education. A detailed list of characteristics of individualistic cultures according to Hofstede is provided in **Appendix A (Table 10 and Table 11)**.

Hofstede also noted that there is a strong relationship between a country's national wealth and the degree of individualism in its culture. An obvious explanation is that if wealth in a country increases, people have more resources that allow personal expression. "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.” (Hofstede 1991: 76). Coming along with the described differences of individualistic versus collectivistic societies is the self-construal of individuals in these societies. People in individualistic societies emphasize an independent construal of the self, which involves the view that an individual's self is a unique, independent entity.

The important task for people emphasizing an independent self-construal is to be unique, strive for their own goals, express themselves and be direct (e.g. “say what you mean”; Markus and Kitayama 1991). Individuals’ self-esteem is based on their ability to express themselves and their ability to validate their internal attributes. (Markus and Kitayama 1991, in Gudykunst 1998: 113).

In contrast, people in collectivistic cultures emphasize an interdependent construal of the self. (cf. Gudykunst 1998).

Cultures are mostly defined as either individualistic or collectivistic. But if a culture is associated with one of the two dimensions, this does not necessarily mean that the culture is purely individualistic or purely collectivistic. Triandis (1998) stated that it is possible for elements of both values to coexist within the same culture. Likewise, Gudykunst (1998) pointed out that individualism and collectivism both exist in all cultures, but that one pattern tends to predominate. He noted that as members of a culture are socialized into their culture, they learn the major values of their culture (e.g. independence, achievement in individualistic cultures) and learn preferred ways to conceive of themselves (e.g. as unique persons in individualistic cultures). These major values and preferred ways to conceive of themselves are in accordance with either collectivism or individualism. However, since individualism and collectivism coexist in all cultures, members of individualistic and collectivistic cultures do not just learn one set of values or just one way to conceive themselves. Rather, they learn the values that are important to the other value dimension in addition to the values that are important to their own value dimension. But they also learn that those values are secondary to the values of the dominant value dimension. Therefore, although elements of different cultural systems can coexist in all cultures, cultures can still be clearly allocated to one or the other dimension according to the predominant value.

Summary of conceptualization of cultural values

Overall, it is noticeable that – at least on first view – the different conceptualizations of culture and lists of cultural values do not seem to have much in common. The researchers who developed the different value conceptualizations came from a variety of disciplines. They had different backgrounds and they had different intentions, when they developed their conceptualizations. They looked at different cultures and at different expressions of culture. Therefore, the results of these studies – the conceptualizations of culture – are very different, too. Nevertheless, there are some overlaps and consistencies among the different studies.

Of importance for the current study is that depictions of individualism seem to appear in one or the other form in each of the described value systems. For example Hofstede's individualism / collectivism dimension is interrelated with the previously described lists of cultural values of Hall, Rokeach and Kahle: Among other characteristics Hofstede distinguished between cultures on the basis of 'high-context' versus 'low-context' communication - the characteristic along which Hall described cultures. 'High-context' communication is correlated with collectivism. In collectivistic cultures messages are more implicit, little information is required to be spoken. In individualistic cultures more direct communication is shown, the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code. Rokeach's list of values and Kahle's LOV can also be correlated with Hofstede's dimensions of culture. Both lists are very specific. In 1995 Wolburg concluded that some of the values defined by Rokeach such as ambitious and independent are particular characteristics of individualistic people. The same applies for Kahle's LOV which overlaps with Rokeach's list of values. Values included in Kahle's LOV such as self-fulfillment and self-respect definitely are characteristic of individualistic cultures. Other value systems that include individualism in some form are George C. Lodge's American Ideology (1975) and Conrad Arsenberg and Arthur Niehoff's American Cultural Values (1975) (cf. Wolburg 1995).

The presence of the cultural value individualism (in one or the other form) in many different value systems suggests the importance of this cultural value. Individualism seems to be one of

the core cultural values in many different cultures and it can be expressed in many different, partly culture-specific ways (cf. Wolburg 1995).

To understand this core cultural value more thoroughly the next section specifically focuses on individualism and provides some additional remarks about how individualism is defined, and how it developed.

Development of individualism

Wolburg (1995) noted that individualism is a political idea that has developed over the last few centuries. In today's western societies individualism is highly accepted as a very important value. "Individualism holds that the individual is the primary unit of reality and the ultimate standard of value. This view does not deny that societies exist or that people benefit from living in them, but it sees society as a collection of individuals, not something over and above them." (Stata 1992). People live out their individual personalities (as long as they do not violate the law) and behave driven by "ego-motives". Maslow (1970) even ranked self-actualization highest in his 'Hierarchy of Needs'. He defined self-expression as the highest human goal.

Although individualism was an important human value at many times in history, it has not always been accepted by society, by government or even by individuals themselves. The idea system that lays the foundation for individualism can be traced back as far as to Aristotle. Aristotle, Epicurus, and later St. Thomas - as many others - all dealt with what constitutes an individual (cf. Mahrer 1999). However, though philosophers discussed what constitutes an individual, does not mean that individualism was an accepted cultural value. For example, during medieval times, the concept of individualism had no place in the fixed social hierarchy. People in the Middle Ages believed that God had assigned them a fixed place in the community and that there was no place to live out one's individual self. (cf Nisbet 1973, in Taylor & Wolburg 1998). Since medieval times liberty has been increased by the gradual but advancing removal of restraints once imposed by church and state, by custom and law. In the 17th century the Enlightenment, a scientific and intellectual development, fostered a belief in natural law and

confidence in human reason, therefore supporting the idea that individuals have rights that cannot be violated and are responsible for their actions. "Conceptions of individuality began to be articulated, and the basic unit in society began to shift from the community to the individual." (Taylor & Wolburg 1998: 4). Locke – as one of the theorizers of the Enlightenment – defined that the reason for a state to exist is individualistic and that the article of association guarantees the natural rights of the individual. (cf. Zeiten und Menschen 1989: 219). Philosophers and politicians like Jean Jacques Rousseau, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine took over these ideas and advanced them (cf. Encyclopedia.com 2002). Today, the ideas of individual rights are reflected in the constitutions and institutions of many different countries.

In Germany the ideas of individualism and individual rights became popular with the start of the French Revolution in 1789. The French Revolution was based on the ideas of the Enlightenment. Philosophers and authors in Germany picked up the ideas of freedom and equality promoted by the Enlightenment. For example in 1790, the German poet Klopstock wrote an ode that compared Germans and Frenchmen and lamented "Ach, du warst es nicht, mein Vaterland, das der Freiheit Gipfel erstieg, Beispiel strahlte den Völkern umher: Frankreich war's!" ("It was not you, my fatherland, that strived for freedom and gave an example to other countries: it was France!" in Revolution und Reformen 1989: 30). With this ode he showed that German philosophers were fascinated by the ideas of the French revolution, which included individualism, but that in Germany these ideas were not dominant yet. At the same time the German authors Hegel, Hölderlin and Schelling planted a freedom tree to celebrate the second anniversary of the assault on the Bastille to show that they agree with the ideas of freedom, equality and individualism. (cf. Revolution und Reformen 1989: 50).

But although popular among the highbrows in Germany, the idea system that emerged within the French Revolution experienced several set backs in Germany. Along with the excesses during the French Revolution came the thought in Germany that the time might not be ready for the ideas of the French Revolution. Another set back was the failure of the revolution in 1848/49. Also, the structure of the state during the German "Kaiserreich" (empire) resembled the structure

of an authoritarian state and did not allow room for individualism. Whereas the idea system of individualism experienced an upswing during the Weimar Republic with the extensive list of basic rights during this time and the idea that the state has to protect the dignity of the individual, the attitudes of many people made it difficult for those ideas to prevail. The Weimar Republic was also called a "Republic without Republicans." (cf. Revolution und Reformen 1989).

During the Third Reich (1933-1945) German leadership consciously tried to break with the ideas of the Enlightenment. During this time slogans such as "Du bist nichts, Dein Volk ist alles" ("You are nothing, your nation is everything") and "Recht ist, was dem Volke nützt" ("Law is, what is good for the nation") were popular and expressed the idea system that ruled. (cf. Zeiten und Menschen 1989: 333).

After the end of the Second World War, the idea system that began to be popular during the French Revolution finally asserted itself (at that time in West Germany, in the former East Germany it asserted itself after the 'Fall of the Berlin Wall' in 1989) and was constituted in the German "Grundgesetz" (constitution), which guarantees individual freedom, such as religious liberty, political liberty, freedom of speech, right of self-defense, and others. Today, individual freedom is not only guaranteed by the German "Grundgesetz" (constitution), but also by such principles as separation of powers, constitutional state, and pluralism. Therefore, today, individualism definitely plays an important role in German culture.

Definitions of individualism

Lodge defined individualism as the belief that "fulfillment lies in an essential lonely struggle in what amounts to a wilderness where the fit survive – and where, if you do not survive, you are somehow unfit." (Lodge 1975: 10, in Taylor & Wolburg 1998: 3). In a German dictionary individualism is defined as

1. Gesellschaftliche Betonung der Interessen des Individuums vor denen der Allgemeinheit;
2. Betonung oder Vorrang der Vertretung der eigenen Interessen vor denen einer Gemeinschaft;
3. Ausgeprägtheit persönlicher Merkmale und Eigenheiten oder des eigenen Geschmacks.

1. Societal emphasis on the individual interests over the interests of the general public;
2. Emphasis or priority of the representation of one's own interests over the interests of the general public;
3. Pronounced personal characteristics and peculiarities or pronounced individual taste

(Langenscheidts Fremdwörterbuch 2002).

Influence of Individualism on Consumer Behavior

Wolburg noted that

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. (Wolburg 1995: 15).

Individualism is expressed in different ways and different products and services support these different expressions. Mooij (2000a) pointed out that a core element of Western marketing is the focus on product / brand attributes, benefits, and values that distinguish the user's self from others. The reason is that people buy products that are compatible with their self-concepts, or rather that enhance their "ideal self" images. They buy different products to express themselves differently. Mooij (2000a) explained that

frequently mentioned drives related to the ideal self are self-esteem, self-actualization, and the need for achievement. Implicit in the concept of personality is the individualist notion that people should distinguish themselves from others as opposed to conforming to the group as is found in collectivistic cultures. (Mooij 2000a: 87).

She also presented examples of product categories that are influenced by certain cultural values: cosmetic and personal care products for example are bought because of the need to differentiate oneself from others and the need to look young. Mooij observed that the heavy usage of cosmetics is found in cultures with a small power distance and a weak uncertainty avoidance. The heavy usage of cosmetics is also positively correlated with individualism. Another example is the need for insurance products, which is influenced in various ways, in general, by the degree of individualism. In collectivistic cultures the extended family or other in-groups guarantee a safety net, in individualistic cultures people need another safety net. Germany, for

example, falls in the cluster of countries with individualistic cultures and strong uncertainty avoidance and consequently in the cluster of countries that are heavy insurance product users. (cf. Mooij 2000a: 91-100).

These examples show that both the presence or absence of individualism - as the presence or absence of other cultural values - and the specific ways that individualism is expressed in a society have implications for the products that are purchased in this society. In addition, "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 expression over others." (Wolburg 1995: 19). If only some expressions of individualism are reflected in advertising, these expressions of individualism may be perceived as predominant and consequently stimulate a certain purchase behavior.

Overall, it is important to note that cultural values such as individualism definitely influence purchase behavior and that especially individualism - reflected in advertisements promoting self-actualization and distinguishing one's self - is important for advertising and marketing.

The next step for this study is to take a look at what studies found out which values are important in Germany and especially to look for individualism in the German culture. Then a look is taken at what previous studies found out how values, and especially expressions of individualism, are reflected in advertising in general and in German advertising in particular.

2.3 Cultural Values in Germany

When researching cultural values, it is important to realize that culture is relative. For example the British are reserved in the eyes of the French, the Italians generally chaotic in the eyes of the Germans, and the Germans rigid as perceived by the British. Different cultures have different stereotypes of other cultures (cf. Mooij 1998). Also, even if there are certain predominant values within a specific culture, that does not mean that these values are equally important for

each member of this specific culture. However, there are some predominant trends and values in certain cultures, which are often reflected in the people and the institutions of this culture.

According to **Hofstede's Classification** in 1984 (scores can range from 0 to 100 in power distance, individualism and masculinity dimensions and range from 8 to 112 in uncertainty avoidance dimension; the higher the score, the more prominent the characteristic) Germany (F.R.) scores 35 (ranked 29th out of 40 countries) on power distance, 65 (ranked 20th) on uncertainty avoidance, 66 (ranked 9th) on masculinity and 67 (ranked 15th) on individualism. Therefore, Germany seems to be a individualistic country that has a strong uncertainty avoidance, a low power distance, and is characterized as a masculine country.

Mooij (1998) correlated Hofstede's results with data from the 1995 results of the European Media & Market Survey and the Reader's Digest Eurodata to find out how Hofstede's dimensions influence consumption. Her results indicate how the cultural values Hofstede found for Germany are reflected in German society. For example, in Germany as in other individualistic cultures the ownership of private gardens is relatively high, the ownership of personal stereos is high and the home PC ownership is high. Another example is that about 40 percent of the Germans agree with the statement "I like to stand out in the crowd", which is positively correlated with masculinity. Also, Germans – as members of a strong uncertainty avoidance culture – like rules. In combination with individualism those rules are written and explicit (low context communication) and combined with small power distance those rules are internalized.

Mooij (1998) derived value paradoxes from Hofstede's value dimensions. An important value paradox in Germany is freedom / order compared to, for example, freedom / dependence in France. Mooij pointed out that the Germans cherish individual freedom, but too much freedom leads to disorder. In contrast, for the French, individual freedom goes along with dependence on power holders.

Fernandez, Carlson, Stepina, and Nicholson reexamined Hofstede's study in 1997 to expand on the cross-cultural research knowledge available on work-related values by considering shifts that have occurred in terms of relative country rankings. This study is specifically interesting

with regard to Germany as, since Hofstede's original study was undertaken, German reunification took place. For their study Fernandez et al. used a scale that is based on Hofstede's study. In the Fernandez et al. study Germany scores below the mean on power distance, below the mean on uncertainty avoidance, high on individualism, and below the mean on the masculinity / femininity dimension, making it more feminine in nature. Therefore – according to this study - Germany showed shifts in uncertainty avoidance from strong uncertainty avoidance to weak uncertainty avoidance and a shift from a masculine to a feminine culture. But more important for the current study, Germany is still considered an individualistic country. Also, the authors mentioned that the shifts they observed may be due to different samples.

Hall (1990) described the German culture as precise and very organized, which goes along with a statement of Mooij (1998) that German life is highly structured. Hall (1990) stated that time lies at the core of the German culture, because it is one of the principal ways of organizing life. Precise scheduling and slow pace are characteristic for Germany. He also mentioned that German time and German consciousness are steeped in the past, and that Germans therefore often explain things in a lengthy way. Another characteristic of the German culture that Hall mentioned is that space is sacred and that the German sense of privacy is much stronger than the American sense of privacy. Hall also pointed out that in Germany, especially in German business, power is a very important concept. This finding goes along with Hofstede's findings about Germany as a masculine culture. Hall observed that "power can be financial, political, entrepreneurial, managerial, or intellectual. Of the five, intellectual power seems to rank highest in Germany... As one might expect, material possessions, social position, and professional level all symbolize power" (Hall 1990: 41). Correlated with this finding is Hall's observation that Germans have a different attitude towards possessions. Although status and prestige are attached to material possessions in both countries, the American attitude is that things are meant to be used, whereas the German attitude is that things have great intrinsic value. Therefore, Germans have – according to Hall – a demand for high-quality, long-lasting goods. Hall also mentioned that order is a dominant theme in German culture, but that none of this drive for order prevents the

Germans from being creative and having a rich tradition in art, music, and literature. As in other countries, language is a direct reflection of culture in Germany. It goes along with Hofstede's individualism dimension that Germans have a very low-context communication style. Hall also mentioned other characteristics of the German culture such as promptness, cleanliness, a genuine desire to be fair, candor, directness, perseverance, and determination.

Triandis (1995) stated that Germany – although not at all times in history – is an individualistic culture overall and that it is rather vertical. He pointed to Kuechler (1993) who suggested that in the 1970s a process called “individualization” took place in Germany. Kuechler explained this development as follows: “In this process, ties to family, church, and community, as well as identification with social groups – for example trade unions – became less important.” (Kuechler 1993: 37, in Triandis 1995: 95).

This change in the German value system is often called “Wertewandel” (value change) and came along with the student revolt in 1968. Thereafter, the willingness of many Germans to subordinate to authorities and virtues such as parsimony and modesty decreased. These virtues became less and less important because of the increasing prosperity and consumer orientation of German citizens. Individualism and the striving for the individual organization of one's own life became dominant values for most people. (cf. Mensch und Politik). Triandis (1995) pointed out that this process is responsible for the democratization of Germany, which is continuing at a rapid pace. With this democratization came greater individualism.

Along with that goes the fact that independence and free will became more important in German education within recent decades as a survey of the Emnid-Institut (1995) showed. **Table 2** shows the results of the survey of the Emnid-Institut.

Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars (2000), like Hofstede, measured cultures along several dimensions. One of these dimensions is individualism – communitarianism, whereby individualism is described by the terms competition, self-reliance, self-interest and personal growth and fulfillment and communitarianism is described by the terms cooperation, social concern, altruism and public service and societal legacy.

Table 2

Importance of Different Educational Goals in Germany

Which educational goal is the most important for you?			
Emnid-survey (%)	1951	1969	1991 West/East
Independence and free will	28	45	63/61
Orderliness and studiousness	41	45	36/46
Obedience and subordination	25	19	9/5
Others	6	7	-/-

Source: Mensch und Politik 1995: 20

Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars (2000) defined individualism by stating that "Individualism seeks to locate the origins of values in the creative, feeling, inquiring, and discovering person who seeks fulfillment and is solely responsible for choices made and convictions formed." (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000: 69-70). In contrast, "Communitariansim seeks to locate the origins of value within the social discourse of the living society, which nurtures, educates, and takes responsibility for the spirit engendered among its members." (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000: 69-70). Therefore, the main difference according to Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars is the extent to which the individual is self-made and the extent to which the wider social system is responsible for personal success.

Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars measured the extent to which a culture is individualistic or communitarian by presenting a dilemma to respondents and forcing them to choose between possible behavior patterns. The following dilemma is used by Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars:

"Two people were discussing ways in which individuals can improve the quality of life.

- A. One said: "It is obvious that if individuals have as much freedom as possible and the maximum opportunity to develop themselves, the quality of their life will improve as a result.
- B. The other said: "If individuals are continuously taking care of their fellow human beings the quality of life will improve for everyone, even if it obstructs individual freedom and individual development." (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 2000: 69-70).

In Germany 53 percent of the respondents opted for Individual Freedom (Answer A), which means that Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars classify Germany as an individualistic country. But in their classification, Germany is on the verge of being a communitarian country as only 6 percent more people chose the individualistic statement than people chose the communitarian statement.

Priorities of values in Germany were also researched by Grunert, Grunert and Beatty (1989) (in Mooij 1998) who compared values for two age groups in three countries (The U.S., Germany, and Denmark). For their study, the authors used Kahle's LOV.

As **Table 3** shows, they found that ratings varied between the respondents of the three countries, particularly with respect to the values 'fun and enjoyment' and 'self fulfillment'. 'Fun and enjoyment' was rated much higher by the Danish than by the German and the U.S. respondents, and 'self-fulfillment' was rated much higher by the U.S. respondents than by the other respondents. (cf. Mooij 1998).

For the German students self-respect was the most important value, followed by sense of belonging, warm relationship and self-fulfillment. Their parents rated sense of belonging as the most important value, followed by self-respect, security, self-fulfillment and sense of accomplishment.

In 1990 Grunert and Schernhorn applied Kahle's List of Values specifically to research consumer values in West Germany. To gather data, a German version of LOV was used for which the values of Kahle's list were translated into German and the terminology was adapted to the German way of life. This list was then used in 1,008 personal interviews.

Respondents were asked to rate the importance of values on their life and to name the two most important values. The three values chosen most frequently as being most important were the equivalents to "sense of belonging", "security", and "self-respect".

The authors used this data to compare consumer values in Germany with consumer values from the U.S. and Norway. One of the sources for this comparison data was a national sample in the United States that employed LOV, the other data set was derived from a survey in Norway that also employed LOV. The comparison of these data sets indicated that there were significant differences between the three countries. Grunert and Schernhorn concluded that these differences might be due to two main reasons: First, the cross-cultural differences that were observed could be due to differences in historical, cultural, and social developments in the observed countries. Second, the differences could be due to a semantic reason:

Table 3**Values for Two Age Groups in Three Countries**

Value chosen as most important for two age groups in three countries						
Values	Students			Parents		
	USA (%)	Germany (%)	Denmark (%)	USA (%)	Germany (%)	Denmark (%)
Sense of Belonging	2.1	20.6	6.1	7.0	38.2	24.2
Fun and enjoyment	14.9	6.9	23.0	2.3	0	3.3
Warm relationships	8.5	14.5	12.2	11.6	3.6	9.9
Self-fulfillment	27.7	13.7	10.1	9.3	8.2	2.2
Being well-respected	7.1	3.1	4.7	2.3	4.5	5.5
Excitement	1.4	4.6	2.0	0	0	0
Sense of accomplishment	11.3	5.3	8.1	9.3	8.2	15.4
Security	10.6	5.3	4.1	11.6	18.2	9.9
Self respect	16.3	26.0	29.7	46.5	19.1	29.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
n of respondents	141	131	148	43	110	91

Source: Grunert, Grunert, & Beatty (1989) in Mooij 1998: 103

"The connotative meanings respondents have for the same values differ, sometimes considerably, thus leading to a certain measurement bias that makes cross-cultural comparison more difficult." (Grunert & Schernhorn 1990: 104). The authors also mentioned that there might be problems in translating value statements so that they express exactly the same meanings.

Another study that dealt with cultural values in Germany asked Germans to describe what they see as typical German characteristics (the respondents could choose among twelve characteristics). A total of 48 percent said 'efficient', 46 percent chose 'disciplined', and 33 percent 'being a know-it-all'. 'Tolerant' ranked fourth (42 percent for the 60-year olds, but only 14 percent for 30-39 year olds). When asked what pertains to a typical German lifestyle, 21 percent mentioned a car, 17 percent a homestead, and 15 percent vacation. (cf. Rytina 2002)

Summary of German values

Summing up the findings about cultural values in Germany, it can be stated that individualism definitely is one of the most important values in the German culture. This goes along with a low-context communication and a striving for self-fulfillment. The importance of individualism within the German society seems to have increased since the 1970s through the so-called "Wertewandel" (value change).

In addition, Germans are mostly characterized as being very well organized and highly structured. Mooij (1998) described this phenomenon with the paradox freedom / order. For the Germans, their individual freedom is important but only as long as it does not lead to disorder. **Table 4** provides a summary of the cultural values found in Germany by the different studies discussed in the previous paragraphs.

Table 4**Summary of Cultural Values in Germany**

Authors	Year	Values
Hofstede	1984	Individualism, Strong Uncertainty Avoidance, Strong Masculinity, Low Power Distance
Mooij	1998	Freedom/Order value paradox
Fernandez, Carlson, Stepina, and Nicholson	1997	Individualism, Low Uncertainty Avoidance, Femininity, Low Power Distance
Hall	1990	Precise, well-organized, precise scheduling, slow pace, sense of privacy, power, possessions have an intrinsic value, order, promptness, cleanliness, genuine desire to be fair, candor, directness, perseverance, determination
Triandis	1995	Individualism
Emnid-Institute	1995	Independence and free will
Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars	2000	Individualism (Competition, Self-Reliance, Self-Interest, Personal Growth, Fulfillment)
Grunert, Grunert and Beatty	1989	Self-respect, Sense of belonging, Warm Relationship, Self-Fulfillment, Security, Sense of Accomplishment
Grunert and Schernhorn	1990	Sense of belonging, Security and Self-respect

2.4 Advertising and Cultural Values

It has long been advocated that advertising messages should be congruent with the cultural values of the specific culture in which the advertising message is shown. Pollay and Gallagher (1990) pointed out that “values are the core of the advertising message, unless the advertisement is a totally unadorned brand name reminder. Typical advertisements endorse, glamorize and inevitably reinforce values. Values are manifest in advertisements in both the art and the language.” (Pollay & Gallagher 1990: 364). But Pollay and Gallagher (1990) also stated that advertising is a “distorted mirror”. The authors compared ‘advertising values’ found in previous studies that Pollay conducted (a content analysis of 2,000 magazine ads from 1900 to 1980 in Pollay (1984) and a content analysis of 250 television ads from 1970 to 1980) with population values by recasting Pollay’s value measurement system to the Rokeach schema (1973). When they did not find any correlation between the two value systems the authors concluded that “the value character of advertising is apparently, at least in the USA, independent of the cultural character of the population in which it operates. If it is a mirror, it is a distorted one.” (Pollay & Gallagher 1990: 370).

But nevertheless - no matter whether mirror or distorted mirror - empirical studies have found that advertisements reflecting cultural values are more persuasive than advertisements ignoring them. For example a study of Zhang and Gelb (1996) about the effects of different advertising appeals used in the United States and in China presents findings that support the idea that a match between advertising appeals and cultural values leads to cultural congruence and brings about more favorable attitudes.

Research about cultural values and advertising has become more popular since the 1980s. A lot of studies about advertising and cultural values were published and most of them used content analysis to investigate cultural values or cross-cultural values in advertising. Of those studies, several have researched multiple cultural values within one country (Cheng 1994, Pollay & Gallagher 1990, Pollay 1984, Wolburg 1995, Punyapiroje 2002), others researched cross-

cultural differences by comparing two or more countries with regard to cultural values (Cho et al. 1999, Zhang & Gelb 1996, Caillat & Mueller 1996, Albers-Miller & Gelb 1996, Mooij 1998, Mooij 2000a and 2000b, Dahl 2000, Zandpour & Harich 1996), and some researched one specific cultural value within one or more countries (Taylor & Wolburg 1998, Wolburg 1999).

In this context, studies are reviewed that either investigated the cultural value individualism in advertising or cultural values in German advertising.

Cultural Values in German advertising and German Advertising Appeals

In 1983 Appelbaum and Halliburton content analyzed 218 television commercials from France, Germany, Great Britain and the US with regard to the main elements in the development of an advertising strategy. The purpose of this study was to find out how to develop an effective international advertising campaign. The study compared the content of national television advertising - pre-selected as being amongst the most creative advertisements from the food and beverage sector in the researched countries - with international advertisements that were shown in more than one country. Therefore, similarities and differences between those two groups of advertisements were researched. In addition, the characteristics of creative advertising and the compatibility of international and creative advertising were investigated.

The authors decided to choose the food and beverage sector for their study because they assumed that food is an expression of culture and that cultural differences in eating and drinking habits are often used as an argument against standardized marketing and advertising in this sector. Creative advertisements were selected because the authors thought that advertising would have to become more creative compared to how creative it is now. Therefore, they looked at the characteristics of creative TV ads and at the similarities in the creative executions of international versus national TV advertising campaigns. The researchers divided their examination of creative strategy into "what is said", and "how it is said": They studied the positioning of the ads (informative positioning and emotional positioning are differentiated), the advertising appeals, and the tone of the advertisements.

The results for Germany indicated that 41.5 percent of the ads used a positioning that was 75 percent emotional and 25 percent informational. A total of 36.6 percent of the ads used a positioning that was 100 percent emotional. The national advertisements from all other countries as well as the international ads mostly used the 100 percent emotional approach. The findings also showed that the main appeals used most for the German ads were “it’s good” (27 percent), “country of origin” and “romance and sex” (each 9.5 percent), “loving care” (8.1 percent) and “personal gratification” and “express individuality” (6.7 percent each). Looking at all countries together, the “it’s good” and the “romance and sex” appeals were used most frequently.

With regard to the advertising tone, the study indicated that of the German ads more ads were humorous (61 percent) than serious, more ads were argumentative (53.6 percent) than narrative, more ads were non-competitive (83 percent) than competitive, more ads used a soft-sell appeal (97.5 percent) than a hard-sell appeal and more ads were direct (83 percent) than indirect. Those findings were very similar to the findings for the other countries, although the international ads were different. Humor, especially, was used much less often for international than for national ads.

The advertisement formats used most often in the German ads were “character” (32.7 percent), “slice of life” (24.5 percent) and “little story around the product” (20.8 percent). These formats were also used most frequently in the other countries and in international advertising. Overall, the findings of the studies indicated that there were strong similarities between the international and the creative, national advertisements. Therefore, the authors concluded that the findings contradict the prevalent industry view that “international” implies bland, uncreative or even “lowest common denominator”, standardized advertising. But the authors also stated that – according to some important differences found between national, creative and international ads – international and creative advertising are not totally compatible.

