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GLOBALIZATION AND ITS IMPACT ON MEDIA IN CHINA: A COMPARATIVE SEMIOTIC CONTENT ANALYSIS OF VISUAL REPRESENTATION IN CHINESE AND US MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS 1979-1998

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of the Ohio State University

By

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*****

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2000

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The dependency theory stipulates that the world is composed of the dominant, more advanced "core" countries, and the weaker ex-colonial Third World "periphery." In this system, the core monopolizes media production and there is a one-sided flow of information. The core's dominance of media is maintained through the transfer of media professionalism.

This dissertation explored the effect of globalization and transfer of media professionalism on media in China through a comparative analysis of visual representation in magazine advertisements from China and the United States in the past two decades. A combined semiotics and systematic content analysis was carried out to describe the status quo of advertising format in each country, compare and contrast the differences in cultural values and appeals imbedded in the two countries' advertisements, and examine the social ideological contexts in which the advertisements were made. The cross-time and cross-country analysis was intended to reveal the impact of the core's economic and cultural expansion on changes in media format, cultural values and political ideology in the periphery.
Results showed that Chinese advertising was converging towards the US in format, giving evidence of the transfer of media professionalism. Changes were also occurring in some of the cultural and ideological dimensions; however, the overall cultural values and political ideology latent in Chinese advertising visuals remained quite constant over the past two decades. The manifest changes were caused by internal rather than external factors – the split between ad format and ideological content was perhaps the result of the Communist government’s simultaneous push for looser economic policies and tighter political control. The results indicated that globalization might not have an all-sweeping effect on media change in Third World countries, especially in totalitarian regimes – the periphery’s resistance against influence from the core can succeed in certain circumstances. Nevertheless, future research from other nations and cultures is needed to make a more generalizable conclusion.

An interactive model of advertising, culture and society as well as a bimodal model of intercultural communication were proposed.
Dedicated to my family, especially to my grandmother, who passed away.

and my daughter, who was born, during the course of this dissertation.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Advertising is an inescapable part of our lives today – media are taken over by advertising images; public space is filled up by information about products. Wherever you go and whichever way you turn, you will see advertisements. Indeed, as Jhally (1995) puts it, “it is the air that we breathe as we live our daily lives” (p. 79). If tax and death were the two things you could not escape from, advertisement is a new one.

Advertising is an over-130 billion-dollar-a-year industry in the United States. It accounts for 25% of the nation’s consumer spending (Wernick, 1991), more than two percent of the gross national product, and far more money spent than on education (Kellner, 1995b).

Advertising is such a highly organized institution that it fulfills a function traditionally met by art or religion (Dyer, 1982). Critics of advertising (e.g. Cross, 1996; Dyer, 1982; Frith, 1997; Ferguson, Kreshel & Tinkham, 1990; Goffman, 1979; Holbrook & Stern, 1997; Kilbourne, 1995; Lester, 1997; Ludwig, 1997; McCracken, 1986; Montes-Armenteros, 1997; Nicholson, 1997; Schudson, 1984; Stern, 1997; Valdivia, 1997; Williamson, 1978) claim that it is not simply a business expenditure undertaken to move some merchandise off the store shelves, but is the “official art” of the advanced
industrial nations. It has become more and more involved in the manipulation of social values and attitudes:

Growing up, some of the first words we speak are brand names; some of the first rhymes we remember and first tunes we hum are straight out of commercials. We learn from watching television that buying is supposed to make us happy, and we learn to shop, participating in the system by choosing and consuming products. Half-consciously, even cynically, we let commercials modify our behavior and construct our identity as they teach us how to act and how to dress, what to eat and what to drive. (Cross, 1996, pp. xi-xii)

These theorists say that advertisements do not directly manipulate us, but reinforce our social ideology in an interesting meaning transfer process: they change objects into something which is given meaning in terms of people. "The meaning of one thing is transferred to or made interchangeable with another quality, whose value attaches itself to the product" (Dyer, 1982, p. 116-117). Thus, a diamond represents or replaces eternal love. The process gives us a structure in which we and the goods are interchangeable. As audience brings its own knowledge, social position and ideological perspective into the interpretation of meaning in advertisements, advertisements are selling more than mere products. "They are selling us ourselves" (Williamson, 1978, p. 13).

Advertising thus projects the goals and values that are consistent with and conducive to the consumer economy and socializes us into thinking that we can buy a way of life as well as goods. It does not reflect social meanings and conditions, but teach us ways of thinking and feeling through fantasy and dreaming. It uses "specific representational practices" and produces meanings which cannot be found in reality. It creates false wants and encourages the production and consumption of things that are
incompatible with the fulfillment of genuine and urgent human needs. Because of the
imaginary worlds advertising creates, we have become increasingly discontent with our
everyday lives. More and more people, especially women, have become dissatisfied with
their own bodies because of advertising’s unrealistic body-imagery. This has serious
psychological as well as health consequences (David & Johnson, 1998).

Advertising has also been described as portraying sex-role stereotypes. Critics are
claiming that repeated exposure to such stereotypes influences the learning of sex-role
stereotypes. They say that advertisements are not even approximately accurate in
reflecting the real nature of sex roles – women are unproportionally underrepresented in
career and professional roles. They are frequently depicted as, in Dyer’s (1982, p. 92)
words, the “little woman” “thrilling to her newly polished table or whiter-than-white
sheets.” or as “imagined fetishes of men – passive, narcissistic, exhibitionist – inviting
male voyeurism.” These stereotypes serve as agents of socialization and lead many
people, young and old, to believe in traditional and discriminatory sex roles, which
eventually amounts to the symbolic annihilation of women.

Advertising often stands at the forefront in globalization, the multinational
corporations’ expansion into other countries. According to Appadurai (1990), the
expansion of multinational corporations have brought forth five dimensions of global
cultural flow: ethnoscapes as a result of flows of people. technoscapes produced by the
transfer of technology and machinery. finanscapes produced by the rapid flows of
currencies and financial resources. mediascapes, the movement of media images and
information. and ideoscapes, which are flows of images associated with state or counter-
state ideologies in the form of freedom, welfare, rights, etc. The world is rapidly becoming what McLuhan and Powers (1989) called a global village.

There is increasing concern in academic circles and Third World governments over the multinational corporations' threat to nation-state sovereignty. Cultural studies researchers note that there is a homogenizing effect of international media as exemplified by advertising, and point out that there is a danger of the dying out of local cultures. Political economists and development social scientists focus their attention on the unequal flow of media products from advanced nations to developing countries and theorize that there is a political, economical and cultural "dependence" of the ex-colonial developing countries on their former colonizers. These theorists (e.g. Dos Santos, 1971; Cardoso, 1973; Golding, 1977; Bergesen, 1990 and So, 1990) claim that the dependence is created by imperialism and maintained through a mechanism of cultural and media imperialism. Media imperialism takes the form of transfer of media professionalism in which media professionals in the Third World are introduced, trained and eventually attached to Western occupational ideologies. Western media philosophies, institutional models, taste, styles, even format and content are thus imitated and copied in Third World media (Golding, 1977 and Griffin et al. 1994).

Advocates of advertising believe that it is a forerunner in advocacy of equality, diversity and freedom of lifestyles. They believe that in order to appeal to audience of different taste and life style and draw the most audience, advertising reflects a society's majority values and beliefs. In international advertising, effective advertisements often use appeals that are consistent with the central values and beliefs of the host country.
These researchers (Cheng, 1994; Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Cutler & Javalgi, 1992; Hong, Muderrisoglu & Zinkhan, 1987; Tansey, Hyman & Zinkhan, 1990; Mueller, 1992; Tse, Belk & Zhou, 1989; Zandpour, Chang & Catalano, 1992; Zhang & Gelb, 1996; Zhang & Neelankavil, 1997) often try to find out what the dominant cultural traits in the local culture are and recommend them to advertising professionals so that the latter can address these values in their advertisements for them to be more persuasive. For these researchers, advertising is merely a “mirror” passively reflecting social reality.

Goals of the Dissertation

In the above context, this dissertation first attempted to examine advertisements from both the critics’ and advocates’ points of view, and contribute to theory-building about advertising. I though that the claims of the two sides were not contradictory and it was feasible to carry out the analysis this way because advertising both reflects and creates social reality – it can be both the cause and effect of cultural change. This more objective and less politically-charged two-way approach, advocated by Holbrook and Hirschman (1993), would likely benefit both society and the advertising industry.

This goal was achieved by comparing visual representations from Chinese and American magazine advertisements from 1979 to 1998 in a combined semiotic and systematic content analysis of the ads’ format, socio-cultural and ideological meanings. The format analysis looked at the advertisements from the advocates’ point of view and dealt with the number of advertisements per issue, text/pictorial advertisement ratio and the physical size of the advertisements. The advertisements were also analyzed to see where they belonged in Leiss, Kline and Jhally’s (1986) “product information-product
image-personalization-life style” four-stage advertisement format development framework.

In the social, cultural and ideological meaning analysis, I first took the ad advocates’ assumption that advertising merely reflects society reality and looked at the appeals used in the advertisements. Hofstede’s (1980) collectivism-individualism and Hall’s (1976) context dimensions were used as frameworks to explore the underlining cultural values predominant in the two societies. Then I assumed the perspective that advertisements are not a passive mirror of social reality and looked at the advertisements as indicators of social change (Cheng, 1997b; Glasser, 1997) and the practice of ideological hegemony (Lull, 1995). In particular, I examined the depiction of women and minority in the two countries’ magazine advertisements.

The depiction of women in the media is important in the Chinese context because there are more than 550 million women living in China, yet very little information is available about the interactive role of media and women in the political climate of contemporary China (Cheng, 1997b: Glasser, 1997). Women were traditionally discriminated against in Confucian China. They enjoyed less education, did not have self-determination in marriages, and were even restrained from going outdoors by the practice of bound feet. Since the Communists took power in 1949, equal rights for women were advocated by the government and the media. Women were encouraged to “hold up half the sky”1, and frequently depicted in male roles such as manual-labor farmers, factory workers, technician and Party leaders (Glasser, 1997, Landsberger.

1 Mao’s words, meaning they enjoy equal rights and responsibility with men.
However, getting out the house and fully participating in social activities do not mean equality. Glasser points out that for Chinese women, work outside of the family is a financial necessary rather than self-fulfillment and social contribution. Since the modernization drive in the early 80s, women were put back to a more disadvantaged position by a number of factors such as the one-child policy, which leads to female infanticide, abortion of female fetuses and abduction of women (Pearson, 1996). Women now have to face challenges and stress from both the workplace and the family, and there is a gradual coming back of traditional male-dominated gender relations since the 1980s (Cheng, 1997b, Glasser, 1997).

Minority issues are also important. There are 56 ethnicities in China, but 91% of the country’s population is the majority Han ethnicity (Yan, 2000). Nevertheless, the area where the minorities live composes 60% of the country’s land mass. Although the Tibet issue frequently appears in Western media, the depiction of minorities in Chinese media has rarely been documented in research literature.

By using Kress & Van Leeuwen’s (1996) interactive meaning and coding orientation frameworks, I also explored the ideology latent in the advertisements. Bakhtin/Voloshinov (1973) states that each field of ideological creativity has its own kind of orientation toward reality and each refracts reality in its own way. Modality, according to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), is such a “system of social indices which ‘addresses’ a particular kind of viewer, or a particular social/cultural group, and provides through its system of modality markers an image of the cultural, conceptual and cognitive
position of the addressee...” (p. 178). It describes what, in a specific genre or a specific
work, is regarded as real, as adequate to reality.

The advertisements were examined to see what meaning was prescribed for the
reader by the image creators, and what media/audience power relationships were
intended. Furthermore, the relationship between such media imagery and the political,
cultural and socio-economic structures in which the advertisements were produced was
portrayed.

Apart from contributing to theory-building in advertising and social ideology and
power, a more important goal of the dissertation was to contribute to theorizing of
globalization. As advertising is a good indicator of influence from the West on China
(Cheng, 1997a), the cross-cultural and cross-time comparative analysis was expected to
reveal changes in Chinese advertisement format and media ideology since China opened
up to the West.

Social development theorists (such as Dos Santos, 1971; Cardoso, 1973 and So.
1990) argue that the world is composed of the dominant, more advanced “core”
countries, and the weaker “periphery” countries. In this system, the core practices media
imperialism by monopolizing media production and maintaining a one-sided flow of
information. The core’s dominance of media is in turn maintained through what Golding
(1977) calls the transfer of media professionalism in the forms of institutional format,
technological expertise and occupational value systems.

By looking at the possible changes in advertising format and media ideology over
the years, we are able to see the possible existence of transfer of media professionalism
and evidence of media imperialism from the West, particularly from the United States, in the process of China’s opening up.

Theoretical Reasons for Country and Time Period Selection

Why the United States and China? The reasons I choose China and the United States are because of their four polarities. First, China is a big emerging market and is gaining importance in international marketing (Cateora & Graham, 1999). Advertising as an industry has grown tremendously in China over the past twenty years, with advertising spending increasing 45% each year from 1979 to 1999 and the number of advertising agencies increasing from ten in 1979 to 61,730 in 1998 (Qianjiang Evening News, 1999b). Nevertheless, advertising development and research in China is still in its infancy (Okechuku & Wang, 1988; Zhang & Gelb, 1996). Advertising spending is only 0.7% of its GNP as compared to 4% in the “capital of advertising,” the United States (Qianjiang Evening News, 1999a). An analysis of the polarity of the development in these two countries will inform us about the nature of the development of advertising and benefit advertising practitioners in both China and the United States.

Second, China is a Third World country with a very low per capita income, a periphery in the terms of dependency theory. At the same time, the US is the number one core country with a high per capita income and the “culprit” of global media dominance. China is an interesting example in the framework of dependency. It severed all its ties with the capitalist world economy after the communist takeover in 1949: advertising was condemned as a capitalist evil and completely abolished (Rice & Lu, 1988). However, that did not bring prosperity as the dependency theorists would
predict (So, 1990). In fact, the economy was at the brink of collapse at Mao’s death in 1976. The political and economic turmoil prompted the overthrow of the conservative “gang of four” led by Mao’s widower Jiang Qing, and the reinstatement of Deng Xiaoping. The first post-communist advertisement appeared in January 1979, thirty years after the Liberation and one year after Deng Xiaoping started the “opening to the outside world” (Qianjiang Evening News, 1999b). International advertisers and US multinational corporations are becoming important players in the Chinese media landscape. Chinese advertising is under a considerable strong influence of the US and the West (Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996). In fact, advertisements from foreign and joint-venture enterprises are claimed to have taken the lead and set the pace for the Chinese advertising industry (Cheng, 1994). This longitudinal and cross-cultural comparison was meant to reveal how advertisements in Chinese magazines had changed since the “opening,” and if these changes might have been a result of the influences from the US in the form of transfer of media professionalism.

Third, China and the US are often considered typical Eastern and Western cultures and placed on two sides of the collectivism-individualism continuum (Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996). The Chinese culture has always been described as a collectivistic culture with its members valuing family, group goals and mutual support (Earley, 1989; Ho, 1976; Hofstede & Bond, 1984; Wink, 1997), while the United States as asserting individual goals, equality and independence (Hofstede, 1980; Hofstede, 1991; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). By analyzing the representation of this dimension in advertising images, we would be able to see more clearly what the
cultural differences are between the world’s most powerful country and the world’s most populous.

Fourth, China claims itself a socialist state, and the US, a “downright capitalist” country. Since advertising is a “language of capitalism” (Cross, 1996), it would be interesting to see how each country’s social rhetoric and ideology play out in its advertising, or, how advertising is used to maintain and reinforce the respective society’s ideology.

**Pragmatic and Personal Reasons**

I have spent all my life and received all my education in these two countries. Although they are totally different and often mutually exclusive in the international politics arena, I love them both. Personal enthusiasm is not a sound, theoretical criterion in choosing one’s research object/destination, however, it is a necessary condition – I am fluent in the two languages and have easy access to the research material and support.

**Selection of Time Period**

Since it took only 20 years for advertising to develop from being non-existent to a full-fledged industry, advertising development in China is a “sped-up” version of the American model, which took more than a hundred and thirty years to reach its current status. This unique situation is not easy to find in other Third World countries and ideal for studying both the development of advertising itself and the effect of globalization in general.
In these twenty years, the political cultural situation in China had quite a few ups and downs. From 1979 to 1984, China was in its drive for modernization. Western ideals such as freedom, individualism and democracy began to emerge following the arrival of foreign investment, manufactured goods and life style. The dramatic liberalization of ideals and life styles, rising corruption and inflation alarmed top leaders of the Communist Party of the imminent political and economic dangers of opening to the Western world. Therefore, in 1985, they tried to tighten the reign and started the “anti-Western bourgeois liberalization campaign.” After a year of moral cleansing and stringent economic measures, the economy started to take off again. At this time, many intellectuals began to realize that development and modernization in China were not possible without first establishing democracy and the rule of law. They claimed that the superstructure had to change before the base could advance to the next level of development. This heated debate and loosening of ideological control under the leadership of the Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang finally culminated in the Tiananmen Square Incident in 1989.