In 1994 Zandpour, Campos, Catalano, Chang, Cho, Hoobyar, Jiang, Lin, Madrid, Scheideler and Osborn conducted a study among 23 countries around the world to find out how to achieve cultural fitness in TV advertising when communicating with people from a wide variety

of cultures. The researchers mentioned that there are no available guidelines to assist the practitioner in discriminating between advertising that is culturally fit and advertising that is not.

They assumed that differences in advertising messages reflect variations among cultures and advertising industry environments. Therefore, they examined cultures, advertising industry environments, and advertising messages from the U.S., Mexico, France, the United Kingdom, Spain, Germany, South Korea, and Taiwan, and also collected cultural and market-related information from 15 other countries to apply to the results. A relationship between a set of factors pertaining to culture and advertising industry environment (as independent variables) and creative approaches, information levels, and style of television advertising (as dependent variables) was predicted.

With regard to Germany, the study showed that German TV advertisements were among the least informative ones. Also, the findings showed that Germany was more likely to use dramatic advertising. The authors summed up German advertising as dramatic, with fewer facts or symbols. Overall, the authors concluded that there is a set of factors pertaining to culture and an advertising industry environment that tends to shape the nature of television commercials around the world.

Zandpour and Harich (1996) later used the same sample of 1,914 television commercials from the United States, Mexico, France, the United Kingdom, Spain, Germany, South Korea and Taiwan to develop a model that predicts a country's most prevalent advertising appeals on the basis of cultural and market-related factors. With this model they provided a positioning map of twenty-three countries and their respective predominant advertising appeals.

The results of the study supported the authors' expectations that differences in the advertising appeals and the advertising information are related to differences in culture and advertising industry environment because they shape how people will respond to television advertising. The authors identified four country clusters, with each cluster exhibiting a similar preference for emotional (psychological and dramatic) and rational (argument and lecture) advertising appeals. Germany, together with four other countries (Austria, Canada, Korean, and

the United States), was placed into the quadrant of high “feel” / high “think”, showing that these countries are likely to use both emotional and rational advertising appeals. Therefore, these countries are receptive to advertisements that involve high levels of feeling (psychological and dramatic appeal) and thinking (lecture and argument). Overall, the authors concluded that mere geographical proximity as a guideline to advertising standardization might be misleading and that practitioner would be well advised not to treat all the countries representing a particular region in the same way.

In 1998, Miracle, Bluhm, Bluhm, Choi, and Li researched the relationship between cultural variables and the amount and type of information in Korean and German television commercials. Because information is contained in pictures as well as words, the authors compared the relationships between cultural variables and information contained in both the sound and the visuals of commercials. According to Hall’s classification, Germany is a low-context culture and Korea is a high-context culture and according to Hofstede’s classification Germany is an individualistic country and Korea is a collectivistic country. Therefore, the authors assumed that German television commercials would contain relatively more information cues in total and more direct messages than indirect messages, and that the advertising messages would tend to be stated explicitly in the sound rather than requiring the receiver to interpret indirectly the information given by the body language and setting portrayed in the picture.

For the study the authors content analyzed 867 Korean commercials and 1,088 German commercials. The findings of the study showed that – as assumed – the number of information cues in the sound was higher in German than in Korean commercials and that Korean commercials contain somewhat more information in the picture. But contrary to expectations the mean number of total information cues was not significantly different in the two countries. Thus, the authors concluded that people in low- and high-context cultures need about the same amount of total information in their television commercials, but it should be broken down differently between oral and visual messages.

Summary of studies about German advertising

As **Table 5** shows, the four reviewed studies suggested that in Germany both rational and emotional approaches are used and that the approaches utilized are highly influenced by German culture and the German advertising industry environment. The importance of taking cultural values into account when developing future advertising strategies is also demonstrated by Mooij (2000b). In her study she researched the assumption that the globalization of markets and economic development would result in converging needs of consumers and standardization of marketing and advertising. She concluded that a developing market and disappearing income differences will not cause homogenization of needs. In contrast, she stated that along with converging income levels, the manifestation of value differences becomes stronger, because “when people possess more or less enough of everything, they will spend their incremental income on what most fits their value pattern.” (Mooij 2000b: 107). Therefore, it becomes even more important to study cultural value patterns in different countries, as those are highly influential to the consumer behavior.

In Germany – as in other countries – cultural values seem to be reflected in advertisements, but the appeals that emerge from those cultural values are manifold. This may be due to the fact that many different values are expressed in advertising or that a value can be expressed in many different ways. It seems to be important to identify which cultural values are reflected in German advertising and how those values are expressed.

A more thorough understanding of cultural values can lead to a better understanding of how to achieve a cultural fit between the advertisements and the culture and how to develop effective advertisements. It may also indicate which cultural values are underrepresented in advertising and possibly offer additional ideas for future advertising campaigns.

Table 5

Summary of Cultural Values in German Advertising and German Advertising Appeals

Authors	Year	Method	Sample	Key Findings
Appelbaum and Halliburton	1983	Content Analysis of television commercials – compared creative national advertisements from the food and beverage industry with international advertisements shown in more than one country.	218 television commercials from France, Germany, Great Britain and the US.	• Ad positioning in Germany: 41.5 percent of the ads use a positioning that is 75 percent emotional and 25 percent informational • Main appeals used in Germany: “it’s good”, “country of origin”, “romance and sex”, “loving care”, “personal gratification” and “express individuality” • Advertising tone in Germany: Humorous, argumentative, non-competitive, soft-sell appeal • Advertisement formats in Germany: “character”, “slice of life”, “little story around the product”
Zandpour et al.	1994	Content analysis of television commercials and comparison of data about the countries' advertising industry	1.914 television commercials from the U.S., Mexico, France, the United Kingdom, Spain, Germany, South Korea, and Taiwan and cultural and market-related information from 15 other countries, also data about the advertising industry environment from those countries	Results for Germany: • German TV advertisements are among the least informative ones • German advertising is dramatic, with fewer facts or symbols than advertisements from other countries

Continued

Table 5 continued

Authors	Year	Method	Sample/Participants	Key Findings
Zandpour and Harich	1996	Content analysis of television commercials and comparison of data about the countries' advertising industry	1.914 television commercials from the U.S., Mexico, France, the United Kingdom, Spain, Germany, South Korea, and Taiwan and cultural and market-related information from 15 other countries, also data about the advertising industry environment from those countries	• Differences in the advertising appeals and advertising information are related to differences in culture and advertising industry environment • Germany is in the high "think" / high "feel" cluster, which means that German advertisements are likely to use both, emotional and rational appeals • Germany is receptive to advertisements that involve high levels of feeling (psychological and dramatic appeal) and thinking (lecture and argument)
Miracle et al.	1998	Content Analysis	867 Korean commercials and 1.088 German commercials	• the number of information cues in the sound is higher in German than in Korean commercials • Korean commercials contain somewhat more information in the picture • the mean number of total information cues is not significantly different in the two countries • people in low- and high-context cultures need about the same amount of total information in their television commercials, but it should be broken down differently between oral and visual messages
Mooij	2000	Correlation of Hofstede's results with data from European consumer surveys (Euromonitor, Reader's Digest, OECD Economic Surveys)	Secondary data	Along with converging income levels, the manifestation of value differences becomes stronger

Individualism and advertising

Several studies within the last 20 years examined individualism in advertising - mostly among other cultural values that were studied. Some of those studies were based on the previously described conceptualizations of cultural values, others combined values that were derived from different value systems and sources according to what was thought to best fit the specifics of the researched countries.

In this context, some of the studies that examined individualism among other cultural values are reviewed. Afterwards five studies that researched individualism in advertising in greater detail are looked at more closely.

In **1994 Cheng** applied Pollay's value typologies (1983) to answer the following research questions: What are the dominant cultural values manifest in Chinese magazine advertisements? And what are the differences, if any, in the cultural values reflected in the Chinese magazine advertisements from 1982 and 1992? He content analyzed a total of 572 Chinese language magazine advertisements that were gathered from thirty types of magazines, with 192 advertisements from 1982 and 380 advertisements from 1992. For the coding scheme 20 values were borrowed or modified from Pollay's list, which was mainly built on western culture. Eight additional values were borrowed from other studies to better match the value system to eastern cultural values. Among these values, Cheng measured individualism. His individualism factor measured whether the emphasis in the advertisements was on self-sufficiency and self-reliance of an individual, or on the individual as being distinct and unlike others.

The results of the study indicated that Chinese magazine advertisements, to a large extent, tend to promote the values "modernity", "technology", and "quality". The author noted that this is coherent with the social changes in China over the past ten years. "Individualism" together with the values "beauty", "social status", "youth" and "sex" was mostly used for the product category "cosmetic and fashion". Cheng concluded that the most often used value is always the one advertisers believe will make their product most appealing to consumers. The study also showed that 16 of the 28 values changed significantly over the years.

Caillat and Mueller (1996) examined two similar countries – the USA and Great Britain – and a single product category – beer advertising – in terms of dominant values, rhetorical styles, advertising appeals and occasion for product usage to find out about the cultural influence on advertising. The objective of the study was to determine the need for specialized advertising in an international setting. The values examined were “individualism / independence”, “modernity / newness”, and “achievement” as American values and “affiliation”, “tradition / history”, and “eccentricity” as British values. Some of the definitions for those values were based on Pollay’s list (1983). “Individualism / Independence” was defined as follows:

Characters are self-reliant and stand out from the crowd; they are clearly differentiated from others. In visual terms, characters either appear alone in the frame or are positioned in the foreground when in groups. Choice and the ability to choose are fundamental. Pollay (1983) suggests that advertisements stressing independence use phrases such as “self-sufficiency, self-reliance, autonomy, unattached, to do-it-yourself, to do your own thing, original, unconventional, singular, nonconformist.” (Caillat and Mueller 1996: 82).

The findings of the study showed that cultural values were represented differently in the two samples. The authors therefore concluded that the results are supportive of the research hypothesis, suggesting that the advertising of Great Britain and the United States differ enough that a standardized approach among the two countries may not be feasible.

In 1992 McCarty and Hattwick asked to what extent cultural value orientations were reflected in the advertisements of a certain culture. The authors compared magazine ads from the United States and Mexico along six cultural value orientations. One of the examined value orientations was Hofstede’s individualism / collectivism dimension: In Hofstede’s classification the U.S. is an individualistic country while Mexico is collectivistic, although Mexico seems to be moving toward individualism as time passes. The other researched value dimensions were masculinity / femininity, time orientation, uncertainty avoidance, activity orientation and human’s relationship with nature. Value orientations in the advertisements were coded at three levels, as a main appeal of the advertisement, as a subsidiary appeal of the ad, and values expressed in the advertising context.

The results showed that individualism / collectivism and activity orientation were the two value orientations that were displayed most frequently in the ads of both cultures. But overall, the authors concluded that “although it has long been argued that the core cultural value orientations are important in international marketing, the current results indicate that appeals to these values do not appear in advertising very frequently.” (McCarty and Hattwick 1992: 37). In addition, they mentioned that “while most cultural values are rarely represented in advertising, these tentative results indicate that individualism-collectivism may be an important dimension, relative to the other dimensions studied.” (McCarty and Hattwick 1992: 37). The analysis of the data in this study also suggested that the nature of the products that are advertised affects the way a value dimension is portrayed in an advertisement, regardless of a culture’s traditional stance on the dimension. This might be the reason why in both countries individualism was emphasized over collectivism. Overall, Mexican advertising was more likely to present value orientations that were inconsistent with its culture.

Albers-Miller and Gelb (1994) studied whether differences in the advertising appeals in business publications mirror differences in the cultures themselves. Therefore, the researchers correlated Hofstede’s value dimensions with the 42 advertising values identified by Pollay (1983). For the individualism / collectivism dimension the authors hypothesized that the relative frequency of independence, of distinctive appeals, and of self-respect appeals are positively related with individualism in the country, whereas the relative frequency of popular appeals, of affiliation appeals, of family appeals, of succorance appeals, and of community appeals is negatively correlated with individualism. In the study the researchers content analyzed approximately 200 advertisements from business publications for each of eleven countries. The findings of the study showed that 10 of 30 hypothesized relationships were reflected in advertising. After outliers were removed from the data, an additional eight of the relationships were reflected. With regard to individualism, first, none of the hypothesized relationships was supported. After the removal of the outliers, distinctive appeals, popular appeals, and succorance appeals were correlated to individualism as hypothesized. The authors concluded that advertisements and cultural values

often relate in a nonrandom way and that studying ads will in many ways tell something about values.

Similarly, Zhang and Gelb (1996) investigated the effects of different advertising appeals used in the U.S. and China focusing on the match between values expressed in advertising and values in each of the two cultures. Included in the study was the influence of the product use condition (e.g. socially visible use). As the authors assumed that the difference in the individualism / collectivism dimension represents a prime distinction between Chinese and American cultures, it is hypothesized that in the U.S., a culturally congruent individualistic appeal elicits more positive responses than a culturally incongruent collectivistic appeal and that in China a collectivistic appeal elicits more positive responses. To examine this hypothesis an experiment was designed in which students from both countries were exposed to specially designed ads. The findings of the study indicated that advertising appeals that matched the culture were more effective in general, although product use conditions moderated the effectiveness of culturally incongruent advertising appeals.

Cho, Kwon, Gentry, Jun and Kropp (1999) studied the cultural dimensions individualism / collectivism, time orientation, relationship with nature, and contextuality in the theme and execution of U.S. and Korean TV advertisements. In their use of the individualism / collectivism dimension. Cho et al. separated the measures of individualism from those of collectivism, assuming that the two values can coexist within the same culture. They hypothesized that television commercials in Korea will indicate higher levels of collectivism, whereas television commercials in the U.S. will indicate higher levels of individualism. Individualism was operationalized for commercial themes as

- appeals about the individuality or independence of the audience
- emphasis on uniqueness or originality
- reflections of self-reliance, hedonism, or competition
- emphasis on self-fulfillment, self-development, or self-realization
- emphasis on the benefits to an individual consumer (Cho et al. 1999: 65)

and for executional items as

featuring a person enjoying being unique
addressing benefits to oneself
featuring a person doing something by oneself (Cho et al. 1999: 66)

The findings of a content analysis of 235 unduplicated commercials from the U.S. and Korea each indicated that individualism / collectivism was found most frequently in commercials, with U.S. commercials reflecting individualism both in theme and execution. In contrast to what was expected, collectivistic appeals were not observed more frequently in Korean commercials. Appeals were also found to be predominantly present-time oriented in both countries, Korean commercials stressed oneness-with-nature slightly more than U.S. commercials, and U.S. commercials used more direct approaches.

Overall, the described studies showed that individualism definitely is an important value in multiple societies and is often reflected in advertising. The studies also indicated that the use of individualism as a cultural value is reflected by using specific advertising appeals, advertising themes and executions. In addition, the findings also point out that product use condition and product category both are important influences on the use of cultural values. The studies also indicated that even in countries that are similar at first glance, cultural values are used very differently in advertising. Also, most of the studies supported Pollay's assumption that advertising is a distorted mirror and does not reflect cultural values of the society one-to-one. But not only different values are reflected in the advertisements of different countries, but also the same value is reflected differently.

Taylor and Wolburg (1994) investigated how elements of individualism are communicated in American television advertising. The authors applied a four stage analytical process. In the initial stage the type of products advertised among the total sample of 169 TV ads was classified (e.g. individual products, collective products, neutral products). This step showed that the nature of the product did not precipitate the use of a particular advertising strategy. In the second stage the presence or absence of elements of individualism was identified and located within the different product categories. "Main message elements" and "contextual elements" were examined. Eight message elements were found by asking "what will happen if I buy and use the

advertised product” and those eight categories were collapsed into four better-defined message strategies in stage three. The resulting typology was “The Esteemed Individual”, “The Efficient Individual”, “The Physically Attractive Individual”, and the “I Am Me Individual”. In stage four the commercials were re-examined for contextual cues of individualism. The findings of the study showed that a total of 48 percent of the ads used direct individualistic appeals in the message, and 90 percent 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. Therefore, advertisers should become more conscious of the ways in which they portray individualism.

In 1995 Wolburg built on the previous study and investigated how individualism, time, and space are depicted in American advertising (see also Wolburg and Taylor 1997). For the study 198 television advertisements were analyzed. The study deviated from the traditional content analysis by utilizing a qualitative approach through document analysis in hopes of gaining a different level of insight given the complexity of the values. The author noted that “like other forms of qualitative research, document analysis utilizes the inductive approach, which allows the theory or pattern to emerge from the data. A primary benefit from using this approach in this study was the identification of various patterns which could not have been discovered otherwise.” (Wolburg and Taylor 1997: 7).

Examining the presence of individualism in those ads showed that in a total of 78 percent of the ads (155 ads) individualism was reflected in the main message strategy. By far the largest category of main message strategy was “The Efficient Individual”. This main message strategy was used in 55 percent of the 198 advertisements. “Ads using this approach claimed to make the individual more efficient at work, at home, in recreational activities, etc.” (Wolburg 1995: 135). “The Attractive Individual” was the main message strategy that was used second most (14 percent). “Ads for the “Attractive Individual” claimed that the product will make consumers healthier or more attractive.” (Wolburg 1995: 138). “The Esteemed Individual” was used in 7 percent of the ads, whereby the “ads in this group hold a promise to consumers that their esteem

will be enhanced by using the product.” (Wolburg 1995: 133). The main message strategy used the least (3 percent) was “The I Am Me Individual”, defined as ads that “flatter the individual much like the esteem category but differ because the person has already achieved the state of individualism.” (Wolburg 1995: 139). A total of 43 ads (22 percent) did not contain messages of individualism, but most included information in the context that supported individualism.

Eight contextual categories were examined. Those categories are gender, occupation, age, race, ethnic group, presence of nuclear family, depiction of recognition ceremonies, and use of camera techniques. Those categories were not chosen to provide an exhaustive list of information about the cast members, but instead to provide the most easily observable yet significant contextual information. The findings indicated that 97 percent of the ads contained contextual support for showing individualism. In addition, the study found seven contextual categories for time and three contextual categories for space. The author concluded that 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 ways to express individualism, and a limited selection of ways to use time and space. The author also noted that the examined values can be expressed and achieved very different in another culture.

In **1997 Taylor and Wolburg** used this data to contribute to the discussion whether advertising reflects existing cultural values or constructs new values. The study offers a different way to evaluate the role of advertising in society through a comparison of advertising portrayals of individualism with portrayals of culture from census data. The authors stated that in advertising efficiency is shown as by far the most common way to achieve individualism. Also the context of the advertisements teaches viewers that people who do achieve individualism are predominantly white, non-ethnic, 20-39 years old, and people who maintain the most traditional gender roles. A comparison of the reality of the ads with the reality of census data indicated that advertisements are not always true to culture. The authors concluded that “the ads used messages that appear culturally relevant to some members of the population, but by reflecting values disproportionately, the ads privileged some expressions over others.” (Taylor and Wolburg 1997: 19). The authors

mentioned that this unbalanced picture is because advertisers do not target their products to all members of the population proportionally. Therefore, advertising as a whole is an unlikely source for “balanced” portrayals. Thus, advertisers should abandon the more comfortable position that advertising merely reflects value and recognize that they have the power to construct values. “Advertisers are asked not only to tell the truth about products but about the culture.” (Taylor and Wolburg 1997: 21).

In **1998 Taylor and Wolburg** examined messages of individualism in French, Spanish, and American television advertising. They noted that individualism is a central value in all three cultures, although it varies among the three cultures what it means to be an individual and how it is expressed. For the study a total of 211 commercials – 68 French, 62 Spanish, and 81 American – was analyzed for messages of individualism. A five stage analytical process was applied. In the first stage the coding scheme was developed by using Hofstede’s key differences in collectivistic and individualistic societies to answer the question “what will happen if I buy and use the product?” In addition, informal interviews were conducted with French and Spanish natives asking how individualism might be expressed in their culture. In stage two each commercial was analyzed for a dominant message strategy and 15 main message elements were identified. In stage three the 15 main message elements were collapsed into six main message strategies: “The Efficient Individual”, “The Sensual Individual”, “The Attractive / Healthy Individual”, “The Esteemed Individual”, “The Performant(e) Individual”, and “The Intellectual Individual”.

“The Efficient Individual” is made up of the message elements of “children more independent”, “learn how to learn”, “win a promotion or increase skill level”, “save money”, and “become more efficient”. (Taylor & Wolburg 1998: 17). “The Sensual Individual” is made up of the message elements of “have a moment of pleasure”, “have fun / enjoy life”, and “become seductive / romantic”. (Taylor & Wolburg 1998: 18). “The Attractive / Healthy Individual” is made up of the message elements of “become more attractive”, and “become healthier”. (Taylor & Wolburg 1998: 19). “The Esteemed Individual” is made up of the message elements of “become

more me”, and “gain self-respect”. (Taylor & Wolburg 1998: 20). “The Performant(e) Individual” is made up of the message elements of “it works”, and “it works well”. This strategy differs from “The Esteemed Individual” in that the individual does not feel better for having something that works or performs. (Taylor & Wolburg 1998: 20). “The Intellectual Individual” is made up of the message elements of “gain knowledge”, and “improve skills”. (Taylor & Wolburg 1998: 21).

In stage four frequencies of individualism messages were calculated and in stage five messages by product category according to culture were analyzed. The study showed that individualism is expressed in 83 percent of all studied ads. A total of 95 percent of the Spanish ads, 82 percent of the French ads and 75 percent of the American ads reflected individualism. Within the whole sample, “The Efficient individual” and “The Sensual Individual” were used most frequently. Variations occurred within the countries, whereby Efficiency and Sensuality were the strongest message strategies for France and the U.S. and “The Attractive / Healthy Individual” and “The Intellectual Individual” prevailed for Spain. The authors also found that, when messages of individualism were cross-tabulated with product categories, several relationships emerged. Only two of those patterns were true for all three countries: “(1) messages of efficiency dominate the household product category in all three cultures, and (2) food and beverage commercials are designed to appeal to individual sensuality.” (Taylor & Wolburg 1998: 23).

The authors also found that the rank order of the frequency of individualism messages is exactly opposite to Hofstede’s findings. Also, they found that not all facets of individualism in a specific country are displayed in advertising. Therefore, the authors concluded that individualism is a complex cultural value that can be expressed in a variety of ways depending upon what specific elements are valued within a culture.

This conclusion is supported by a study that Wolburg and Kim conducted in 1998. The authors applied the same methodology that Wolburg used previously (e.g. Wolburg 1995, Taylor and Wolburg 1994 and 1998) to compare magazine advertisements from the United States and the Republic of Korea with regard to individualism and collectivism. A total of 400 magazine advertisements – 200 Korean ads and 200 U.S: ads – were analyzed. The findings of the study

indicated that, although the Republic of Korea is seen as a collectivistic culture by social scientists, ads from both countries, the U.S. and the Republic of Korea supported individualism more strongly than collectivism. But Korean ads used messages of individualism differently than American ads, suggesting that individualism blends with the historical elements of each culture to produce uniquely different expressions.

In the magazine advertisements across the two cultures the authors found nine main message strategies, some of which promote individualism more strongly than collectivism (The Attractive / Healthy Individual (used by 27 percent of the American sample and 31 percent of the Korean sample), The Esteemed / Status Seeking Individual (used by 14 percent of the American sample and 22 percent of the Korean sample), The Sensuous Individual (used by 16 percent of the American sample and 12 percent of the Korean sample), The Performing Individual (used by 2 percent of the American sample and 2 percent of the Korean sample), The Efficient Individual (used by 32 percent of the American sample and 9 percent of the Korean sample), and The Intellectual Individual (used by 2 percent of the American sample and 5 percent of the Korean sample)). Others promote collectivism more strongly than individualism (The Relationship Building Individual (used by none of the American ads and 5 percent of the Korean sample), The Traditional Individual (used by 1 percent of the American sample and 1 percent of the Korean sample), The Individual at One with Nature Individual (used by none of the American ads and 2 percent of the Korean sample)). Overall, the authors concluded that individualistic claims seem to be a celebration of individualism in the U.S. while individualistic claims are often the means to an end in the Republic of Korea.

Summary of individualism in advertising

Overall, individualism seems to be one of the most important values that is reflected in advertising. This corresponds with the previous finding that individualism seems to be a dominant value in many cultures and therefore is reflected in many cultural institutions such as advertising.

But the previously discussed studies also showed that the cultural values shown in advertising are often inconsistent with the cultural values of the culture in general. Also, the ways in which a value such as individualism can be expressed in advertising are manifold. Some ways to express a certain value in advertising seem to be more dominant than others. In addition, some ways to express a certain value seem to be more dominant in advertising than they are in the culture itself. This can result in a distorted view of the consumer about what a certain value is and how it can be expressed. (**Table 6** provides a summary of the previously discussed studies).

The best way to gain a better insight into the ways in which cultural values are expressed in advertising is to carefully research individual values. To thoroughly understand how a value such as individualism is expressed in the advertisements within a certain culture it has to be looked for themes that are repeated in the advertisements of this country instead of looking for predefined value categories that were defined in a different culture.

In Germany individualism definitely is an important value, but this value might be expressed differently in German ads than it is expressed in the ads of another culture. No published studies were found about the different ways to express individualism in German advertising. Therefore, this study will look at the main message strategies in which individualism is expressed in German TV advertising. A more thorough understanding of how individualism is expressed in German TV advertising can help to determine whether there is a cultural fit between German commercials and the German culture in general. It can also help to see which ways to express individualism are present in German ads as well as in other cultures' ads and which are unique. This might help advertisers to decide whether they should use a standardized or a localized campaign and it might also be useful by indicating which ways of expressing individualism are underrepresented and which are over represented in advertising. This knowledge might help marketers to come up with new, unique ideas for ads and to communicate more effectively with their target audience by reflecting their cultural values more exactly.

The literature review in this chapter provided the background for the current study. In the next chapter the methodology, which is used for this study will be described.

Table 6

Summary of Studies about Individualism and Advertising

Authors	Year	Method	Sample/Participants	Key Findings
Cheng	1994	Content Analysis	572 Chinese language magazine advertisements from 1982 and 1992	- Chinese magazine advertisements tend to promote the values "modernity", "technology", and "quality" "Individualism" was mostly used for the product category "cosmetic and fashion" - Advertisers use values according to what they think makes the product most appealing to consumers.
Caillat and Mueller	1996	Content Analysis	24 American and 38 British beer television commercials between 1990 and 1994	- Cultural values represented in British beer advertisements are different from the cultural values shown in American beer advertisements - Specialized advertising that is designed to fit the target's culture might be better than standardized advertising
McCarty and Hattwick	1992	Content Analysis	195 ads from 11 Mexican magazines and 100 ads from U.S. magazines	- Individualism/Collectivism and activity orientation are the two value orientations displayed most frequently in ads in both, the Mexican and the U.S. culture - Appeals to cultural values do not appear in advertising very frequently - The nature of the products advertised affects the way a value dimension is portrayed in an advertisement, regardless of a culture's traditional stance on the dimension. - In both countries individualism was emphasized over collectivism - Mexican ads are more likely to be inconsistent with the culture

Continued

Table 6 continued

Authors	Year	Method	Sample/Participants	Key Findings
Albers-Miller and Gelb	1994	Content Analysis	Approximately 200 advertisements from business publications for each of eleven countries	• 18 of 30 hypothesized relationships between Hofstede's value dimensions and the 42 advertising appeals identified by Pollay were reflected in advertising • The distinctive appeal, the popular appeal, and the succorence appeal were correlated with individualism • Advertisements and cultural values often relate in a nonrandom way
Zhang and Gelb	1996	Experiment	College Students	• Matching advertising appeals to culture in general results in more effective advertisements • Product use conditions moderate the effectiveness of culturally incongruent advertising appeals
Cho et al.	1999	Content Analysis	235 unduplicated commercials from the U.S. and Korea each	• Individualism/Collectivism is shown most frequently in commercials, with the U.S. commercials reflecting individualism both in theme and execution
Taylor and Wolburg	1994	Document Analysis	169 TV ads from the U.S.	• Nature if the product does not precipitate the use of a particular advertising strategy • Individualism is reflected by four main message strategies: "The Esteemed Individual", "The Efficient Individual", "The Physically Attractive Individual", and the "I am Me Individual" • 48 percent of the ads used direct individualistic appeals • 90 percent provide contextual cues of individualism • Individualism can be expressed in a large number of ways, but advertising portrays individualism in four primary ways

Continued

Table 6 continued

Authors	Year	Method	Sample/Participants	Key Findings
Wolburg Wolburg & Taylor	1995 1997	Document Analysis	198 TV ads from the U.S.	• 78 percent of the ads reflected individualism in the main message strategy • 97 percent of the ads contained contextual support for showing individualism • The message strategy "The efficient Individual" was used most often, followed by "The Attractive Individual", "The Esteemed Individual", and the "I am Me Individual" • Television can give the viewers a distorted view of who can best succeed in expressing individualism, a limited variety of the ways how to express individualism, and a limited selection of ways to use time and space
Taylor and Wolburg	1997	Document Analysis	198 TV ads from the U.S.	• advertisements are not always true to culture. • ads used messages that appear culturally relevant to some members of the population, but by reflecting values disproportionately, the ads privileged some expressions over others • advertisers should abandon the more comfortable position that advertising merely reflects value and recognize that they have the power to construct values.

Continued

Table 6 continued

Authors	Year	Method	Sample/Participants	Key Findings
Taylor and Wolburg	1998	Document Analysis	211 commercials from France, Spain and the U.S.	• Six main message strategies of how the advertisements expressed individualism emerged: "The Efficient Individual", "The Sensual Individual", "The Attractive/Healthy Individual", "The Esteemed Individual", "The Performant(e) Individual", and "The Intellectual Individual". • Individualism is expressed in 83 percent of all studied advertising messages. • 95 percent of the Spanish ads, 82 percent of the French ads, and 75 percent of the American ads reflect messages of individualism • "The Efficient Individual" and "The Sensual Individual" were used most frequently across all analyzed ads • Efficiency and Sensuality were the strongest message strategies for France and the U.S. and "The Attractive/Healthy Individual" and "The Intellectual Individual" prevailed for Spain • The rank order of the frequency of individualism messages is exactly opposite to Hofstede's findings • Not all facets of Individualism in a specific country are displayed in advertising • Individualism is a complex cultural value that can be expressed in a variety of ways depending upon what specific elements are valued within a culture

Continued

Table 6 continued

Authors	Year	Method	Sample/Participants	Key Findings
Wolburg and Kim	1998	Document Analysis	200 magazine advertisements from the U.S. and 200 magazine advertisements from the Republic of Korea	• ads from both countries, the U.S. and the Republic of Korea supported individualism more strongly than collectivism • Korean ads used messages of individualism differently than American ads, suggesting that individualism blends with the historical elements of each culture to produce uniquely different expressions • individualistic claims seem to be a celebration of individualism in the U.S. while individualistic claims are often the means to an end in the Republic of Korea

3 Methodology

In 1992 Domzal and Kernan stated that “people ‘read’ advertising as a cultural text, and advertisers who understand this meaning-based model can create more powerful and intriguing campaigns” (Domzal and Kernan 1992: 49).

The purpose of this study is to ‘read’ German TV commercials as cultural texts with regard to the different expressions of the cultural value individualism. To answer the research question “How is the cultural value individualism expressed in German advertising?” this study analyzes the main message strategies of a sample of German TV commercials with regard to the expressions of individualism that are inherent in the advertising messages.

The following sections will give further detail about the sample that is used, the units that are analyzed and the analytical process that is applied. Criteria to accomplish internal validity are also discussed.

3.1 The sample

For this study a sample of German TV commercials was used. TV commercials were selected for this study for several reasons.

First of all, television is the most important advertising medium in Germany. In 2001, 44.4 percent of all advertising media expenditures in Germany were spent on television (compared to 23.8 percent spent on popular magazines, the second-most important advertising medium) (cf. ACNielsen Werbeforschung S+P 2002e). Television has gained strongly in importance as an advertising medium over the last ten years, and since 1995 the largest share of the total yearly advertising expenditures in Germany has been spent on television (always more than 40 percent since 1996) (cf. ACNielsen Werbeforschung S+P 2002d).

Second, television and radio are the media categories used by far the most by German adults (14+). On average each German adult (14+) watches TV for 204 minutes a day and listens

to the radio for 205 minutes a day. In comparison, a German adult spends 30 minutes a day on average reading newspapers, 26 minutes surfing the Internet and 10 minutes reading magazines. (cf. MA 2002 Radio I 2002). For this reason, Germans are mostly exposed to advertisements on TV and on radio, but as radio is an advertising medium of minor importance in Germany (only 5.5 percent of all advertising expenditures in 2001 were spent on radio (cf. ACNielsen Werbeforschung S+P 2002e)), television commercials seem to be better suited for this study. Another argument against using radio advertisements is that most Germans use radio as a concomitant medium and do not pay much attention to the program and, therefore, the advertisements.

Third, 97.9 percent of all adults in Germany had one or more TV sets in 2001 (cf. AGF/GfK Fernsehforschung 2002). Thus, television is a very popular medium in Germany, and almost all German households are exposed to TV on a regular basis. Although German TV commercials have to be shown in advertising blocks and have to be noticeably separated from the program, and therefore, are immediately recognizable as advertisements, the viewer loyalty during an advertising block in Germany is relatively high. On average only 17 percent of the viewers escape from advertising by zapping; the other 83 percent of German viewers stay loyal to the program even during an advertising block (cf. Kloss 2001: 136). For these reasons it seems to be appropriate to use a sample of German TV commercials when researching the expressions of individualism in German advertising.

In Germany about 109 television channels compete for viewers (cf. Bayrischer Rundfunk 2002a). Only a few of these channels can be received by the majority of the German television viewers. Six channels attract the big majority of the German television viewers. Three of those channels, ARD (with 13.9 percent of the market share in 2001), ZDF (with 13.2 percent of the market share in 2001) and ARD III (with 13.2 percent of the market share in 2001) are broadcasters under public law (for explanation see section 2.1). Therefore, they are only allowed to show advertisements on a very limited scale and are not allowed to show advertisements after 8 P.M. at all (and therefore during primetime when most people watch TV). The other three

channels are broadcast under private law, and therefore, they are financed almost exclusively by advertisements. In 2001 RTL accounted for 14.7 percent of the market share, SAT.1 for 10.1 percent of the market share and PRO 7 for 8.0 percent of the market share (cf. Bayrischer Rundfunk 2002b).

The vast majority of German television viewers watch TV during primetime from 8:15 P.M. to 10:30 P.M. (cf. Bayrischer Rundfunk 2002c), when public broadcaster are not allowed to show advertising. Thus, for this study commercials from the three biggest private broadcasters RTL, SAT.1 and PRO 7 were taped from 8:15 P.M. to 22:30 PM (German primetime). During primetime these three channels accounted for 33.4 percent of the market share in Germany (cf. Bayrischer Rundfunk 2002d).

Taken into consideration that ARD, ZDF and ARD III account for 39.6 percent of the market share during primetime, but do not show advertisements any more, RTL, SAT.1 and PRO 7 cover more than 50 percent of the 'advertising market share' during primetime. Therefore, it seems reasonable that a sample of commercials from these three channels recorded during primetime reflects a true picture of German television commercials. Also, as these three channels can be received by the vast majority of German television households and as they show a wide variety of programs during primetime, it is likely that people of different ages and both males and females are exposed to these three channels. Therefore, it is likely that advertisements are shown that target a very broad audience and therefore, use contents (and cultural values) that are suited to address the majority of Germans.

For the sample, primetime television on RTL, SAT.1 and PRO 7 was taped during a week in December 2001. Recording primetime on all seven weekdays for each of the three channels resulted in 52.5 hours of programming and approximately 3.5 hours of commercials for each channel (10.5 hours of commercial for all three channels together). Altogether a total of 1,441 commercials was recorded. Repeated commercials were eliminated from the analysis. Also, the 206 station promos that were recorded were eliminated from the analysis because these promos

are not representative of typical German commercials. They are announcements of movies that will be shown in the future rather than real commercials.

After these station promos and the duplicated commercials had been eliminated, a sample of 320 unique commercials was left for coding. In the sample of unique commercials, commercial length ranged from 5 to 60 seconds. The majority of the commercials lasted 20 seconds (99 commercials), 30 seconds (62 commercials), 10 seconds (46 commercials), 15 seconds (42 commercials) or 25 seconds (40 commercials). Most commercials were aired only once during the whole week (92 commercials), 54 commercials were aired twice, 40 commercials three times and 30 commercials 5 times. The commercial shown the most was aired 22 times.

This number of commercials was sufficient to determine how individualism is expressed in German advertising. The point of redundancy could be reached for each of the individualism categories and the categories were found workable for all ads.

A list of the commercials with brand name, product category, presence of individualism, type of individualism, commercial length and frequency of how often the commercial was aired is provided in **Appendix A in Table 12**.

3.2 Unit of Analysis

For this study the 'main message element' was selected as the unit of analysis. This builds on Taylor and Wolburg's study in 1998. They defined the 'main message element' as the "advertiser's intended overall impression to be gained from viewing the commercial" (Taylor & Wolburg 1998: 13). As in Taylor and Wolburg's study the main message element was deduced by asking hypothetically after viewing the commercial, "What will happen if I buy and use the advertised product?".

By asking this question the expected meaning that the advertiser intended for the members of the target audience to take with them after watching the commercial was revealed. According to Frith (1997) the advertiser's intended meaning "is the sales message that the advertiser is

trying to get across” (Frith 1997: 5) and to look for the ‘advertiser’s intended meaning’ in an advertisement is part of the process Frith calls ‘deconstruction’: She uses this process to “understand ‘how’ an advertisement means” (Frith 1997: 3) and to read advertisements as cultural texts.

Frith’s sales message is comparable to the ‘main message’ of the commercial, the unit that was analyzed in this study, and identifying the main message element of the advertisement is comparable to reading the ‘advertiser’s intended meaning’ in Frith’s deconstruction process. In Frith’s sales message the advertiser communicates with the consumer and tells him ‘what will happen if he goes and buys the product’. In the sales message the advertiser mostly addresses the consumer individually and often tells him about an individual advantage that he will have when using the product. This individual advantage is looked for in this study by analyzing the main message element of the commercials.

In addition, to find out about the relationship between expressions of individualism and product categories, the advertised products were coded by product type – as for example a study by McCarty and Hattwick in 1992 showed that the nature of the advertised products affects the way in which cultural values are portrayed in advertisements.

The product categories used in the study include food / beverages, beauty / personal care / medicine, communication technology, entertainment, service providers retailer, automotive / transportation, household products / appliances, and others (including advertisements for media, humanitarian organizations, Euro advertisements, advertisements for a religious group and an advertisement for a roll of film). Product categories were collapsed when the products were thought to be linked closely to each other, like for example food and beverages. (**Table 7** shows the distribution of the 320 unique commercials in the sample across the different product categories).

Table 7**Distribution of Commercials across Product Categories**

Product Category	Frequency	Percent
Food/Beverages	83	25.9
Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	59	18.4
Communication Technology	51	15.9
Entertainment	39	12.2
Service Provider	22	6.9
Retailer	21	6.6
Automotive/Transportation	18	5.6
Household Products/Appliances	11	3.4
Other	16	5.0
Total	320	100.0

3.3 Analytical Process

McCarty (1994) noted that advertising can be a significant source of information about a culture and the value orientations of a society. He also stated that content analysis of media in a society has often been considered as a method of understanding a culture (cf. McCarty 1994).

This study did not use a quantitative content analysis as many other studies have. Instead, a qualitative approach was used through document analysis. This approach was borrowed from the previously described studies about expressions of individualism in advertising by Taylor, Wolburg and Kim (cf. Wolburg & Taylor 1994, Taylor & Wolburg 1998 and Wolburg & Kim 1998).

A qualitative approach seemed to be appropriate for this study, as numbers and “hard, replicable, reliable” numerical values and statistical measures and tests were less important for this study (characteristics of nonqualitative approaches according to Taylor 1994). Instead, understanding the meaning of the advertisements was relevant for this study. According to Taylor (1994) “qualitative research is any systematic investigation that attempts to understand the meaning that things have for individuals from their own perspective” (Taylor 1994: 266). Therefore, it was appropriate to apply qualitative research when investigating the expressions of individualism in German advertising.

The qualitative approach that was used in his study is document analysis. Taylor (1994) stated that document analysis is one of the ways in which qualitative researchers seek to understand the meaning that objects have for others. It allows researchers to gain insight into the ways in which things have been interpreted or understood. Taylor (1994) continued that “personal diaries, committee reports, transcripts, memos, and all forms of mass media content are rich veins for studying what things mean” (Taylor 1994: 173). In this study, document analysis was used in order to gain a deeper insight into the expressions of individualism in German TV advertising. Advertising as a part of the mass media content and as a cultural institution was analyzed like a document to understand the cultural meaning of this ‘document’ with regard to the specific cultural value individualism. The appropriateness of using advertisements as qualitative

data was first discussed by Denzin (1978). He identified mass-media products, such as advertisements, as public records, and therefore, as documents that are prepared for the examination of other people. These public records are, according to Denzin, suitable for document analysis.

Document analysis, like other qualitative methods, is an inductive approach. By using analytic induction, new categories or patterns can emerge from the data within the coding process. Using this method it was possible to discover new categories of individualism in the data rather than only looking for predefined categories that might not be suitable for German advertisements.

In 1984 Goetz and LeCompte described analytic induction as a strategy that involves scanning the data for categories of phenomena and for relationships among such categories, developing working typologies and hypothesis based upon an examination of initial cases, then modifying and refining them on the basis of subsequent cases. They also mention that negative instances, or phenomena that do not fit the initial function, are consciously sought to expand, adapt, or restrict the original construct. Finally, at the end of this refining process, all cases are to be explained.

In the recent study this means that using the method of analytic induction involves viewing the commercials for message elements, developing a working scheme of these elements after this examination and then modifying and refining the scheme on the basis of subsequent cases (cf. Goetz and LeCompte 1984). "Commercials that do not fit the initial scheme expand, adapt, or restrict the original set of message elements" (Wolburg & Kim 1998: 148). According to Taylor (1994), this process requires a continuous interplay between data and analysis in which the tentative categories are tested and refined. The categories are only considered to be adequate when they can be used for all data, a step that is known as reaching the point of redundancy (Taylor 1994).

Applying the described process of analytical induction, two questions were asked for each advertisement: (1) Is there a message of individualism in the advertising (main message element

in the ad that says 'I personally benefit')? and (2) If so, what is the message of individualism (what will happen, if I buy and use the product)? These questions were borrowed from Taylor and Wolburg's study in 1998. To determine whether a commercial carries a message of individualism, the 'main message element' was selected as the unit of analysis. As in Taylor and Wolburg's study in 1998, in case a commercial contained more than one main message element, the main message element that was most prominent was coded for each ad that contained a message of individualism.

In the first step all advertisements were coded in German because it was assumed that concepts could emerge more easily in German than in English and that concepts might 'hold together' in German, but lose their similarity in English. Therefore, advertisements were coded in German and then translated to English in the next step. The Coding Sheets are provided in **Appendix B**.

Possible answers in this step of coding included, 'I have an easier life (with regard to a certain task)', 'I can fulfill a certain task better' (like 'I can cook better'), 'I can do something in a simple and easy way', 'I save money', 'I save time', 'I have less trouble', 'a part of my body looks better (nails, hair, skin)', 'I am more attractive', 'I am more attractive to my partner / my friends', 'I have more friends', 'I have a better / good social life', 'I enjoy a certain food', 'I have a moment of pleasure', 'I can enjoy a sensual pleasure', 'I have fun and enjoy life', 'I can express myself', 'I am me', 'I become me', 'I stay healthy', 'I become healthier', 'I feel physically better', 'my child feels better / is safe / healthy', 'my pet is healthy', 'somebody cares about me', 'I am protected', 'I feel safe', 'I can rely on somebody / something', 'I am better informed', 'I know more' and 'I become more intelligent'. Some of the message elements that emerged in this step were very specific, others already were broader.

In the next step, the main message strategies were refined. The commercials were viewed again to get a better understanding of the main message elements. Most of the main message strategies that had emerged previously were collapsed into broader categories.

For example 'a part of my body looks better (e.g. hair, nails, skin)' was subsumed under the main message strategy 'I am more attractive'. 'My child feels better' was subsumed under the category 'I care about somebody' and 'I save money' and 'I save time' were subsumed under the main message strategy 'I act in an efficient way'.

This step was taken because some of the previously developed categories were too concrete and the new, more abstract categories could represent the data better. In all, eight main message strategies were formed in this step.

In the last step, the relationship between the identified main message strategies and the advertised products was examined to find out whether certain message strategies are better suited for certain product categories. Therefore, each commercial was assigned to a product category. Then, the commercials with main message strategies of individualism were separated according to message strategies within product categories.

3.4 Internal Validity

Taylor (1994) stated that it is characteristic for qualitative research to require the qualitative researcher to become the research instrument with all of the inherent powers and weaknesses of the human mind. The qualitative researcher observes and analyzes the data.

One of the weaknesses that is inherent in this methodology is that the researcher can introduce personal bias into the research process. The qualitative researcher can hold a particular view of the world that may be very different from the views held by other people. Therefore, qualitative researchers have to be able to suspend their own interpretations of what things mean and rely instead on sustained observations and conversations (cf. Taylor 1994).

To control the results found by the first coder and qualitative researcher, for this study, a second German native was trained as another coder. This reduced misinterpretations or biases in the coding process.

Both coders lived in Germany for more than 20 years. They were raised in Germany, are accustomed to the German culture and society and are native speakers of German. Therefore, it was likely that both coders were able to code the expressions of individualism in the sample of German commercials according to the understanding that most Germans would have when watching the commercials.

To train the second coder, a pre-study was undertaken. In this pre-study 55 German commercials were coded with regard to expressions of individualism. The commercials used for this preliminary study were obtained from 'London International Advertising Awards'. They were German commercials that were submitted to 'London International Advertising Awards' by German advertising agencies in the 1990s. Exactly the same coding scheme was applied in the pre-study as was applied in the main study. In the pre-study the first ten commercials were coded together by both coders. As both coders agreed on 100 percent of these commercials, the coding scheme seemed to be understandable and well defined; therefore, the next 45 commercials were coded separately.

The degree of coding agreement for the pre-study was calculated by using Holsti's formula:

$$\text{Reliability} = 2M/N_1+N_2$$

M = Coding decisions for which coders were in agreement

N_1+N_2 = The total number of coding decision.

(Holsti 1969)

Agreement for the identification of the presence or absence of individualism as the main message strategy of the commercial was 94.5 percent. For the commercials for which both coders agreed on the presence of individualism the agreement was 100 percent for the type of main message strategy.

The high degree of intercoder agreement in the pre-study was another sign for the workability of the coding scheme. Therefore, exactly the same coding scheme was used for the current study.

To verify the validity of the coding in this study, 50 commercials or 15.6 percent of all commercials were double coded. To calculate the degree of coding agreement for the primary study, Holsti's formula was again used. The overall agreement for the identifications of the presence or absence of individualism as main message strategy of the commercial was 92 percent. For the commercials for which both coders agreed on the presence or absence of individualism the agreement was 100 percent for the type of main message strategy.

The commercials for which the two coders did not agree upon the presence or absence of individualism after the initial coding process were watched again together. Afterwards the two coders discussed the reasons for their differing opinion. Working as a team, a consensus was reached for each of these advertisements and the agreed-upon results were included in the analysis.

To allow other scholars to examine the findings of this study and therefore, to increase the validity of this study, a list of all commercials in the sample is provided in **Appendix A in Table 12**. Also, many examples and descriptions of commercials are given in the results chapter, so that the findings of this study can be reconstructed and thoroughly understood by other scholars. This helps to ensure the external validity of the study.

4 Results

Chapter 3 outlined the methodology and the coding scheme that was used to analyze the 320 German TV advertisements with regard to different expression of the cultural value individualism. This chapter presents the results obtained from this document analysis and answers the research question 'How is the cultural value individualism expressed in German advertising?' In addition, it answers the question 'What relationship, if any, exists between the 'individualism main message strategy' and different product categories?'

Section 4.1 discusses the different main message strategies of individualism. Each expression of individualism is described in detail and examples of advertisements that use this main message strategy are given. Section 4.1 also describes some insights that were gained about the commercials not using individualism in their main message strategy. Section 4.2 presents the relationship between different product categories and ways to express individualism in the advertisements. Section 4.3 summarizes the major findings of the study.

4.1 Main message strategy of individualism

The study found that individualism is expressed in the main message strategy of 232 (72.5 percent) of the 320 analyzed advertisements, whereas 88 advertisements (27.5 percent of the sample) did not contain any message of individualism in their main message strategy.

Eight ways of main message strategies of how to express individualism in German advertising were found: the 'Efficient Individual', the 'Attractive / Social Individual', the 'Sensual Individual', the 'Self-Expressive Individual', the 'Caring Individual', the 'Healthy Individual', the 'Safe Individual', and the 'Intellectual Individual'.

According to advertising, these are the eight ways in which individualism can be expressed in the German culture. According to advertising, these are the eight ways in which individuals behave and how individuals show their individuality in Germany.

Table 8 shows the distribution of the eight different types of main message strategies within the 320 German commercials. Overall, the category used the most frequently was the 'Efficient Individual' (19.4 percent of all 320 ads), closely followed by the main message strategy the 'Attractive / Social Individual' (18.4 percent of all 320 ads). Together these two categories account for more than 50 percent of the ads that actually express individualism in their main message strategy. Therefore, according to advertising, these are the two most prevalent ways in which an individual can stand out and be recognized as an individual in the German culture. It will be discussed in the conclusion of this study whether this coincides with the German culture in general or whether this – as advertising often does (cf. Pollay and Gallagher (1990)) – gives viewers a distorted view of the world and especially of who can best succeed in expressing individualism.

The category used the third most often was the 'Sensual Individual' (10.3 percent of all ads), followed by the main message strategy the 'Self-Expressive Individual', which was used in 7.2 percent of all ads. Together these two categories account for almost 25 percent of all ads that used individualism in their main message strategy. Therefore, after all, they are still prevalent for a typical German primetime television viewer and can easily be recognized as ways to express individualism in the German culture according to advertising.

The other four categories of ways to express individualism are used less often and therefore, are less obtrusive. The category the 'Caring Individual' was used by 5.9 percent of all ads in the sample, closely followed by the 'Healthy Individual' used by 5.6 percent of all ads in the sample. The main message strategy the 'Safe Individual' was used by 3.8 percent of all commercials in the sample and the main message strategy the 'Intellectual Individual' was used by only 1.9 percent of all advertisements in the sample.

Therefore, it is clear that some ways of expressing individualism are definitely more prevalent in advertising than others. This can occur for different reasons.

Table 8

Distribution of Main Message Strategies of Individualism

Type of Individualism	Frequency	Percent of all ads (%)	Percent of ads expressing individualism (%)
The Efficient Individual	62	19.4	26.7
The Attractive/Social Individual	59	18.4	25.4
The Sensual Individual	33	10.3	14.2
The Self-Expressive Individual	23	7.2	9.9
The Caring Individual	19	5.9	8.2
The Healthy Individual	18	5.6	7.7
The Safe Individual	12	3.8	5.2
The Intellectual Individual	6	1.9	2.6
No Individualism	88	27.5	-----
Total	320	100.0	100%

One of the reasons could be that certain main message strategies are better suited for certain products than others and that they are reflected in advertising more often simply because these product categories advertise more often than others do. Another reason could be that certain ways to express individualism are more dominant in the German culture overall. As they are more dominant in the German culture in general, they are also more dominant in German TV commercials. A third reason can simply be the decision of advertisers, who think that certain ways to express individualism will be more effective in advertising than others. This, like the first rationale, would result in a distorted worldview mediated by advertising.

These different possibilities will at least partly be picked up and discussed in more detail within several of the following paragraphs, as well as in the conclusion chapter. But first, each of the eight main message strategies of how individualism is expressed in German advertising will be described in detail. Each of the following paragraphs gives a definition of what is included and not included in the particular main message strategy. Also, for each main message strategy several examples of commercials illustrate what this specific main message strategy expresses.

The Efficient Individual

The 'Efficient Individual' is the main message strategy used most often to express individualism in German TV advertisements. Of the 320 analyzed advertisements, 62 ads or 19.4 percent of the sample contained a main message that told the consumer that he could be more efficient in one or the other way, when buying and using this product or service.

The 'Efficient Individual' is made up of the main message elements 'I have an easier life (with regard to a certain task)', 'I can fulfill a certain task better than I could before' (for example one of the advertisements contained the main message 'If I buy and use this product I have less effort cooking and I also have a better result'), 'something I use works better', 'I can do something in a simple and easy way', 'I save money', 'I save time' and 'I have less trouble fulfilling a specific task'.

All advertisements that use the main message strategy the 'Efficient Individual' promote that the service or product helps the consumer to be more efficient in his private life or in his work life either because he is saving time and / or money or because he can do something in an easier way with less trouble and a better result. Mostly a sense of achievement is expressed in the advertising claim. The consumer can be successful because he performs better or because he saves time and / or money – two important values in business driven societies. He stands out as an individual by his success and performance.

According to Hofstede, in individualistic cultures, task prevails over relationship in the work place. The 'Efficient Individual' stresses the importance of the efficient completion of certain tasks. An individual can express himself as an individual by being successful in fulfilling his tasks. Such a task can occur in the work or in the private environment. For example the task of shopping is fulfilled well if money is saved. The task of washing clothes is fulfilled well if the clothes are clean and not too much time and effort are spent doing the washing.

The English word 'efficient' (literal translation: 'effizient, geschäftstüchtig') in German also expresses 'profitable' (rentabel), 'economical' (billig, ökonomisch), 'capable' (kompetent), 'cost-efficient' (kostengünstig), 'thorough' (gründlich) and 'speedy' (schnell, zügig). Therefore, this category includes products or services that make a promise to the consumers that they can perform a task better, faster or more cost-efficiently. Efficiency is mostly related to business, but as 'business thinking' can also be prevalent in the private life of the consumer, the 'Efficient Individual' can be used to promote all kinds of different products and services.

In this sample the main message strategy the 'Efficient Individual' was used by all product categories except the category 'Beauty / Personal Care / Medicine'. Dominantly, it was used by the product categories 'Communication Technology' (43.5 percent of all ads using the 'Efficient Individual' were in this product category) and 'Retailers' (21.0 percent of all ads using the 'Efficient Individual' were in this product category).²

² Use of main message strategies of individualism within product categories is discussed in more detail below. Table 9 (p.122) provides an overview of the use of main message strategies within certain product categories.

Many of the commercials using this theme emphasize the 'I save money' component of this strategy. For example, the cell phone company D2 ran several commercials employing this theme with different executions. One of these commercials (#34) shows an empty ski slope. All of a sudden the television viewer hears the sound of somebody dialing a phone number. A person at the other end picks up and a voice says: "Hi Jan, what do you think, will you ski down the black slope one more time today? Why? Nothing special, just wanted to ask." After the phone call is over the camera moves on along the slope and all of a sudden the viewer sees a snowboarder stuck upside down in the snow. Only his feet and his snowboard on his feet are visible. A voice-over tells: "Simply call low priced from wherever you are at the moment. With D2 Sun. Start rate of only € 5 a month and € 5 minimum transaction volume."

This advertisement focuses on the cheap price this cell phone has and tells the consumer that he can place cheap calls from any location. Other advertisements in this category also focus on the message 'I save money', but instead of only focusing on the price, they stress that the consumer gets more for his money. Two examples for this claim are the advertisements for e-sixt (car rental company) and Neckermann (offers package tours). The commercial for e-sixt (#66) (commercial provided on **Plate 1** – for manual how to use Plate 1 see **Appendix B**) shows an overcrowded streetcar stop. Conductors try to push people in the overcrowded streetcars. A subtitle says: "Monthly ticket € 140.0." The next scene shows a Mercedes driving along an empty street. A subtitle says: "Monthly installment € 119.0." The next subtitle says: "Calculate leasing online and you are ready to go immediately. www.e-sixt.de." A voice-over screams: "e-sixt, low priced." This commercial clearly proves to the consumer that it is efficient to lease a car with e-sixt instead of using the crowded streetcars. The consumer gets more for his money. A similar message is expressed by several advertisements for Neckermann. They all employ the same theme using different executions. One of these ads (#104) shows a young couple sitting in front of the counter in a Neckermann travel agency. The young man says: "We want to go on a great travel." The young woman ads: "The ambience is important to us." The woman working in the travel agency says: "Well then, come with me." She guides the young couple through different

vacations spots. "What about a beach walk, or a safari lodge or a comfort hotel? Or what about a city hotel?" While talking, she and the young couple walk through the individual vacation spots she mentions. Then, the young man asks: "That much vacation for that small amount of money? How does that work?" A famous German soccer player suddenly appears and tells them: "Neckermann makes it possible." Back in the travel agency the woman working there tells the viewer: "By the way, for the summer there are over 1,000 book-early offers. With these offers you save over € 260." The soccer player appears again and says: "Neckermann makes it possible."

Some other advertisements in this category focus more on saving time and having less trouble instead of focusing on saving money. A good example for an advertisement employing this strategy is a commercial by Dell (#185) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). The commercial shows a room full of servers. A voice-over narrates: "It takes time and nerves to install complex applications. Or a call to us. Because we are Dell. The world's biggest computer manufacturer. We offer solutions for the biggest companies and the most complex tasks. Pre-installed, pre-configured, pre-tested. The installation manual only reads: "Plug in, finished." Dell Server with pre-installed solutions like Microsoft SQL Server 200 and Interpentium 3 Xeon Processor. Therefore, Dell." Almost the same message is told by a commercial for Musterhaus Küchen Fachgeschäft (#163). The commercial shows a woman who looks for kitchens. She looks very stressed out after visiting a lot of different stores selling kitchens. Finally she listens to a radio commercial for Musterhaus Küchen Fachgeschäft and goes there. After only a short time she comes back out and is really happy. A voice-over tells: "Better go to Musterhaus Küchen Fachgeschäft immediately. You will find your kitchen there for sure. Planned, calculated and installed." Both advertisements promise the consumer that he will be less stressed and that he will save time when buying and using the service or product that is promoted in the commercial.