The Party tightened its grip on intellectuals and political dissidents after the Tiananmen upheaval. Again, international investment plunged as a result of the government’s crackdown on the student movement. The economy went into a recession and there was a general atmosphere of political monotony. The situation did not change until the current General Secretary of the Party, Jiang Zemin, secured his power around 1994.
After 1994, China went into an interesting historical period. The government, while pushing for economic development and loosening economic policies, tightened political rule and promoted a “unification around the Party led by Jiang Zemin.” A “leftist” Party-line was carried out and personal worship of the Party leader reappeared in the 1999 National Day Parade, the first time since Mao’s era. Repression of different political and religious beliefs was widely practiced (such as the Fa Lun Gong incident in 1999). There seems to be a schizophrenic split between the economic base and the political superstructure: they are going in two different directions.

The approximate five-year up-down cycle in the political arena coincided with the changes in the advertising industry. China did not have any government regulations on advertising until 1982, when the Interim Regulations for Advertising Management were promulgated by the State Council. Five years later, the Regulations for Advertising Management were released in 1987. As an indication of loosening of economic policies and further opening, the Advertising Law of the People’s Republic of China was published in 1995 (Cheng, 1997b).

When the years from 1979 to 1998 are divided into five-year periods, each period is expected to have its own characteristics in advertising development. The rapidly changing Chinese advertising landscape in these twenty years, when compared to the relatively constant scenario in the US, will illustrate China’s internal political and cultural struggles under the influence of which the advertisements were produced.
Problem Statement

Based on the goals of the dissertation and the above theoretical reasoning, I explored the following questions:

Format analysis: Is Chinese magazine advertising different from that of the US in format? What stage of development is Chinese magazine advertising at in Leiss et al.’s (1986) framework? Is there a convergence of Chinese advertisements toward their US counterparts?

Socio-cultural and ideological analysis: What are the similarities and differences between the two countries’ advertisements in their appeals, especially in terms of Hofstede’s (1980) collectivism-individualism dimension and Hall’s (1976) context construct? What are the changes in these dimensions in both countries’ advertisements during the past two decades?

What are the differences and similarities between Chinese and US advertisements in their depiction of women and minorities? What are the predominant modes of attitude, social distance and contact latent in the two countries’ advertisements according to Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (1996) interactive meaning and coding orientation frameworks? What are their major reality coding orientations? Do these modes and orientations change over time?

Regarding the overall question of globalization, the following questions were examined: Are there changes in Chinese magazine advertising format over the past twenty years? What do these changes, if any, tell us about the transfer of media professionalism? Are there any changes in the cultural appeals of the respective
country’s advertisements? Does globalization play a role in the convergence (or divergence)? Did the ideology and media/audience power relationship latent in the Chinese advertisements change over time? What do these changes (or non-changes) tell us about the impact of globalization on a Third World country like China?

Before starting to address these questions, I would like to review existing literature so as to situate the current study in the bigger picture and better illustrate how I can contribute to theory-building in the different fields.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theories of Globalization

Stevenson (1996) points out that the major issues in international communication are national development and social change, Western dominance and news flow. Several bodies of theory have been put forward to explain the complexity of these issues. So (1990) summarizes research work in the field of development for the past forty years and proposes that there are three dominant schools of research concerning national development and social change: the modernization school, the dependency school and the world-system school.

The Modernization Perspective

The modernization perspective is a historical product of the post-World War II world affairs. In order to promote economic development and political stability in the Third World, so as not to lose them to the Soviet communist bloc, social scientists in the United States began to study the nation-states in the Third World. They adopted both an evolutionary and functionalist theory in their effort to illuminate the modernization of Third World countries. They assumed that social change is unidirectional with human
society invariably moving along one direction from a primitive, traditional society to an advanced, modernized state. Thus, societies are more or less like one another as they proceed along an irreversible long path of phased evolution. It naturally follows that in order for a society to move into modernity, its traditional structures and values must be totally replaced by a set of modern values: the route to modernization is to transform people, to implant new values and beliefs.

Critics of the perspective challenged the evolutionary assumptions of unidirectional development. They say that the theory is too deterministic and limits the possibilities of Third World countries choosing different models of development. They also claim that the value judgment on the evolutionary process — the movement toward the final phase is good because it represents progress, humanity, and civilization — is Western superiority and ethnocentricity. Others accuse the theory for being at such a high level of abstraction that it is hard to know what country and what historical period that the theorists are discussing. Still others argue that modernization researchers are too optimistic in assuming that since Western counties have achieved development, Third World countries can do the same thing. They think the modernization school’s assumption — there is something wrong internally in Third World countries, such as traditional culture, overpopulation, little investment, or lack of achievement motivation — is wrong because these countries experienced colonialism that Western countries have not experienced. Standing from a “periphery” perspective and assuming a neo-Marxist point of view, they argue that it was external factors, the historical experience of
colonialism and foreign domination, that have reversed the development of many Third World countries and forced them to move along the path of economic backwardness.

**The Dependency Perspective**

These theorists formulated the concept of “dependence” or “dependency,” an unequal relationship in which “some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and can be self-starting, while other countries (the dependent ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion” (Dos Santos. 1971, p. 226). They suggested a “metropolitan-periphery” model to account for the underdevelopment in Third World countries. The model speculates that there is a dependency relationship between the metropolitan or center – the economically advanced capitalist exploiting countries – and the periphery or satellite – the rest of the world’s exploited countries. Dependence is the central feature of the current international economic system. The center created dependency in the periphery through industrialization in the colonial times, making the periphery’s economy dependent on its capital, technology and revenue from exporting raw materials. This dependency is the result of the imposition of external conditions on the periphery and is the ultimate cause for its underdevelopment. The center strives to perpetuate dependency to maintain its dominance. The only way the periphery can get away from the exploitation and expedite national development is to sever all its economic ties with the center and withdraw from the world capitalist system.

Many critics of this “classical dependency studies” (So’s term. 1990) camp point out that as an analytical tool it is not conducive to finding the real cause of underdevelopment because it fails to lay down certain characteristics of dependent
economies which are not found in non-dependent ones and show that these characteristics do adversely affect the course and pattern of development in the dependent countries. They argue that it aims at the intrinsic cost of the capitalist system in general rather than dependency itself. They criticize that the theoretical construct over-emphases on the world system but neglects variations in national states and their internal dynamics. In their view, nation states have the potential to muster internal forces to counteract foreign influences. They suggest that the sole remedy offered by the theory, "going socialist," does not necessarily guarantee national independence, and this "socialist alternative" may bring the periphery into the grips of the "socialist imperialists." They claim that the uncritical use of "dependency" is more of a political rhetoric than a theoretical enterprise.

To answer these criticisms, the "new dependency theorists" (e.g. Cardoso, 1973), being more cognizant of the national states' internal conflicts, classes and power structures, modified the theory by proposing "dependent development" or "associated-dependent development," in which the two contradictory processes - dependency and development - co-exist. Instead of treating dependency as a general, external, economic process that lead to regional polarization and underdevelopment, they conceptualize it as a historically specific, internal, sociopolitical process that can lead to dynamic development (So, 1990). The reason is, according to Cardoso (1973), a fairly rapid economic growth in the periphery is an essential pre-requisite for the metropolitan multinational corporation's effort to manufacture and sell consumer goods to the local market. Thus, to some extent, the interests of the foreign corporation become compatible with the internal prosperity of the dependent country. However, this path of development
is not without costs for the periphery: the local bourgeois and middle class are drawn into the sphere of metropolitan cultural influences, making the local culture controlled by the social elite especially responsive to the conditioning of the metropolis. In turn, the local economy cannot survive without inserting itself into the circuit of international capitalism. The final result is crippled dependent development with increased concentration of income and relative misery, the marginalization of the lower classes, more foreign indebtedness and exploitation of manpower resources.

The modernization school dominated the development field in the 1950s and the dependency school emerged in the 1960s. In the mid-1970s, the dependency perspective began to have difficulty explaining some of the new activities in the world economy. A new world-system perspective was developed by Immanuel Wallerstein and his followers to account for the "anomalies."

The World-System Perspective

Wallerstein (1979) takes a holistic approach and combines perspectives from many disciplines. He thinks that social science disciplines are intellectually coherent and not separable; the economic, the political and the social or sociocultural are not autonomous arenas of social action. Therefore, the unit of analysis for the world-system should be the long-term "historical systems" instead of the time-specific "societies." He thinks that studying the characteristics and dynamics of social change in the modern world by focusing on the nation-state in purely comparative terms involves a highly unrealistic neglect of global constraints. It is a "truncated version" of social change and a global paradigm is indispensable to trace the long-term "cyclical rhythms" of the
capitalist world-economy. Furthermore, the core-periphery dichotomy is too static and fails to explain the complexity and changing nature of this system. He proposes a trimodal theoretical structure in which the capitalist world economy is divided into the core, the semiperiphery and the periphery, with each having the possibility of upward and downward mobility. The main features of his theory are (Wallerstein, 1979): economic, social and cultural processes in one part of the world are systematically related to processes in other parts; there is only one principal mode of production, the capitalist world economy, in the world since the 16th century, thus resulting in multiple cultures under one single division of labor and two principal world class formations: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; production for profit in the world market, capital accumulation for the purpose of expanded production are the key for maximizing profit in the long run; and finally, the emergence of three zones of economic activity, the core, periphery and semi-periphery, is the result of unequal exchange.

Critics of the world-system perspective (e.g. Bergesen, 1990) charge that the theory makes the erroneous assumption that the subunits of the larger world-system acquired their defining properties prior to their participation in the international system. For example, Bergesen (1990) argues that a country's status of being either core or periphery is not a consequence of unequal exchange. Rather, unequal exchange is the result of conquest, colonization and political power. He thinks that the logic of the world-system theory is backward:

Therefore, given conquest, not unequal exchange, given political power and social control, not commodity chains of buying and selling; given the establishment of global social relations between the European core and conquered world, then, and only then, do differences come into being. These "differentials"
are politically created, not starting points in nature, for conquest sets in place a
global structure of domination – colonialism – making the production of raw
materials a *necessity*, and not a *decision* by buyers and sellers in a mythical
supply and demand-determined world market. (p. 71-72)

Bergesen (1990) also challenges the world-system theory’s implication that the
world order is nothing more than patterns of trade and unequal exchange. He thinks that
world economy is not external to political power and domination structures that constrain
or shape the direction of surplus extraction and accumulation. There are global relations
of production, in the form of ownership and control of colonial social formations by core
states, that determine the global mode of production; therefore, the unequal exchange
between the core and the periphery are not exchanges, it is the core’s ownership and
control of peripheral production. Again, his argument is: power relations precede trade
relations. The fundamental assumption of the world-system theory, Bergesen claims, is
that the larger global totality begins with the subparts of the world system. He thinks that
the modern state does not precede the international system. At the inception of the
modern interstate system, agency and structure (in this case the state and the world
system), the duality of human existence, are temporarily inseparable, and if anything.
“the cultural and structural relations of pre-modern Europe laid the foundation, and
thereby preceded, the emergence of the modern state... if there is an edge in this chicken-
egg question, it lies with the world system, not the state” (p.77).

The gravest mistake of the world-system theory, Bergesen argues, is that it had a
progressive move in shifting the level of analysis to the globe and in discussing
capitalism as a global phenomenon, but this “geographical progressivity” involves a
theoretical move backward in that this global economic entity was conceptualized in the
atomistic terms of division of labor. He suggests that putting culture and power at the heart of the analysis is of vital importance. This view is echoed by Worsley (1990), who thinks the modern world has been shaped by cultural communities and using the state polity as the unit of analysis in not adequate. Worsley also charges that the world system theory fails to take into account communist countries or states that do not fit in the core-periphery-semiperiphery trichotomy, but who are nevertheless members of the global community. He claims that another drawback is that it dismissed multinational corporations, which increasingly play an important role in global development.

So (1990) offers a good review of the three paradigms and reports an interesting phenomenon: there is a trend toward convergence in the literature of development, yet the three schools of thought were not replaced by one another. They all incorporated criticism and made modifications while maintaining their individual features. As So comments, they are still active and viable theories that promise "a variety of fruitful research products." It is under this backdrop that this dissertation was conceived and attempted to contribute to the already-rich pool of dependency literature.

Globalization

The potential for a single global human society has always existed. The overall trend in the course of human development as a whole has been toward survival units larger and larger both in population and geographical extent (Mennell, 1990). Due to the expansion of the capitalist economy and the diffusion of technology, there is increasing interaction between nation-states, the cultures of these states and individuals from such cultures. The increased international flows of people, technology, financial resources.
media and ways of life are all components of globalization, a phenomenon defined as "the process by which the world is being made into a single place with systemic properties" (Robertson & Lechner, 1990, p. 103). Globalization stretches communication and relations of power across the globe through compression of time and space and initiates a recomposition of social relationships (Mohammadi, 1997).

Globalization has become a prolific area of research because of its impact on the world's economic, political and cultural structure. Since it is an emerging phenomenon, not all its consequences have been mapped out. However, researchers have observed that one of the consequences of globalization is the oligopolies formed by the "Lords of the Global Village," the mega corporations that dominate the world market. An important resulting dimension of the world market is a lack of equal competition. A substantial number of the world's information and entertainment businesses will transform into huge international company that will threaten the sovereignty of the nation states and make the world impossible to govern in the traditional sense. This economic structure entails that most of the mega cultural traffic will flow out of the Anglophone regions. As mentioned earlier in the Introduction, policy makers in the Third World and cultural critics all around the globe are fearful that such a one-way flow of information will affect the cultural balance of the world and results in a homogenization of culture – there will be a development of sameness everywhere in the world. Others, such as Robertson (1987) and Hall (1990), suggest that globalization will celebrate, enhance and exaggerate cultural diversity. The dependency school and the world-system school are divided in the homogeneity-integration-unit and heterogeneity-disintegration-diversity debate. As
advertising is the focus of this dissertation, the following review will concentrate on the cultural aspects of theorizing about globalization.

Cultural Dependency and Cultural-media Imperialism

Since the 1960s, researchers have been studying the three trends in international exchange of cultural products: the United States and a few First World nations dominated media to their advantage, thus resulting in a one way flow of information; the US model of media production — relatively free flow of news and cultural products, entertainment as primary function of media and the notion that commercially-operated media would benefit most countries' development — became prevalent; and the power of multinational advertiser threatened the use of media for nationally-determined, development-oriented purposes (Straubhaar, 1991). This imbalance has cultural as well as economic consequences (Moran, 1998). As Schiller (1991) points out, the media-cultural component in a developed, corporate economy supports the economic objectives of the decisive industrial-financial sectors; the cultural and economic spheres are indivisible. Cultural production has its political economy — what is regarded as cultural output also is ideological and profit-serving to the system at large. In transplanting the dependency theory to communication and the international exchange of cultural products, the asymmetrical flow is thought “not only as a commercial exchange, but as a Third World being mind-managed or dictated by the insidious communication ideologies of external capitalist powers” (Lee, 1979, p. 30).
Cultural Dependency

Cultural dependency theory looks at the ideological role of media as part of the cultural superstructure that results from the economic relations of dependency. The role of culture is to maintain the dominance of the First World and make the Third World content with their plight. According Straubhaar (1991), it is similar to Gramsci's concept of hegemony, in which elite and sometimes others compete to use media or other cultural or informational structures to set a dominant ideology.

This view, echoing dependency theory, sees structures and economic factors as determinant and does not give much attention to audience's interaction with the text or content of the cultural products. Critics such as Moran (1998) and others argue that viewers, readers and listeners make their own meaning from the messages that come their way, often to the point of creating resistance to hegemonic meanings. Individuals reshape the material to their own tastes and needs: the individual receptor takes precedence over the cultural producer. Others believe that although there is an unequal media flow and structural inequalities of cultural production among nation states, a country's internal variables, such as media infrastructure, sociopolitical system, cultural traditions and economic structure play a considerable role in the exchange. They think that countries posses variable degrees of power and initiative in politics, economic and culture, which results in a continuum of media development that ranges from rather complete dependency to dominant interdependence. Straubhaar (1991) calls these forms of relationship "asymmetrical interdependence."
Cultural-media Imperialism

“Cultural imperialism” and “media imperialism” are two other terms that are grounded in the dependency theory. Like dependency theory, they emerged from communication literature involving development and political economy. Although there are substantial differences between the two, they are sometimes used interchangeably. Neo-Marxists prefer to use “cultural imperialism” because of its all-encompassing power. In addition, they think that high media ownership concentration has resulted in such huge media conglomerates and a “total cultural package” (Schiller, 1991) that the message sources and effects are almost impossible to verify. Non-Marxists, on the other hand, believe that the term “cultural imperialism” fails to differentiate the media and other cultural institutions such as the school, family, etc. They think that the linkage between economy, politics and culture should be acknowledged, but need to be distinguished. Media imperialism as a distinct analytical tool refers to a more specific range of phenomenon that can be subject to more rigorous empirical examination and verification. I agree with the non-Marxists view that media imperialism is a subset of cultural imperialism, but will use “cultural-media imperialism” in this review section to mean both media imperialism and cultural imperialism in the context of international media analysis.