Using a slightly different approach, some of the commercials in this category simply show the consumer that he will have an easier life buying and using the product or service that is advertised. Having an easier life thereby is always somehow related to being able to do something in a simpler way, and therefore, to fulfill a certain task in an easier way. A commercial

that focuses on this 'do something in a simple way' theme is a commercial for RTL net (#4) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). The commercial simply shows a moderator. He asks the viewer: "Do you want to surf the Internet in an easy way without having any problems? Because with RTL net it is really easy starting with only € 0.1 per minute. You can order the CD calling 0180-200-3002 or at [www.rtl.net.de](http://www.rtl.net/de)." Another example for a commercial employing this theme but focusing more on the 'have an easy life component' is a commercial for 'Gelbe Seiten' (#8) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). The commercial shows two mothers pushing strollers with about three year-old boys sitting in them. The strollers stop next to each other at a red light. The first of the two children tells the other one: "Trendy car." The second boy only says: "Yellow pages." The first one asks: "Where did you get it?" The second boy looking cool and slightly annoyed answers: "Yellow pages." The first boy again: "And what, if something breaks." Second boy: "Yellow pages." He looks at the other one in an arrogant way. This makes the first boy angry. The viewer sees only the backs of the two strollers and the hand of the first boy reaching over to the other stroller. Then the viewer sees the two strollers from up front again. The first boy stole the sucker of the second boy. The second boy asks surprised: "Where did you learn that?" The first boy smiles and says: "Yellow Pages." The Yellow Pages logo is shown and a voice-over tells the consumer: "Yellow Pages make life easier."

The last group of commercials employing the main message strategy the 'Efficient Individual' focus on the better fulfillment of a certain task with the product or service that is advertised. A good example for the advertisements employing this theme is a commercial for Calgonit Powerball 3 in 1 (dish wash tabs). The commercial for the Calgonit Powerball 3 in 1 (#21) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**) shows a woman who is holding a calcified glass. She looks really stressed and thinks aloud: "What didn't work this time?" She stands in front of her dishwasher: "Is it the cleaner? Is salt or a special cleaner missing? I can't split myself in three parts doing everything." The next scene of the commercial shows Calgonit. A voice-over tells: "Rather use Calgonit Powerball 3 in 1 with the unique Powerball technology for brilliant shininess. Now, you don't have to split yourself in three parts anymore. Just rely on Calgonit Powerball 3 in

1. Brilliant shininess without checking.” A brilliant glass is shown. The picture of the woman complaining and looking stressed at the beginning of the commercial is reflected in the glass. She smiles happily. The commercial implicates that with Calgonit Powerball 3 in 1 the consumer has a better result cleaning his dishes. The task is fulfilled better with less stress.

Overall, although these commercials have very different executions, they all focus on efficiency in one or another way. Efficiency can be communicated differently – by saving money or time, by fulfilling a certain task better or by having a better result in whatever task is fulfilled. Yet, all these ways express being efficient and standing out by being successful by saving money, saving time or by performing well. All these ways to depict efficiency are shown in the commercials employing the theme the ‘Efficient Individual’.

The Attractive / Social Individual

The main message strategy the ‘Attractive / Social Individual’ was used almost as often as the main message strategy the ‘Efficient Individual’. A total of 59 of the 320 advertisements in the sample or 18.4 percent of all ads employed this theme.

The ‘Attractive / Social Individual’ is made up of the message strategies ‘a part of my body looks better (nails, hair, skin)’, ‘I am (more) attractive’, ‘I am (more) attractive to my partner / my friends’, ‘I have more friends’, ‘I have a better / good social life’. All advertisements in this category can be plotted somewhere on a scale with the two extremes ‘I am attractive’ (‘attractiveness’) focusing on the person himself and ‘I have a good social life’ (‘socialness’) focusing on the social component showing several people (one or more of them using the product or service) having a good time. Most commercials can be plotted somewhere in between the two extremes employing themes focusing on being ‘socially attractive’, focusing on other people who are attracted to the person who is using the product / the service, like friends or a person from the opposite sex. Moreover, although some of the commercials almost exclusively focus on one of the two components ‘attractiveness’ or ‘socialness’, most commercials mix both themes.

Therefore, the two main message strategies the 'Attractive Individual' and the 'Social Individual' were summarized in one category. This seems to be justifiable especially when taking into account that even in the advertisements that focus more on the 'socialness' aspect, only individuals are shown who are attractive as members of the group and attractive as individuals. They are not only physically attractive but also attractive to the group through their behavior, through their charisma, for example through a stirring way to laugh.

But although focusing on the social aspect of life, still individualism is expressed because even the commercials that employ the 'social theme' always show unique individuals having fun in a group. Even in a group, the individual always has to stand out. The commercials do not focus that much on the group itself, but more on the individual in the group. The individual is more important than the group. This is, according to Hofstede (1991) and Triandis (1995), a characteristic of individualistic cultures. In individualistic cultures people are expected to try to stand out from the crowd even if the group is important to them.

Another reason for summarizing the 'Attractive Individual' and the 'Social Individual' in one group is that attractiveness always, even if it is only focused on the attractive person himself, seems to have a social component. Most advertisements get across that people want to be attractive or stylish because they are social beings, because they live a social life and want to be attractive to others. This is evident even if the attractiveness to others is only for their own sake.

A good example for a commercial at the 'attractiveness' extreme point of the 'attractiveness' – 'socialness' scale is the commercial for Nivea Visage Q10+ (#84) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). This commercial shows how the product can help the consumer to look better without focusing at all on the social aspect of being attractive. The commercial for Nivea Visage Q10+, an anti-wrinkle crème, shows different attractive females. The women say: "Wrinkles? Forget about wrinkles. We do not have to talk about that at all." The next scene shows the crème and a voice-over narrates: "New, Nivea Visage Anti-Wrinkles Q10 is now called Q10+. With the two ingredients Q10 and R, now twice as active against wrinkles than before." Again different, attractive women are shown. They say: "Wrinkles are not important to me. Just forget

about wrinkles.” Then, the commercial shows the crème again and a voice-over tells: “New, Nivea Visage Q10+. Now even more effective.” The advertisement implies that the women look young and attractive and do not have to care about wrinkles because they use the crème. The commercial clearly shows how attractive the women using the crème are, but it does not focus on the social aspect of being attractive.

A commercial for Studioline Gelo (#90), a styling gel, uses a slightly different approach. The commercial shows a young attractive man. A female voice-over tells: “Just miraculous.” Then the commercial shows a young attractive woman. She holds a bottle of Studioline Gelo in her hands. A voice-over tells: “New, Studioline Gelo from L’Oreal. The first gel that operates fluid like water. Very simple to spread. Styles for the whole day. Studioline Gelo does not stick to the hands, and it keeps the hair clean without sticking together. Studioline Gelo, styles like gel, natural like water. Because you are worth it to yourself.” Two young men and a young woman are shown. They style themselves with the gel and flirt with each other. While they style themselves, their whole appearance changes. Then the gel is shown. This commercial promotes that Studioline Gelo helps the consumer to become more attractive to the opposite sex – like the young woman is attractive to the two young men. But the commercial also promotes that the persons using the gel changed themselves and became more attractive focusing on the persons themselves. Therefore, this commercial implies both that the persons using the gel are more attractive to the opposite sex, but also that they are more attractive focusing on the person himself. “Because you are worth it to yourself.”

Most commercials do not promote that the individual is more attractive to himself, but only apply the ‘social attractiveness’ theme. Most of the advertisements using this theme focus on being attractive to the opposite sex, while some focus on being more attractive to friends and other people in general. A good example for a commercial that clearly focuses on being more attractive to the opposite sex is a commercial for Nivea for Men Aftershave (#133) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). The commercial shows an awards show. Three young men stand on pedestals. A good-looking woman puts the medals around each of the winner’s neck and kisses

each of them on the cheek. A voice-over narrates: "Who really wants to win needs superior care." When the woman kisses the third winner, she looks surprised and pauses. The voice-over continues: "Nivea for Men Aftershave Balsam for irresistibly smooth skin." Then the product is shown and the man using it. Then, again the woman is shown. She still stays next to him and fondles his cheek. The product is shown again and a voice-over tells: "Nivea for Men. A man needs that much care." This commercial definitely focuses on the seductive component of attractiveness. The commercial implies that a consumer using the product will be more attractive to females like the winner in the commercial.

Another commercial employing the same theme but focusing on both sexes is a commercial for Emporio Armani (#32) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). The commercial shows a man and a woman – one after each other. Both of them sit at a computer screen. Both of them individually type "Get together". The next scene shows the silhouettes of the man and the woman walking towards each other. They kiss each other. The next scene shows two bottles of perfume. One is white, one is black. A voice-over tells: "Two fragrances. Get together. Emporio Armani." This commercial even more than the one before focuses on showing how the perfume makes the consumer attractive, even seductive to the other sex.

As the examples so far have shown, the product category applying this theme the most is the category 'Beauty / Personal Care / Medicine' (39.0 percent of all ads using the 'Efficient Individual' were in this product category). But this strategy is also used by most of the other product categories. For example, another advertisement that also applies the theme 'being attractive to the opposite sex' is a commercial for Galeria Kaufhof (#124), a German retailer mostly selling clothes. The commercial opens with two young men standing in front of a ski lodge. Suddenly, a dog runs towards them. One of the men gets up, pets the dog and asks: "Whom do you belong to?" The dog runs away again and the man looks up directly into the face of an attractive woman. He can only say: "Wow." The man and the woman walk towards the lodge together and start a conversation. A voice-over narrates: "Trendy leather jackets for only DM 139.0. Exclusively at the Galeria Kaufhof." Both the man and the woman wear leather jackets.

The next scene shows the logo of the Galeria Kaufhof. Then, again the man and the woman are shown. They play with the dog in the snow. A subtitle says: "I look forward to that." This commercial clearly shows that the woman and the man wearing the leather jackets are attracted to each other. It implies that a consumer buying the same leather jacket will be attractive to the other sex, too.

Another commercial employing the same theme, but with a more humorous execution is a commercial for Debitel (#44) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**), a cell phone company. The commercial shows a little boy and a little girl. They both watch a toy-train and seem to be bored. All of a sudden, the little girl asks: "What did your brother get for Christmas?" He answers: "A cell phone." She stands up and leaves. A voice-over tells the viewer: "Don't miss to catch up. D1, D2, E-Plus. Debitel offers you the newest cell phones and the proper rate. Debitel, communication is everything." This commercial, although in a humorous way, clearly communicates that to stay trendy and socially attractive the consumer needs a cell phone. Else, sooner than he can imagine, he will be socially isolated. The execution of this commercial like the example before focuses on 'being attractive to the opposite sex'. Other commercials focus on both 'being attractive to the opposite sex and to friends' or only on 'being attractive to friends' and on 'having a better social life / having more friends'.

Good examples for commercials focusing on both being more attractive to the opposite sex and having a good social life, are the commercials for Vodafone, again a cell phone company. One of these commercial (#15) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**, in addition another commercial for Vodafone #55 is provided on **Plate 1**, too) opens by showing a young woman walking around in a festival area. Lots of young people are there having fun. She picks up her cell phone and says: "How are you?" She goes on walking around in the festival area. Anticipation is reflected in her face. She seems to look for somebody. All of a sudden, she sees a young man. They hug and kiss each other. A subtitle says: "We found each other." The young man carries her on his shoulders. They dance and have fun. All the young people at the festival dance and party, too. A subtitle says: "How are you?" Then the Vodafone logo is shown. This commercial clearly focuses

on both having a great time partying with other people, enjoying a good social life and being attractive to the opposite sex. Another commercial for Vodafone focuses even more on the social aspect of using the cell phone. This commercial (#239) is a continuation of the commercial that was just described. It shows the moment when the young woman finds her boyfriend and hugs and kisses him. In this commercial a voice-over tells the consumer: "Vodafone connects mobile people around the globe." Then again, the Vodafone logo is displayed. The commercial clearly expresses that using Vodafone will connect the consumer with other people, and that his social life will be improved.

The same theme is employed by an AOL commercial (#30) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). The commercial shows different people using computers. A young woman laying on a bed with her friends says: "All of us do it. All my friends use AOL." A man says: "It is really simple. Look at that." An old lady tells: "I have always thought I could not do that." A woman and a little girl send an e-mail: "Very nice, send it, send it." A voice-over tells: "With AOL you can read your e-mails from every computer in the whole world. Within seconds you are at home. AOL with 32 million people worldwide number one." This commercial tells the consumer that he is connected with his friends by using AOL. He can feel at home everywhere in the world, because his social life is still maintained by being connected with friends and family.

As the examples showed, most of the commercials in this category used a message strategy that mixed being attractive and having a better social life - mostly having a better social life with regard to the other sex. Therefore, these ads could be plotted somewhere right in the middle between the 'attractiveness' and the 'socialness' extremes of the 'attractiveness' – 'socialness' scale.

In contrast, the AOL commercial, like a commercial for Miracoli (#115) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**), can be plotted very close to the 'socialness' extreme of the scale. The Miracoli commercial, even more than the AOL commercial, focuses on having a good time with other people. Although this commercial focuses very much on having a good social life, it still shows each person having a good time individually. Still, the individual dominates over the group.

The commercial starts out showing a plate full of spaghetti and the Miracoli logo. Then different faces of people are shown one after another. Each of the persons laughs, and all of them sit at a table together and eat spaghetti. A voice-over tells the consumer: "Miracoli brings life to the table. New, Miracoli savory Spaghetti. With spicy tomato sauce, chili and bacon." The commercial implies that by having Miracoli spaghetti for dinner the family life will be improved and that each person taking part in the dinner will have a good time.

All commercials described so far express the main message strategy the 'Attractive / Social individual' very clearly. A commercial communicating the same message, but in a more implicit way is a commercial for the Motorola V66 (#73) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**), another cell phone. The commercial simply shows the cell phone turning around its own centerline. A voice-over says: "Communicate in style." The cell phone opens itself. The voice-over continues: "Motorola V66, communicate in style." Although this commercial is very simple, it clearly still can be plotted within this category. The commercial tells the consumer that if he uses this cell phone, he will be stylish, he will communicate in style. Being stylish is considered very social; therefore, this message clearly conveys a social aspect and addresses the idea of social acceptance.

Overall, each commercial, although focusing on different aspects of being attractive and social, communicates in some way or another, that the consumer can stand out by being physically or socially attractive or, mostly, by being both.

The Sensual Individual

Of the 320 commercials in the sample 33 ads (10.3 percent of all ads) employed the theme the 'Sensual Individual'. This main message strategy was used the third most often behind the 'Efficient Individual' and the 'Attractive / Social Individual'.

The 'Sensual Individual' is made up of the message elements 'I enjoy a certain food', 'I have a moment of pleasure', 'I can enjoy a sensual pleasure' and 'I have fun and enjoy life'. The commercials in this category communicate that the consumer has a moment of pleasure, has fun or enjoys life because of some physical, sensual pleasure. He feels better because of a physical

reason, but not because of a health reason (something negative gets better or is prevented) like the 'Healthy Individual' that will be described in more detail below, but because of a sensual reason (something enjoyable, pleasurable happens).

The commercials in this category can be plotted on a scale with the extremes of 'moment of sensual pleasure' and 'enjoy life'. But even the commercials that focus mostly on the 'I can enjoy life / have fun' do somehow include the 'sensual pleasure' aspect of this category, although some of them in an unobtrusive way. They all have an aspect of enjoyment because of a 'feeling', 'tasting', 'hearing', 'seeing' or 'smelling' pleasure.

Most of the commercials in this category focus on a 'tasting' pleasure. None of the commercials in this sample focused exclusively on a 'smelling' or 'seeing' pleasure. Some of the commercials using the strategy the 'Sensual Individual' include the 'seeing' or 'smelling' sense (for example some of the food commercials show appetizing looking meals or in some of the coffee commercials the persons also seem to enjoy smelling the coffee) but 'seeing' and 'smelling' were only employed together with another sensual pleasure, mostly the 'tasting' pleasure.

For this reason, it is not surprising that most of the commercials employing the 'Sensual Individual' theme fall into the 'Food / Beverages' category (87.9 percent of all ads using the 'Sensual Individual' were in this product category). Only one commercial each were found in the 'Beauty / Personal Care / Medicine' product category, in the 'Entertainment' product category, in the 'Household Products / Appliances' product category and in the 'Service Provider' product category to employ this theme. This shows that it seems to be unusual to show individuals expressing their individualism by having a sensual pleasure in product categories other than 'Food / Beverages'. Nevertheless, as it will be shown in the following examples, it is possible, even if sometimes rather unusual product benefits are expressed in these commercials.

Some of the commercials employing this theme are very simple. They exclusively focus on the sensual pleasure the consumer will have because of the nature of the product. These commercials almost exclusively focus on the product and its qualities. Good examples for these

group of advertisements are the commercials for Krombacher (#13) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**), Warsteiner (#18) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**) and Melita Cappuccino (#103). The Krombacher commercial shows a beautiful lake scenery. A voice-over narrates: "Krombacher, brewed with spring water. A pleasure as fresh and pure as its nature. Krombacher, a bead of nature." While the voice-over talks, a bottle of Krombacher is shown and it is poured into a glass. The Warsteiner commercial also shows a bottle of beer that is poured into a glass. A voice-over asks: "Such a thing! You drink a beer right now? A delicious prickly beer? That has to be a Warsteiner. Let's cheer on that." The glass with the Warsteiner seems to cheer with the TV screen. The voice-over continues: "The only true. Warsteiner." The commercial for Melita Cappuccino shows a box of Melita Cappuccino. A voice-over asks: "What is fine, creamy, with a whiff of chocolate? The new cappuccino by Melita." A man is shown who drinks a cup of Melita Cappuccino. He says: "Hmmm, Mama Mia Melita." All three commercials focus on the product and tell about the pleasurable qualities of the product. They promise the consumer that he will have a moment of pleasure when buying and using the product. All three of them focus on a 'taste pleasure', but they also make the product look very appetizing and therefore include the seeing sense.

Another commercial employing the same message but with a different execution is an advertisement for Deutschländer, a kind of German sausages (#70). In this commercial, rather than talking directly to the consumer and telling him explicitly about the pleasure that the product will give the consumer, a butcher and his assistant have a conversation while having lunch together. The assistant asks: "Why are Deutschländer called Deutschländer?" The butcher tells him: "Because the best of the most favored sausages in Germany (in German, Germany is called 'Deutschland') comes together. Try one!" The assistant bites into one of the sausages. The butcher continues: "They are crispy like Wiener, spicy like Frankfurter and mild like Bockwurstchen." The assistant realizes: "And that is why they are called Deutschländer." The butcher says: "Exactly," and bites into one of the sausages himself. This commercial, as the

previous one, implies that the consumer will have a sensual pleasure when eating a Deutschländer because of the qualities of the product.

Another commercial that implies such a sensual pleasure, but this time not a 'tasting', but a 'hearing' pleasure is a commercial for a Rondo Veneziano CD called Papagena (#196). This commercial is very simple, too. A song from the CD is played, and the CD is shown. Then a voice-over tells: "Music that enchants the senses, Papagena." The commercial clearly communicates that the consumer will have a sensual pleasure listening to the CD.

Some of the other commercials in this category do not focus exclusively on the sensual pleasure, but communicate a mix between having a sensual pleasure and enjoying life / having fun. The consumer can enjoy life and have fun, because of a sensual pleasure.

One of the commercials communicating both a sensual pleasure and enjoying life / having fun is a commercial for Tetesept Sinnebad (translated literally Sinnebad means: bath for the senses) (#206) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). In contrast to some of the other commercials communicating both messages, this commercial still focuses more on the sensual than on the fun aspect. The commercial opens with a scene showing a busy metropolis at night. The picture communicates stress. From this scene the camera moves on to a glass cupola and moves through the glass into a room. In the room a woman lays in her bathtub, relaxes and seems to enjoy life. A voice-over tells in a soft voice: "Tetesept Good Night Bath for the Senses. A color that tranquillizes, a smell that relaxes, a care that cossets you." The next scene shows the product, then the woman in the bathtub is shown again. The bathtub changes into bed where the woman sleeps relaxed. The voice-over continues: "Tetesept Good Night Bath for the Senses. Fondles your sense to sleep." This commercial clearly communicates a moment of pleasure. It also communicates that the woman enjoys her life in that moment because of the sensual pleasure she experiences.

Another example of an advertisement that employs a mix of sensual pleasure and enjoying life / having fun is a commercial for Zewa Soft (#74) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). This commercial, like the previous one, focuses more on the sensual pleasure than on the enjoy life

aspect of this category. However, unlike all previously described commercials, for which using the theme the 'Sensual Individual' was a rather obvious choice, this commercial focuses on the qualities of the product and employs the category the 'Sensual Individual' in a way that is not distinctively self-evident. The commercial starts out showing two couples spending an evening together at one of the couple's house. One of the men, obviously the one who is invited, has to go to the bathroom. The next scene shows him sitting on the toilet. He is fascinated by the softness of the toilet paper. He seems to enjoy the feeling he has using this toilet paper. Therefore, he steals the roll of toilet paper and puts it into the pocket of his woman's jacket. When he comes back, all of them cheer again and then the invited couple leaves. While they walk away, the roll of toilet paper falls out of the pocket and rolls back towards the house without them noticing it. A pack of Zewa Soft is shown and a voice-over tells: "Zewa Soft, very soft. You don't want to live without that anymore." The next scene shows the woman of the couple that invited the other couple putting a new roll of Zewa Soft in the bathroom. She thinks aloud: "Unbelievable, but Zewa." This commercial implies that Zewa Soft is so soft that a consumer has a 'feeling pleasure' when using it.

Several of the commercials in this category focus even more on the enjoy life / have fun aspect. Examples for this group of commercials are a commercial for Kinder Bueno (#33) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**) and a commercial for Becks (#28). The commercial for Kinder Bueno (a German sweet) starts with a motorbike driving on a bridge. On the bridge stands a car. A man stands in front of the car. The driver of the motorbike removes the helmet. It is a woman. She looks towards the man who eats a Kinder Bueno and says: "I am a little bit hungry, too." He answers: "That is bad luck, but Kinder Bueno does not help against hunger at all." He smiles. A voice-over tells: "Kinder Bueno. Crispy little pleasure bites. Nothing against the hunger, only for pleasure." The next scene shows how Kinder Buenos are produced. Nuts fall into milk, and chocolate is poured over waffles. Everything looks very appetizing. The next scene shows the woman again. She asks him with a smile: "But what if I am not hungry?" He answers: "That is bad luck for me." He smiles and hands her a Kinder Bueno. They both laugh together and obviously

have a good time. The voice-over tells again: “Kinder Bueno, not against the hunger, only for pleasure.” The whole commercial implies that the both of them have a good time. They enjoy their life and have fun, and Kinder Bueno helps them to do so by having a sensual pleasure.

The two commercials from Becks focus even more on the enjoying life / having fun aspect that is included in this category. The two commercials are very similar (commercial #64 for Becks is provided on **Plate 1**). One of them opens showing the Becks sailing ship (#28). An attractive young man stands on the mast and watches out for islands. All of a sudden he points to something. The next scene of the commercial shows a group of young people who are laughing and having fun rowing towards a small island. They obviously enjoy their lives. They berth on the beach of the island and set up a tent. The next scene shows them standing and sitting around under the tent and at the beach drinking beer and having fun. A voice-over tells: “The pure taste of a Pilsener. Unbelievable fresh. The Becks experience.” A Becks bottle is shown. In the background the Becks sailing boat is anchored. This commercial shows how the young people have fun and enjoy their life. They have the ‘Becks experience’. Although this commercial emphasizes fun and enjoyment of life, it still includes a sensual pleasure. The young people have fun and enjoy life, and an important part of it is the pleasure they have when drinking a fresh Becks.

Overall, although the commercials in this category have different main focuses, some focusing exclusively on the sensual pleasure that is given by the product, others focusing almost exclusively on the ‘I have fun / I enjoy life’ message, all of them have in common that they include some kind of sensual pleasure, some physical aspect. The consumer can enjoy his life as an individual having a sensual pleasure and feeling good / better because of this sensual pleasure.

The Self-Expressive Individual

The main message strategy the ‘Self-Expression’ Individual was used by 23 of the 320 advertisements in the sample or by 7.2 percent of all ads in the sample. It was used the fourth

most often after the 'Efficient Individual', the 'Attractive / Social Individual' and the 'Sensual Individual'.

The 'Self-Expressive Individual' is made up of the message strategies 'I can express myself', 'I am me' and 'I become more me'. The commercials in this category all show the user of the product or service as an independent person. He can be himself by using the product. Either the product expresses who the consumer already is or it helps him to be somebody he wants to be. Some of the commercials in this group use the theme of personal wishes that become true for the consumer because he uses the product or service. These wishes are always related to self-expression, not to safety or social values or health or anything else. The consumer gets something he really wants: his deepest wishes become true. And these deepest wishes are connected very closely to the consumer's personality. Therefore, the commercials using this theme were attributed to the 'Self-Expressive Individual'.

Many commercials in this group show the individual alone, only focusing on one person, not showing the individual as part of a group. Only a few of the commercials using this theme show the individual as part of a group, as socially attractive. The person has success with other people. But in contrast to the commercials in the category the 'Attractive / Social Individual', the 'Self-Expressive Individual' does not care whether he is attractive or not. He cares only about his own rules, about being himself, no matter what other people think. 'I am me because of me'. 'I can be me or I can become me whoever I am'. That is the message expressed by the commercials in this group.

Most of the commercials in this group are targeted towards younger people. They reflect some kind of a 'young and cool lifestyle' aspect. However, they do not focus on being cool because of other people, instead they focus on being young and cool because 'that is me'. The individuals in this group stand out by being themselves, by living their personality not by, for example, being efficient or by being socially attractive.

The 'Self-Expressive Individual' was used mostly by the product categories 'Automotive / Transportation' (30.4 percent of all ads using the 'Self-Expressive Individual' were in this product

category) and 'Beauty / Personal Care / Medicine' (30.4 percent of all ads using the 'Self-Expressive Individual' were in this product category). It was also used by the product categories 'Retailer', 'Food / Beverages', 'Service Provider' and 'Others' (one advertisement for a religious group).

Most commercials in this group, especially commercials for perfumes, express the messages 'I can do what I want', 'I behave as I want to' and 'I can get what I want'. Hugo Boss uses the 'Self-Expressive Individual' extensively in its perfume advertisements. A commercial for Hugo Deep Red (#105) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**) shows an attractive young woman. She sits in a leather armchair in a stylish looking apartment. She has a floor lamp in her hands and shines the light on a young man who is lying on a bed. The next scene shows a bottle of Hugo Deep Red. The woman thinks aloud: "I always wait for him to make the first move." He lolls around on the bed. She gets up and walks over to the bed. A voice-over says: "Hugo Deep Red. For women only. Your fragrance. Your rules." The commercial implies that the woman in the commercial plays life according to her own rules. She is young and cool and gets what she wants. Hugo Boss uses exactly the same theme for men. A commercial for The Fragrance by Hugo Boss (# 183) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**) shows a young attractive man in different scenes. He behaves very self-consciously, is young and cool and has fun like he wants it. The last scene shows him holding a bottle of The Fragrance. A voice-over tells: "Hugo, your fragrance, your rules." Another commercial by Hugo Boss focuses even more on the 'you get what you want' message. The commercial for Boss Woman (#215) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**) shows a young, attractive woman. She is sitting in a chair and leans forward: "What women really expect from life?" She holds a bottle of Boss Woman: "Everything." Several scenes follow showing the woman in different positions but every time she looks straight into the camera provocatively. A voice-over tells: "Boss Woman. Expect everything." Not only Boss uses this main message strategy for its perfumes, it is also used by, for example, Laura Biagotti. The commercial for Laura Biagotti, Emotion (#199) opens with an attractive, young woman walking through a meadow. A voice-over asks: "Why walk..." The next scene shows the same woman running

between trees with long steps. "...if I can fly?" The next scene shows her holding a rope and swinging with it. The voice-over says: "Emotion, the new fragrance by Laura Biagotti." This commercial like the previous ones communicates 'I can do what I want'. It shows the young, attractive woman having fun being herself, behaving like she wants to.

A commercial for Jever, a German beer (#281) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**), uses a slightly different approach. It stresses more than the previous examples that the product is what the person is and how the person is. It shows a man. He stands on a rowing boat, then on a footbridge. Far away, a ship drives by. The weather is stormy and he is alone. A voice-over says: "No traffic jams, no stress." He walks through a wide landscape of dunes. "No compromises." He stands at the waterfront. Then he walks along the lonely beach. "No other beer." He lets himself fall into the sand backwards. The next scene shows a bottle of Jever being poured into a glass. The voice-over continues: "Jever is like the land. Frisian harsh (bitter)." The commercial employs that the man who enjoys the harsh countryside also likes the bitter Jever. The beer is like him and the countryside. The product expresses who he is.

As mentioned before, another approach that was used in this category was to link the personality of the person with wishes that became true. A commercial for Wüstenrot (#72) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**), a German insurance company, works with this approach. The commercial opens with a woman jumping into a blue pool. A voice-over says: "A pool in azure." A subtitle reads: "Awards for building society savings and saving bonuses." The next scene shows a young couple driving through beautiful mountains with a black convertible. The voice-over says: "A runabout in dark black." A subtitle reads: "Investment supplementary allowance." The next scene shows an old couple. They dance around at a hazelnut brown beach. The voice-over tells: "Retirement in hazelnut brown." The subtitle says: "Retirement pay." The voice-over continues: "The color for your wishes Wüstenrot (literally translation: desert red). Get up to DM 10,933 of bonuses in only seven years. From building society savings to retirement pays. Our Wüstenrot consultants wait for you. Wishes become Wüstenrot." The commercial implies that with Wüstenrot

the consumer can live the life he wants to. Wishes can be fulfilled and the consumer can do what he prefers to do.

All the commercials mentioned so far focused on the individual himself and featured only the individual. As mentioned, a slightly different approach is chosen by some other commercials in this category. The individual is shown as socially attractive or is at least shown in a social situation. But even in this situation he behaves as he wants and not as others expect. One of the commercials using this approach is a commercial for VW Polo (#63) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). The commercial features two young men. They hit a golf ball at the strangest places, for example in a pool, in the middle of the traffic or on a tower. In between they drive from place to place with their VW Polo. The last scene shows them standing on a soccer field where the German national team plays. The players look surprised and don't understand what is going on. One of the two men takes out the pole that marks the corner of the field. The other one hits a golf ball into the hole. The two men cheer, and the audience starts to cheer, too. The angry soccer team starts to chase them. The two men run to their VW Polo that is parked in the middle of the soccer field and drive away. A subtitle says: "Not to impress. The new Polo." The commercial implies that a Polo driver is not to impress like the two men in the commercial. They do not behave like they do to be socially attractive. That is just a side effect. They behave like they do because they are not to impress, because they are who they are and live according to their own rules. The same is implied for every driver of the new Polo.

Another commercial that uses a similar approach is a commercial for the Ford Focus (#160) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). This commercial also depicts a person in a social situation. The commercial features a woman who behaves not like she is expected to, but like she wants. The woman drives her boyfriend to the airport. Right as he steps out he says: "Ok, next week I will be back." He starts to walk away. Then he leans back and says through the open door: "By the way, then, you will marry me." Before the woman can say something, he walks away. She looks puzzled. All of a sudden she smiles, changes gears and drives her car to a big empty place next to the airport. The ground of the place is covered with mud. She drives around on the place.

Then she leaves the car and leans on its door smiling satisfied. The next scene shows the man. He is sitting in the airplane that just started and looks out of the window. He looks right on the place where she is standing with her car. She drove the word 'NO' in the mud. He looks embarrassed and a voice-over says: "Everything mastered. Ford Focus." The Ford Logo is shown and a voice-over says: "Ford, arrive better." The commercial shows that the woman masters her life how she wants, not like she is expected to. She is her own boss and does what she decides to do. She expresses her personality by doing what she wants. The commercial implies that the consumer can do the same thing by driving a Ford Focus.

The group of commercials described so far have all expressed the message 'I am me', 'I behave according to my personality'. The other message element that is included in his group is 'I become me'. The individual wants to be something and the product or service helps him to become what he wants to be. He can find himself with the help of the product or service.

One approach that was used by these commercials was to become like a role model. A commercial for Coca-Cola (#279) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**) shows a young man. He cleans up in a recording studio. While carrying things around, he sees a box with ice cubes and Coke in it. He grabs one and drinks a sip. He glances to the guitar. He takes another sip, walks over to the guitar, takes it and starts playing. He forgets his surrounding and is dancing and playing. All of a sudden, Mick Jagger stands in the room. He claps his hands and says: "Not bad man, not bad." He smiles, and they sit down together. The Coke logo fades in. The commercial implies that the young man wants to be a rock star. Coke helps him to gain the self-confidence to start playing. He can become who he wants to be, be like his role model.

Another approach is used by a commercial for Kraft zum Leben (#155) (a religious group) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). This commercial promotes becoming something a lot of people want to be – a fulfilled person. The commercial opens with Bernhard Langer playing golf. The next scene shows him sitting on his couch, talking: "Most of you know me as a golf player. But only a few of you know me in private, too. The husband and father, the religious person. It is my personal faith that makes me a fulfilled person. The same can happen to you. Here is an

extraordinary book that can give you an impulse to live a new life full of peace and joy.” He shows the book. “You can get your copy if you look for this advertisement in your newspaper and magazines.” He shows the advertisement. “Read everything about Kraft zum Leben. It could change your life forever.” The commercial implies that the book will help the viewer to find himself, to become a fulfilled person with the assistance of the book.

A slightly different approach is used by a commercial of Oil of Olaz (#260) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). This commercial also promotes finding oneself, but it promotes that the viewer already is what she wants to be. She just has to find this out and the product assists in doing so. The commercial opens with a woman covering her face with her hands. Oil of Olaz touch crème is shown. A voice-over says: “Beauty has a lot of faces.” The woman uncovers her face. She has thousands of freckles. The next scenes all show different woman, all of them look very different. A voice-over says: “Beauty is always different because every woman is different. Discover your own beauty and give all your love to your skin. With care products as different as beauty itself.” Different Oil of Olaz products are shown. “Developed by women for women, so you can give the best to your skin. Oil of Olaz because you love your skin.” This commercial clearly communicates that each individual woman is beautiful. But each woman has to discover this beauty herself and be committed to it. Then, she can be herself. Although this commercial also features attractiveness, this is not the main message. The main message is that the woman can be herself as she is, she just has to find out who she is and that she is beautiful.

The commercials in this group are very different. As each person is different and personalities can be very different, self-expression has a wide range. The commercials using the ‘Self-Expressive Individual’ have in common that all of them focus on being oneself whoever that is or becoming oneself whoever the person wants to be.

The Caring Individual

A total of 19 advertisements in the sample or 5.9 percent of all advertisements in the sample employed the theme the ‘Caring Individual’. The main message strategy the ‘Caring

Individual' is made up of two major themes: 'I care about somebody' and 'somebody cares about me'. Messages like 'my child feels better / is safe / healthy', 'my pet is healthy', 'somebody is there for me' and 'somebody takes care of my wishes' are included in this category.

This main message strategy has a social aspect, too. However, it differs from the 'Attractive / Social Individual' in that there is no aspect of attractiveness included in the messages of the commercials in this category. Being a social person is not based on one's attractiveness or a person's success with other people especially with people from the opposite sex.

Whereas the 'Attractive / Social Individual' cares about himself and changes himself to be attractive and to have a good social life, the 'Caring Individual' builds good interpersonal relationships because he cares about other people, about other people's feelings or even cares about his pet. The 'Caring Individual' does not focus on himself to be attractive or social or both; he cares about the other person (pet). Whereas the 'Attractive / Social Individual' uses the product or service that is advertised for himself to be an 'Attractive / Social Individual', the 'Caring Individual' uses the product or service for somebody else to make this person (pet) healthy or happy or just feel better in general. The 'Caring Individual' wants the best for the other person (his pet). Some of the commercials in this category do not only express caring about others, they go even further and focus on the charitable aspect of 'caring about somebody'. The individual cares about others and helps them by being charitable.

Included in this category are both sides of the caring. Most messages express, like previously described, caring about somebody else. They focus on the 'caring person'. However, some of the commercials focus on the person who is cared about. The person who is featured in the commercial needs help and is cared about. Occasionally, the person in the commercial is cared about because the company that advertises offers an outstandingly good service. This group of commercials was included in this category, too, as they also tell the 'caring' message, just from another point of view.

The main message strategy the 'Caring Individual' is mostly used by commercials in the product category 'Food / Beverages' (52.6 percent of all ads using the 'Sensual Individual' were in

this product category). It was also used by commercials in the product categories 'Retailer', 'Beauty / Personal Care / Medicine', 'Communication Technology' and 'Others' (three commercial for humanitarian organization used this theme).

As mentioned, most of the commercials that were included in this category expressed the message 'I care about somebody else.' Several commercials in this category focused on a father or mother caring about their children. A good example for such an advertisement is a commercial for a Milka Chocolate Santa Claus (#49) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). The commercial starts by showing a snow covered landscape around Christmas time. A sleigh drives through this winter landscape. A voice-over tells: "Every year again parents wish only one thing for Christmas: The very best for their children." The next scene shows a living room that is decorated for Christmas. Two little children play in the room. A Christmas tree stands in the middle of the room decorated with Milka Christmas sweets. The little boy opens the door. Santa Claus stands in front of the door. The little boy smiles at Santa Claus and Santa Claus hands him a Milka Chocolate Santa Claus. The next scene shows the hand of a child unwrapping the Chocolate Santa Claus. Then the little girl is shown eating the Chocolate Santa Claus. A voice-over tells: "Milka, the sweetest seduction since chocolate began." The next scene shows Santa Claus on his sleigh and a subtitle says: "Milka wishes you Merry Christmas." This commercial implies that, if parents care about their children, if they want only the best to happen to their children, they will give them a Milka Chocolate Santa Claus.

Another commercial that also expresses care for one's child is a commercial for Wick VapoRup (#100) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). This commercial focuses on a health aspect. The 'Caring Individual' wants his child to feel physically good, to be healthy. The commercial starts out showing a man laying in bed unable to sleep. The viewer can hear coughing in the background. Then a child's voice says: "Mama." A voice-over tells: "Coughing, a congested nose and other symptoms of a cold do not let you sleep, especially if your child suffers from a cold." Father and mother turn around in the bed and look at each other. The mother gets up and gets Wick VapoRup. The voice-over continues: "Rely on Wick VapoRup. With eucalyptus to alleviate

the cough, menthol to help the congested nose and other essential oils to give back your well-being so your child can sleep untroubled at night.” The mother rubs the child with Wick VapoRup. The next scene shows the child sleeping quietly. The voice-over continues: “Even if that does not work for you.” The viewer sees that the child lays sprawled between the father and the mother. They hardly have any space in the bed. The final scene of the commercial shows Wick VapoRup and a voice-over says: “Wick VapoRup. The power of nature in your hand.” This commercial clearly shows how a father and mother care about the well-being of their child even if it is to the disadvantage of themselves. It implies that caring parents should use Wick VapoRup to make their child feel better if he has a cold.

Some of the other commercials in this category chose a slightly different approach to express care about children. Good examples for these commercials are a commercial for Hipp – soo groß (#218) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**) and Pampers active fit (#222) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). The commercial for Hipp – soo groß shows a little boy. He carefully walks around, and the viewer can see that he just learned how to walk. A voice-over tells: “If your child is big enough to stand on his own feet...” A little girl stands up and looks around curiously. “...or big enough to see the world with his own eyes, he wants to taste variety.” A small child is shown eating Hipp – soo groß. “Time for soo groß by Hipp. Delicious children’s meals with separate side dishes. Your child will taste the difference. Soo groß with selected ingredients of Hipp quality.” The next scene shows the CEO of Hipp. He says: “That’s what I stand for with my name.” The voice-over continues: “Hipp - soo groß with a new variety to become that big.” A little boy is shown stretching his arms upwards.

The commercial for Pampers active fit begins by showing a young woman sitting on the floor. She says: “Imagine, you are nine months old.” The next scene shows a crawling child from his own perspective. She continues. “You cover a distance of up to half a kilometer in less than 25 minutes. On hands and knees and other parts of your body. That is exactly why the new Pampers active fit is here. The diaper is three times as expandable as a regular diaper.” The next scene shows a diaper with a balloon inside. The balloon is inflated, and as it gets bigger, the

diaper expands. The next scene shows the baby in his diapers again. He plays with the balloon. The woman says: "Who watches the world with a baby's eyes sees how to make it better. The new Pampers active fit. The most expandable diaper that takes part in every movement."

Both commercials put the viewer in the child's place. They communicate that the child will feel better eating Hipp – soo groß or wearing Pampers active fit. They imply that parents who care about their children and want to make their life as good as possible use the advertised product.

Not only children, but also pets are also promoted as being in need of care. A commercial for Eukanuba (#108) is a good example for this group of advertisements. The commercial starts with a subtitle saying: "The story of a proud and strong dog." A dog is shown who climbs a staircase. While he climbs the staircase he grows older. A voice-over narrates: "As he was a puppy Vitamin E strengthened his immune system. Later L-Carotin controlled his weight. And when he grew old, natural ingredients fostered his joints. Eukanuba – recommended the most by vets." This commercial communicates that if the consumer wants his dog to be healthy and strong he feeds him Eukanuba. If he cares about his dog, this will keep him well.

As mentioned, some of the commercials in this group even focus on a 'charitable individual'. One of these commercials is an ad of the Liga Kind (#246), a German organization that tries to help children who are abandoned or unwanted. This commercial shows a girl who plays basketball alone. A woman walks by. The girl gives way to her and looks at her with a scared look on her face. A subtitle says: "Do I disturb you? An initiative of the German Liga für das Kind e.V." Then an account number and a telephone number are given. The commercial implies that if the viewer cares about unwanted children, he can help by donating money or engaging in the initiative. The viewer can be a 'charitable individual' by helping children.

As described above, another theme that was used by some commercials in this group is the 'I am cared about' message. The perspective is turned around in these commercials. The individual is not the one who gives, but the one who gets the care. The commercials that use this

message express a wide range of receiving care. Some only promote being loved and pampered, while others show a person who actually needs help and is cared about.

A commercial that is typical for the first group is a commercial for Jacob's Krönung, a German coffee (#83) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). The commercial shows a young woman running through the rain. She enters her house. Her voice tells the viewer: "He pampered me." Candles burn everywhere in the house. She continues: "He surprised me and he pampered me with my coffee. The only coffee with the pampering aroma." She opens a door, smells and smiles. A cup of coffee waits for her. The next scene shows her and a young man standing next to each other. They lean against each other and smile. A pack of Jacob's Krönung is shown and a voice-over says: Jacob's Krönung. That is how pampering tastes." This commercial clearly shows that the man cares about the woman. He wants to pamper her and does that by decorating the house with candles and preparing her favorite coffee. It implies that the consumer can either be pampered himself or pamper other people with Jacob's Krönung.

An example of a commercial that expresses that somebody who actually needs help is cared about is a commercial for the Telefonfürsorge (#300) (literal translation of 'Telefonfürsorge': telephone care) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). The commercial shows a woman sitting alone in a dark kitchen. She cries and writes on a piece of paper: "Keiner hört mir zu (Nobody listens to me)." Then she picks up the phone and dials. One of her tears falls on the piece of paper, erases the 'K' and changes the message she has written to "einer hört mir zu (Somebody listens to me)." A voice at the other end of the phone answers: "Telefonfürsorge." A voice-over tells the viewer: "We listen to you. Telefonfürsorge. Call us for free. 0180-1110-111 or 0180-1110-222." This commercial implies that a person who needs to talk to someone and thinks nobody is there can find help by calling Telefonfürsorge. Somebody will be at the other end who cares.

Overall, all commercials in the category the 'Caring Individual' expressed social caring in one way or another. Most feature a person caring about somebody else, while others used the opposite perspective and showed somebody who is cared about.

The Healthy Individual

The main message strategy the 'Healthy Individual' was used about as much as the main message strategy the 'Caring Individual'. Advertisements in the category the 'Healthy Individual' express the main messages 'I am healthy', 'I stay healthy', 'I will become healthier', 'I feel physically good', 'I will feel physically better'. All advertisements using this main message strategy clearly focus on a health or physical aspect. This theme was employed by 18 of the 320 commercials in the sample or by 5.6 percent of all commercials in the sample. It is similar to the 'Sensual Individual' in so far as it has a physical background. But unlike the 'Sensual Individual' that focuses on a sensual, physical pleasure, this category focuses exclusively on health-related themes. The individual does not feel physically better because of a sensual pleasure, because something positive happens, but because something negative (being sick) gets better or because something negative (a health problem) is prevented.

This strategy is used a lot less often than for example the 'Efficient Individual' or the 'Attractive / Social Individual'. One of the reasons why the 'Healthy Individual' is not used as often as these categories could be that this category seems to be a lot more specific and not as many different messages are included in this category as in some of the other categories.

In addition, this strategy seems to be much more tailored towards certain products. This strategy is at least not as easily usable for a wide variety of different product as for example the 'Efficient Individual' was. This fact is also reflected when looking at the product categories that actually use this theme: The 'Healthy Individual' is exclusively reflected by commercials for products or services in the product category 'Beauty / Personal Care / Medicine'. Within this product category it is almost exclusively used by commercials for medical products, which makes sense given what this category expresses.

Although this main message strategy is much more specific than some of the other categories, the 'Healthy Individual' definitely seemed to stand out as a unique category. It did not seem to make sense to merge this main message strategy with another category. In Taylor and Wolburg's study (1998) the categories the 'Attractive Individual' and the 'Healthy Individual' were

merged into one category. But as it seemed to make sense in this study to merge the categories the 'Attractive Individual' and the 'Social Individual', because they highly overlap, it did not make sense to include the 'Healthy Individual' in this category, too, as a different message is told by this category. There was neither a social, nor an attractiveness component in the commercials employing this theme. Also, none of the other categories found in this study seemed to overlap with this category. Therefore, the category the 'Healthy Individual', like some of the other main message categories (like the 'Safe Individual' or the 'Intellectual Individual' that will be discussed in more detail below) that are also more specific than for example the 'Efficient Individual' and the 'Attractive / Social Individual', was kept as a unique category.

Most of the commercials in this category communicate that the consumer will feel better because his physical well-being will increase. He has a health problem and the product will assist the consumer to solve this problem.

Good examples for advertisements that focus on this health aspect are the commercials for Dolormin Extra (#43) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**) and Wick MediNait (#146). The commercial for Dolormin Extra opens showing a female juggler sitting in her changing cubicle. She holds her head, and it is obvious that she has a bad headache. She imagines herself being on stage juggling with torches. As she has such a bad headache, the torches fall down and set the stage on fire. A voice-over tells: "If you have a bad headache, you need quick help." Somebody knocks, opens the door to her changing cubicle and shouts: "10 minutes left till your performance starts." The next scene shows a pack of Dolormin Extra and a voice-over tells the viewer: "Dolormin Extra. It includes the body-compatible ingredient Lysin. It quickly takes effect and is wholesome." The next scene shows the female juggler and her male partner on stage. They juggle with torches and the performance is a great success. She and her partner bow in front of the cheering audience. She smiles happily. A voice-over says: "Dolormin Extra. To be quick is our strength." This commercial communicates that the female juggler has a health problem and that Dolormin Extra assists her with this health problem so she feels well again after

a very short period of time. It implies that the same can happen for the consumer. If he has a bad headache, Dolormin Extra will make it go away within minutes.

The commercial for Wick MediNait has a very similar message. It opens with a man lolling in bed. He gets up, looks out of the window and smiles happily. A voice-over asks: "What could have helped him to feel so much better although he had a cough, a congested nose, a headache, a sore throat and aching legs last night?" The next scene shows the same man the night before. He looks really sick. The voice-over continues: "Wick MediNait. It alleviates the most frequent pains coming with a cold. It makes the pleasant sleep that you need to start the day well recovered possible." The next scene shows the same man again the next morning. He is dressed in a suit and looks very relaxed and healthy again. He stands next to the phone and is ready to leave. The phone rings and a voice says: "This is your wake-up call. I hope you have a good day." He answers: "I am sure I will have a great day." Then he leaves. The voice-over tells: "Wick MediNait. Have a good night and an even better morning." This commercial like the one described before promises the consumer that he will feel well again after taking Wick MediNait. The commercial implies that the consumer will get rid of his cold by taking Wick MediNait, and it even implies that the day after taking Wick MediNait will be great. The person taking Wick MediNait feels good and healthy and starts the day happily. Therefore, the day will be a success.

Some other commercials in this category did not focus on becoming healthy or on solving a health problem, but on preventing a health problem. If the consumer buys and uses the product he will stay healthy. A good example for a commercial expressing this theme is the commercial for Elmex InterX (#153) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**), a toothbrush. The commercial starts showing a model of a dentition in the computer. A voice-over asks: "What does a toothbrush have to look like that reaches the critical spots between the teeth, too? The spots, where cavities emerges the most often?" A toothbrush appears in the computer model and the voice-over continues: "The Elmex research has invented this innovative toothbrush. It aligns itself exactly to the form of the teeth. Elmex InterX. Higher X-bristles make a better cleaning of the spots between the teeth possible and help to prevent cavities effectively. Elmex InterX – an improvement for

healthy teeth. Take the health of your teeth in your hands.” The last scene shows the toothbrush brushing the teeth model. This commercial clearly communicates that a cavities problem could occur using the wrong toothbrush. But by using Elmex InterX the problem will never occur. The consumer’s teeth will stay healthy, and he will never get cavities.

Another commercial that focuses on preventing a health problem is a commercial to protect people from AIDS (#233) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). The commercial starts out showing an eye that just opens. The camera moves back and a young woman is shown. She sits up in bed. Then she thinks back to the evening before. Scenes from the evening are shown. She and a young man went out for dinner. Then they kissed each other. They went home and continued kissing. They started to undress and went to bed together. Sometime in between she tried to find something in her bag, but she stopped looking for it because the young man continued kissing her. The next scene shows the young woman again the next morning. She puts her head in her hands. The scene from the previous evening is shown again. It rewinds and starts to play again. The viewer can see that this time she finds a condom in her bag when looking for it. A subtitle says: “You can’t rewind your life.” And the logo “Don’t give a chance to AIDS” is shown. This commercial clearly warns the consumer that if he has unprotected sex, a serious health problem could occur. To stay healthy, the commercial requests the consumers to use condoms to protect themselves against AIDS.

Overall, as the examples for this main message strategy show, the messages communicated by the commercials in this category are very narrow and easily interpretable. They all clearly focus on a health, a physical aspect. But although they focus on a more basic human need (in Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1954) biological, physiological needs are the lowest ranked need) they still express individualism, too. The consumer has a personal benefit using the product and therefore, the question that was used in this study to determine whether individualism is expressed in the commercial or not was answered affirmatively. Also, the consumer stands out as an individual by being strong and healthy. The consumer can live his individual life because he is strong and healthy and does not need the help of others.

The Safe Individual

The 'Safe Individual' is the main message strategy used the second least frequently to express individualism in German TV advertisements. Of the 320 ads 12 advertisements (3.8 percent of the sample) contained a main message that told the consumer he could be safe in one or another way when buying and using the product or service. Like the 'Healthy Individual' this message strategy is notably more specific than the main message strategies the 'Efficient Individual' or the 'Attractive Individual'. Nevertheless, it stood out as a unique category that could not be combined with any other category because it definitely expressed a different message.

Hofstede (1984) found that Germany is not only a highly individualistic culture, but also a culture with a strong uncertainty avoidance. In addition, as mentioned before, Mooij (2000a) when applying Hofstede's dimensions of culture and correlating them with the use of certain products in a society, found that the need for insurance products is partly influenced by the degree of individualism and by the degree of uncertainty avoidance in a culture. In collectivistic cultures the extended family or other in-groups guarantee a safety net, whereas in individualistic cultures people need another safety net. Germany falls in the cluster of countries with individualistic cultures and strong uncertainty avoidance, and consequently falls in the cluster of countries that are heavy insurance product users. As a matter of fact several of the advertisements that used the main message strategy the 'Safe Individual' were for insurance companies or services offered by insurance companies (Union Investment # 24, Volksfürsorge # 46, AXA Altersvorsorge #80, Württembergische #89 and BHW #282).

Like people in Germany, people living in the USA are heavy insurance product user because they, too, live in individualistic cultures. But, whereas Germans, living in a high uncertainty avoidance culture, make emotional decisions about their insurance products, Americans, living in a small uncertainty avoidance culture, make rational decisions about their insurance products (cf. Mooij 2000a: 91-100). As studies researching expressions of individualism in American advertising did not find the 'Safe Individual', the combination between individualism and high uncertainty avoidance culture in Germany could be the reason that when

looking at German advertisements a unique category the 'Safe Individual' emerged. However, it must be stated that in Taylor and Wolburg's study (1998) about expressions of individualism in France, Spain and the USA no such category was found, although France falls in the same cluster of countries as Germany.

The 'Safe Individual' is made up of the message strategies 'I am protected', 'I feel safe' and 'I can rely on somebody / something to be safe'. This category includes messages that promote the physical safety of the individual as well as a psychological safety feeling, like having insurance gives it to an individual. It also includes messages that promote that the individual can feel safe because he can rely on something. Something or somebody is trustworthy and reliable and therefore, gives the person a feeling of safety.

The German word for safe, 'sicher' includes the meanings of the English words safe, sure, secure, reliable, unendangered and assured. All these meanings are included in this category. Therefore, as mentioned before, both a safety feeling and actual physical safety are expressed by the 'Safe Individual'.

The main message strategy the 'Safe Individual' was used by the product categories 'Service Provider' (41.7 percent of all ads using the 'Safe Individual' were in this product category), 'Automotive / Transportation' (33.3 percent of all ads using the 'Safe Individual' were in this product category) and 'Beauty / Personal Care / Medicine' (25.0 percent of all ads using the 'Safe Individual' were in this product category).

On a scale with different stages of safety, the first stage would probably be to be able to rely on something or somebody, to trust something or somebody. A good example of an advertisement expressing this message is the example for Deutsche Bahn (#41) (German Railway) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). The commercial shows a woman who is decorating a room. Outside it storms and snows. All of a sudden the answering machine starts and a male voice says: "Hey you, I can't come. Look outside, everything is closed up. Say hi to the little one." The woman looks at the answering machine and seems to be disappointed. The next scene shows the man. He is standing behind an office window and looks outside where it storms even

more. The following scene shows the woman carrying a birthday cake to a table where her little son and some of his friends celebrate his birthday. The little boy looks sad. The next scene shows him standing at the window looking outside. He asks his mom: "Is dad coming?" She answers: "No, with this weather." Suddenly, a clown enters the room. He removes his clown mask and says: "Daddy, always the last one." The little boy runs towards him and throws his arm around him. A voice-over says: "Always the most reliable means of transportation in Germany. The German railway." This commercial clearly implies that the consumer can rely on the German railway. Even if circumstances are bad, the German railway helps the consumer to get wherever he needs to go. He is on the safe side with the Deutsche Bahn.

The next stage on the safety scale would probably be a feeling of safety that the person has because he is secure. This message strategy is mostly used by insurance companies. Examples for advertisements that use this message are the commercials for AXA Altersvorsorge (#80) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**) and the commercial for Volksfürsorge (#46) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). Both of these companies are insurance companies. The commercial for AXA Altersvorsorge opens with a long shot of a neighborhood from high above. While a voice-over talks, the camera moves closer and closer towards a certain house and finally shows a woman up close. Children are playing in the garden. The voice-over tells: "Statistically a person buys 10.8 cars in his life, builds 0.3 houses and has 1.3 children. For us, your life is not statistic. It is unique. AXA age precaution. We accompany you. We secure you – for a whole life." The AXA logo and the claim: "The Future. Together. Now." are shown. This commercial communicates that a consumer having AXA Altersvorsorge is secured for his whole life, because he is unique for the insurance company. This commercial is very similar to several commercials that were aired in the time the sample was recorded. All of these commercials communicated that the product or service will secure the individual especially in old age. The reasons that several very similar commercials aired at the same point of time could be that in Germany the retirement system has changed recently and people are requested to take care of their age precaution themselves more than before.

Similar to the AXA Altersvorsorge commercial, a commercial for Volksfürsorge also communicates that the consumer is secured when using the services of Volksfürsorge. The commercial opens with the subtitle: "One minute in Germany." Several scenes follow in which the Volksfürsorge helps people in crisis situations. A voice-over tells: "Every 30 seconds, Volksfürsorge pays for harms or life insurances. These payments account for over five billions Deutsch Mark a year. Our business is called provision of services. Serving and providing assistance. That means to be fast and flexible. Don't worry, Volksfürsorge. Our name (literal translation for Volksfürsorge: 'care for the people') is our task." This commercial, like the previous one, implies that the consumer can feel secure when he is insured by the Volksfürsorge, because in case a crisis occurs, the Volksfürsorge will help.