Cultural-media imperialism takes the form of globalization, i.e. corporate transnationalism and US media-cultural dominance. It is construed as a by-product of political and economic imperialism and a tool for the metropolitan countries to maintain their domination over periphery nations. It is carried out in the process of program
exportation, media outlet control and ownership, the transfer of the metropolitan
broadcasting styles and norms, and the institutionalization of media commercialization at
the expense of the public interest. It finally results in the invasion and infringement of
the indigenous ways of life in the recipient nations by the capitalist values and world
views (Lee, 1979).

Critics of the theory (e.g. Moran, 1998 and Fiske in Straubhaar, 1991) claim it
dwells only on the perspective of the message producer and does not take what they call
“active audience” into consideration. They point out that empirical verification of one­
way flow on information does not mean the practice of cultural-media imperialism.
Researchers need to incorporate “audience effect” results, i.e. the locus of investigation
should be on both the motives of the senders and the effects on the receivers. They cite
studies conducted in the 1960s and 1970s which showed that Western, especially
American, media had limited influence on Third World audiences. These studies
concluded that cultural values are deeply ingrained in people and they tend to have the
tenacity to hold on to them. Some even argue that the result of exposure to Western
media for people in developing countries is active resistance to these programs and a
“boomerang” effect against foreign messages.

Others (such as Salwen, 1991), while rejecting the notion that exposure to
Western media alone will cause foreign peoples to shed their cultural identities and
values and adopt Western ones, do suggest that it is possible that repeated exposure to
foreign media images over time may subtly change cultural values and longitudinal
empirical studies on cohort groups are necessary to secure an answer.
Evidence of a fatal flaw to the doctrine, some critics claim, is the emergence of new centers of media production in the Third World. Defenders of the theory argue that local production does increase due to the decreasing cost of production and diffusion of technology; however, this accompanies more export from the First World. Regional periphery production centers do come into being, and they produce and export their own programs. Yet these are "spiced up Third World copies of Western values, norms, patterns of behavior and models of social relations" (Schiller, 1991, p. 22). The use of this "sugar-coated exogenous culture in seemingly harmless communication media products" is exactly the definitional power of cultural imperialism.

Due to its alleged conceptual and methodological imperfections, the cultural-media imperialism theory declined in its popularity after its prime in the 1970s. However, strong proponents of the theory (such as Schiller, 1991) claim that "the vital signs of cultural-media imperialism are unimpaired" and it is "alive and well." They propose that the phenomenon is too important and far-reaching for researchers to limit their focus on a single approach or sub-discipline. They suggest that "understanding cultural imperialism requires a range of studies with different methods, including content analysis, news flow studies, policy studies, experiments, field study, critical analysis and media effects study" (Salwen, 1991, p. 36).

**Media Imperialism vs. Media Diffusion**

The major differences between the neo-Marxists and non-Marxists are their assumptions about the unequal flow of media products. The neo-Marxists, as represented by Schiller (1976), postulate that media technology is an embodiment of capitalist
ideology and interests; therefore, media imperialism is an inevitable consequence of advanced capitalism. They accuse the US military-industrial complex as a major driving force for its global media dominance. The consequences are the perpetuation of further or permanent dependence. Like dependency theorists in general, they advocate that the periphery withdraw from the global capitalist system and its dominant cultures.

The non-Marxists (such as Read, 1976) believe that the dominance of US media is the natural outcome of media diffusion; it is the result of the unequal market strength of the US in the free-flow world economic structure. Export of US media products is often initiated at the request of Third World countries with a purely economic goal – the maximization of profit. More export follows only because local competition has become a threat to US media conglomerates. As a consequence, there will be initial dependence, but media production subcenters will eventually develop followed by relative growth of domestic capabilities. These theorists recommend that the periphery maintain open interaction with the metropolitan, and cultural protectionism is not a wise remedy.

Non-Marxists have launched other theoretical concepts to explain the uneven flow of communication. One theory attributes it to economies of scale. They think that the US and other First World countries are equipped with an elaborate and efficient infrastructure that puts them in an advantageous position in programming, production and distribution. First World countries also have a large amount of talent, money, equipment and experience so that they can produce more cheaply than Third World countries and exporting is an added bonus for them. They say that internal, autonomous market forces
without interference will normally work to the advantage of the communication-developed or media-rich countries.

**Product Life Cycle**

Another important theory in the non-Marxist school of thought is product life cycle. This concept originated in industrial organization theory and was proposed by Raymond Vernon (1966). It assumes that corporate expansion is an evolutionary performance cycle rather than a political or economic “conspiracy.” To maximize and maintain its global profit, a multinational corporation must constantly innovate and expand, and there are four stages in its “law of life”: (1) innovation of products in the US, (2) expansion and growth through foreign export and diffusion of products, (3) slowdown of foreign expansion due to maturation, and (4) decline of multinational corporations and the rise of local industries to compete with the US.

One of product life cycle’s predictions is that audiences will search for cultural proximity and relevance. They will choose their own cultural products whenever they can. They will prefer national products and regional products that are closer in language and culture. However, researchers (e.g. Straubhaar, 1991) have evidence that different social classes have different preferences in programming and genre. Popular classes (poor, lower-middle and working classes) prefer national and local programming more than the highly educated, the elite, who have more access and purchasing power. This seems to agree with what dependency theorists claim as “the internationalization of the bourgeoisie, the elite, and the upper-middle classes.” Critics of the theory argue that it is a descriptive model, but lacks explanatory power because the demarcation of each stage
is not clear. They think that it fits only industrial and manufactured goods, but not cultural products as it fails to specify social, political and ideological considerations.

In theorizing about the unbalanced flow of world communication, Lee (1979) thinks that both the neo-Marxists and the non-Marxist missed the target. He describes the radicals as being good at diagnosis, but poor at therapy, and the non-Marxists as too insensitive to the ideological and political-economical implications of cultural products. He adopts a middle-way approach and points out that media flow correlates with international power stratification – one-sided media flow exists not only between the politically and economically advanced nations and the Third World, but also between the First and Second Worlds, or among the highly industrialized nations. The same stratified media hierarchy exists among socialist countries as well. Thus, withdrawal from the world capitalist system may not be a good remedy for Third World countries.

Media Professionalism

In the history of world media development, the US model of media production was promoted and copied in Third World countries making mass media in these countries derivatives of the US model. There was the modernization school belief that “Third World countries are exactly like industrialized nations, only a bit behind – when they catch up with appropriate help they will be modernized, i.e. Westernized” (Golding, 1977, p. 292). According to this logic, for Third World countries to modernize, they must (1) acquire modern technology or media that are developed, tested and marketed first in advanced nations. and (2) acquire the attitude and skills necessary to operate these media in a professional way. Thus, in addition to the transfer of technology, there is also
the transfer of professionalism, the values and attitudes thought appropriate to the implementation of media skills. Professionalism manifests itself as "increased training and professional education, association into professional organizations, and an ethos of public service and disinterestedness" (Golding, 1977 p. 293). Golding thinks that media professionalism, rather than being a set of practices which media occupations in the Third World should acquire to "catch up," is an ideology that has been transferred in parallel to the transfer of technology and serves as the maintenance mechanism to the structural relations of dependence between the core and the periphery. He says that the appropriateness of professionalism in the situation of Third World media needs to be questioned because it is imposed on countries in a situation of dependence, and conceals more than merely prescriptions for technical proficiency.

The dissemination of media professionalism is achieved through three mechanisms: institutional transfer, training and education, and the diffusion of occupational ideologies (Golding, 1977). In media history, the British, the French and North American commercial models have been transferred to colonial territories. Thus, media institutional forms developed in the Third World grew as extensions and imitations of those in industrialized societies. They are not an indigenous institution that "appear spontaneously at an appropriate moment in social evolution, but have been transplanted from metropolitan centers" (Golding 1977, p. 291). Media education systems have also grown as extensions of the colonial system offering both entry qualifications into elite occupations, and certification of competence for these occupations. Courses and training in developed countries often draw large numbers of students from the Third World to fill
in the gap left by repatriated colonial experts. Those returned trainees bring with them not only the skills learned, but also the values and attitudes, and “the receptivity to the men and machines they have learned to work with.” With Westernized institutional structures, personnel, and audience’s exposure to imported programming before indigenization, it is inevitable that the more intangible aspects of media professionalism, Western occupational ideologies, are transferred to the developing countries. General Western philosophy of media, taste, standards, even format and content are emulated: professionalism becomes imitation. The result of such transfer is a cyclical reinforcement of demand for Western or Western-styled media products and eventually the security of the market for the core.

Griffin, Viswanath and Schwartz (1994), citing evidence from India, state that media professionals in Third World agencies often imitate Western, especially American, styles when planning and designing advertising campaigns. While taking local culture into consideration to avoid embarrassment and unintentional insults, the agencies explicitly copy American and British pictures, slogan, copy and layout design. In their comparative content analysis of US and India magazine advertisements, Griffin et al found that “Indian advertisements exhibit many of the same formats and patterns of gender portrayal that American advertisements do, sometimes with nearly identical frequencies” (p. 500). Griffin et al suggest that examining visual media forms and stylistic conventions is a useful way to track patterns of media socialization and diffusion, and the establishment or diffusion of professional codes.
There have been very few studies in the literature on format and content of Chinese magazine advertisements. My literature search yielded only four papers (Cheng, 1997b; Cheng, 1994; Okechuku & Wang, 1988, Rice & Lu, 1988) dealing with magazine advertising format in China. In order to answer Griffin et al’s call (p. 504) for “expanding our investigation into the transfer of Western media code and the specific mechanisms by which Western ideology affects the rest of the world.” and “advancing the empirical work necessary for analysis of the New World Information Order”. this dissertation intends to bring forth more empirical evidence from another Third World country and contribute to theorizing about transnational advertising influence and literature on the transfer of media professionalism.

Theories of Intercultural Communication

This part of the literature review deals with the theoretical frameworks of intercultural communication. In intercultural communication literature, ideal types are frequently used to illustrate different socio-cultural differences. According to Rogers (1983), ideal types are “conceptualizations based on observations of reality that are designed to make comparison possible” (p. 263). It is not derived from empirical reality but is selected from the essential or decisive features of a complex historical situation and molding them into a simplified picture. Thus, by drawing out type-elements from a person’s myriad unique historical experiences, s/he makes them comparable with one another (Smelser, 1976). Ideal types are therefore not rigorous definitions of phenomena, but rather conceptual, categorical terms that are sometimes used metaphorically.
Culture Defined

Before we get to the ideal types, it is necessary to get the definition of culture straight. As culture is such a pervasive and profound phenomenon, and cultural studies researcher have such different interests and orientations, a clean, neat definition is almost impossible. A review shows a variety of definitions depending on the context it appears. Papalia (1985) for example, argues that culture "represents man's entire heritage – all knowledge, beliefs, customs, and skills acquired as members of a given society. It describes all the ways in which a group of people act to satisfy their needs" (p. 72). Hofstede (1993) focuses on intercultural differences and defines culture as the "collective programming of the mind which distinguishes one group or category of people from another" (p. 89). Lee (1993) takes the point of view that a culture is "a way of life of a people. It is manifested in social institutions, thought patterns, and the meaning and importance attached to material objects" (p. 383). Focusing on the more symbolic and abstract nature of culture, Pisarek (1980) thinks that culture refers to "the pattern of values, norms, ideas and other symbols which shaped the individual's behavior." Terpstra and David (1985) regard it as a learned, shared and compelling interrelated set of symbols that provides a set of orientations for a society.

Although the definitions have different foci, there seems to be a unanimous agreement that culture is a complex of spiritual and symbolic elements, and something that exists primarily in the consciousness of society and the individual. I find Levine's (cited in Caudle, 1994, p. 118) definition to be most comprehensive. In essence, he is saying that culture regulates human-to-human and human-to-nature relationships:
An organized body of rules concerning the ways in which individuals in a population should communicate with one another, think about themselves and their environments, and behave toward one another and toward objects in their environments. The rules are not universally or constantly obeyed, but they are recognized by all and they ordinarily operate to limit the range of variation in patterns of communication, belief, value, and social behavior in that population.

Since we are concerned mainly with international communication, “culture” here refers to a more specific notion that is similar to “national culture,” a term Pisarek (1980, p. 10) defined as “the total of material and spiritual values created, accumulated, strengthened and developed by a given nation in the course of its history; the development of these values is conditioned by economic, social, political and technological circumstances.” Therefore in this dissertation, intercultural communication will be treated as synonymous with international communication.

**Hofstede’s Four Dimensions**

The most frequently used ideal types in international communication are Hofstede’s (Hofstede, 1980) four cultural dimensions describing how humans organize themselves and relate to each other. The four dimensions are the bipolar continua of collectivism-individualism and masculine-femininity, power distance and uncertainty avoidance. They are derived from his extensive survey research work in the late 1970s sponsored by a big transnational corporation. Compared with other ideal types, these four dimensions have some empirical grounding.

**Collectivism/individualism**

This is the major dimension of cultural variability identified by theorists across disciplines (Gudykunst et al., 1992; McCarty, 1994; Zandpour & Harich, 1996). Some
theorists call these contrasting concepts "cooperation versus individualism." or "collateraterlity versus individualism" (Triandis et al., 1988, p. 323).

According to several scholars (Hofstede, 1980; Hofstede, 1993; Triandis, 1989; Triandis, Bontempo & Villareal, 1988; McCarty, 1994 and Zandpour & Harich, 1996), individualistic and collectivist cultures differ in several different aspects. First, Individualism-collectivism is correlated to cultural complexity in a unique "U-shaped function." In extremely simple (tribal) societies, there is "proto-individualism" where an individual is closely related to a few people and has the freedom to act independently. As society’s complexity increases (e.g. in ancient civilizations), collectivism maximizes, and the ingroups take control over individuals’ lives. Then, as society develops into an extremely complex form (modern industrial countries), collectivism diminishes and individualism dominates. Cultures evolve into individualism from collectivist pasts.

In the area of identity, goals and decision making, collectivist cultures induce individuals to subordinate their personal goals to the goals of some collective, which is usually a stable ingroup (e.g. family, band, tribe), and much of the individuals’ behavior may concern goals that are consistent with the goals of this ingroup. Decisions are made collectively or by people with high status. Disagreement is not openly expressed and confrontation is highly undesirable. Conformity to cultural norms is encouraged in all aspects of an individual’s life and harmony is the key to one’s existence. Individuals identify themselves as members of a group and take pride in the achievement of the collective instead of the individual. On the other hand, individualist cultures emphasize the goals of individuals rather than group concerns and needs. As such, individualistic
cultures stress initiative and achievement and rely on factual information for decision making as opposed to seeking group harmony and consensus. For example, in American society, people believe that “each person is an entity separate from others and the group and, as such, is endowed with natural rights” (Zhang & Gelb, 1996, p. 31).

In collectivist cultures, the relationship between the individual and the ingroup is stable. Even if sometimes the individual’s interests are sacrificed, they are demanded to stay with the group. Individuals have fewer ingroups. Thus, the ingroup’s influence on behavior is broad, profound, and diffuse. In individualistic cultures, people drop those ingroups and form new ones frequently, hence the influence of the ingroup on the individual is narrow, superficial and specific. Their ingroups require contributions from individuals only at a certain time and place. Individuals do not feel as attached to any ingroups because they are attached to numerous ingroups, and each ingroup provides only a small portion of their material and emotional security. People in individualist cultures are thus very good at meeting outsiders, forming new ingroups and getting along with new people.

In collective cultures, vertical (e.g. parent-children) relationships, rather than horizontal ones (e.g. spouse-spouse, friend-friend) are the most important. Thus, people tend to value father-son bond more than husband-wife relationships. Parents interact with children frequently by giving guidance, consultation and advice: whereas in individualist cultures, there is emotional detachment, independence and privacy for the child. The emotional detachment and independence from others in the individualist culture make the exchange in the society more universalistic, that is, resources exchanged
are usually money, information and goods, while in collectivist cultures, they are love, status and service.