Another group of commercials that used the main message strategy the 'Safe Individual', focused on physical safety of the consumer. His body or a part of his body is protected if he uses the product. An example for this group of advertisements is a commercial for Eucerin PH5 Spraylotion (#121) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**), a body crème. The commercial opens with a little boy running into the arms of his mother. She sits in a gymnastics room. A voice-over tells: "Sensitive skin needs special protection. Therefore, try the new PH5 Spraylotion by Eucerin. Poor vitamin E and highly concentrated dexponthenol activate the natural protection of the skin. I trust in the new PH5 Spraylotion by Eucerin because extensive protection is important to me." The woman sprays herself with Eucerin PH5 Spraylotion. Then she embraces the little boy. The commercial clearly promises that the product protects the skin of the user, and therefore, protects an important part of his body. This kind of protection is very different from the protection given by, for example an insurance company, but nevertheless, like the security given by an insurance company it makes the individual safe and protected - just in a different way.

The last group of commercials in this category communicates both physical safety and a mental feeling of safety. These commercials communicate that the consumer will be protected in case something critical happens, but, as it promises the consumer that he will be physically safe in case a crisis happens, it also gives him a safety feeling.

One of the commercials in this group is a commercial for Stahl (#26) (steel) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). A woman drives in her car. She thinks aloud: "You are thrilling and reliable. You give me safety. Why are men not made of steel?" While she thinks aloud she passes another car. A man sits in this car and looks over to her. A subtitle tells: "Fascination steel." Another good example for this group of commercials is a commercial for the Ford Mondeo, a car (#236) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**). The commercial opens with a thunderstorm at night. A little girl lays in her bed, awake. She gets up and walks through the whole house till she arrives in the garage. She climbs into the back seat of the Ford Mondeo and falls asleep. A voice-over tells: "IPS – intelligent protection system - makes the Ford Mondeo one of the safest spots you can wish." Her father who awoke when she walked by his room follows her, stands next to the car, sees her asleep in the car and smiles. The Ford logo is shown and the slogan: "Ford. Arrive better." Both commercials imply that the consumer will be safe in case something like an accident happens. But both commercials also give the consumer a safety feeling by telling that he will be protected.

Safety has many different specifications, but all of them help the consumer to stand out as an individual because he is safe and protected. He can rely on something or somebody. The fact to be safe and to know about it helps the consumer to live his individuality. He can care about himself and he does not need the protection of a large in-group like individuals do in collectivistic cultures.

The Intellectual Individual

The main message strategy the 'Intellectual Individual' was used the least often. Only 6 of the 320 unique advertisements in the sample or 1.9 percent of all ads employed this theme.

The category the 'Intellectual Individual' contains all advertisements that carry main messages such as 'I gain knowledge', 'I know more', 'I am better informed' or 'I become more intelligent'. The advertised products are promoted to help the consumer get a better insight into something, to make him more knowledgeable or more intelligent.

All commercials in this category either focus on some kind of information the consumer can get by using the product or service, or they focus on the increasing intellectual ability of the consumer. The 'Intellectual Individual' can stand out by his knowledge, his intelligence.

The consumer can master a certain task better because of the information he learned or because of an increased intellectual ability. In contrast to the 'Efficient Individual' the commercials in this category do not focus on the task that is performed and on the success of performing the task well or better than before but emphasize the intellect or on the increased knowledge that makes it possible for the consumer to perform the task better or faster or at all.

This main message strategy, like the main message strategies the 'Healthy Individual' or the 'Safe Individual', is very specific. Nonetheless, it stood out as a unique category. The 'Intellectual Individual' was used for commercials of the product category 'Others' (3 commercials for different kinds of media) (50 percent of all ads using the 'Intellectual Individual' were in this product category), the product category 'Food / Beverages' (33.3 percent of all ads using the 'Intellectual Individual' were in this product category) and the product category 'Communication Technology' (16.7 percent of all ads using the 'Intellectual Individual' were in this product category).

A commercial for TV Spielfilm (#45) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**) promises the consumer that he will be better informed when he uses this magazine. The commercial opens showing a snowstorm globe. A voice-over tells: "With more than 700 feature films throughout the holidays you can stay informed with TV Spielfilm. Watch TV better for 14 days." The magazine is shown. This commercial tells the consumer that he has to get TV Spielfilm to not get confused with all the different feature films. He is better informed about the programming with TV Spielfilm and can select the films he really wants to watch.

Another commercial promising to give the consumer information that he needs, is a commercial for D2_Sun (#167) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**), a cell phone company. The commercial shows a snowboarder from a D2_Sun commercial that was aired previously. He is stuck in the snow upside down. A voice-over says: "So you know, where else you can vanish.

D2_Guide. Tips where to go clubbing and information about upcoming events directly to your WAP cell phone. The commercial promises the consumer that if he gets D2_Guide, he will be better informed about upcoming events and other possibilities to go out.

A slightly different approach is used by a commercial for Red Bull (#303) (commercial provided on **Plate 1**), an energy drink. This commercial promotes that the intellectual abilities of the person who drinks Red Bull increases. The commercial is a cartoon. A prince rides on his horse towards a tower. He shouts: "Rapunzel, honey, it is me, your sweetheart." Rapunzel looks out of the window on top of the tower and says: "Wait, I will let my hair down." She lets her hair fall out of the window. He tries to reach for it, but the hair is too short. He says: "Too short, by a hair." She answers: "Then you have to wait till my hair has grown long enough." He guesses: "Till then, my hair is gray." She: "So, we only have letters." He gets a Red Bull out of his pocket and advises her: "What you need is a Red Bull." The Red Bull is shown and a subtitle reads: "Red Bull Energy drink. Vitalizes mind and body." He throws her the Red Bull and she asks: "Ah, you think Red Bull gives you wings (annotation: Red Bull's slogan in Germany)." He agrees: "Yes, but first of all Red Bull also vitalizes the mind. Come on honey, just go and open the door." The commercial implies that Red Bull helps the consumer develop his intellectual abilities. He thinks keenly and new ideas and solutions come to his mind.

Overall, there are two messages that are expressed by the commercials in this category: You can stand out as an individual because you gained knowledge or because your intellectual ability increased.

Commercials without a message of individualism

A total of 88 commercials in the sample or 27.5 percent of all ads in the sample did not express individualism in their main message strategy. This means that the question 'Do I personally benefit if I buy and use the product' was answered with 'No'. This does not mean that the consumer will not have any benefit if he actually buys and uses the product or service – why

else would he use the product or service? – but this benefit is not communicated in the main message strategy of the commercial.

Nevertheless, a consumer can still interpret the commercial in a way that promises him a benefit, but the main approach does not express this message explicitly. For example, if a commercial just demonstrated the product, but did not show that the user had a personal benefit if he used the product, this was coded as 'no individualism'. Though, a consumer who needs a product or service that does exactly what is demonstrated by the commercial will still go and buy the product or service because he derived from the commercial that the product or service will help him with whatever he wants to do. However, according to the coding scheme, there was no message of individualism in the commercial, the cultural value individualism was not reflected by the commercial.

The biggest group of commercials not reflecting individualism in their main message strategy advertised for products or services that fall into the product category 'Entertainment' (38.6 percent of all ads that did not reflect individualism were in this product category). Almost all these commercials (31 of the 34 commercials in the product category 'Entertainment' that did not express individualism) promoted either movies on video, DVD or in the movie theater or music CDs or musicals. All these commercials were very similar. They showed a preview of the movie or a part of a music video and announced the date when the movie would be in the movie theatres or where the CD could be bought. These commercials were very similar to program promos. They were simple announcements and did not contain any main message of individualism because no personal benefit that the consumer would have when buying and using the product or service was promoted.

The second biggest group of commercials not expressing individualism in their main message strategy falls into the product category 'Food / Beverages' (38.6 percent of all ads that did not reflect individualism are in this product category). Also, 10.2 percent of the ads not expressing individualism in their main message strategy fall into the product category

'Communication Technology'. Furthermore, in each of the other product categories several commercials do not express individualism in their main message strategy.

The main messages expressed by these commercials were very different, but it was noticeable that a lot of these commercials simply demonstrated the product. Another big group, as mentioned before, were simple announcements of, for example, the starts date of a movie. The third group that was noticeable was a group of commercials that introduced new products, mostly in the form of an announcement.

An example for this group of commercials is a commercial by Krombacher (#280), a German beer company. The commercial starts showing a bottle of Krombacher. A voice-over tells: "Krombacher is now available in a small case. Krombacher 11." The small case is shown. This commercial simply informs the consumer that Krombacher is available in smaller cases now and does not tell him about any personal benefit he will have when buying the product.

This commercial and most of the other commercials that did not express individualism in their main message strategy were very product focused (like for example all the commercials promoting a movie by simply showing previews or for example the commercials promoting the product or service by demonstrating it and simply showing the product or service 'in action'). Like the group of commercial expressing individualism, the commercials in not expressing individualism are also very different. However, they all have in common that no individual benefit for the consumer was promoted in the main message strategy of the commercials.

4.2 Messages of Individualism by Product Category

The previous sections mentioned for which type of product categories each type of individualism was used. It was noticeable that not every type of individualism was used in every product category and that some types of individualism predominantly seemed to be used in only one or two product categories.

To determine whether a relationship between main message strategy and type of individualism exists, and, if yes, what relationship, the eight messages of individualism were cross-tabulated with the nine product categories.

Cross tabulating 'Messages of Individualism' and 'Product Categories', the chi-square test was highly significant (chi-square = 472.034, $p < 0.0005$). However, 63 of the 81 cells (77.8 percent) had expected values less than 5.0. This definitely exceeds the guideline that no more than 20 percent of the cells should have expected values less than 5.0. Therefore, the results of the chi-square analysis are questionable because of the small expected values. Nevertheless, some observable trends can be reported with regard to the dominant use of certain main message strategies in certain product categories. There seems to be a relationship between certain product categories and the type of individualism that is used to advertise the products and services in this category. **Table 9** shows the distribution of main message strategies of individualism across product categories. The next sections briefly look at each product categories to see whether there are observable trends in this category.

Food / Beverages

Commercials that fall into the product category 'Food / Beverages' mostly used the main message strategy the 'Sensual Individual' (34.9 percent). In addition, 19.3 percent of the commercials in this product category used the main message strategy the 'Attractive / Social Individual', 12 percent the 'Caring Individual', 3.6 percent the 'Self-Expressive Individual', 2.4 percent the 'Intellectual Individual' and 1.2 percent the 'Efficient Individual'. Of all commercials in this product category, 26.5 percent did not use any main message of individualism at all. Also, the main message strategies the 'Healthy Individual' and the 'Safe Individual' were not used at all.

Both main message strategies that were employed the most often, the 'Sensual Individual' and the 'Attractive / Social Individual', seem to make sense in so far as eating and drinking are sensual experiences.

Table 9

Distribution of Main Messages of Individualism across Product Categories

Product Category	Type of Individualism									
	Efficient	Attractive/ Social	Sensual	Self- Expressive	Caring	Healthy	Safe	Intellectual	No	Total
Food / Beverages (83)	1 1.2%* 1.6%** .3%***	16 19.3% 27.1% 5.0%	29 34.9% 87.9% 9.1%	3 3.6% 13.0% .9%	10 12.0% 52.6% 3.1%	0	0	2 2.4% 33.3% .6%	22 26.5% 25.0% 6.9%	83 100.0% 25.9% 25.9%
Beauty / Personal Care / Medicine (59)	0	23 39.0% 39.0% 7.2%	1 1.7% 3.0% .3%	7 11.9% 30.4% 2.2%	2 3.4% 10.5% .6%	18 30.5% 100.0% 5.6%	3 5.1% 25.0% .9%	0	5 8.5% 5.7% 1.6%	59 100.0% 18.4% 18.4%
Communication Technology (51)	27 52.9% 43.5% 8.4%	13 25.5% 22.0% 4.1%	0	0	1 2.0% 5.3% .3%	0	0	1 2.0% 16.7% .3%	9 17.6% 10.2% 2.8%	51 100.0% 15.9% 15.9%
Entertainment (39)	1 2.6% 1.6% .3%	3 7.7% 5.1% .9%	1 2.6% 3.0% .3%	0	0	0	0	0	34 87.2% 38.6% 10.6%	39 100.0% 12.2% 12.2%
Service Provider (22)	7 31.8% 11.3% 2.2%	2 9.1% 3.4% .6%	1 4.5% 3.0% .3%	4 18.2% 17.4% 1.3%	0	0	5 22.7% 41.7% 1.6%	0	3 13.6% 3.4% .9%	22 100.0% 6.9% 6.9%
Retailer (21)	13 61.9% 21.0% 4.1%	2 9.5% 3.4% .6%	0	1 4.8% 4.3% .3%	3 14.3% 15.8% .9%	0	0	0	2 9.5% 2.3% .6%	21 100.0% 6.6% 6.6%
Automotive / Transportation (18)	3 16.7% 4.8% .9%	0	0	7 38.9% 30.4% 2.2%	0	0	4 22.2% 33.3% 1.3%	0	4 22.2% 4.5% 1.3%	18 100.0% 5.6% 5.6%
Household Products / Appliances (11)	8 72.7% 12.9% 2.5%	0	1 9.1% 3.0% .3%	0	0	0	0	0	2 18.2% 2.3% .6%	11 100.0% 3.4% 3.4%
Other (16)	2 12.5% 3.2% .6%	0	0	1 6.3% 4.3% .3%	3 18.8% 15.8% .9%	0	0	3 18.8% 50.0% .9%	7 43.8% 8.0% 2.2%	16 100.0% 5.0% 5.0%
Total	62 19.4% 100.0% 19.4%	59 18.4% 100.0% 18.4%	33 10.3% 100.0% 10.3%	23 7.2% 100.0% 7.2%	19 5.9% 100.0% 5.9%	18 5.6% 100.0% 5.6%	12 3.8% 100.0% 3.8%	6 1.9% 100.0% 1.9%	88 27.5% 100.0% 27.5%	320 100.0% 100.0% 100.0%

* Percent of Product Category (Row Percent)

** Percent of Individualism Strategy (Column Percent)

*** Percent of Total Ads in Sample

Also, many times, eating and drinking are social experiences, too, especially drinking alcohol. Therefore, there seems to be a relationship between the nature of the product and the main message strategies that were used.

Beauty / Personal Care / Medicine

Of the commercials in the product category 'Beauty / Personal Care / Medicine' 39 percent used the main message strategy the 'Attractive / Social Individual'. This seems to be an obvious and logical choice as products in this group mostly 'sell' beauty and attractiveness. The product characteristics again are related to the main message strategy that was used.

In addition, 30.5 percent of the commercials in this product category used the 'Healthy Individual' (this is the only product category that used this theme). As medical products are included in this product category, it makes sense that the 'Healthy Individual' is employed by many commercials in this product category. 'Health' is what these commercials are selling.

In addition, the main message strategy the 'Self-Expressive Individual' was used by 11.9 percent of the commercials in this product category. As mentioned in the paragraph about the 'Self-Expressive Individual', a great number of these commercials were for perfumes. Perfumes are often selected because the person thinks that this fragrance reflects one's personality, reflects who the person thinks he is. Therefore, this main message strategy makes sense, too.

Furthermore, 5.1 percent of the commercials used the main message strategy the 'Safe Individual', 3.4 percent the 'Caring Individual' and 1.7 percent the 'Sensual Individual'. Of the commercials in the product category 'Beauty / Personal Care / Medicine' 8.5 percent did not use any main message of individualism. The 'Efficient Individual' and the 'Intellectual Individual' were not used at all.

Communication Technology

Of all commercials in the product category 'Communication Technology' 52.9 percent used the main message strategy the 'Efficient Individual'. The commercials promised the consumer

that he could be more efficient at work or at home using the product or service. This makes sense in so far as most products that fall into this product category are 'rational products'. Buying a technical device is a highly involving logical decision for many people. Consumers make their choices because of rational arguments and information. The 'Efficient Individual' can provide these arguments: 'I save time', 'I save money', 'I can fulfill a certain task better'.

Of the commercials in this product category, 25.5 percent used the 'Attractive / Social Individual'. This too, seems to make sense in so far as several commercials in this category advertised cell phones. Cell phones in Germany, at least for a lot of young people, are prestige objects. 'If you want to be in, you need a cell phone' is a message many young people believe in.

A good example for a commercial that expresses this 'being in, being stylish' is the previously mentioned commercial for Motorola V66 (#73). This commercial shows the cell phone and tells: "Communicate in style."

This shows how much a cell phone can be a 'style object' and therefore, an object with which people can show off in front of friends or acquaintances. In addition, cell phones have a social aspect, in so far as they connect people. This product characteristic was, for example, used by the previously mentioned commercials for Vodafone.

Therefore, both of the main message strategies that are employed the most often for products or services in this product category, the 'Efficient Individual' and the 'Attractive / Social Individual', seem to be related to the characteristics of the products or services.

In addition, 2.0 percent of the commercials in this product category used the main message strategy the 'Intellectual Individual' and 17.6 percent did not use any main message that expressed individualism. The main message strategies the 'Healthy Individual', the 'Sensual Individual' the 'Safe Individual' and the 'Self-Expressive Individual' were not used at all.

Entertainment

Of the commercials in the product category 'Entertainment' 7.7 percent used the main message strategy the 'Attractive / Social Individual', 2.6 percent used the 'Efficient Individual' and

2.6 percent employed the 'Sensual Individual'. By far most commercials in this group did not use any main message of individualism at all (87.2 percent). As mentioned before, the reason for this is that most commercials in this group either were for movies or for CDs. The commercials for this group of products mostly were designed as simple previews of the films or clippings from music videos. Therefore, no main message of individualism was employed.

The main messages the 'Healthy Individual', the 'Caring Individual', the 'Safe Individual', the 'Self-Expressive Individual' and the 'Intellectual Individual' were not used for this group of commercials at all.

Service Provider

Of the commercials in the product category 'Service Provider' 31.8 percent used the main message strategy the 'Efficient Individual'. In addition, 22.7 percent employed the 'Safe Individual' and 18.2 percent used the 'Self-Expressive Individual'. Also, 9.1 percent used the 'Attractive / Social Individual' and 4.5 percent the 'Sensual Individual'.

As the service providers in this group offer very different services, it is difficult to state any relationship between the nature of a service and the main message strategy that is applied to promote this service. The only obvious relationship exists between the 'Safe Individual' and services offered by insurance companies (several commercials advertised for insurance companies and most of them used the 'Safe Individual').

Of the commercials in this product category 13.6 percent did not use any main message of individualism. Also, the main message strategies the 'Healthy Individual', the 'Caring Individual' and the 'Intellectual Individual' were not employed.

Retailer

The main message strategy used most often by commercials in the product category 'Retailer', again, was the 'Efficient Individual'. This main message strategy was used by 61.9 percent of the commercials in this product category. Also, 14.3 percent of the commercials used

the main message strategy the 'Caring Individual' and 9.5 percent used the main message strategy the 'Attractive / Social Individual'. In addition, 4.8 percent used the 'Self-Expressive Individual' and 9.5 percent did not use any message of individualism. The main message strategies the 'Healthy Individual', the 'Sensual Individual' and the 'Safe Individual' were not used at all.

Similar to the 'Communication Technology' category, there seems to be a relationship between using the main message strategy the 'Efficient Individual' and the product category 'Retailer'. By far, the 'Efficient Individual' seems to be the most striking choice of main message strategy for products or services that fall into this category. One of the reasons for this choice could be that retailers often advertise by telling the price and especially by emphasizing the savings an individual will make when buying the product now. Such messages would fall into the category the 'Efficient Individual' because the message 'I save money' is expressed.

Automotive / Transportation

Of the commercials in the product category 'Automotive / Transportation' 38.9 percent used the main message strategy the 'Self-Expressive Individual'. Also, 22.2 percent used the 'Safe Individual', 16.7 percent used the 'Efficient Individual' and 22.2 percent did not use any message of individualism at all. The main message strategies the 'Attractive / Social Individual', the 'Healthy Individual', the 'Sensual Individual' the 'Caring Individual' and the 'Intellectual Individual' were not used for commercials in this product category.

The prevalent use of the main message strategy the 'Safe Individual' makes sense in so far as for a great number of people the safety of a car is important. People want to know that they are protected in case an accident happens. Therefore, again, this main message strategy seems to be related to characteristics of the product.

Obviously, there seems to be an even stronger relationship between the 'Self-Expressive Individual' and the product category 'Automotive / Transportation'. An explanation for this could be that cars are often selected according to one's own personality. They are prestige objects in

so far as they express who the person driving the car wants to be or how this person sees himself.

Household Products / Appliances

The main message strategy employed most often for commercials in the product category 'Household Products / Appliances' was the 'Efficient Individual' (72.7 percent). Household products / appliances mostly are very task-related products. They are purchased to perform a certain task in one's household. Therefore, it seems to make sense to employ the 'Efficient Individual', as this main message strategy expresses how a certain task can be performed in an efficient way. Again, the product characteristics and the main message strategy seem to be related.

Also, 9.1 percent of the commercials in this group used the main message strategy the 'Sensual Individual' and 18.2 percent did not employ any main message of individualism at all. The main message strategies the 'Attractive / Social Individual', the 'Healthy Individual', the 'Caring Individual', the 'Safe Individual', the 'Self-Expressive Individual' and the 'Intellectual Individual' were not used at all.

It must be stated that probably one of the reasons why very few main message strategies were applied in this product category is that only 3.4 percent (or 11 commercials) of the sample fall into this product category. Because there are very few commercials, the chance that a variety of different main message strategies are employed is reduced.

Other

The product category 'Other' includes advertisements for media, humanitarian organizations, Euro advertisements, an advertisement for a religious group and an advertisement for a roll of film. Of these commercials 18.8 percent employed the main message strategy the 'Intellectual Individual' (all these commercial were for some kind of media), 18.8 percent used the theme the 'Caring Individual' (all these commercial were for humanitarian organizations), 12.5

percent expressed the 'Efficient Individual' (one of these commercials was for Yellow Pages and one for a Pay TV channel) and 6.3 percent the 'Self-Expressive Individual' (for a religious group).

Therefore, when looking at the individual advertisements in this group, there is an obvious relationship between the product characteristics and the main message strategy that was employed.

Of the commercials in this category 43.8 percent did not use any kind of individualism in their main message strategy and the 'Attractive / Social Individual', the 'Healthy Individual', the 'Sensual Individual' and the 'Safe Individual' were not used at all.

Summary of Messages of Individualism by Product Category

Overall, the nature of a specific product or service and the type of individualism that is used to promote this product or service seems to be correlated. Taylor and Wolburg (1998) in their study about the expressions of individualism in American, French and Spanish advertising found that messages of individualism reflect cultural patterns more than they reflect product categories. However, they found some correlation between product categories and type of individualism, too. Therefore, culture might possibly be the dominant influence on expressions of individualism, but the product type definitely plays an important role in which type of individualism is used as well.

The product category, or more precisely the characteristics of the individual products or services, definitely have an influence on the type of individualism that is chosen to promote the product or service, and they also have an influence on the main message strategies that are NOT used to promote the product or service. For example, the main message strategy the 'Healthy Individual' is only used for products within the category 'Beauty / Personal Care / Medicine' where an obvious relationship between the main message strategy and the characteristics of the product exists. It is not used for all other product categories, where such a relationship is much less obvious.

However, that does not mean that a main message strategy cannot be employed for products or services where no obvious relationship between the characteristics of the product and

the main message strategy exists. As long as it conveys an understandable message and makes a connection with the consumer, such an ad could gain greater attention apart from the mass of redundant message strategies.

4.3 Summary of Major Findings

This study found that the cultural value individualism, an important value in the German culture, is expressed by 72.5 percent of German TV commercials. Like previous research, this study showed that there are different ways how individualism can be expressed in advertising. Eight different ways were discovered in this study:

- **The Efficient Individual:** Commercials using this main message strategy promised the consumer to be more efficient when he would buy and use the product.
- **The Attractive / Social Individual:** Commercials in this group show how the individual can stand out being attractive and / or having a good / better social life.
- **The Sensual Individual:** Commercials in this category express that the individual will have a sensual pleasure when buying and using the product. By means of this sensual pleasure the consumer will enjoy life and have fun.
- **The Self-Expressive Individual:** Commercials in this group show that the product or service will assist the consumer in becoming who he really wants to be or in expressing who he really is.
- **The Caring Individual:** Commercials in this group featured the individual as someone who cares about other people or is cared for by others. The product or service helps the consumer to express his caring or to be taken care of.
- **The Healthy Individual:** Commercials employing this theme communicate to the consumer that he will become healthier / can live a healthier life when using the product.
- **The Safe Individual:** Commercials in this group make a promise to the consumer that he will be safe and protected when buying and using the product or service.

- **The Intellectual Individual:** Commercials in this group tell the consumer that he will be more knowledgeable and distinguished by his knowledge when buying and using the product or service.

The theme that was applied most often by the commercials in this sample was the 'Efficient Individual' (19.4 percent), followed by the 'Attractive / Social Individual' (18.4 percent), the 'Sensual Individual' (10.3 percent) and the 'Self-Expressive Individual' (7.2 percent). The four other categories were used by between approximately 2 percent and 6 percent of the commercials.

The presence of the different types of individualism in advertising varies widely. It also varies widely in which product categories the different main message strategies were used to advertise for the products and services in this group. For example, commercials for products or services that fall into the product category 'Communication Technology' mostly used the main message strategy the 'Efficient Individual', whereas commercials for products or services from the product category 'Beauty / Personal Care/ Medicine' mostly employed the 'Attractive / Social Individual'.

Overall, several relationships between different product categories and the use of different expressions of individualism seem to exist. Characteristics of certain products and services seem to influence the choice of the main message strategy that is employed to promote this product or service.

5 Conclusion

This study asked how the cultural value individualism is expressed in German advertising. Eight different ways to express individualism in German TV advertising were discovered. Also, several relationships between the nature of certain products and the use of certain ways to express individualism to promote these products emerged.

To find out more about the implications of these findings, the following paragraphs will correlate the findings of this study with definitions of individualism in general and with the cultural values that were discovered in Germany by other studies. Also, the results of this study will be compared with the results of other studies that researched the expressions of individualism in the advertisements of countries different from Germany.

Following this discussion section, implications that are derived from the results chapter and from these comparisons will be presented. Both implications for advertisers in general and implications for international advertisers will be mentioned. Finally, limitations of this study and suggestions for further research will be described and a short final conclusion will finish this study.

5.1 Discussion

Comparing the expressions of individualism found in this study with generic definitions of individualism can help to determine how much the findings of this study coincide with what other studies found about individualism, and therefore, how much the expressions of individualism in advertising coincide with generic expressions of individualism.

The paragraph following thereafter will compare the cultural values that other studies found to be important in Germany with the findings of this study. Wolburg noted that it is essential to the understanding of cultural values that they are not mutually exclusive, and that they interact with each other (cf. Wolburg 1995: 14). Therefore, it is likely that other cultural values that are

important in the German culture are reflected by the expression of individualism in this study, too. Finding out which values interact with the expression of individualism and which are not included can give additional knowledge about how cultural values are reflected in advertising and whether they are reflected truly.

Furthermore, it will be discussed which ways to express individualism seem to be more 'universal' and which ones seem to be more culture specific. Therefore, the ways of how to express individualism found in this study will be compared to the ways found in Taylor and Wolburg's study in 1998 and in Wolburg and Kim's study in 1998. In addition, the relationships between product categories and main message strategy that seemed to emerge in this study will be compared to the ones found in Taylor and Wolburg's study. This will provide additional knowledge for advertisers to decide whether they should plan a standardized or a localized campaign.

Individualism in General and Expressions of Individualism in German TV Advertising

This study found eight different ways individualism can be expressed in German television advertisements: the 'Efficient Individual' the 'Attractive / Social Individual', the 'Sensual Individual', the 'Self-Expressive Individual', the 'Caring Individual', the 'Healthy Individual', the 'Safe Individual' and the 'Intellectual Individual'.

The definitions of individualism found in the literature mainly focus on the individual standing out from the crowd, looking only after himself and his immediate family, and striving for his own, personal advantage. Marieke de Mooij summarizes individualism as "doing things your way, going it alone." (Mooij 1998: 180). Harry Triandis (1989) stated that the core meaning of individualism is giving priority to personal goals over the goals of the in-group. He also mentioned that in vertical, individualistic cultures people are expected to try to stand out from the crowd (cf. Triandis 1995). This coincides with several characteristics in the ways individualism was expressed in the German advertisements. First, standing out from the crowd is expressed by all eight main message strategies. Some express this characteristic more explicitly, like the 'Self-

Expressive Individual'; others express it more implicitly like the 'Caring Individual' or the 'Healthy Individual'. But, as mentioned in the result chapter, even the commercials using these themes feature each person individually and show how the individual can stand out by being strong and healthy or by caring about others. Although the 'Caring Individual' cares about "the goals of the (in-) group", he stands out by doing so. He is not featured as 'just' any member of the group whose usual duty it is to care about the group, instead he is featured as somebody special, because he cares. According to Hofstede (1991)

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 in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty, (Hofstede 1991: 51).