People from individualist cultures tend to have better communication skills with strangers. They may be the result of the existing large immigrant population and rapid social and geographical mobility in these cultures (Triandis, Bontempo & Villareal, 1988). Therefore, people in individualistic cultures depend more on articulation of ideas for expression. Meanwhile, on the other side of the continuum, collectivist cultures are more non-verbal and communicate through contextual and implicit codes that are based upon culturally defined social expectations and rules (Zandpour & Harich, 1996).

Interestingly, the collectivism-individualism dimension is also associated with diseases such as heart attacks and high blood pressure. Triandis, Bontempo & Villareal (1988) cited a lot of studies indicating that the rate of heart attack and high blood pressure is much higher in individualist cultures than in collectivist cultures. The underlying reason, these cited researchers agree, is the different levels of social support available to an individual in both types of cultures. Collectivism is also linked to low rates of homicide, suicide, crime, delinquency, divorce, child abuse, wife beating, drug and alcohol abuse, and to good mental health. However, contrary to common belief, it is negatively correlated with satisfaction of family, probably because of excessive obligation to the family.

**Power Distance**

Power distance is "the degree of inequality among people which the population of a country considers as normal: from relatively equal (that is, small power distance) to
extremely unequal (large power distance)” (Hofstede, 1993, p. 89). It indicates the degree to which power differences are sanctioned by society. The power distance index (PDI) explains how different societies have addressed basic human inequalities in social status, prestige, wealth, and sources of power (Albers-Miller & Gelb. 1996).

In cultures with a large power distance, the exercise of power gives satisfaction and powerful people try to maintain and increase the power differences between them and the rest of the population. People with power are considered to be right and virtuous, and are expected to have privileges. In societies with a low PDI, powerful people try to look egalitarian and avoid conspicuous display of wealth and power. They believe the inequalities between themselves and less powerful individuals should be minimized. Privileges and status symbols are discouraged by society.

This dimension seems to have some correlation with the collectivism-individualism dimension. As we have seen above, collectivist cultures tend to have larger power distances because vertical relationships are the most important.

Masculinity/femininity

This is the extent to which one sex or the other’s attributes are favored or considered more desirable. Therefore, the dimension is not a question of what is considered to be masculine attributes and feminine attributes; rather, it is about a society’s emphasis.

Masculine behavior is generally associated with assertiveness, dominance, achievement and aggression while feminine behavior is associated with nurturance, humility, helpfulness and affiliation” (McCarty. 1994, p.34).
Uncertainty Avoidance

Uncertainty avoidance represents the ability a society is able to accept and cope with uncertainty. People use law, religion, and technology to address uncertainty. This dimension is related to anxiety, need for security, dependence on experts, and the application of information (Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996).

Relationship Among the Four Dimensions

There is some correlation between some of these dimensions, for example, traditional societies are often associated with collectivism and high power distance. However, there are more exceptions than clear-cut relationships. Each culture has a unique composition of scores in these four dimensions. Albers-Miller & Gelb (1996) summarized Hofstede’s (1980) empirical research on eleven countries/cultures and their scores in the four dimensions in Table 1.

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Table 1: Hofstede’s country scores on the four dimensions. (Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996, p. 58)
Hofstede (1993) added a new dimension to the above four, which is the long-term versus short-term orientation. "On the long-term side one finds values oriented towards the future, like (saving) and persistence. On the short-term side one finds values rather oriented towards the past and present, like respect for tradition and fulfilling social obligations" (Hofstede, 1993, p. 90). However, this dimension is relatively new and has not been adopted or validated in other empirical studies.

Although Hofstede has always been interested in the Chinese culture (e.g. Hofstede, 1991, 1993) and speculated that China was on the collectivistic side of the individualism-collectivism continuum, there has been no empirical evidence of the four dimensions from China. In the literature, there were some data from Taiwan, but because of the political and cultural separation for the past fifty years, there might be significant cultural value differences between the two sides of the Strait. Therefore, assuming advertising advocates' view that advertising reflects social reality, I try to bring empirical evidence from China to contribute to theory-building in the four dimensions.

Time Perception

Center to the human-nature relationship is human beings' conception of time. Although time may seem to be a constant, and all humans share the basic biological and physical time, cultures create a filter in our perception of time and thus differ greatly in its time orientation (McCarty, 1994). Cultures are different in two ways: time perception (tempo) and ordering of sequence of events. As Anderson and Venkatesan (1994, p. 178) suggest, "a social time system is a comprehensive framework that encompasses the rules.
standards, practices, and customs of human behavior and interaction with respect to temporality.”

Objective Versus Subjective Time

Bruneau (1979) points out that the characteristic tempo of a culture is determined by the interaction of subjective (highly variable) and objective (somewhat constant or consistent) forms of time experiencing. Some cultures are paced by subjective time experiencing merged with an objective time that concerns the repetition of biological, natural and celestial movements. Some other cultures adopt fairly constant forms of objective time (clocks, etc.). These cultures control the pace of life with such objective forms of time in personal, social, and cultural activities and events. Subjective time is ignored in such societies and they stress the importance of objective standards of time, the accuracy of such time, and the pacing of life associated with clock, thus, they are called “clock-bound” (p. 429) cultures. In these cultures, haste is valued, and a highly repetitive and predictable rhythmic pattern is established.

Monochronic/polychronic Time

This difference in perception of time and pace of life will cause differences in the order of sequence of event. Rifkin (1987) cites Hall’s extreme example of how two cultures, the white mainstream American culture and Native American Pueblo Indian culture, differ in notions regarding the proper sequence in which events should unfold. The Indians had some interest conflict with the State of New Mexico authorities about a road that went through their land. They warned the authorities that they would close down the road unless they were compensated for it. Several years went by without
further discussion between the two parties. Then, without warning, the Indians set up barricades on the road with signs saying they were exercising their rights. The New Mexico authorities were shocked. In the white culture, a demand like that is almost always followed immediately by a confrontation, a crisis, action and resent. However, for the Pueblo Indians, it was appropriate to suspend the sequence, engage in other activities, then return years later to complete what they had begun.

Edward Hall (1983) called this difference in sequence of events monochronic time and polychronic time. In monochronic time, events are scheduled as separate items – one thing at a time. The concept of time is abstract, external, linear, and quantitative.

Events follow one another in a linear, causal order. We place a premium on closure. That is, once a task or activity has been initiated, we feel compelled to see it through to its completion before going on to something else. We do not easily tolerate loose ends and are uncomfortable with the idea of suspending an activity or event in limbo for long periods. (Rifkin, 1987, p. 60)

In polychronic time, however, “matters are in a constant state of flux. Nothing is solid or firm, particularly plans for the future: even important plans may be changed right up to the minute of execution” (Hall, 1983, p. 333).

Hall’s Context Framework

“One of the functions of culture is to provide a highly selective screen between man and the outside world” (Hall, 1976, p. 85). Culture designates what we pay attention to and what to ignore in order to avoid information overload and a nervous breakdown. This is done by means of what Hall calls the “contexting” process, which is a way “to program the memory of the system so that less information is required to activate the
Thus, context is the hidden information behind a message that helps it make sense. Hall lists five disparate categories of events that can be considered components of context: the subject or activity, the situation, one's social status in a social system, past experience and culture. Hall (1976, p. 88) describes the difference between high-context and low-context communication as:

A high context communication or message is one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded explicit, transmitted part of the message. A low-context communication is just the opposite; i.e., the mass of the information is vested in the code.

The level of context influences all other aspects of communication. Context affects language, legal codes, material culture (where advertising is an important part), socializing patterns and business styles (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1986). Cultures then, according to the amount of explicit information needed to pass on a message, can be put on a high-context-low-context continuum.

Gudykunst and Nishida argue that in high context cultures verbal skills are not highly valued. The emphasis is on indirect, nonverbal communication among group members and it is important for them to know whether others understand them even though they do not verbally express themselves. It is also necessary for them to know whether others will make allowances for them. Group members frequently use silence and what Bernstein (1964) calls "restricted codes" (see below) to convey messages.
There are some differences in uncertainty reduction in the two kinds of cultures. In low-context cultures, members can gather information about other’s attitudes, values, emotions and past behavior and use it to predict their future behavior, whereas in high-context cultures, members seek out social information. For them, an individual’s background and relative status must be known in order to be able to predict his/her behavior (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1986).

Taylor, Miracle and Chang (1994) state that high-context cultures are relational, intuitive and contemplative whereas low context cultures are analytical and action-oriented. This coincides with Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck’s (in McCarty, 1994) being and doing orientations. A doing orientation indicates a culture value placed on acting and doing; a being orientation, on the other hand, suggests an emphasis on experiencing life deeply and on reflection about life and one’s actions. McCarty (1994) has found that in doing societies, people have shorter reaction times, and if asked to estimate a minute of time, those in a doing culture will overestimate whereas those in being cultures will underestimate.

Yum’s In- and Out-Group Differentiation

Another framework that explains cultural differences is Yum’s (1991) in-group and out-group differentiation. Yum states that East Asians display more loyalty to group identity than North Americans and what is inside the group and what is outside it have drastically different meanings. This notion of in- and out-group differentiation is also echoed in Okabe (1983) and many other studies (Gudykunst et al., 1992; Gudykunst, Yoon, & Nishida, 1987) and is highly correlated to the four dimensions. The relationship
between individuals in the ingroup is more nurturant and intimate than that in individualist cultures. Cooperation among ingroup members is high, however, this does not mean they extend this friendliness and warmth to outgroups. The ingroup-outgroup differentiation usually results in the indifference of members of a society to social injustice and corrupt governments. While in the ingroup people share and show harmony, the total society may be characterized by much more disharmony and non-sharing.

Bernstein’s “Elaborated” and “Restricted” Codes

Bernstein (1964) wrote that different social structures may generate different speech systems or linguistic codes. Restricted codes arise in “closed communities, combat units of the armed forces, criminal subcultures,” or other low-working classes. In this code, “the speech is played out against a backdrop of assumptions common to the speakers, against a set of closely shared interests and identifications, against a system of shared expectations; in short, it presupposes a local cultural identity which reduces the need for the speakers to elaborate their intent verbally and to make it explicit” (p. 60). The code offers high predictability in structure but a limited vocabulary, and allows no verbal signaling of discrete intent or personal difference. In a sense, it is similar to the “intimate” style in Joos’ (1967) five styles of American English (they are – from the most formal/explicit to the most informal/implicit – the frozen, the formal, the consultative, the casual and the intimate styles).

In elaborated codes, “the preparation and delivery of relatively explicit meaning is the major purpose” (Bernstein. 1964, p. 65). It allows the speaker to elaborate verbally
and to make explicit her discrete intent. While meaning in restricted code is dependent on the social relation or the speaker's status, with an elaborated code, the listener is dependent on the "verbal elaboration of meaning" and speakers are oriented to the "person" instead of her status. Elaborated codes are often associated with individuals from high or middle classes.

Culture and Advertising

In general, researchers think that advertising is playing a more and more important role in international communication. The role of advertising has developed from a mere means of sales promotional activity into more diversified communications that are likely to have a bearing on global socio-cultural issues (Inoue, 1996). However, researchers are divided in their views on what specific impact advertising has on culture, or any impact at all. According to their beliefs, researchers can be divided into two camps and it is along this line that this part of the literature review is organized.

The first group of scholars are critics of advertising who are from diverse fields which generally belong to the realm of the humanities. They characterize advertising as a "distorted mirror" with troubling images (Pollay, 1986). Because of advertising's active role in shaping culture, "a cultural frame is the predominant set of images, values, and forms of communication in a particular period that arises out of the interplay between marketing and advertising strategies, the mass media, and popular culture" (Leiss et al., 1986, p12). They charge that advertising does not only attempt to sell the product, but also a world view, a lifestyle, and a values system that are congruent with the imperatives of consumer capitalism (Kellner, 1995b). Advertising does this by generating a general
ethos of consumption in which all needs come to be fulfilled through the purchase of goods, thus reinforcing materialism, cynicism, irrationality, selfishness, anxiety, social competitivity, sexual preoccupation, powerlessness, and a loss of self-respect (Pollay, 1986).

The second group of scholars are advocates of advertising. Rather than focusing on advertising's impact on society, they concentrate on culture's bearing on advertising. They hold the view that advertising is only a mirror reflecting the values, customs, taste and preferences in its social milieu. It does not mold or shape the values of its target audience (Holbrook, 1987). They contend that most advertisements seem to reflect "fairly wholesome values," including sociability, affection, generosity, health, patriotism, ecumenism, personal enrichment, security, and temperance (Boyd, Ray, & Strong, 1972). They recognize advertising as a necessary and beneficial step in the process of production and consumption which enables the economies of scale to work and thus is a valuable contributor to the efficiency and freedom of a market economy. They also acknowledge it to be a form of artistic expression that contributes to increased diversity and freedom of speech in society (Holbrook, 1987 and in Leiss et al, 1986).

The Critics of Advertising

The critics draw a wide array of theoretical traditions: literary criticism, sociology and political economy. For various reasons, most of the published work comes from the United States and Europe. The critics' goals and objectives are well-illustrated by the major questions they ask: What has advertising done to our societies and cultures? What are its (mostly negative) effects on our lives, especially our youth? Where would
advertising take us? What can we do to stop advertising’s erosion of our traditional values and morals? What are some of the techniques advertisers use to “dupe” us? How can we “undress” advertisements by peeling off their verbal signs and expose their underlying motives? How can we educate consumers and raise their consciousness? They are interested in exposing, through the analysis and deconstruction of advertisements, the social and political power structures in society that combine to produce the text (Frith, 1997). They also ask questions about who produces it, how it is produced, how often and under what conditions to get a comprehensive understanding of the possible meanings of this cultural form (Valdivia, 1997).

The Critics’ Major Arguments

The critics’ major contention is that the church, the economic and political institutions and family elders used to play very important roles in our lives, but their importance has diminished in modern industrialized societies. Their place has to a large extent been replaced by advertising. The use of symbols is a process which enables us to extend our mental world beyond the immediate environment and reach a high level of abstraction in our thinking. It is through such a process, together with the secondary-source information from “authority figures,” that we learn values and beliefs which may not have any immediate bearing on our limited role behavior and which probably would be otherwise impossible for us to generalize from our day-to-day behavioral pattern (Chu, 1978). By appropriating and transforming symbols and ideas, advertising has become not just a commercial phenomena, but also a rhetorical form diffused throughout our culture. It shapes not only a culture’s symbolic and ideological contents, but also its ethos, texture
and constitution as a whole (Wernick, 1991). Jhally (1995) and Kellner (1995) both give examples on how advertising creates a new value (e.g. diamond as symbol of ever-lasting love) and a myth (the Marboro man) in the American culture.

Advertising has been attacked by the critics from different fronts and it is difficult to make a succinct and coherent summary. But its “pernicious” influence on culture and our thought was likened to (Advertising Age quote in Pollay, 1986) a brain surgeon as a brain alterer, only with a different instrument. On the societal level, it is accused of being responsible for the fading away of older cultural traditions, influences on younger generations, the role of business in society, persuasion and personal autonomy, and many other social issues; on the individual level, they influence our interpersonal and family relationships, sex roles and stereotypes, the use of affluence; and the sense of happiness and contentment (Leiss et al., 1986). The critics’ “major indictment of advertising” are summarized by Richard Pollay (1986, p. 31) in his ground-breaking article, “The Distorted Mirror: Reflections on the Unintended Consequences of Advertising”:

It has been criticized for playing on emotions, simplifying real human situations into stereotypes, exploiting anxieties, and employing techniques of intensive persuasion that amount to manipulation. Many social critics have stated that advertising is essentially concerned with exalting the materialistic virtues of consumption by exploiting achievement drives and emulative anxieties, employing tactics of hidden manipulation, playing on emotions, maximizing appeal and minimizing information, trivializing, eliminating objective considerations, contriving illogical situations, and generally reducing men, women, and children to the role of irrational consumer.”

The critics accuse advertising as being a “discourse through and about objects” (Jhally, 1995; Leiss et al., 1986). By presenting fragmented, ideologically loaded pictures of reality, it not only replicates the social moment, but also has in large measure
assisted at its creation (Jameson, 1984). They argue that advertising creates a “capitalist realism,” which is commercial capitalism’s presentation (or reflection) of itself on its own plane of reality, a plane which does not represent reality nor build a fully fictive world, but provides society with a quasi-fictive vision of “life as it should become, life worth emulating” (Schudson in Griffin et al., 1994, p. 491). Although the image-system of the marketplace reflects our desire and dreams, the source of satisfaction is not material but social, which cannot be provided by the purchase of goods. Happiness and contentment thus appear illusory, which will eventually lead to the uncertainty and confusion of society. Thus, “we have only the pleasure of the images to sustain us in our actual experience with goods” (Jhally, 1995, p. 80).

Advertising is also accused of manipulating its audience by the use of linguistic and visual codes which advertising practitioner-turned-critic Mary Cross (1996) calls “adspeak” or “markettongues.” She describes it as “a kind of linguistic vandalism to create its spurious surface of language games, appropriating words for use in a realm somewhere between truth and falsehood, and motivating the signifiers to serve its own purposes” (p. 2). She argues that although the language of advertising seems to have no depth, “it draws us in with disjunctions of wordplay and image to reach subliminally into dimensions of the forbidden, training us to new attachments.” Advertising uses figurai, images and dreamscape and provokes our subconsciousness. In her words, advertising transfigures the word virtually into Freudian dream – or nightmare – images.

Because advertising is such a “vicious” endeavor against society and its citizenry, the critics reason that naïve readers who do not understand the social ideologies in
advertising labor under false consciousness about their meaning. These deceptive meanings create desires for consumer goods and thus promote selling. The critics think that social theorists are privileged with the ability to decode real meaning and naïve readers may learn the decoding process and thereby develop their own abilities to derive the true meaning of advertisements (O'Barr, 1994). This was what Williamson (1978) and Marchand (1985) set out to do, to teach critical abilities by using advertisements as pedagogical tools. Kellner (1995a) and several other theorists (e.g. Jhally) initiated the campaign for “media literacy” or visual literacy” so as to empower citizens in the critical analysis of our media culture, to enable them to see their position and subjectivity (a subordinate relationship with various forms of power) within the greater framework of contemporary capitalism (Nicholson, 1997). Jhally (1995) suggests that this information about the institutional context of the production and consumption of the image system should be a prerequisite for literacy. By unveiling the anonymity and mystery of advertisements, we will know the images much better through which we conceptualize the world and our role within it.

The Critics’ Theoretical Frameworks

The critics set out to achieve their goals by drawing theoretical frameworks such as ideology, hegemony and dependency theory from sociology. Their reasoning is that as commercial advertising utilizes the commodity as a tool to socialize individuals, its role as an ideological tool gets hidden by a process which was called “exnomination” by Barthes (1972). The views of the powerful in society are “naturalized” through advertising’s repetitive exposure, and the political nature of discourse is masked as class.
gender, racial and other differences which are accepted as common-sense (Ludwig, 1997). Thus, there is a discrimination or domination that works not through brute force such as military or police actions, but through a gentle and invisible form of power. It is a “hegemonic process” (Gramsci’s term in Vermehren, 1997).

**Hegemony and ideology.** Lull (1995, p. 31) defines hegemony as “the power or dominance that one social group holds over others.” However, hegemony is “consensual dominance,” i.e. dominance and coercion “as accomplished, not without the due measure of legal and legitimate compulsion, but principally by means of winning the active consent of those classes and groups who were subordinated within it” (Hall 1982 in Ludwig, 1997, p. 157). It is “a sort of society-wide agreement which attempts to maintain a social order among the various members of that society” (Nicholson, 1997, p. 177). Therefore, hegemony is “more than social power itself; it is a method of gaining and maintaining power” (Lull, 1995, p. 31).

Ideology, on the other hand, is “the mental frameworks – the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation – which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works” (Hall, 1986, p. 29). It is “the meaning made necessary by the conditions of society while helping to perpetuate those conditions” (Williamson, 1978, p. 13). It is social and group assumptions or selected thinking advocated through a variety of channels by those in society who have political and economic power.

The ongoing manipulation of public information and imagery constructs a potent dominant ideology which helps sustain the material and cultural interests
of its creators. Fabricators of dominant ideologies become an “information elite.” Their power, or dominance, stems directly from their ability to publicly articulate their preferred systems of ideas. Ideology has force, therefore, when it can be represented and communicated. (Lull 1995, p.7)

Thus, ideology and hegemony work hand in hand, with ideology being the means and hegemony the goal or result. Ideology is about “the winning and securing of hegemony over time” (Lull 1995, p.38).

**Gender stereotyping.** Anthropological studies tell us that in human societies material objects have always served to convey meanings and messages about rank, status, privilege, roles, caste, sex, class, and about how such social subgroups are formed and what rules they devised to dictate their conduct to each other. Advertising, through its “privileged discourse through and about objects,” creates cultural stereotypes that strongly influence our perception of people, particularly when specific information is limited and when the issues of gender and race are salient. Waters and Ellis (1996) point out that there is sufficient evidence in the social sciences to indicate that stereotypes can bias the evaluation of the characteristics and performances of individuals and whole groups. One of the most serious consequences of the influence of stereotypes is that as a member of a society, a person may actually accept its beliefs about masculinity and femininity and incorporate those beliefs as important elements in his or her own self-concept. If that person’s traits and characteristics fail to meet the social ideal, the result is frequently low self-esteem and sometimes even depression.

The aspect of advertising most in need of analysis and change is the portrayal of women. Women are shown almost exclusively as housewives and sex objects (Kilbourne. 1995), or as inferior to men, child-like, and “saved from seriousness”
(Goffman, 1979). Goffman points out that advertisements depict for us not necessarily how we actually behave as men and women, but how we think men and women behave. This depiction serves the purpose of convincing us that this is how men and women are, or want to be, or should be, not only in relation to themselves, but in relation to each other.

One framework that has been used and tested in numerous studies (e.g. Weaver, 1989; Kang, 1993; Griffin et al, 1994; Balasubramanian, 1999) is Goffman’s (1979) “gender display” — conventionalized portrayals of male and female relationships in advertising images. Goffman says that through the use of these small-scale metaphors, the division and hierarchies of social structure are depicted microecologically. Yet, how a relationship is depicted through ritual “can provide an imbalanced, even distorted, view of the relationship itself”; it is “not a picture of the way things are, but a passing exhortative guide to perception” (p. 3). He suggests that we examine the pictures frame to find the codified forms, and “in seeing what picture-makers can make of situational materials, one can begin to see what we ourselves might be engaging in doing. Behind infinitely varied scenic configurations, one might be able to discern a single ritual idiom; behind a multitude of surface differences, a small number of structural forms” (p. 27).

In his unsystematic, “generalization-by-pronouncement” analysis of “gender advertisements,” Goffman found that “ritualized behavioral practices found in a variety of contexts in real life come to be employed in a ‘hyper-ritualized’ form in ads featuring women” (p. 26). He found that women were frequently depicted as smaller in size, especially height, echoing their relatively lower social power, authority, rank, office and
renown (relative size). When a man and woman is seen collaborating in an endeavor, the man is more likely to perform the executive role (function ranking). Goffman also pointed out that there was a "ritualization of subordination" of women as they were often depicted as having "bashful knee bend," body and head cant, reclining body, expansive smiles, and "body clowning" — playful body gestures. Women were also characterized in advertisements as having "licensed withdrawal" — they often cover their mouth with their hands as in fear, shyness, remorse and laughter. They suck and bite their fingers, and often pose behind other people, objects or even animals. They have head/eye aversions and immerse themselves in dream-like mental drifting.

Advertising also plays an instrumental role in creating the ultra-thin female body stereotype. A mismatch between this ideal media image and actual body image could lead to serious consequences such as body image dissatisfaction, physique anxiety, and eating disorders (David & Johnson, 1998).

Race and power. The issues of race and hegemony are actually the issues of power. Critics argue that analyzing advertisements critically can reveals a lot about the ideologies shared within the societies which produced the advertisements; it also helps one to see how different aspects of race, class, gender and sexual orientation sit in relation to the power of the dominant class (Nicholson, 1997). By developing an awareness of oppression and a counter hegemonic stance, critics hope to empower subordinate groups, to strive for a more equitable society and to better prepare the individual to purchase according to his or her own attitude and taste.
The Advocates of Advertising

This school borrows heavily from intercultural communication theories. Frequently, the national culture is used as an independent variable; thus, they take a wide definition of culture, which is synonymous with the nation-state or ethnic culture. As there are no rigorous, scientific definitions of specific cultures’ typical characteristics, ideal types developed in intercultural communication are used to operationalize these cultures.

The Advocates’ Theoretical Frameworks

As these theorists believe that advertising audience’s cultural background determines its value system, attitude and message perception (Bradley, Hitchon, & Thorson, 1994), the frameworks and concepts from intercultural communication research reviewed in the previous section have been widely used in the literature of this camp’s research work. The following constructs are also used.

Values. Value is defined by Rockeache (1969, p. 550) as “a standard or criterion that serves a number of important purposes in our daily lives: it is a standard that tells us how to act or what to want; it is a standard that tells us what attitudes we should hold; it is a standard we employ to justify behavior, to morally judge, and to compare ourselves with others.” Different cultures are assumed to have different values. Comparative work abound in this area with Rockeache as a pioneer. In his (1973) book, The Nature of Human Values, he developed the Values Survey and identified 18 “terminal” and 18 “instrumental” values that respondents in the American society conscientiously attached to. Hofstede and Bond (1984) and Ng et al (1982 in Hofstede and Bond) tested these 36
values in more than ten cultures and found that they were highly correlated with Hofstede’s four cultural dimensions. As they found that Rockeac’h’s values, although many of them universal, do not accurately reflect Eastern values, the Chinese Culture Connection (1987), after consulting numerous Chinese social scientists, identified 40 “most fundamental and basic values for the Chinese people.” They issued these “oriental values” in the Chinese Value Survey to subjects from 22 nation-cultures, and found that different national cultures score differently and the scores correlate highly with their score in the four dimensions. Although the purposes of the two studies were mainly to validate the four dimensions, they at the same time added empirical evidence to the proposition that people in the East and the West have different value systems.

Culture’s implications on utility preference and appeals. Utility is the characteristic of a product in social function. The values salient in a given culture determines what utilities that particular culture prefers. For example, in cultures with a high power distance index, the social status/decoration utility of a product may be valued more than in a culture with a low power distance. Kale (1993) illustrates the four dimensions’ influences on consumer’s utility and interaction preferences.

Zhang and Gelb (1996) contend that cultural values, norms, and characteristics are embedded in advertising appeals, the specific approaches advertisers use to communicate how their products will satisfy customer needs. Pollay (1983) identified 42 advertising appeals from an extensive content analysis of advertisements. This 42-appeal framework has been used widely by researchers to assess the impact of cultural values on advertising. Albers-Miller & Gelb (1996) summarize the correlation of Hofstede’s four
dimensions with 30 of the 42 appeals. These correlations imply, they contend, that it is imperative for advertisers to use different appeals in different cultures.

One of culture's implications on advertising appeals is that some cultures prefer hard-sell approaches and others soft-sell. Soft-sell advertisements are ones that "use mood, ambiguity, and suspense to create an intriguing message" (Well, Burnett, and Morarity, 1992 cited in Bradley et al., 1994, p. 147). They try to indirectly and subtly get a message across. Hard-sell is the opposite: they try to persuade receivers with direct, confrontational messages. It sometimes takes the form of comparative advertising – highlighting the advantageous features of one's own brand against those of competing brands.

Frith and Wesson's (1991) study indicates that British consumers, who have more power distance, are more responsive to indirect sales messages delivered to audiences clearly stratified by social class than their U.S. counterparts. Mueller (1992) and Taylor, Miracle & Chang (1994) have also noted that while hard-sell messages with narration, demonstration and product display were effective in the American culture, they were not at all as effective in Japan. Korea and other Confucius-influenced Asian high-context cultures. Chirapravati (1996) and Pernia (1996) report similar findings in Thailand and the Philippines. This agrees with Zandpour and Harich's (1996) suggestion that it may be more effective to present very specific facts that can assist individuals in their decision-making in highly individualistic cultures, but in collectivist cultures, advertisers may benefit from image-based or symbolic appeals that point out the positive social consequences of a particular purchase.
There are other more specific implications of these concepts on advertising strategies. Hofstede’s masculinity-femininity dimension may have some target audience implications on advertising because society’s position on masculinity and femininity influences their consumption pattern. For example, in Hispanic societies, men may be dominant in family decision-making (Gregory & Munch, 1997), whereas in the African American families, females are more dominant (McCarty, 1994). This norm also affects earnings, recognition, advancement and challenge of different sex roles in society. Advertisers would want to choose the particular products that will be targeted to the decision-makers and particular sections of the population.

The different message processing styles of high- and low-context cultures also indicate that in high-context cultures, which are more visually oriented, commercials are expected to be shorter, and in low-context cultures, they will orient more toward verbal messages. Advertisements in high-context cultures would place more emphasis on mood, and less on the brand/company/product, and in low-context cultures, vice versa (Taylor, Miracle & Chang, 1994).

The standardization or specialization debate. A major issue that has far-reaching implications for international advertising is the standardization or specialization controversy. It centers around the appropriateness of variation (or lack of it) within advertising content from country to country. The ultimate goal of a corporation is to maximize its profit. Standardization, through the economy of scale, would mean numerous benefits for the transnational corporation: decision simplification, ease in execution, cost reductions, operational efficiency, uniform worldwide image, and
consistency in customer service (Onkvisit & Shaw, 1987). However, because of the different beliefs, values and human relationship orientations mentioned above, plus physical environment and government regulations differences, it is difficult to create an advertising message that appeals to all customers. Advertising has to adapt to the local consumer ecology. The issue was first raised in 1961, and the debate has been going on ever since (for a comprehensive review see Jain, 1989; Onkvisit & Shaw, 1987; Onkvisit & Shaw, 1994). Various theories have been proposed. The theorists who advocate standardization think that a standardized approach would work, based on the assumption that although people are different, their basic physiological and psychological needs are similar. The success of advertising depends on motivation patterns rather than geography. Theorists holding a different view think that advertisers must consider barriers such as culture, taste, media availability and other economic considerations, and develop specific programs to address local markets. Standardization used to be defined as "a marketing strategy that presented basically the same product and communication message when a product designed for a given local market was exported to other countries" (Onkvisit & Shaw, 1994, p. 32). Since cosmetic changes (translation of words) are an inevitable part in international advertising, advocates have changed it to mean that as long as the theme is maintained, a standardized advertisement can have changes in its copy or illustration. The debate is still going on, but the consensus seems to be a compromise of the two approaches (Cateora & Graham, 1999; Onkvisit & Shaw, 1994). Strategies like pattern advertising have been proposed, with a standardized basic
message allowing some degree of modification to meet local situations. The in-thing to do now is: “Think globally; act locally” (Cateora & Graham, 1999, p. 484).

The Advocates' Major Arguments and Findings

In general philosophy, advocates of advertising carry out their research “with a view to improving the effectiveness of the media, often regarded simply as objects of study or as ‘neutral tools’ in achieving stated aims and objectives, often of a commercial nature” (Halloran, 1981, p. 24). They believe that culture is such a complex, abstract, and pervasive and all-encompassing form or pattern of living that it has serious implications for advertising because it has a profound impact on the way consumers perceive and behave (Clark, 1990). “No matter how hard man tries, it is impossible for him to diverse himself of his own culture, for it has penetrated the roots of his nervous system and determines how he perceives the world” (Hall, 1966, p. 177). McCracken (1986) construes culture as a “lens” through which the individual views the world: it determines how the phenomena will be apprehended and assimilated. Or, in Zandpour and Harich’s (1996) words, it is the notion that relates to how the world is perceived, organized and communicated, and learned. These researchers believe that this has serious implications for advertising because it only “reflects” and does not “lead” social reality. Thus, they think culture is something that needs to be tapped into, the patterns of which need to be identified and mapped out in order for advertising to be effective and successful. They think the savvy advertiser must appeal to values that are salient in the culture of its intended audience (Gregory & Munch, 1997). Gregory & Munch’s (1997) study suggests that attitudes and behavior toward advertisements are functions of the
degree of consistency of culture norms and roles depicted within the advertisements. Advertising messages that emphasize values consistent with the value orientation of the society tend to be more persuasive than advertisements emphasizing inconsistent values. McCarty (1994) also points out that the value orientations of a culture may affect how a product is packaged, positioned, promoted, and distributed. It is of vital importance to understand the core beliefs of the culture with regard to the positioning and promotion of a product.

Kale (1993) warns that practitioners will lose opportunities to market products and services globally unless the cultural domain of the buyer-seller dyad is better understood. As early as in 1975, Marquez (1975) found out that consumer who had been exposed to advertising messages that reflected their own culture were likely to comprehend it better and possibly empathize with it, thus increasing the effectiveness of the advertisements and the likelihood of purchasing the advertised product. Holland and Gentry's (1997) research also indicates that people have stronger affective responses to advertisements which use symbols congruent to their culture.