This characteristic of individualistic cultures, as mentioned before, is reflected by the 'Safe Individual'.

Hofstede also mentioned that in individualistic societies task prevails over relationship in the work place, while relationship prevails over task in the collectivistic work place. This task-relevance is reflected by the 'Efficient Individual'. In individualistic cultures, individuals make choices in their private lives and have their own, independent opinion. This is clearly reflected by the 'Self-Expressive Individual'. He lives life according to 'his rules'. Another characteristic of individualistic cultures that Hofstede mentions is that the purpose of education is learning how to learn. This characteristic is reflected by the 'Intellectual Individual'. The commercials using this main message strategy show the consumers the best ways to learn, how to gain knowledge.

Overall, the generic characteristics of individualism, like standing out from the crowd and loose ties between individuals, are reflected in all ways that were uncovered about how individualism is expressed in German TV advertising. Some other characteristics - for example characteristics that Hofstede defined for individualistic cultures - are only reflected in certain main message strategies. Other characteristics, which, for example, Hofstede equates with individualistic cultures, are not reflected by this sample at all. For example, Hofstede defines that speaking one's mind is a characteristic of an honest person in individualistic societies and that

this is appreciated and expected in individualistic cultures. However, no 'Honest Individual' was found in German TV advertisements. Another definition Hofstede gives, is that, for example, teachers are expected to treat their students impartially in individualistic societies. However, no 'Impartial Individual' strategy could be found in the advertisements in this study.

It has to be stated that the fact that only a limited number of expressions of individualism were found in this study might be attributable to the small sample and the limitation of this study to look only for the main message strategy and not for contextual clues as well. However, some of the expressions of individualism found in this study could not be discovered in the literature - for example, the 'Healthy Individual' and the 'Attractive / Social' individual.

Therefore, it can be concluded that, although the basic characteristics of individualism are omnipresent, the more specific characteristics are not equally expressed in all cultures or are not expressed in advertising. Individualism can be expressed in many different ways and when comparing individualism across cultures, it is important to use a definition of individualism that is generic enough for application.

This comparison between the general definition of individualism and the specific expressions found in this study shows something else: Because the basic characteristics of individualism are reflected in all eight main message strategies that were defined to express individualism, it can be inferred that the methodology or more specifically the two questions ("Will I personally benefit if I buy and use the product?" and "What will happen if I buy and use the product?") that were used to find out whether an advertisement reflects individualism or not were suitable to research the presence or absence individualism.

Cultural Values in Germany and Expressions of Individualism in TV Advertising

This study only focused on the different expressions of the cultural value individualism. But when looking at the results of this study, the eight different types of individualism, other cultural values seem to be reflected in these types, too. Individualism is a core and very basic cultural value, and when expressing individualism in different ways, other personal values probably

interplay with the message of individualism. This seems to be logical, as an important influence on a person's personality are the values he holds. Therefore, when expressing himself, his personality, his individualism, it is likely that other values influence these expressions.

This is also communicated by Wolburg's notion that it is essential to the understanding of cultural values that they are not mutually exclusive and that they interact with each other (cf. Wolburg 1995: 14). Mooij (1998), too, emphasized the interplay between different cultural values. For example, she mentioned that a combination of strong uncertainty avoidance and individualism results in rules that are written and explicit, whereas a combination of strong uncertainty avoidance and collectivism results in rules that are implicit and rooted in tradition.

Therefore, it seems to be justifiable to compare the expressions of individualism found in this study with cultural values found to be important in Germany by other studies. This comparison can – keeping in mind the limited scope of this study – provide an idea about which values are dominantly reflected in advertising and interact with the expressions of individualism in advertising and which are neglected.

Hofstede (1984) found that Germany is strong in uncertainty avoidance, low in power distance, masculine and highly individualistic. The current study, as mentioned before, indicated that the high individualism in the German culture is reflected in German advertisements. However, not only individualism is reflected by the eight main message strategies that were discovered to express individualism in German advertising, but also some of the other values Hofstede found to be important in the German culture are reflected.

A possible relationship that was mentioned previously is that between Germany as a high uncertainty avoidance culture and the 'Safe Individual'. Uncertainty is the extent to which people feel threatened by uncertainty and ambiguity and try to avoid these situations. This is reflected in the main message strategy the 'Safe Individual': This main message strategy expresses that the person using the product is safe, protected and can rely on somebody / something else. He avoids uncertainty.

Another relationship can be supposed between low power distance and the expressions of individualism. Mooij (1998), interpreting Hofstede's dimensions, mentions that dependency is one element of high power distance and especially of the hierarchical relationships that come with it. As Germany is low in power distance, it goes along with this notion that the messages of individualism found in this study show individuals as independent persons who master their life and stand out from the crowd in one way or another. They mostly are not dependent on other people. In addition, in small power distance cultures, older people try to look younger. This goes along with the main message strategy the 'Attractive Individual' as attractiveness in Western cultures seems to be limited to the young and good-looking.

Furthermore, Hofstede defined Germany as a masculine culture, whereas Fernandez et al (1997) later defined Germany as a feminine culture. Taking a closer look at the different expressions of individualism, both these values seem to be reflected. In masculine countries, the dominant values are achievement and success, performance is important, result-, winning-, and success-orientation is omnipresent. These values are reflected by the 'Efficient Individual'. This main message strategy includes messages that tell the consumer how he can perform a task better and can be more 'successful' in what he is doing by saving time or money or having less trouble. In addition, Mooij (1998) found a relationship between masculinity and strongly agreeing with the statement 'I like to stand out in a crowd'. This relationship is reflected by all messages of individualism. In feminine cultures, caring for others and quality of life are important. These values are reflected by the 'Caring Individual' and the 'Sensual Individual', as the 'Sensual Individual' includes messages like 'enjoy life' and 'have fun'.

Hall found that Germany is precise and highly organized (Hall 1990). He also mentions that time lies at the core of the German culture, because it helps to organize life. This is at least partly reflected by the 'Efficient Individual' as this category includes the message 'I save time'. Hall also mentions that intellectual power ranks high in Germany, which is partly reflected in the main message strategy the 'Intellectual Individual', although it has to be remembered that this main

message strategy was hardly used. Therefore, the importance of intellectual power that Hall found in Germany is definitely not reflected accurately in advertising.

Grunert, Grunert, Beatty (1989) found that for German students self-respect, sense of belonging, warm relationship and self-fulfillment are important and that for their parents sense of belonging, self-respect, security, self-fulfillment and sense of accomplishment are dominant values. Some of these values are reflected by the themes found in the current study. Self-respect and self-fulfillment are at least partly reflected by the 'Self-Expressive Individual'. Warm relationships are reflected by the 'Social Individual' and the 'Caring Individual'. Security, as mentioned before, is reflected by the 'Safe Individual' and sense of accomplishment, again, is reflected by the 'Efficient Individual'. Rytina (2002) found that the Germans think of themselves as efficient, which clearly is reflected by the 'Efficient Individual'.

Overall, not only individualism, but also other values that are important to the German culture seem to be reflected in the main message strategies used by German advertisements found in this study. However, - although the results found in this comparison have to be treated with reserve, as it was not the goal of this study to look for all values reflected in advertising - it seems to be clear that some values are represented in advertising more dominantly than others. For example, order, being well-organized, preciseness, candor and perseverance, values that were also found to be important for the German culture (cf. Hall 1990) do not seem to be reflected, or at least not obviously, in German TV advertisements. As these values were not actively sought and as the advertisements were only coded for main message elements and not for contextual clues that might reflect other values, this can not be stated beyond doubt, but as several other values were reflected by the results found in this study, this seems to be at least a first indication of a distorted reflection of cultural values in German TV advertising as it was mentioned by Pollay for advertising in general (1990).

Also, definitely not all aspects of cultural values that exist in a society are reflected by advertising. Examples of possible expressions of individualism that were not found to be reflected by advertising in Germany were mentioned in the previous paragraph. The same can be

assumed for other cultural values in Germany. Therefore, it would be interesting to research other important cultural values with respect to their different expressions in advertising like this study did for individualism.

Another problem that becomes obvious when looking at the results of this study is that some ways to express a certain cultural value are much more dominant and obtrusive in advertising than others. For example, the 'Efficient Individual' and the 'Attractive / Social Individual' are reflected far more often than, for example, the 'Intellectual Individual', the 'Self-Expressive Individual' and the 'Caring Individual'. Therefore, a viewer watching advertising on TV will probably be influenced to assume that being efficient, attractive and socially accepted are the dominant ways to express individualism, and he could infer that these are also the superior ways. This could influence him to get a different worldview and in the long term to change his behavior. Advertising (as far as this limited sample shows) instructs him to express his individualism in (only) eight different ways, however, not equally, but predominantly by attractiveness and efficiency. Unfortunately, as known no study has been undertaken so far that shows how individualism is expressed in the German culture in general, not only in advertising, but also by different institutions and in different situations. Therefore, a comparison cannot be made as to whether the rank order of ways to express individualism in German advertising corresponds with the rank order in the German culture in general. If so, advertising would reflect the cultural value individualism accurately, and if not, advertising would give a distorted impression to the viewers.

As not all expressions of individualism are reflected in advertising and as not all other cultural values in the German culture are reflected in advertising, it can at least be assumed that advertising does not reflect the cultural value individualism accurately, and that it gives a wrong impression to the viewer of how he can succeed best in expressing individualism.

This goes along with a notion of Pollay (1986). He mentions:

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? (Pollay 1986: 32-33).

Overall, this study, as previous ones (e.g. Pollay 1986, Pollay, R. & Gallagher, K. 1990, Wolburg 1995), shows that not all values and especially not all expressions of specific values are reflected in advertising equally. The values that are expressed in advertising seem to be selected according to the nature of the product and several other reasons. Definitely not all values and all expressions of values 'do equally well' in this selection process.

Expressions of Individualism in Germany and in other countries

This study, as previous studies by Taylor and Wolburg (1998) and Wolburg and Kim (1998), showed that, in advertising, a specific cultural value can be expressed in many different ways. These different ways seem to depend on the culture in which the advertisements are shown. As Taylor and Wolburg (1998) and Wolburg and Kim (1998) found different ways how the cultural value individualism was expressed in the advertisements of different countries in their studies, it seemed to be likely that in conducting a study about German advertising, a set of ways to express individualism could be discovered that would at least partly be different from the ones found in previous studies.

In fact, comparing the eight types of individualism found in this study with the types of individualism found in Taylor's and Wolburg's study in 1998 and with the findings of the study that Wolburg and Kim conducted in 1998 about messages of individualism and collectivism in Korean and American advertising, it becomes obvious that some ways to express individualism in advertising seem to be present in several different cultures or even universal, while others seem to be more culture specific.

Overall, the ways to express a cultural value such as individualism definitely differ across cultures. Therefore, a methodology like the one used in this study, which allows new categories and patterns to emerge for each culture, seems to be appropriate. Using existing categories that

are sufficient to cover all ways to express individualism in one culture will probably not be sufficient to cover all ways to express this value in another culture.

The next paragraphs compare the results of the mentioned studies by Taylor and Wolburg and Wolburg and Kim with the findings of this study. This will give a better insight into which ways to express individualism can be used in advertising across several countries and which seem to be too culture-specific to be used in multiple regions.

In their study about the expression of individualism in American, French and Spanish advertising, Taylor and Wolburg (1998) found six ways to express individualism: the 'Efficient Individual', the 'Sensual Individual', the 'Attractive / Healthy Individual', the 'Esteemed Individual', the Performant(e) Individual' and the 'Intellectual Individual'. In the current study the 'Efficient Individual', the 'Attractive / Social Individual', the 'Self-Expressive Individual', the 'Sensual Individual', the 'Caring Individual', the 'Healthy Individual', the 'Safe Individual' and the 'Intellectual Individual' were found.

While some of the main message strategies appear in both studies, others seem to coincide partly, and some are only present in one of the two studies. For example, the 'Efficient Individual' was discovered in both studies. Taylor and Wolburg defined the 'Efficient Individual' in their study by messages promising "to make people more efficient in their work and household tasks, or to "save" time or money" (Taylor and Wolburg 1998). This definitely coincides with the definition of the 'Efficient Individual' in this study. However, in their study, Taylor and Wolburg also find a 'Performant(e) Individual', a main message strategy that was not found as a unique strategy in this study. Taking a closer look, it becomes obvious that in the current study the messages that Taylor and Wolburg defined separately as 'Performant(e) Individual' (something works or works well) seem to be included in the main message strategy the 'Efficient Individual'. In the current study messages like 'something works in a simple and easy way' which is very similar to 'something works well' are included in the 'Efficient Individual'. Therefore, messages that hold together in Germany apparently did not hold together in the U.S., Spain and France. Nevertheless, although expressed in different categories, in general, the same messages were

conveyed to German consumers as to American, French and Spanish consumers: 'Be efficient, perform well.'

Another main message strategy that is present in both studies is the 'Sensual Individual'. This main message strategy is defined very similarly in both studies and therefore, apparently consumers in all four countries seem to understand this message.

Also, the 'Intellectual Individual' was found in both studies. In this study the 'Intellectual Individual' was defined by messages expressing 'I gain knowledge', 'I know more', 'I am better informed' or 'I become more intelligent'. In Taylor and Wolburg's study the 'Intellectual Individual' was defined by the messages 'gain knowledge' and 'improve mental skills'. Therefore, these main messages seem to express the same comprehensive message, although the 'I am better informed' message seems only to be present in German advertisements. Overall, the 'Intellectual Individual' in the current study and the 'Intellectual Individual' in Taylor and Wolburg's study in 1998 express individualism in the same way and therefore, this main message strategy, too, seems to be usable for all four countries.

In Taylor and Wolburg's study the 'Attractive Individual' and the 'Healthy Individual' were included in one category, whereas in this study one separate category, the 'Healthy Individual', was found, as the 'Attractive Individual' was merged into one category with the 'Social Individual', because these messages highly overlapped. Therefore, again, although the main message strategy the 'Attractive Individual' is present in both studies, it seems to have different main focuses: One time it held together with the 'Healthy Individual', one time it held together with the 'Social Individual'. Therefore, there definitely are some differences between the 'Attractive / Healthy Individual' in Taylor and Wolburg's study and the 'Attractive / Social Individual' and the 'Healthy Individual' in this study. However, there definitely are accordances, too. In some way the same messages seem to appear in all four countries, although with different focuses. Hence, it can be assumed that these messages are understandable to the consumers of all four countries, as they are very similar.

In Taylor and Wolburg's study, one of the main message strategies found in the French, American and Spanish advertisement was the 'Esteemed Individual'. This main message strategy is made up of the messages "become more me" and "gain self-respect". This covers some of the messages expressed by the 'Self-Expressive Individual' in this study. Beyond the messages expressed by the 'Esteemed Individual', the 'Self-Expressive Individual' also expresses messages like 'I can express myself' and 'I am me'. The commercials in this group not only express that the consumer can become more who he wants to be by using the product or service, but also that he can be who he already is by using the product or service that is promoted. Therefore, the 'Esteemed Individual' and the 'Self-Expressive Individual' coincide partly, but not totally. However, as both themes are very similar and overlap partly, they will probably be understood by consumers in all four countries.

Two main message strategies of how to express individualism that were found in this study were not found in Taylor and Wolburg's study at all: the 'Safe Individual' and the 'Caring Individual'. These ways to express individualism seem to be specific to the German culture or rather to German advertising. Possibly these ways to express individualism are present in the American or the Spanish or the French culture, too, but they are not explicitly expressed in the TV advertisements of these countries.

A reason why these two types of individualism were only found in German advertisements and not in the advertisements of the other countries could be that although individualism is important in all four countries, some other cultural values might interplay into the expression of individualism in advertising. If these values are only present in Germany, but not in the other countries, this could be an explanation why certain ways to express individualism are present in one country and not in the others. It is obvious that the same cultural value can be expressed differently in different countries, but the reasons are not known. A different interplay between different values could be one possible explanation.

Looking at Wolburg and Kim's study in 1998, almost the same expressions of individualism were found as in Taylor and Wolburg's study in 1998: the 'Attractive / Healthy' Individual, the

'Esteemed / Status Seeking Individual', the 'Sensuous Individual', the 'Performing Individual', the 'Efficient Individual' and the 'Intellectual Individual'. As these strategies are very similar or even the same as the ones discussed before, the similarities and differences between them and the ones found in this study are not discussed again. The only differences in a comparison would be that slightly different main focuses are expressed in the different main message strategies than before.

However, in addition to the mentioned main message strategies, Wolburg and Kim's study found some main message strategies that seem to be typical for collectivistic countries: the 'Relationship-Building Individual', the 'Traditional Individual' and the 'Individual at One with Nature'. The 'Relationship-Building Individual' seems to coincide partly with the 'Caring Individual' found in this study, but the other main messages found in Wolburg and Kim's study for Korean and American advertisements (actually only the 'Traditional Individual' is found in the U.S., too, the other two message strategies are only found in Korea) are not present in German advertising.

It can be concluded, that some ways to express individualism seem to be present across cultures, while others are not. This has an implication on whether or not these ways to express individualism can and should be used in standardized advertising campaigns among different countries.

Certainly, one of the arguments that advertisers have to take into account when discussing whether to use a standardization or a specialization approach is the product category for which they want to advertise. The findings of this study indicate that certain types of individualism seem to be more useful for certain kinds of products. The nature of the product and the type of individualism seem to be correlated as McCarty and Hattwick (1992) found in their study about Mexican and American advertising, too.

Although Taylor and Wolburg (1998) found that culture supersedes product category, the relationship between certain message strategies and certain product types is still important, especially because certain types of individualism can be used across cultures. Taylor and Wolburg (1998) found two relationships between type of individualism and product category that

held true for all three cultures: “(1) messages of efficiency dominate the household product category in all three countries, and (2) food and beverage commercials are designed to appeal to individual sensuality” (Taylor and Wolburg 1998: 23). These relationships also hold true in the German sample used in the current study.

This shows again that product category definitely is an important influence on the choice of the individualism appeal that can be used. Probably this is not the only influence. Another influence might, for example, be the use condition (will the consumer use the product in a private or in a public setting). Future research could try to correlate such other influences with the type of individualism that is used by the advertisement.

Overall, comparing the findings of this study with the findings of two other studies that researched the expressions of individualism in countries other than Germany showed that some of the ways to express individualism can be used across countries. It also showed that there are some relationships between product category and type of individualism that hold true across countries. These relationships can give further ideas when and for which products standardized campaigns using these strategies could be used.

5.2 Implications for Advertiser

The findings of this study, which were described in the result chapter and in the previous discussion section, have several implications for advertisers. The following sections will illustrate these implications. As some of the findings are important for advertisers in general and some are only important for international advertisers, the two sections are described separately.

Implications for Advertisers in General

The results of this study offer some new insights to advertisers that can help them to create campaigns that are more efficient. The results of this study also challenge advertisers to become more conscious of their social responsibility.

This study depicted how the cultural value individualism is expressed in German TV advertising. If advertisers are conscious of the different ways to express individualism, this knowledge can help them to create campaigns that are better targeted towards their audience and that express exactly what they want. Also, it can help them to come up with new creative campaigns using ways to express individualism that they did not use before. In addition, as it is obvious that not all ways that are possible to express individualism are used by TV advertising (like the previously mentioned 'Honest Individual' or the 'Impartial Individual'), advertisers can look for new ways in which individualism is expressed in other cultural institutions and use these ways to communicate with their target audience in more effective ways. Also, it was shown that other cultural values interact with individualism when expressing individualism in different ways. Therefore, looking at combinations of cultural values that are important to their target audiences can also help advertisers to create more effective campaigns.

Mooij (1998) stated, "ideally, effective advertising means that the values of the message match the values of the receiver. It is the culture of the consumer that should be reflected in advertising" (Mooij 1998: 8). Therefore, the most important implication that this study has for advertisers (no matter whether German or international) is that they have to be conscious not only of the cultural values that are dominant in the culture where they advertise, but also of the different ways in which these cultural values can be expressed. Knowing about these different ways of how cultural values can be expressed can help marketers to use these ways more consciously and communicate more effectively with their target audience. Going even one step further, advertisers can not only look for the different ways of how a cultural value can be expressed in a whole culture, but they can even look at how a specific cultural value is expressed in the subculture they want to target. Currently, advertisers use only some ways to express the cultural value individualism, and of the ways they use, in Germany, they predominantly use the 'Efficient Individual' and the 'Attractive / Social Individual'. Therefore, advertisers definitely do not exhaust all possibilities they have.

Also, this study shows that in advertising, certain ways to express individualism seem to be linked to certain product categories. Knowing about these relationships can help advertisers to create more effective campaigns in two ways. First, if they know which main message strategy is linked to which product category, they can use the specific main message strategy and create a campaign that fits the nature of the product. On the other hand, they can consciously use a different main message strategy and stand out from the clutter. A study by Stafford and Stafford (2002) found that atypical advertisements resulted in more detailed thinking and more positive attitudes toward the product by the consumer than typical advertisements did. Using a main message strategy that is not expected for a specific product can result in such an atypical advertisement and can influence the consumer to develop a more positive attitude towards the product. In addition, it can simply help to stand out from the mass of advertisements a consumer is confronted with every day.

Again, the marketer has to be conscious that relationships between certain main message strategies and certain product types seem to exist in advertising. If he has that knowledge, he can utilize it to create exactly the campaign he wants.

Advertisers should not only be conscious of how they use cultural values and their different expressions in advertising because this can help them to create campaigns that are more effective, but also because they have some social responsibility. According to Pollay (1986), advertising has the potential to “penetrate our consciousness and channel very modes of thinking...if not for individual ads, then at least for advertising in the aggregate” (Pollay 1986: 21).

Wolburg (1995) stated that

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. (Wolburg 1995: 198).

She concludes that “given the possibility that advertising influences modes of thinking, the lack of realistic depictions become a matter for concern” (Wolburg 1995: 199) and that “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” (Wolburg 1995: 202). With regard to the expressions of individualism, this study comes to the same result for German advertising as Wolburg did for advertising in the United States.

German TV commercials (again with regard to the limited scope of this sample) send repeated messages to the consumer that he can best succeed in expressing individualism when focusing on effectiveness or attractiveness / socialness. If he wants to stand out as an individual, these are the most prevalent television viewer will probably comprehend them as less important, because they are used far less ways to do so. There are some other ways that are expressed in advertising, too, but a often. In addition, many ways to express individualism are not reflected in TV advertising at all. Therefore, if it is assumed that advertising can influence the ways consumers think, it is definitely problematic that only a limited scope of values is reflected in advertising at all, that of the ones that are reflected, only a few expressions are reflected and of the expressions that are reflected, some are presented to be more dominant than others.

Since no study has fully compared cultural values and their expressions in advertising with the “real world” and proven that advertising really gives viewers a distorted view and has found out about the effects this distorted view has, advertisers can not be accused of reflecting culture in a distorted way, and therefore, changing the culture itself. However, as all indices suggest that advertising presents a distorted view of cultural values, this study, like Wolburg’s, asks advertisers to be conscious of the cultural values and their expressions they represent and “not only to tell the truth about products but about culture” (Wolburg 1995: 204).

Implications for International Advertisers

The first and most important implication this study has for international advertisers is the simple fact that cultural values can be expressed in different ways in different cultures. Therefore, when advertisers try to communicate effectively with their target audiences, they should not only pay attention to the cultural values that are present in this culture, but also to the ways a specific

cultural value is expressed in the specific culture. Therefore, Mooij's statement (1998) "It is the culture of the consumer that should be reflected in advertising" (Mooij 1998: 8) can be refined to 'the cultural values the consumers holds and the specific ways in which he expresses them should be reflected in advertising.' Advertisers planning an advertising campaign in a foreign country or internationally have to be aware of the differences in cultural values and their expressions across different cultures. Mooij (1998) mentions that "analysis of advertisements in international media such as Newsweek, Business Week, CNN, and MTV shows that, in reality, international advertisers target international audiences with their home country's value system. Thus, the full potential of cross-border media is not used" (Mooij 1998: 8).

The results of this study can help advertisers first, to become aware of important differences between the expressions of cultural values, and second, it can give them an idea of which expressions of individualism they can use across borders and which are more culture-specific. Thus, they can achieve greater success in using the full potential of cross-border media.

This study showed that several of the ways to express individualism were found in France, Spain, the US, Germany and Korea. Others were only found in specific countries. With regard to the discussion about standardization or specialization of advertising, this means that apparently certain ways to express a specific cultural value can be used across cultures. On the other hand, other cultural values are specific to a certain culture and cannot be used easily in another culture. For example, advertisements that promote the 'Attractive Individual', the 'Efficient Individual' or the 'Sensual Individual' can probably be used in France and Spain and the United States, as well as in Germany or in Korea. In contrast, an advertisement promoting the 'Individual at One with Nature' that works well in Korea may not be understood by consumers in Germany or in the United States, and an advertisement promoting the 'Safe Individual' that works well in Germany might not work as well in other countries. Therefore, advertisers have to carefully balance reasons whether to use a standardized advertising approach and which approach they should use when they create international advertising campaigns. They also have to decide whether it makes sense to integrate cultural values in an international advertising campaign or not. If a

certain value or its expressions are likely not to be understood in some of the countries where the campaign is shown, it is better not to use cultural values at all.

One argument that can help advertisers to decide whether they should use a standardization or a specialization approach and, if they use a standardization approach, which values and which expressions of these values to integrate, is the product category for which they want to advertise. The findings of this study indicate that certain types of individualism seem to be more useful with certain kinds of product. Some relationships were only found within specific countries; others were found across borders. For example, the use of the 'Sensual Individual' for the 'Food and Beverage' category seems to make sense in Germany as well as in France, Spain and the United States. In addition, the use of the 'Efficient Individual' for advertisements for products in the product category 'Household Products / Appliances' seems to make sense in all these countries as well. If an advertiser creates an international advertising campaign that includes additional countries to the ones mentioned previously, it should be researched whether the relationship between product and expression of individualism holds there as well.

Overall, product category definitely is an important influence on the choice of the individualism appeal that can be used. Other influences have to be researched. However, it can readily help international advertisers if they are aware that values can be expressed differently across borders and that some relationships between the nature of certain products and main message strategies that hold across borders exist.

The knowledge about cross-cultural expressions of individualism and relationships between expressions of individualism and product categories that hold across cultures is even more important taking the importance of the English language in advertising into account. Several of the commercials in the sample used for the current study were aired in English (for example some of the Boss commercials #105 and #183 and the commercial for Motorola #73). If more and more commercials in Germany will be aired in English and the consumers understand these advertisements, it gets less problematic for advertisers to use English advertisements unchanged in Germany. Therefore, it also gets less problematic to use standardized advertising campaigns

because language will not longer be an obstacle. But if it gets easier for advertisers to create cross-cultural advertising campaigns, the knowledge about other important cultural influences will be even more important for these advertisers to create campaigns that are equally targeted towards all their different audiences and that are understandable for all these audiences – not only with regard to the language.

5.3 Limitations and Further Research

One limitation of this study that was mentioned before is the limited scope of the sample. First of all, this sample only used TV commercials. The reasons for this choice were described previously, but nevertheless, a sample that includes advertisements from other media categories might reveal additional ways that individualism can be expressed in German advertising.

Also, the sample used for this study was recorded on only three private channels and only during one week of primetime. Other channels, especially public channels, could be included in a bigger sample. It would be interesting to compare advertisements shown by the public broadcasters in Germany, who are much more restricted by the law than private broadcaster, with advertisements aired on private channels. Also, advertisements aired during a different day part could be included in the sample. This would be necessary when including commercials aired on the public broadcasting channels, as they are not allowed to air commercials during primetime. In addition, commercials aired in another day part are likely to target a different audience than the ones aired during primetime, and therefore, these advertisements could include other ways to express individualism. However, for the purpose of this study (to develop categories of how individualism is expressed in German advertising) this sample still seems to be appropriate, especially as the ways to express individualism, which German TV viewers receive as the most prevalent ones, probably were discovered in this study because most people watch TV during primetime.

Another limitation of this study is that to research the possible relationships between main message strategies and product categories more thoroughly, a bigger sample would be necessary. This study presented the idea that relationships exist, and several relationships between specific main message strategies and specific product categories seemed to emerge. However, these relationships could not be proven statistically, because when the main message strategies and the product categories were cross-tabulated, too many cells had expected values less than five, and a statistical significance of these relationships could not be insisted. A bigger sample that would 'fill the cells' would help to statistically verify the assumed relationships. But it has to be stated that because some of the relationships between certain main message strategies and certain product categories are very strong (for example the relationships between the 'Healthy Individual' and the 'Beauty / Personal Care / Medicine' product category) it is likely that even with a bigger sample some of the cells would still not be filled. Certain main message strategies seem to be correlated very closely to the nature of the products they promote. Therefore, it is not highly likely that these main message strategies, for example the 'Healthy Individual', will be used for other product categories than the ones they were used for in the current sample.