To summarize, the major difference between the two schools of thought, in addition to their different approaches and orientations, is their assumptions. The advocates think advertising merely reflects society’s already-existing values and meaning, therefore, they concentrate on what culture can do to advertising to make it more effective; the critics, on the other hand, think that advertising engages in active work of selecting and representing, of structuring and shaping social values; it makes
things mean (Hall, 1982). Hence their research work focuses on what (usually negative) influence advertising has on a society and its culture. For them, advertising is a symbolic domain that lends itself well to ideological analysis. It’s clear that what commercial advertisers sell are not just products, services, or isolated ideas. They sell multilayered, integrated ideational systems that embrace, interpret, and project interdependent images of products, idealized consumers benefiting from the products, corporations that profit from sale of the products, and, most important, the overarching political-economic-cultural structure – and the values and social activity it embraces.” (Lull, 1995, p. 10)

An Interactive Model of Advertising, Society and Culture

Li (1997) states that natural science and technology provide only the material means of human life, but the happiness and security of humankind ultimately depend on the quality of the humanities which provide the basic values underlying judgements about the situations and direction of human life. Thus, the humanities is the goal, and is more important than the natural sciences, the means. Therefore, in general, I side with critics because they belong to the humanities. I agree with them that advertising is an active agent in distorting social reality and results in the destruction of our traditional moral values and the domination of the strong over the weak. However, I agree with the advocates at the same time that advertising’s raison d’être is not as a propaganda agency and those who shape and transmit its symbolic materials have no intrinsic interest in that material might mean ideologically. Advertising is entirely an instrumental process, but in the context of using it, some meanings that have unintended consequences arise (even Pollay calls the consequences “unintended”). Therefore, the locus of advertising research should be on its effects as well as its motives.
This dissertation, as mentioned earlier in the Introduction, intended to take advantage of the strength of both schools of thought and took a relatively objective stance in examining the social phenomenon of advertising. In my opinion, neither the critics nor the advocates of advertising are calling the wrong shots, but they simply are focusing on different aspects of the whole advertising process, which is summarized in the interactive model in Figure 1.

In this model, the advocates focus on the impact of the market conditions on the advertising system, as indicated by the three thick solid lines and arrows. They are interested in how the local culture, government regulations and status of economic development of a particular market dictate the institutional setup, professional ethics and practices, message strategies and appeals, and audience reception and responses toward advertisements. The critics at the same time emphasize the counteractive force of the advertising system on the marketing conditions, especially the culture and ethos of a society, which is indicated by the thick dotted line and arrow. As advertising and the modern society are such a symbiotic union, the study of advertising is incomplete without the contribution from either the critics or the advocates.
Methods for Analyzing Advertisements

There are two major methods employed by both the critics and the advocates for analyzing visuals in advertisements: content analysis and semiotics. According to Berelson (1952) and Kerlinger (1986), content analysis is a scientific method widely used in the social sciences and humanities to objectively, systematically and quantitatively study the artifacts of communication. Semiotics, on the other hand, is one of the "more
subjective, introspective analytical methods of conceptual humanism” that “focus on
the structuralist analysis of symbolic codes and often consider the non-artistic artifacts
of pop culture or everyday consumption whose multilevel meanings may not be
consciously intended to communicate but which nevertheless play the role with
society” (Holbrook & Hirschman. 1993, p.12). By combining these two methods, this
dissertation attempts to take advantage of both the rigor of content analysis and the
insight of semiotics.

Content Analysis as a Research Method

Content analysis belongs to what Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh (1990) categorize as
descriptive research, which is research work “designed to obtain information concerning
the current status of phenomena…. The aim is to describe ‘what exists’ with respect to
variables or conditions in a situation” (Ary, Jacobs, & Razavieh, 1990, p. 381).

Both Berelson and Kerlinger emphasize “systematic”, “objective” and
“quantitative.” “Systematic” means that the content to be analyzed is selected according
to explicit and consistently applied rules: the sampling must follow proper procedures
and there must be uniformity in the coding and analysis procedures. “Objective” means
the researcher cannot bring in his/her idiosyncrasies or biases, and if another researcher
replicates the study, the analysis should yield the same result. Since the goal of content
analysis is the accurate representation of a body of messages, quantification is important
in fulfilling that objective.

Through content analysis, inferences can be made about virtually the whole
process of communication: the content of the communication message, the
Inferences can also be made about the cause of the communication and how it was carried out. Berelson (1952) has similar views with Holsti. He says that content analysis tells us a lot about the characteristics of the communication content (form and substance), the producers of the content, the audience of the content, and the effects of the content. Wimmer and Dominick (1994), focusing specifically on media studies, state that with content analysis, we can describe communication content, test hypothesis of message characteristics, compare media content to the "real world," assess the image of particular groups in society, and establish a starting point for studies of media effects.

**Semiotics as a Research Method**

Semiotics, also known as semiology, is a "science of signs" (De Saussure, 1966). It is a method for examining textual material that emerged from linguistics, and from literary and cultural analysis. As this field of study was developed separately but concurrently on the Continent by de Saussure in Sweden and Pierce in the U.S., there is, strictly speaking, a difference (for a good review, see Holbrook & Hirschman, 1993). Holbrook and Hirschman call the European model interpretive semiology for its bias toward interpretation and emphasis on the semantic and syntactic aspects of multiple levels of meaning; the American branch is called neopositivistic semiotics because of its focus on the pragmatic aspects of semiosis found in its interpretants involving behavioral responses of sign users. However, much research inhabits a gray area that borrows from both traditions and the two terms, semiology and semiotics, are often times used alternatively. Although semiotics (American) involves a triadic relation among a sign, an
object and an interpretant and semiology (European) a dyadic signifier and a signified, the basic tenets are similar: the signifier is the material vehicle of meaning; the signified “is” the meaning. The signifier is its concrete dimension; the signified is its abstract side. The French theorist Roland Barthes was one of the first to study advertising from this perspective. In North America, Williamson’s (1978) work is seminal in this area (for a brief review, see O’Barr, 1994, pp.4-5).

The Semiotic System of Advertisements

Barthes’ (1972) “second-order semiological system” is often used as a general framework for analyzing advertisements. In this system, the lowest level involves denotation – a simple relation between a signifier and signified. The second level involves connotation, in which the denotation itself becomes a signifier, a metalanguage (Barthes, 1967) or what Williamson (1978) calls a metasystem. In the metasystem, the denotative relationship between signifier and signified becomes the signified.

When this framework is applied to advertisements, the first-level signifier is the image and word, the physical appearance of the advertisement copy. The denotation helps make sense of the purpose, the goal of the advertisement and the whole production process involved in producing the advertisement. Then the connotation process turns the relationship between the first-level signifier and signified into the metasystem, which is a reflection of the philosophy and ideology of the system in which the advertisement is produced. The metasystem is itself the signified in the second-level system.
This system, as Poster (1990, p. 58) illustrates with a specific example, gives advertisements the power it does not have with the words themselves:

The ad takes a signifier, a word that has no traditional relation with the object being promoted, and attaches it to the object. The ad constitutes a new linguistic and communications reality. These floating signifiers derive their effects precisely from their recontextualization in the ad. Extracted from an actual relation between lovers, romance or sexiness increases in linguistic power. In the ad, floor wax is more romantic than a man or woman in an actual relationship. This surplus meaning...derives from the unique linguistic structure of the ad. Romance in the floor-wax ad is constituted by words and images that are not found in daily life.... The commodity has been given a semiotic value that is distinct from, indeed very out of phase with, its use value and its exchange value. The very “senselessness” of the relation romance = floor wax is a condition of its communication meaning.

Dyer’s Three-level Advertisement Analysis Framework

Dyer (1982) proposed three levels of meaning in advertising images in his book. Advertising as Communication. The first level is the “face level” of the advertisement, the colors, shape, people, product typography and other basic components. Level Two relates to the story or allegories within the image. Level Three refers to those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitudes of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophic persuasion – unconsciously qualified by one personality and condensed into one work, that is, the ideologies of the culture from which the advertisements are produced. Dyer’s framework is very similar to Barthes and Williamson’s metalanguage/metasystem conception. Frith (1997) also offers a procedure very similar to Dyer’s.

Leiss et al’s Basic Advertising Format Framework

Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1986), through their longitudinal content analysis of North American magazine advertisements, posited four basic advertising formats:
product information, product image, personalized advertisements, and life-style advertisements.

In the product information format, the product is the center of attention and the focus of all elements in the advertisement is explaining the product and its utility. The brand name and frequently a picture of the package are prominent. Picture displays products only.

In the product image format, brand name and package again play an important part, but the product is given special qualities by means of a symbolic relationship the product has to some more abstract and less pragmatic domain of significance than mere utility. The abstract values and ideas are signified by either a natural or social setting such as a landscape, the workplace, the household, a cluster of artifacts of daily life, a historic moment, or a recognizable tradition or myth. Product image is achieved by a juxtaposition of the product and a setting/context through narrative techniques like metaphor, implied use, allusion, allegory and story line.

The direct relationship between a product and the human personality defines the primary framework of the personalized advertisement. In personalized advertisements people are explicitly and directly interpreted in their relationship to the world of the product. Social admiration, pride of ownership, anxiety about lack of use, or satisfaction in consumption become important humanizing dimensions of the interpretation of products. The distinction between person and product codes sometimes becomes obscured. The following are examples of the personalized format:
a. Testimonials in which the person's relationship to the product is based on experience with use or consumption

b. A person's role, or even just fame, provides the connection between the product and its recommendation

c. Self-transformational or "makeover" advertisements in which consumers are invited to imagine themselves in some more idealized state

A more balanced relationship is established in the lifestyle advertisement between the elemental codes of person, product, and setting by combining aspects of the product image and personalized formats. People, products and settings of consumption are harmonized around a direct vision of a consumption style. A variant of the format synthesizes the component codes through a primary reference to an activity rather than directly to a consumption style. Here, the activity invoked in text or image becomes the central cue for relating the person, product, and setting codes. Lifestyle advertisements commonly depict a variety of leisure activities. The focus is action or behavior appropriate to or typical of a social group or situation rather than use, satisfaction, or utility.

Leiss at al found that in North America, the 1910s and 1920s were dominated by product information advertisements, the 1930 and 1940 by product image advertisements, the 1950s and 1960s by personalized advertisements and the 1970s and 1980s by lifestyle advertisements.
**Interactive Meaning Framework**

This framework is proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) and this dissertation is one of the first attempts to use it in analysis of advertisements. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen, images involve two kinds of participants: the *represented participants* – the subjects depicted in the image – and the *interactive participants*, the producers and viewers of the image. Therefore, three relations exist in images: (1) relations between the represented subjects in the image, which is not our concern here, (2) relations between the represented participants (subjects) and the interactive participants (image producer and image viewer), and (3) relations between the image producer and image viewer.

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen, producers and viewers interact to make sense of the images. By choosing what subject the image producer wants the viewer to see, and what assumptions the viewer makes of the producer and the represented subject, “a knowledge of the communicative resources that allow its articulations and understanding,” and “a knowledge of the way social interactions and social relations” are encoded in images. and it is possible that the attitudes, relative power positions between the producers and viewers can be elicited from the image composition.

The interactive meaning is a framework designed to reveal such representations in images. Through an analysis of advertising imagery, it is possible to discover the social ideology of who makes decision on what the audience can see, how they should conceptualize these issues, and what power relations they have with the producer and the
represented subjects. There are three components in the interactive meaning framework: contact, social distance, and attitude.

**Contact**

"Contact" represents how the producer addresses the viewer and how she wants the viewer to interpret the image. There are two types of contact: demand and offer. In demand pictures, the viewer is the addressee, the object. "The producer uses the image to do (italics original) something to the viewer...the participant’s gaze (and the gesture, if present) demands something from the viewer, it demands that the viewer enter into some kind of imagery relation with him or her" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 122). The image acknowledges the viewers explicitly, addressing them with a visual "you." The represented participants of the image "may smile, in which case the viewer is asked to enter into a relation of social affinity with them; they may stare at the viewer with cold disdain, in which case the viewer is asked to relate to them, perhaps, as an inferior relates to a superior; they may seductively pout at the viewer, in which case the viewer is asked to desire them....And in doing this, images define to some extent who the viewer is (e.g. Male, inferior to the represented participant, etc.), and in that way exclude other viewers" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 123).

The offer images does not address the viewer directly. No contact is made between the represented subject and the image viewer. The viewer’s role is that of an invisible onlooker. The represented subject is intended for the viewer’s scrutiny “as if they were specimens in a display case” (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 124). The image is to be read as a piece of objective and factual information.
Social Distance

Just as image-producers must choose to look at the viewer or not, they also need to decide whether to depict the represented participants as close to or far away from the viewer. The angle of view (focal length setting of the camera) and the featured object’s distance from the camera dictate social distance. Close-ups are considered intimate, medium shots social and wide shots impersonal.

Attitude

Perspective is another aspect that images bring about relations between represented participants and the viewer. The camera’s vertical and horizontal angles determine what kind of attitude and power relationship the producer wants the viewer and the represented participants to establish. Horizontal angle indicates involvement or detachment. It is a function of the relation between the frontal plane of the image-produce’s camera and the frontal plane of the represented participants (the degree of how they face each other). The two planes can be parallel to each other, aligned with each other or form an angle. A frontal angle denotes involvement (what you see here is part of our world, something we are involved with); an oblique angle indicates detachment (what you see is not part of our world; it is their world).

Up to this point, there might be some confusion about Goffman’s (1979) concept of “the gaze” and contact and attitude in the current framework. For example, a frontal picture of a woman gazing at the viewer may be categorized as a “gaze” while at the same time it is a “demand” picture in the contact dimension and an “involvement” picture in the attitude dimension. The difference is that contact and attitude are two general
categories while Goffman’s “gaze” is a specific example of these categories. There is some overlap in this specific case, however, any picture with a person (or even an animated object) directly addressing the viewer, either in the “gaze” form or other interactive gestures, are “demand” pictures. And any picture taken at a frontal angle, whether there is a gaze or not, are “involvement” pictures. Contact and attitude are technical concepts and are more general and abstract than the “gaze.”

The camera’s vertical angle decides viewer power, equality or representation power. Since “low angles generally give an impression of superiority, exaltation and triumph...high angles tend to diminish the individual, to flatter him morally by reducing him to ground level, to render him as caught in an insurmountable determinism” (Martin 1968 in Kress & Van Leeuwen, p. 146), high angles make the represented participants look small and insignificant giving viewer power: low angles make the represented subject look imposing and awesome offering representation power. Eye-level angle denotes equality.

Modality

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) argue that as members of a society, we make decisions on the basis of the information we receive, produce and exchange. We have to decide on whether to trust the information or not by looking at modality markers, or textual cues for what can be regarded as credible and what should be treated with circumspection. Modality thus refers to the truth value or credibility statements about the world. Modality is not universal because the eye has had a cultural training and reality is also located in a social setting and a history. “A ‘realism’ is produced by a particular
group, as an effect of the complex of practices which define and constitute that group. In that sense, a particular kind of realism is itself a motivated sign, in which the values, beliefs and interests of that group find their expression” (p. 163). Thus, it is possible to investigate a society’s rhetoric and ethos by looking at the modality coding orientation in its advertising imagery.

Modality is grounded in differences of color and detail. There are four modality modes: the scientific/technical, the sensory, the abstract and the naturalistic coding orientations. In the technical mode, color has very low modality because it is useless for the purpose of the image. Black and white enjoys the highest modality in this reality principle. In the sensory coding orientation, the pleasure principle is dominant: color is a source of pleasure and affective meaning, and conveys high modality. It is most frequently employed in fields like fashion, cooking, interior decoration and so on. Kress and Van Leeuwen describe the abstract coding orientation as primarily used by social elite, in high art, and academic and scientific contexts. “In such context modality is higher the more an image reduces the individual to the general, and the concrete to its essential qualities” (p. 170). The difference between the technical and the abstract is that the lowest modality for the technical is full color saturation while for the abstract, it is less-than-full saturation. The naturalistic coding orientation is the “commonsense,” the dominant one in our society. It is one that every member of our society shares no matter how much education or scientific-technological training they have received. In this mode, black and white enjoys lowest modality while less-than-full color saturation being the highest modality.
Hypotheses and Significance of the Study

In light of the foregoing review, I had the following hypotheses. Through finding answers to the above hypotheses, I expected the current study to make significant contributions to methodology development and theory-building in the different areas reviewed above: critical theories of advertising and ideology, advertising and culture; and theories of intercultural communication, visual communication and globalization.