An additional limitation of this study is that it only looked for individualism in the main message strategy of the advertisements. To understand the expressions of individualism in advertising more thoroughly, future research should also look for indications of individualism in the context of the advertisements. Contextual clues, such as portrayal of nuclear family, camera techniques that focus on the individual or elements in the copy of the advertisements that directly address the consumer, could give additional ideas about how individualism can be expressed in advertising. Such contextual cues were researched by the study of Wolburg (1995) and several interesting findings were revealed.

Furthermore, a limitation of this study might be the methodology that was used. The interpretative nature of this research can introduce bias to the study. This bias was minimized as much as possible by giving many examples to illustrate the categories that were found so other

researchers could thoroughly understand the findings of the study and criticize them, if there is a need to do so. In addition, the high degree of intercoder agreement is another sign that the bias that was introduced by the subjective point of view of the first coder and researcher is acceptable. Also, as Wolburg (1995) mentioned for her study, it can be mentioned for this study: "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" (Wolburg 1995: 193).

As mentioned before, an interesting extension of this study would be to compare the different expression of individualism found in this study with ways to express individualism in other institutions of the German culture. As long as no data is available to compare the results of this study to, it can not be stated without doubt that advertising gives the viewer a distorted view of who can best succeed in expressing individualism in Germany as it was supposed or whether advertising gives the viewer a true view of the ways that individualism can be expressed in the German culture.

In addition, researching how individualism is expressed in cultural institutions different from advertising might give advertisers new ideas for individualism appeals they could use in their advertisements. If there was a type of individualism that was often expressed by the people of a culture but not used in advertising, it might be an effective way to target these people. On the other hand, as mentioned before, finding out about the possible expressions of individualism in the "real world in Germany" could show whether concerns that advertising shapes or affects the values of its consumers over time are appropriate or not. It could be revealed whether or not advertising neglects certain ways to express individualism.

Taylor and Wolburg in 1997 compared the expression of individualism in American primetime TV with what is known about culture from census data. This study concluded that advertising portrayals often misinterpret what is known about culture from census data. To further underpin this finding for Germany it would be interesting not only to compare census data with advertisements but also to compare quantitative or qualitative data of what consumers think about how they express individualism with what is found in advertisements.

In addition, it could also be interesting to compare the results of this study with what advertisers think which cultural values and which expressions of cultural values they use in their campaigns. This could show whether advertiser are conscious of the cultural values they use or whether the advertisers are too ingrained in a certain culture to notice how they use cultural values in their advertisements.

Another interesting extension of this study would be to look not only how individualism can be expressed in different ways, but also to look for other cultural values and how they are expressed in German advertising. This study indicates that different cultural values seem to interact with the different expressions of individualism. Researching this supposition further could reveal interesting relationships between different cultural values and give advertisers further insights about how they can communicate effectively with their target audience.

In addition, future research should compare the type of individualism that is used in a certain advertisement with the effectiveness of this advertisement. This would give advertisers a better understanding which individualism appeals they should use – especially if product category and characteristics of the target audience are taken into account, too.

Finally, it could be interesting to compare types and frequency of individualism messages in German commercials before the so called 'Wertewandel' that increased the importance of the value individualism in Germany with recent advertisements. This could give further insight into how much cultural values in advertising correlate with cultural values in society and how much they change over time.

5.4 Conclusion

This study showed how important it is not only to look for different cultural values in different countries, but also to look for the different expressions of the same cultural values in these different countries. It found different ways in which individualism is expressed in German advertising and compared these ways to expressions of individualism included in the definitions

of individualism, to cultural values in the German culture in general and to expressions of individualism in advertising found in the advertisements of other countries. The relationship between the different expressions of individualism and certain product categories was investigated.

Implications for advertisers in general and specifically for international advertisers were indicated, and the social responsibility that advertisers have to be aware of when the consumer gets a distorted view of cultural values through advertising was addressed.

As this study deals with the content of advertisements, it seems appropriate to finish this study with a quote from a German commercial that was included in the sample used in this study. The commercial was part of a branding campaign for Opel, a car brand.

“Frisches Denken für ein spontanes Leben. Nicht für die Masse, sondern für jeden Einzelnen.”

“Fresh thinking for a more spontaneous life. Not for the mass of people, but for each individual.”

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Appendices

Appendix A

Table 10

Hofstede's Key Differences between Collectivistic and Individualistic Societies

Collectivist	Individualist
People are born into extended families or other in-groups, 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 leads to shame and loss of face for self and group.	Trespassing 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 decision take employees' in-group in 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.

Source: Hofstede 1991, 67

Table 11

Summary of Hofstede's Characteristics of Individualistic Cultures Family Life

Family Life	Education	Work	Ideas and Philosophies
- Children grow up in nuclear families. - People look after themselves and their immediate family; children break with parents or keep relationship to a minimum at adulthood. - Children learn to spend time alone, unlike collectivistic children who are almost never alone. - Speaking one's mind is a virtue and is characteristic of a sincere and honest person. - Independent thinking and confrontation lead to higher truth. - Children are expected and encouraged to develop opinions of their own, and children who never voice opinions are thought to have a weak character. - Children are encouraged to take small jobs in order to earn pocket money of their own, which they alone can decide how to spend. - Financial and ritual obligations to the family are less compulsory than in collectivistic cultures. - Conversations are compulsory; silence is considered abnormal. - Communication is more often explicit (low context communication). - Self-respect (defined from the point of view of the individual – not the social environment) is the closest counterpart to the collectivistic concept of face; likewise, guilt, versus shame.	- Children are encouraged to speak up in class and express their own opinion without consulting the group or working in groups. - Students expect to be treated impartially by teachers. - Students from different ethnic groups are not bound to an in-group and mix more freely. - Students form groups on an ad hoc basis according to the task or to particular friendships and skills. - Teachers who favored students of the same ethnic background would be considered guilty of nepotism and immoral behavior, while those in a collectivistic environment would be required to give special treatment to in-group members. - Confrontations and open discussions of conflicts are highly regarded even at the expense of harmony. - The purpose of education is to teach people to learn to cope with new, unforeseen situations that will arise through life rather than looking upon learning as a one-time process for the young. - Diplomas improve the holder's economic worth but also his or her self-respect because it provides a sense of achievement. - Individual self-respect is more important than the social acceptance that diplomas can provide.	- The worker's self-interest and employer's interest should coincide. - Workers are individuals with their own combination of economic and psychological needs. - Working relationships with family members are considered undesirable because they may lead to nepotism or conflict of interest. - Poor performance of the employee or a better pay offer from another employer are legitimate and socially accepted reasons for terminating a work relationship. - Management skills require management of individuals rather than groups. - Bonuses are given to individuals rather than groups. - Appraisal of performance is communicated directly rather than by indirect, face-saving tactics. - Universalism (treating everybody alike) is valued over particularism (treating one's friend better than others) - Task prevails over personal relationships. - Important goals on the job are having enough personal time for family, having freedom to adopt one's own approach to the job, and having challenging work to do.	- Individual interests prevail over collective interests. - Everyone has a right to privacy and is expected to have a private opinions. - Laws and rights are supposed to be the same for all. - Individualistic cultures usually have higher per capita GNPs than collectivistic cultures. - A restrained role of the state rather than a dominant role prevails the economic system. - The economy is based on individual rather than collective interests. - Political power is exercised by voters instead of interest groups. - Native rather than imported economic theories prevail and are based on pursuit of individual self-interests. - Freedom of press exists rather than state control of press. - Ideologies of individual freedom prevail over ideologies of equality. - Self-actualization (realizing the creative potential within the individual to the fullest) is the ultimate goal for every individual.

Source: Hofstede 1991, pp. 49-78, summary by Taylor and Wolburg 1998

Table 12

List of Commercials

#	Brand	Individualism	Type	Product Category	Length	Frequency
1.	Terzolin	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	25	9
2.	Anastasia CD	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	20	2
3.	Neutrogena	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	10	15
4.	RTL Net	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	20	2
5.	RTL world e-mail service	No	No Individualism	Communication Technology	25	2
6.	Softis	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	30	2
7.	Quam	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	15	10
8.	Gelbe Seiten	Yes	Efficient Individual	Others	30	7
9.	Quam	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	15	6
10.	D2	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Communication Technology	30	3
11.	D2	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Communication Technology	15	3
12.	Loop Christmasbox	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	25	2
13.	Krombacher	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	20	14
14.	Căsar	Yes	Caring Individual	Food/Beverages	15	1
15.	Vodafone	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Communication Technology	20	9
16.	Mc Donald's	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	30	3
17.	Miracel Whip	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	25	5
18.	Warsteiner	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	30	6
19.	Zewa Wisch und Weg	No	No Individualism	Household Products/Appliances	10	6
20.	Kinder Überraschung	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	20	3
21.	Calgonit Powerball	Yes	Efficient Individual	Household Products/Appliances	20	1
22.	Renault Clio	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Automotive/Transportation	30	7
23.	Sheba Festtagsragout	Yes	Caring Individual	Food/Beverages	15	1
24.	Union Investment	Yes	Safe Individual	Service Provider	25	10
25.	After Eight	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Food/Beverages	15	1
26.	Stahl	Yes	Safe Individual	Automotive/Transportation	20	8
27.	Export	Yes	Efficient Individual	Retailer	15	2
28.	Becks	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	20	1

Continued

Table 12 continued

#	Brand	Individualism	Type	Product Category	Length	Frequency
29.	Maggi Fix	Yes	Efficient Individual	Food/Beverages	25	5
30.	AOL	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Communication Technology	30	22
31.	Maggi Fix	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	10	5
32.	Emporio Armani	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	15	2
33.	Kinder Bueno	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	25	2
34.	D2 Sun	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	25	6
35.	Chipsfrisch	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	20	1
36.	D2 Sun	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	10	5
37.	Dallmayer Prodomo	Yes	Caring Individual	Food/Beverages	30	1
38.	Windows XP	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	15	2
39.	Bitburger	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Food/Beverages	15	9
40.	Bitburger	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	10	4
41.	Deutsche Bahn	Yes	Safe Individual	Automotive/Transportation	35	12
42.	Element of Crime CD	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	20	1
43.	Dolormin Extra	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	25	7
44.	Debitel	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Communication Technology	30	2
45.	TV Spielfilm	Yes	Intellectual Individual	Others	10	1
46.	Volksfuersorge	Yes	Safe Individual	Service Provider	25	7
47.	Guinness Buch der Rekorde	No	No Individualism	Others	20	1
48.	Sarah Connor CD	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	10	1
49.	Milka	Yes	Caring Individual	Food/Beverages	20	1
50.	Genion	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	30	12
51.	TV Movie	Yes	Intellectual Individual	Others	15	7
52.	Q-DSL	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	20	1
53.	Melita Auslese	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	20	1
54.	Wagner Piccolinis	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	20	5
55.	Vodafone	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Communication Technology	20	7
56.	Wagner Piccolinis	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Food/Beverages	5	5
57.	Ikea	Yes	Caring Individual	Retailer	25	2
58.	MediaMarkt	Yes	Efficient Individual	Retailer	20	8

Continued

Table 12 continued

#	Brand	Individualism	Type	Product Category	Length	Frequency
59.	Aspirin Migraine	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	20	1
60.	T-DSL	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	20	5
61.	Zooländer	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	15	5
62.	T-DSL	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	10	6
63.	VW Polo	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Automotive/Transportation	45	9
64.	Becks	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	20	1
65.	Windows XP	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	15	1
66.	e-sixt	Yes	Efficient Individual	Automotive/Transportation	20	1
67.	Loop Christmasbox	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	25	2
68.	Stronghold PC Game	No	No Individualism	Communication Technology	20	1
69.	Red Zac	Yes	Efficient Individual	Retailer	10	4
70.	Deutschländer	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	20	5
71.	Nasivin sanft	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	20	4
72.	Wüstenrot	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Service Provider	25	6
73.	Motorola V66	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Communication Technology	15	4
74.	Zewa soft	Yes	Sensual Individual	Household Products/Appliances	20	3
75.	Destiny's Child CD	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	15	2
76.	Nivea Creme	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	20	6
77.	Dänisches Bettenlager	Yes	Efficient Individual	Household Products/Appliances	20	1
78.	Herr der Ringe	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	15	5
79.	Vodafone	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Communication Technology	40	7
80.	AXA Altersvorsorge	Yes	Safe Individual	Service Provider	20	11
81.	Zooländer	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	15	1
82.	Deka - Investmentfond	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Service Provider	25	3
83.	Jacobs Krönung	Yes	Caring Individual	Food/Beverages	30	6
84.	Nivea Visage Q10+	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	30	8
85.	The Others	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	20	1
86.	Euro	No	No Individualism	Others	20	5
87.	Eurocard	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Service Provider	20	8

Continued

Table 12 continued

#	Brand	Individualism	Type	Product Category	Length	Frequency
88.	Onko	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Food/Beverages	20	7
89.	Württembergische	Yes	Safe Individual	Service Provider	10	8
90.	Studioline Gelo	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	20	5
91.	Ariel Fleckwegroller	Yes	Efficient Individual	Household Products/Appliances	30	11
92.	Nivea Beaute	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	15	6
93.	Radeberger	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	25	4
94.	Hombach	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Retailer	25	5
95.	Lefax	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	25	1
96.	Nivea Hair Caire Color	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	20	6
97.	Arosa	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Entertainment	25	4
98.	EnBW	No	No Individualism	Service Provider	35	10
99.	Audi	No	No Individualism	Automotive/Transportation	40	3
100.	Wick VapoRup	Yes	Caring Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	30	5
101.	Quam	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	15	3
102.	Airwaves	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	30	6
103.	Melita Cappuccino	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	10	5
104.	Neckermann	Yes	Efficient Individual	Service Provider	35	1
105.	Hugo - Deep Red	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	20	2
106.	Atlantis	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	10	3
107.	T-Mobile	Yes	Caring Individual	Communication Technology	20	3
108.	Eukanuba	Yes	Caring Individual	Food/Beverages	25	1
109.	T-Mobile	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	10	2
110.	Milka Luflee	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	20	4
111.	Ikea	Yes	Efficient Individual	Retailer	20	10
112.	American Express	No	No Individualism	Service Provider	15	10
113.	Milka	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	30	4
114.	Tui	Yes	Sensual Individual	Service Provider	45	11
115.	Miracoli	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Food/Beverages	25	6
116.	Melita Auslese	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	30	3
117.	MediaMarkt	Yes	Efficient Individual	Retailer	25	4
118.	CallYa Box	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	20	7

Continued

Table 12 continued

#	Brand	Individualism	Type	Product Category	Length	Frequency
119.	Aspirin Plus C	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	30	4
120.	Coca Cola	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	30	3
121.	Eucerin	Yes	Safe Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	30	6
122.	Teekanne	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	15	8
123.	Ocean's Eleven	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	20	5
124.	Galeria Kaufhof	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Retailer	20	3
125.	Premiere World	Yes	Efficient Individual	Others	20	21
126.	Disneyland Ressorst Paris	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	20	7
127.	Eurocard	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Service Provider	20	4
128.	Don't say a word	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	15	11
129.	D2 Sun	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	30	4
130.	D2 Sun	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	10	4
131.	Joy Ride	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	10	6
132.	Q-DSL	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	20	3
133.	Nivea for Men Aftershave	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	30	1
134.	Sony DCR IP7	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	30	3
135.	Pedigree	Yes	Caring Individual	Food/Beverages	20	1
136.	Tschibo	Yes	Caring Individual	Retailer	25	3
137.	Playstation2	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	20	3
138.	Pearl Harbor	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	15	6
139.	Warsteiner	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	20	7
140.	Pringels	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	20	3
141.	T-Mobile	No	No Individualism	Communication Technology	10	1
142.	Neckermann	Yes	Efficient Individual	Service Provider	35	2
143.	Boss - The Fragrance	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	20	1
144.	Kitekat	Yes	Caring Individual	Food/Beverages	20	2
145.	Kitekat	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	5	2
146.	Wick MediNait	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	40	5
147.	VW	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Automotive/Transportation	30	7
148.	Klosterfrau Melissengeist	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	40	4
149.	Miracel Whip	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	25	3

Continued

Table 12 continued

#	Brand	Individualism	Type	Product Category	Length	Frequency
150.	RWE	No	No Individualism	Service Provider	20	8
151.	Protector 3D Diamond	Yes	Safe Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	20	5
152.	Lindt	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	35	7
153.	Elmex InterX	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	30	1
154.	Fürst von Metternich Sekt	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	20	5
155.	Kraft zum Leben	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Others	30	11
156.	Somat 3 in 1 Plus	Yes	Efficient Individual	Household Products/Appliances	20	1
157.	Aida	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	20	3
158.	Neckermann	Yes	Efficient Individual	Service Provider	10	2
159.	Dresdner Bank	Yes	Efficient Individual	Service Provider	30	13
160.	Ford Focus	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Automotive/Transportation	40	3
161.	Airmarin	Yes	Efficient Individual	Entertainment	30	7
162.	Samsung	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Communication Technology	30	2
163.	Musterhaus Küchen Fachgeschäft	Yes	Efficient Individual	Retailer	30	4
164.	Köstritzer	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Food/Beverages	25	2
165.	Musterhaus Küchen Fachgeschäft	Yes	Efficient Individual	Retailer	10	4
166.	Hypovereins- bank	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Service Provider	40	11
167.	D2 Sun	Yes	Intellectual Individual	Communication Technology	10	1
168.	Saturn	Yes	Efficient Individual	Retailer	20	6
169.	Alexander Gero CD	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	10	1
170.	RTL Shop	No	No Individualism	Retailer	30	2
171.	Tena Slipereinlage	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	25	1
172.	Thomy Sahne Meerrettich	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	15	3
173.	Quam	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	15	2
174.	Franziskaner Weißbier	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Food/Beverages	20	4
175.	Rotkäppchen Sekt	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Food/Beverages	20	3
176.	MediaMarkt	Yes	Efficient Individual	Retailer	25	10
177.	Jägermeister	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Food/Beverages	20	7
178.	Neckermann	Yes	Efficient Individual	Service Provider	25	2

Continued

Table 12 continued

#	Brand	Individualism	Type	Product Category	Length	Frequency
179.	König der Löwen	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	20	1
180.	Autsch.de	No	No Individualism	Communication Technology	10	1
181.	Kanarische Tomaten	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	10	1
182.	Red Zac	Yes	Efficient Individual	Retailer	10	1
183.	Hugo The Fragrance	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	10	2
184.	Red Zac	Yes	Efficient Individual	Retailer	10	6
185.	Dell	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	30	1
186.	Tschibo	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Retailer	30	1
187.	Jade non-stop	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	20	2
188.	Baldrian	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	10	1
189.	Aktion Menschlotterie	No	No Individualism	Others	20	4
190.	Tempo	No	No Individualism	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	25	3
191.	Trueman's	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Food/Beverages	20	9
192.	Rod Stewart CD	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	15	3
193.	Nirgendwo in Afrika	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	10	2
194.	Always Ultra	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	30	1
195.	Wick Blau	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	25	4
196.	Rondo Veneziano	Yes	Sensual Individual	Entertainment	15	5
197.	Ikea	Yes	Caring Individual	Retailer	25	1
198.	Tschibo	No	No Individualism	Retailer	45	1
199.	Emotion - Laura Biagotti	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	15	3
200.	Dasch Tabs	Yes	Efficient Individual	Household Products/Appliances	10	6
201.	Iglo	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	30	8
202.	Bounty	Yes	Efficient Individual	Household Products/Appliances	35	2
203.	Pink Floyd CD	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	15	2
204.	Marlene Dietrich CD	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	10	3
205.	Euro	No	No Individualism	Others	20	8
206.	Tetesept	Yes	Sensual Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	25	1
207.	L'Oreal Revitalift	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	20	4
208.	Kaffee Hag	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	20	3

Continued

Table 12 continued

#	Brand	Individualism	Type	Product Category	Length	Frequency
209.	Oil of Olaz - Touch	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	30	5
210.	Calgon Wasserent-härtengel	Yes	Efficient Individual	Household Products/Appliances	20	1
211.	Fujifilm	No	No Individualism	Others	20	2
212.	Kerrygold	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	20	2
213.	L'Oreal Excellence Creme	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	30	1
214.	Milka Herzen	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Food/Beverages	35	1
215.	Boss Woman	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	15	3
216.	L'Oreal Elvital	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	20	2
217.	Saturday Night Fever	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	20	4
218.	Hipp - soo groß	Yes	Caring Individual	Food/Beverages	30	5
219.	Dr. Best Brilliant	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	30	1
220.	Dr. Best Brilliant	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	5	1
221.	Singing in the rain	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	20	1
222.	Pampers active fit	Yes	Caring Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	30	5
223.	Orange Blue CD	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	15	1
224.	Leerdammer	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	30	1
225.	Nivea Body Lotion	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	20	1
226.	Punica	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	30	5
227.	Melitta Harmonie	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	25	4
228.	Balaton Qualitätswein	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Food/Beverages	10	10
229.	Roma - Laura Biagotti	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	15	2
230.	Schweppes	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	30	1
231.	Renault	Yes	Safe Individual	Automotive/Transportation	20	1
232.	Mc Donald's	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Food/Beverages	30	12
233.	Aids	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	45	1
234.	UNHCR	No	No Individualism	Others	60	1
235.	Astor	No	No Individualism	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	20	5
236.	Ford Mondeo	Yes	Safe Individual	Automotive/Transportation	30	5

Continued

Table 12 continued

#	Brand	Individualism	Type	Product Category	Length	Frequency
237.	N24 Jahresrückblick	Yes	Intellectual Individual	Others	35	3
238.	Sat.1 Community	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Communication Technology	20	1
239.	Vodafone	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Communication Technology	10	4
240.	Vittel	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	20	2
241.	Zooländer	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	20	1
242.	L'Oreal Fixierspray	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	25	3
243.	Herr der Ringe Soundtrack	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	10	4
244.	Elmex InterX	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	30	2
245.	Ricola	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	20	6
246.	Liga Kind	Yes	Caring Individual	Others	30	3
247.	Q-DSL	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	20	1
248.	Zooländer	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	20	2
249.	Clausthaler	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Food/Beverages	20	3
250.	Pepcid dual	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	25	1
251.	ACC Akut	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	25	1
252.	Gelomyrtol forte	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	20	2
253.	Meditonsin	Yes	Safe Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	25	1
254.	T-Mobile	No	No Individualism	Communication Technology	20	7
255.	T-Mobile	No	No Individualism	Communication Technology	10	7
256.	Karstadt	Yes	Efficient Individual	Retailer	30	5
257.	Biolectra	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	20	2
258.	Thomy Majonese	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	30	4
259.	Mucosulvan	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	25	1
260.	Oil of Olaz	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	30	5
261.	Honda	No	No Individualism	Automotive/Transportation	20	3
262.	König Pilsener	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	10	7
263.	Henkel Trocken	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Food/Beverages	10	8
264.	Persil	No	No Individualism	Household Products/Appliances	20	1
265.	Enya CD	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	15	3
266.	Harry Potter	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	15	3
267.	Codorniu	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	20	16

Continued

Table 12 continued

#	Brand	Individualism	Type	Product Category	Length	Frequency
268.	Wings of the Film CD	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	15	3
269.	mobile.de	No	No Individualism	Communication Technology	10	2
270.	Aronal öko-dent	Yes	Healthy Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	30	4
271.	Deinhard	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	20	9
272.	BMW - assist	Yes	Efficient Individual	Automotive/Transportation	40	4
273.	Opel	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Automotive/Transportation	60	2
274.	Müller	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	15	2
275.	Opel Speedster	No	No Individualism	Automotive/Transportation	45	4
276.	Thomy Selikatessenf	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	35	3
277.	Vodafone	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Communication Technology	10	1
278.	Clausthaler	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Food/Beverages	30	1
279.	Coca Cola	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Food/Beverages	45	1
280.	Krombacher	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	20	1
281.	Jever	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Food/Beverages	20	5
282.	BHW	Yes	Safe Individual	Service Provider	10	3
283.	Warsteiner	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	30	6
284.	CK - Eternity	No	No Individualism	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	10	1
285.	Antikal	Yes	Efficient Individual	Household Products/Appliances	20	1
286.	L'Oreal Open Color	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	30	1
287.	Mini	No	No Individualism	Automotive/Transportation	30	1
288.	Paulaner	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	30	1
289.	Aqua di Gio	No	No Individualism	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	10	1
290.	Head & Shoulder	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	25	2
291.	Philishave	No	No Individualism	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	20	1
292.	Merci	Yes	Caring Individual	Food/Beverages	45	1
293.	Kuschelrock CD	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Entertainment	15	3
294.	Sparkasse	Yes	Efficient Individual	Service Provider	30	1
295.	Tabax Man	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Beauty/Personal Care/Medicine	10	1
296.	Classical Chiling CD	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Entertainment	20	1
297.	Red Bull	No	No Individualism	Food/Beverages	35	2
298.	Bravo Hits CD	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	10	1

Continued

Table 12 continued

#	Brand	Individualism	Type	Product Category	Length	Frequency
299.	Red Bull	Yes	Intellectual Individual	Food/Beverages	45	2
300.	Telefonfuersorge	Yes	Caring Individual	Others	30	1
301.	Robbie Williams CD	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	15	2
302.	Vodafone	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Communication Technology	15	2
303.	Red Bull	Yes	Intellectual Individual	Food/Beverages	35	1
304.	UNHCR	Yes	Caring Individual	Others	30	1
305.	Grönemeyer CD	No	No Individualism	Entertainment	20	2
306.	Nissan X-trail	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Automotive/Transportation	30	5
307.	Quam	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	15	1
308.	Powerade	Yes	Attractive/Social Individual	Food/Beverages	30	2
309.	sbroker.de	Yes	Efficient Individual	Service Provider	20	2
310.	mobile.de	No	No Individualism	Communication Technology	10	2
311.	Raiffeisenbank	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Service Provider	20	1
312.	Melita Auslese	Yes	Sensual Individual	Food/Beverages	25	1
313.	Arcor	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	25	1
314.	mobile.de	No	No Individualism	Communication Technology	10	2
315.	Toyota Yaria	Yes	Self-Expressive Individual	Automotive/Transportation	20	2
316.	Toyota Yaris	Yes	Efficient Individual	Automotive/Transportation	10	2
317.	Red Zac	Yes	Efficient Individual	Retailer	10	2
318.	Quam	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	15	1
319.	Coupe	No	No Individualism	Others	30	1
320.	Quam	Yes	Efficient Individual	Communication Technology	15	1

Appendix B

Codierblatt für Individualismus

Videokassette _____
Name der Werbung _____
Marke _____
Länge der Werbung _____
Kanal _____

Spiegelt die Werbung Individualismus wieder?
(gibt es eine Kernaussage in der Werbung, die sagt 'Ich persönlich habe einen Vorteil, wenn ich das Produkt/die Dienstleistung nutze'?)

Ja _____

Nein _____

Wenn ja, was ist die Kernaussage? Was passiert, wenn ich das Produkt kaufe und nutze?

Zu welcher Produktkategorie lässt sich das Produkt zuordnen?

- ___ Kommunikationstechnologie
- ___ Einzelhändler
- ___ Transportmittel
- ___ Essen/Trinken
- ___ Körperpflege- /Schönheitsprodukte/Medikamente
- ___ Unterhaltung
- ___ Haushaltswaren und Haushaltsgeräte
- ___ Dienstleister
- ___ Sonstige

Translation of Coding Sheet

Coding Sheet for Individualism

Tape _____

Commercial Name _____

Brand _____

Commercial Length _____

Channel _____

Does the commercial carry a message of individualism?

(Is there a main message in the commercial that says: 'I personally benefit?')

Yes _____

No _____

If yes, what is the main message? What will happen if I buy and use the product?

Product categories:

____ communication technology

____ retailer

____ automotive/transportation

____ food/beverages

____ beauty/personal care/medicine

____ entertainment

____ household products/appliances

____ service provider

____ others

Manual for Plate 1

The attached CD ROM provides examples of advertisements for each type of individualism. Some of the commercials that were described in the results chapter were digitalized and saved on the CD ROM as QuickTime Movies. The CD ROM contains one folder for each type of individualism, which contains the examples for this type.

The digitalized advertisements can be watched on any computer on which a QuickTime Player is installed. To watch a movie, simply double click on the commercial and wait till QuickTime opens. Then start the movie with the start button.

If QuickTime does not open automatically or if the Computer does not recognize the file format, select QuickTime manually to open the file.

If Quicktime is not installed on the computer, the QuickTime Player can be downloaded for free from <http://www.apple.com/quicktime/download/> (Status: June, 25 2002).

Vita

Karin Janina Schweizer was born in Riedlingen, Germany on April 24, 1978. She started studying Communication Science at the University of Stuttgart / Hohenheim, Germany in 1998 and entered the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in 2001. With a Fulbright scholarship she started the Master's program in Communications with a concentration in Advertising. She received a Master of Science degree majoring in Communications in 2002.