Format Analysis Hypotheses

The general hypothesis for format analysis is that ads from the US and China would be different in physical characteristics. US magazines probably had more ads per issue, had greater ad size and pictorial/text ad ratio. However, the differences would diminish over time. The characteristics of US ad would remain stable over the twenty-year period but Chinese ads would be changing and converging toward US ads (Hypothesis 1).

China was probably at the beginning of the product image stage and moving towards personalized format stage in the four-stage linear development process (Hypothesis 2).

Socio-cultural and Ideological Analysis Hypotheses

Cultural Appeals

Overall, Chinese and US ads were different in their cultural appeals. Chinese advertisements tended to have significantly more collectivistic appeals than American ones, but the individualistic appeals would be similar (Hypothesis 3). The second half of the hypothesis was based on Holt (1997), Kwong (1994), Meindl, Hunt & Wonsick.
Wang, Leichtman & White (1998), Zhao & Murdock's (1996) reports that individualism was on the rise in China. Chinese ads would contain significantly more social background and social status appeals (Hypothesis 4). Overtime, the cultural appeals in China would become more similar to those in the US with the US appeals remaining constant (Hypothesis 5).

**Ideological Analysis**

**Depiction of women.** Across time, Chinese magazines tended to have significantly more advertisements in the late 1990s depicting women in smaller relative sizes, function ranking, ritualization of subordination, and licensed withdrawal than in earlier times. US advertisements tended to have the opposite trend or remain the same during this same period (Hypothesis 6). Across country, although Chinese advertisements would have increasingly negative depictions of women, there would probably still be significantly fewer instances of ritualization of subordination, licensed withdrawal, and sexy and glamorous women in Chinese than US ads (Hypothesis 7).

In sex-role stereotyping, there would be more Chinese advertisements with women in domestic and recreational roles in the late 1990s than in earlier times. American advertisements tended to have the opposite trend or remain the same (Hypothesis 8). As a result, in the late 1990s, there would be significantly more Chinese than American advertisements depicting women in domestic and recreational roles while in earlier times, there were not (Hypothesis 9).

**Depiction of minorities.** Overall, Chinese magazines might have significantly fewer advertisements featuring minorities than American magazines. In the US side.
there would be significantly more advertisements featuring minorities in the 1990s than in earlier periods. Chinese ads were likely to remain the same in the whole period (Hypothesis 10).

**Contact.** Overall, there would be significantly more demand ads in the US, and more offer ads in China. There were significantly more demand ads in the US in the late 1990s than in earlier times. The number of demand and offer ads in China did not change significantly during the whole twenty-year period (Hypothesis 11).

**Social distance.** Overall, there were significantly more intimate ads in the US. Social distance representation in both countries' ads would remain stable over time (Hypothesis 12).

**Attitude.** Overall, there would be significantly more viewer-power and more involvement ads in the US. There may be changes in attitude over the years in the US side toward more audience power and more involvement, but Chinese advertisements may have remained the same (Hypothesis 13).

**Modality.** US advertisements tended to have significantly more modalities than Chinese advertisements. Chinese advertisements remained largely with one mode, the naturalistic coding orientation. Modalities in both countries remained constant over the twenty-year period (Hypothesis 14).

**Hypothesis on the Impact of Globalization**

Thus, summarizing the above hypotheses, it was hypothesized that Chinese advertisements tended to converge toward their US counterparts in format, but the underlying social ideology in Chinese ads remained stable and different from those in the
US. Based on this, my hypothesis for globalization, transfer of media professionalism and cultural-media imperialism was that there was probably evidence of transfer of media professionalism in China since its opening to the outside world. However, the convergence in format and the transfer of media professionalism did not warrant cultural imperialism, for there was strong local resistance against the ideology from the West. Globalization thus did not have an all-sweeping effect in the case of China (Hypothesis 15).

Methodological Contribution

Samiee and Jeong (1994) have pointed out that content analysis in cross-cultural advertising research has often been used in a descriptive sense without theoretical underpinnings. The great majority of the findings of cross-cultural research thus appear to be ends in themselves rather than means of exploring more general processes. This study did not use content analysis to merely “depict and describe” trends in advertising developments, but used it as a tool to probe into two more complex phenomena, globalization and social ideology.

Another contribution to research methodology is the combination of traditional systematic content analysis and semiotics used in the study. This combination is able to both derive denotative meanings with traditional measures of manifest content, and tap into latent content of advertising messages with interpretative measures (Ferguson et al., 1990). This method carries the advantages of both quantitative and qualitative methods and is advocated by Griffin et al (1994) in research in the media professionalism area. Samiee and Jeong (1994) also point out that both conceptually and methodologically.
research based on multiple methods leads to more reliable results than does research
dependent on one method.

Third, almost all of the cross-cultural China-US content analysis studies in the
literature deal with a certain period of time, and nobody seemed to have done such
longitudinal studies (this study covers the entire advertising development history in
communist China). The combined cross-culture and cross-time analysis is a much more
powerful method than a truncated cross-cultural comparison, or an intracultural
longitudinal study.

Fourth, Dyer’s framework has been advocated by Frith (1997) and others as a
comprehensive methodology of studying advertising, but I have not found any empirical
study using this method. With this method, I am able to bring both the advertising
critics’ and advocates’ perspectives together, making the relationship between the two
schools dialectic instead of polemic and contradictory. This is something that Holbrook
and Hirschman were trying to do in their 1993 work and other publications, but their
work remained theoretical rather than empirical. This dissertation is one of the first
studies toward that end.

Contributions to Theory-building in Different Areas

As mentioned in the review, collectivism-individualism and the context construct
have been widely used a priori as independent variables in international advertising
studies, however they remain as ideal types in the Chinese scene because there has been
very little empirical evidence from China. Neither of Hofstede’s studies (1980, 1983)
had China in the description, probably due to China’s Iron Curtain policy and the resulted
difficulty in conducting such research there. Based on the advocates' assumption that advertising reflects cultural values, this study brings in empirical evidence about China's relative position in the collectivism-individualism continuum.

There has been very few studies, except Griffin et al's (1994), on transfer of media professionalism in Third World countries after Golding's (1977) seminal study. Evidence from other Third World countries is in dire need to examine the issue further. As mentioned earlier, this dissertation is an attempt to answer Griffin et al's call and, in part, a replication of their study in a different geographical location.

Critical research of advertising in China is rare. The role of advertising in the culture and the influence of politics and culture on advertising in a self-claimed socialist country both need to be explored. Past advertising research, especially content analysis research (e.g. Okechuku & Wang, 1988; Rice & Lu, 1988; Tse, Belk & Zhou, 1989; Cheng, 1994; Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Cheng 1997a), was carried out exclusively from the advocates' point of view with the only exception of Cheng's (1997a) study. As women's role in the family and society is changing rapidly in China (Glasser, 1997), it is important to assess what changes are taking place and how advertising contributes to these changes. To this end, this study can be construed as a replication of Cheng's (1997a) study with a semiotic component added. The use of semiotics to analyze China advertisements and the issue of depiction of minorities in Chinese advertising are two areas that have rarely been documented in literature.
This study is also one of the first attempts to use of Kress and Van Leeuwen's frameworks in empirical analysis and I hoped to make significant contributions to theorizing in visual communication.
CHAPTER 3

METHOD

A combined semiotic and systematic content analysis was used because it incorporates both qualitative and quantitative strategies. The systematic and rigorous content analysis technique affords reliability and replicability while semiotics is sensitive enough to the multiple levels of meaning and the multiple codes that advertisements employ.

General Design

A 2x2 cross-time, cross-cultural design was used with country and time as two independent variables. Enterprise type in China was used as a covariate in order to see if the format and ideological changes started from foreign-owned businesses to joint-ventures on to domestic enterprises (Cheng, 1994; Cheng, 1997b), which, if confirmed, would be plausible evidence of transfer of media professionalism. Product type was used as another covariate as it had been found that gender portrayals had much to do with product category (e.g. Cutler & Javalgi, 1992; Madden, Caballero & Matsukubo, 1986; Rice & Lu, 1988; Tse, Belk & Zhou, 1989; Weinberger & Spotts, 1989; Zandpour, Chang and Catalano, 1992; Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996). The product type categories were adopted from Gilly (1988), Zandpour et al (1992) and Cutler & Ravalgi (1992).
Time was broken into five-year intervals: 1979-1983, 1984-1988, 1989-1993, and 1994-1998, which approximately coincided with the political change in China, as mentioned earlier in the Introduction. The overall design is in Table 2.

Magazine Selection

The general strategy was to select popular, "mainstream" and general-circulation magazines from the Chinese side and then match them with US equivalents. In order to have representativeness, broad temporal and content coverage were set as selection criteria for Chinese magazines. Fully aware of the missing magazine issue problem, I selected multiple magazines in the same time period to minimize the possible error.

As a first step in selecting representative Chinese magazines, a purposive sample of twenty Chinese graduate students and their spouses were interviewed on what they considered to be typical "popular, mainstream, and general-circulation" Chinese magazines. A questionnaire was given to the respondents followed by a discussion session. The questionnaire and discussion session typically took 40 minutes.

Since I thought that students from the social and natural science fields might have different preferences in magazine choice, their demographic outlook was checked to ensure that a balanced number of respondents were chosen from each side. Because there might also be magazine distribution differences among the different geographical parts of China, respondents were also balanced on their places of origin. The demographics of the respondents are as shown in Table 3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social and cultural meaning analysis</th>
<th>Naturalistic coding</th>
<th>Abstract coding</th>
<th>Sensory coding</th>
<th>Technical coding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interactive meaning (media, audience, relationship)</td>
<td>Equal power</td>
<td>Media power</td>
<td>Viewer power</td>
<td>Detachment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Involvement</td>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Intimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depiction of minorities</td>
<td>Occupational</td>
<td>Recreational</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Sexy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Behind objects</td>
<td>Mental drifting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depiction of women</td>
<td>Reclining body</td>
<td>Expansive smile</td>
<td>Body/head cant</td>
<td>Bashful knee bend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realization of subordination</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative size</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social background and social status appeals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individualism-collectivism appeals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Format analysis</td>
<td>Lifestyle format</td>
<td>Personalized format</td>
<td>Product image format</td>
<td>Product info format</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of ads per issue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Text/pictorial ad ratio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Overall design.
Table 3: Demographics of graduate students interviewed.

From the interview, it was found that there was very little regional difference in magazine circulation – all magazines were equally available in both the south and the north. The reason might be that China Post had only one magazine catalog and there was very little reader choice, especially in the late 70s and early 80s. Most of the respondents reported that magazine-reading was an activity they enjoyed most in high school – before they chose an academic major – so my suspicion that academic area influenced magazine preference appeared to be without support.

All the respondents nominated Reader (known as Reader's Digest before 1993) for its perceived popularity and familiarity. Next is Popular Cinema. The nominated magazine titles and frequencies were summarized in Appendix A. The respondents were also asked to nominate the categories of magazines according to their own categorical schemata. Fifteen most frequently nominated categories were adopted and the most-frequently-nominated magazines in Appendix A were merged into each category. Appendix B was the result of the merger. These procedures were carried out to ensure
representativeness of the magazines to be sampled. In collaboration with three consultants, two current magazine editors in Eastern and Central China and a faculty member at a university in Eastern China, I finalized a list of magazines to be sampled compromising representativeness, practicability and magazine availability. The magazines are listed in Appendix C.

On the US side, three magazines were chosen to match up with the Chinese ones already selected. The reason so few US magazines were selected was that magazine advertising is a thoroughly researched field in the US and more data are not necessary for the purpose of this comparison. Of the three US magazines, Reader's Digest was chosen because it bears the same name, similar style, content, and readership to Reader. Life was chosen to equate Popular Cinema and People's Pictorial because all three are pictorial magazines. Popular Cinema is more than a pictorial about movies, actors and the entertainment world. Its contents cover a variety of issues as this was one of the only few non-Party pictorials left after the Cultural Revolution. Its cultural influence in China is very similar to that of Life in the US. The Atlantic Monthly was chosen to match Chinese Youth and Democracy and Law. These latter two have names that seem to address a particular audience, but they claim themselves to be "comprehensive magazines about society, politics, the law and currently affairs," which was confirmed in my interviews with the Chinese graduate students. The format, content, taste and layout of the Chinese and US counterparts are very similar. The New Yorker and Harper's

\[2\] Actually, because of this sameness, there was some litigation involved with Reader. I believe that the US Reader's Digest got its name patented in China first, prompting the local magazine to change to its current name in 1994.
magazine were first considered, but after reading a few issues, I realized that Harper's was too high-brow, and The New Yorker had too much New York City-related content, for which there was no equivalent in the two Chinese magazines.

Sampling Scheme

All years between 1979 and 1998 were sampled. As the author and the three consultants had a sense that there were very few advertisements, especially advertisements with pictorial content, in the early part of the period, four issues were sampled in each year from 1979 to 1990. Two issues out of each year were sampled from 1990 on. As the focus of this dissertation is the visual elements of magazine advertisements, and if all the graphic advertisements in each sampled issue were to be reproduced, the task would be beyond my means. It was decided to survey all the 17 magazines on the number of ads per issue, the verbal/graphic ad ratio, ad size, but only to analyze the pictorial advertisements of Reader, Popular Cinema, People's Pictorial, Chinese Youth and Democracy and Law because there was a consensus among the consultants, the interviewed respondents and myself that they were the most representative Chinese magazines. The pictorial advertisements of New Sports, Philately and Computer Fan were also included for their unique scope of subject coverage. All the advertisements from each sampled issue were included. Repeated advertisements were included as there was the reasoning that repeated exposure to a commercial might reinforce the message (Gilly, 1988).

Random issues were chosen from each year according to the sampling plan described above by seven paid college students who did not know anything about the
hypotheses of the study. Altogether, 262 magazine issues were sampled, resulting in a total of 3916 ads.

As there expected to be more advertisements in US magazines, fewer issues – one issue out of every two years – were sampled for each magazine. The sampling scheme is shown in Table 4. Altogether, 38 issues and 1821 ads were sampled on the U.S. side.

Altogether, 5737 Chinese and US ads were sampled for the analyses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue Number</th>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Atlantic Monthly</td>
<td>Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1983</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>1989</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>1988</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Sampling scheme for US magazines.

Data Collection

For the Chinese advertisements, seven university students were hired to do the survey of the 3916 ads. Then, a professional photographer was hired to photograph all the 886 sampled pictorial ads as color Xeroxing was not available and black-and-white Xeroxing loses the color dimension. Instructions and recording tables given to the
surveyors and the photographer are in Appendix D, Appendix E and Appendix F. After the pictures were taken, they were digitized into computer image files. All 3916 ads were used in the analysis on ad number per issue, pictorial/text ad ratio and ad size, but only the 886 pictorial ads were used for ad format, cultural appeals and ideological analyses.

All US pictorial ads were shot with a digital camera and directly converted into computer files. All the ads were used for the analysis on ad number per issue, verbal/pictorial ad ratio and ad size, but because there were too many pictorial ads (more than 80% of the 1821), only one-third of the pictorial ads (496 out of the 1821) were selected for ad format, cultural appeals and ideological analyses. The selection process started with a random start number, then one picture was chosen after every two in the database where the pictures were ordered according to their camera-generated file names.

Measurement Instrument and Coding Procedures

A coding book (see Appendix G) was developed according to the general design. Most of the measurement instruments were taken from published research work with tested high reliability (except that for Kress and Van Leeuwen's framework). The individual operational definitions are stated in the coding book.

Coding was done on a computer where all the digitized picture files were stored in a database. The coder could directly key in all the coding values while looking at the ad. This, while increasing efficiency, also eliminated possible errors in typing in the coded values a second time. All the coding was done by myself based on the guidelines set in the inter-coder reliability tests.
Reliability Tests

A pilot study was conducted to test intercoder reliability. Eleven graduate students in a content analysis class were invited to do testing on intercoder reliability. Training was conducted and testing was done on more than ten ads. Because of the number of variables and people involved, the session took several hours. Results showed that raw intercoder agreement was between 75 to 77 percent. When the number of coders was factored in with Holsti’s (1969) formula, the composite reliability was between 97.1% and 98.8%. After analyzing the test results and consulting my advisors, I felt that a follow-up test was necessary. A further test on the essential variables (especially the cultural and ideological analysis variables) was conducted. One of the graduate students from the content analysis class volunteered to help. Ten ads were coded separately. The intercoder agreement was 98%, which was far above the minimum requirement set by Kassarjian (1977).

In the sampled Chinese ads, there were quite a few repetition ads. They served as a good intracoder reliability test. I found 14 pairs of repeated ads which were coded in different days spanning two weeks. The agreement was 100%.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This section summarizes the result of the data analyses. Due to the large number of variables and amount of data, I have divided the results into different sections according to general design. Each subsection will have a comment regarding the hypotheses after discussion of the specific results for each variable.

Format Analysis

The format analysis describes the physical characteristics of ads in both countries and changes over time. Then over-time changes in each country’s basic ad format was illustrated. Changes in China was compared to those in the US in light of Leiss et al’s (1986) linear advertising format development framework. The general hypotheses for this level were:

- Ads from the US and China would be different in physical characteristics. US magazines probably had more ads per issue, had greater ad size and pictorial/text ad ratio. Over time, the differences would diminish. The characteristics of US ad would remain stable over the twenty-year period but Chinese ads would be changing and converging toward the US ads.

- China was probably at the beginning of the personalized format stage in Leiss et al’s (1986) four-stage linear advertising development process.
**Number of Ads in Each Magazine Issue**

There was wide discrepancy in the number of ads US and Chinese magazines carried. Over the twenty-year period, US magazines had an average of 55 ads in each issue, while Chinese magazines had only 6. A country x time analysis revealed that both country and time had main effect and there was interaction effect.\(^3\) Number of ads per issue in China increased gradually from 1979 to 1998, with the first four-year period averaging two ads per issue to nearly 12 in 1995-98. A closer look at the Chinese data by calendar year revealed that the changes in number of ads closely coincided with the political situation in China. Data indicated that the number of ads decreased substantially in 1986 during the anti-bourgeois liberalization campaign and after the 1990 anti-peaceful evolution campaign. There was a boost in the number after 1992’s acceleration of commercialization due to Deng Xiaoping’s inspection trip to the south (Chu. 1994. Zhao. 2000). There was a decline in number of ads after 1996, which may have something to do with the 1996-1998 press restructuring, market consolidation and economic rationalization campaigns described by Zhao (2000).

ANOVA analyses of changes in the US numbers by either calendar year or year category were not statistically significant\(^4\).

**Layout Size of Each Ad**

American ads seemed to occupy a lot more page space. The biggest ad consisted of 12 pages, with a peak average area in a four-year period of 1.17 pages. The smallest

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\(^3\) Country: F (1, 299) = 746.08, p<.0001; time F (4, 299) = 6.85, p<.0001; interaction: F(4, 299) = 324.20, p<.016.

\(^4\) Year: F(19, 18) = .79, p<.693; year category: F(4, 33) = .671, p<.617.
ad was 1/12th of a page. In China, the largest ad was four pages and the smallest, 1/25 of a page. Overall, US ads averaged a little more than a page (mean = 1.07) while Chinese ads only about half a page (mean = 0.56).

A country x time comparison indicated that both country and time had main effect and there was interaction effect: while Chinese ads steadily increased in size over time US ads decreased slightly in size. Both numbers of ads and ad size increased in Chinese magazines, indicating a booming advertising industry and possible transfer or imitation of advertising format from the West (this was particularly obvious in the 1994-98 period when magazines began to have advertising supplements and multiple-page ads). The US data, on the other hand, were at first perplexing. However, by incorporating ad number and ad size change curves I was able to see that an increase in ad number was usually accompanied by a shrink in page size. The explanation could be that magazine advertising in the US reached the upper limit of space allocation for advertisements in each issue: therefore, the average size of the ads had to be cut down to accommodate the increased number of ads. The more general implication may be that the advertising market in the US is saturated and advertisers are competing for limited advertising space and readers' attention.

**Pictorial/text Ad Ratio**

An overall comparison showed that US magazines used a lot more pictorial ads (mean = 81%) than Chinese magazines (mean = 36%). However, the percentage of

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pictorial ads in Chinese magazines increased steadily over the twenty-year period (p<.0001) while the percentage in the US remained quite constant during the same time (p<.240).

**Basic Advertising Format**

Leiss et al’s (1986) advertising format configuration proposes that there are four developmental stages in advertising format: the *product information format* in which the ad deals only with the advertised product, its utility, availability and other characteristics of the product that the target audience is interested in; the *product image format*, with the product and its symbolic association with a natural, cultural or historical context; the *personalized format*, which features the person who uses and benefits from the product; and the *lifestyle format*, which depicts people in activities involving the consumption of the product. Leiss et al suggest that each stage is more complex than the one before it and that in North America, advertising format progressed from product information format in the 1910s and 1920s to lifestyle format in the 1970s and 1980s.

Chinese ads were predominantly of the product information format (67.5%). Product image, personalized and lifestyle formats comprised 12.4%, 19.6% and 0.5% of all ads respectively. The corresponding numbers for the US ads were: 43.9% (product information), 17.8% (product image), 32.7% (personalized format) and 5.6 (lifestyle format) – all numbers do not add up to 100% because of rounding.

An independent-sample T-test and a factorial analysis both confirmed that Chinese and US magazines differed significantly in their advertising format. China had more product information ads than the US, with the US having more product image.
personalized and lifestyle formats. The factorial analysis also revealed that time period
had a main effect on all formats except the product image format.

Over the two decades, Chinese ads decreased significantly in product information
format, but increased significantly in product image and personalized formats. There was
no significance change in lifestyle format, probably because of the small sample size
(there were only five lifestyle format ads in Chinese ads sampled in the whole twenty-
year period)\(^6\).

The changes on the US side were not significant except the lifestyle format\(^7\). The
significance of the last format may again be attributed to a small sample size (averaging
5.6 lifestyle format ads in each four-year period).

The ad format change in China in the twenty-year period, when compared with
Leiss, Kline and Jhally’s (1986, p. 218) format change curve in North America revealed
that a similar trend was present in American advertising from the 1910s to the 1930s.
Leiss et al’s curve showed that in this time period, American ads decreased in product
information format, but increased in personalized and lifestyle formats. Thus, when
analyzed in combination with the relative percentage of each format, Chinese magazine
advertising seemed to be moving out of the product information format phase (conurred
by Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996), but not yet in the personalized format phase. It was

\(^6\) Product information: F(5, 882) = 381.723, p<.0001; product image: F(5, 882) = 25.587,
p<.0001; personalized formats: F(5, 882) = 48.652, p<.0001; lifestyle format: F(5, 882) =
1.751, p<.120.

\(^7\) Product information: F(4, 493) = 1.817, p<.124; product image: F(4, 493) = .512,
p<.727; personalized format: F(4, 493) = .822, p<.511; lifestyle format: F(4, 493) =
3.126, p<.015.
probably in the product image phase in Leiss et al's linear advertising development paradigm.

In summary, results for all items in the format analysis showed that although Chinese ads were significantly different from US ads, the difference was minimizing over time—Chinese ads were converging toward their US counterparts. In physical characteristics, Chinese magazines underwent dramatic development during the two decades with the number of ads and ad size increasing sharply. Ads in US magazines did not have such changes and the variations were not statistically significant. Ad number per issue and ad size in the US varied in concert within (or compete for) limited available space. Hypothesis 1 was therefore supported. In basic ad format, China is moving out of the product information stage to the product image stage. Hypothesis 2 was confirmed.

Cultural Appeals

Cultural appeals are techniques used in ads that are intended to evoke the audience's cultural values in order to enhance the ad's persuasive power. Common sense prompts us to think that China and the US are two such distinct cultures that the appeals advertisers use in these two countries would be totally different. As an individualistic culture, US should have more individualistic appeals in its ads and China, a collectivistic culture, should have more collectivistic appeals. Hypothesis 3 reflected such a judgment, however, noticing individualism on the rise in China, it was predicted that Chinese and US ads would be similar in individualistic appeals. Data confirmed the first part of Hypothesis 3, that Chinese and US ads were significantly different in cultural appeals. However, in individualistic appeals, results showed that Chinese magazines actually had
more individualistic ads (mean = 26%) than US magazines (mean = 14%)*. Hypothesis 3 predicted the high occurrence of individualistic appeals in Chinese ads, but didn’t expect it to be more than that in the US. Therefore, it was not confirmed.

Hypothesis 4 stated that Chinese ads, when compared to US ads, would contain significantly more social background and social status appeals. Data did show that Chinese ads had substantially more (mean = 11%, 1% for the US) collectivistic appeals*. They were also more likely to mention the social background of the products being advertised (mean = 46% versus 2% for the US) and had more social status appeals (mean = 38% versus 11% for the US). US ads had extremely low incidences of collectivistic (mean = 2%) and social background appeals (mean = 2%). Thus, Hypothesis 4 was supported.

Cultural appeals in China changed significantly over the twenty-year period. Individualistic appeals increased rapidly in the first four-year period and stayed high. Collectivistic appeals dramatically declined. These changes were accompanied by decreases in social background and social status appeals. Cultural appeals in US magazine ads remained unchanged, with all changes in the appeals statistically not significant. Thus, Hypothesis 5, which predicted that cultural appeals in China were

* $t(1383) = 5.29, p < .0001$.

* $t(1383) = 6.331, p < .0001$.

10 Social background appeals: $t(1383) = 19.204, p < .0001$; social status appeals: $t(1383) = 11.104, p < .0001$.


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converging toward the US over the twenty-year period, but US appeals would remain constant, was confirmed.

In Chinese ads, an analysis by advertiser type (state-run, state-and-foreign joint venture, and foreign) showed that except for a time lag (state-run firms ran ads with individualistic appeals almost five years later), there was no difference in individualistic appeals between domestic and foreign/joint ventures (p < .23). One surprising finding was that foreign/joint ventures combined had a higher percentage of ads with collectivistic appeals than state-run enterprises. It may have been that for the foreign and joint ventures to establish themselves, and to get the approval of the government and the general audience, they had to appeal to the political and collective goals of the country.

Individualistic and collectivistic appeals were not mutually exclusive in the coding process, but they appeared to be contrasting each other in the graphs, thus giving support of the validity of the constructs and the coding instrument. Another interesting thing is that individualistic and collectivistic appeals may be considered as barometers of the political and economic climate in China. Collectivistic appeals declined dramatically as the opening and the economic development drive escalated in the early 1980s. It had a rebound in 1987 after the 1986 anti-bourgeois liberalization campaign and plunged to an all-time low in 1992 (See Figure 2).
Figure 2: Collectivist and individualistic appeals change in Chinese magazines in concordance with political events.

Ideological Analysis

Ideological analysis deals with the deeper and more latent issues of minority status, women’s role and the general outlook of the two countries’ social ethos.

Depiction of Women

The general hypothesis to be tested in this section was that overall, the US would have in its ads more negative depictions of women (including smaller size, functional ranking, ritualization of subordination, licensed withdrawal, gender role stereotyping and the use of sexy and glamorous appeals): however. China would be converging toward the US while the US did not change significantly over time.
Use of Women in Ads

Data showed that about one third of ads in both countries featured women (29% in China and 28% in the US). Compared to the total number of ads, ads with women increased in China over the twenty-year period, while the same number in the US remained quite stable. Out of the 25 Chinese ads in the 1979-82 period, only five were with women (20%), but in the 1995-98 period, 192 out of Chinese 461 ads had women in them (41%).

Smaller Size, Functional Ranking and Ritualization of Subordination

According to Goffman (1979), women are frequently stereotyped in ads as smaller in size and less weighty than men. They are also more likely to be in less important and secondary roles (functional ranking). Women are often depicted as having demure (bashful knee bend), contrived (body/head cant), recumbent (reclining body) or playful (body clowning) body gestures and expansive smiles, subjecting them to a "ritualization of subordination."

Compared to the total number of ads, 22% of ads in China had women depicted in smaller size, functional ranking or subordination. The same number for the US was 24%. This means about 80% of all ads featuring women carried these traits. Although Chinese ads increasingly used women to sell their products, and the same was true of the US, a micro level analysis shows that overall, changes in the ritualization of subordination in both countries over time were statistically not significant. In the micro level analysis, each category (smaller size, functional ranking, bashful knee bend, body/head cant, expansive smile, reclining body and body clowning) was separately coded and the total
number of each was compared to the total number of women to yield a percentage (i.e. number of women with such characteristics compared to total number of women featured in an ad). I think this percentage gives more insight into the intricacy of the internal mechanism of depiction of women. A time x country factorial analysis showed that Chinese ads were not significantly different from US ones in any aspect.¹²

In China, specific statistics showed that except smaller size (p<.0001) and functional ranking (p<.001), all depictions of subordination changes over the years were not significant. Advertiser type did not have a main effect in any of the depictions; however, plot charts showed that changes were mostly occurring in foreign and joint ventures, while state-run enterprises in all categories remained very stable over the years. Product type had significant main effect on almost all types of subordination depiction (smaller size p<.001, functional ranking p<.166, bashful knee bend p<.001, reclining body p<.001, body clowning p<.004, expansive smile p<.001). Ritualization of subordination was found most often in clothing ads, with expansive smile most often in food and beverage ads. The results seem to concur with Cheng’s (1997a) findings.

On the US side, changes over time were all statistically not significant.Valor

Licensed Withdrawal

Women depicted in ads often use gestures or objects, or simply look away from the lens to avoid direct eye contact with the viewer. Goffman (1979) coined the term

¹² Smaller Size: F(1, 363) = .855, p<.356; Function Ranking: F(1, 363) = .952, .330; Bashful Knee bend: F(1, 363) = .568, p<.452; Reclining Body: F(1, 363) = 2.683, p<.102; Body Clowning: F(1, 363) = .057, p<.811; Body Cant: F(1, 363) = .393, p<.531; Expansive Smile: F(1, 363) = .468, p<.494.
“licensed withdrawal” and categorized these body moves and physical states as “hand covering mouth,” “head or eye aversion,” “mental drifting,” and “behind objects.”

A time x country analysis indicated that neither time nor country had main effect on depictions of licensed withdrawal.

Within China, all items did not change significantly over the twenty-year period. Neither was there any significant difference in these items among advertiser types.

However, as in ritualization of subordination, although the percentage of depiction of licensed withdrawal compared to total number of women did not change over time, the percentage of ads with such depiction compared to the total number of ads increased significantly. Also similar to ritualization of subordination, plot charts indicated that major variance was found in joint and foreign ventures when state-run enterprises remained stable over time.

A time x product type analysis indicated that product type had main effect. Plot charts showed that depiction of licensed withdrawal had most occurrences in personal care, personal accessories and cosmetics ads, especially body/head cant and mental drift depictions. It is ironic that in both countries, ads for products aimed at women would have such degrading depiction of women. This definitely implicates the male-dominated

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Body cant: } & F(3, 308) = 1.164, p < .327; \\
\text{hand covering mouth: } & F(3, 308) = .837, p < .502; \\
\text{eye aversion: } & F(3, 308) = 1.104, p < .355; \\
\text{mental drift: } & F(3, 308) = 1.134, p < .340; \\
\text{behind object: } & F(3, 308) = 2.242, p < .065. \\
\text{Body cant: } & F(2, 308) = .238, p < .788; \\
\text{hand covering mouth: } & F(2, 308) = .212, p < .809; \\
\text{eye aversion: } & F(2, 308) = 1.014, p < .364; \\
\text{mental drift: } & F(2, 308) = .812, p < .445; \\
\text{behind object: } & F(2, 308) = 4.682, p < .010*. \\
\text{Body cant: } & F(15, 432) = 5.527, p < .0001; \\
\text{hand covering mouth: } & F(15, 432) = 2.449, p < .001; \\
\text{eye aversion: } & F(15, 432) = 2.312, p < .003; \\
\text{mental drift: } & F(15, 432) = 3.367, p < .0001; \\
\text{behind object: } & F(15, 432) = 3.996, p < .0001.
\end{align*}
\]
advertising discourse and the gender hegemony prevalent in the two societies. A one-way ANOVA indicated that all items on the US side did not change significantly over the two decades.16

Hypothesis 6 predicted that Chinese magazines would have significantly more ads in the late 1990s depicting women in smaller size, functional ranking ritualization of subordination, licensed withdrawal than in earlier times. So far, results indicated that in sheer number of ads with these features and their proportion to the total number of ads, there was an increasing trend, however, when the number of women in each ads with these features was compared to the total number of women in the ads, there was no significant change over time. Therefore, Hypothesis 6 was not supported. The implications of this will be discussed in the conclusions section.

Appearance

Women featured in ads were categorized, according to the clothing and accessories they wore, as realistic (with regular or work-related clothing), glamorous (with flamboyant, formal clothing and/or showy decorative accessories), or sexy (barely clad or a certain body part is highlighted). These categories were mutually exclusive in the coding process and if the coder could not decide which category a woman went into, she would be put in the “other” category. An independent-sample t-test indicated that overall, China and US ads were not different in their depiction of appearance.17


Product category had effect on all four types\textsuperscript{18}. Plot charts indicated that in both
countries sexy appeals were used most often in clothing ads, glamour most often in
camera and photo equipment ads, and realistic women in public service/institutional and
finance and real estate ads. The last finding was further supported by the low occurrence
of glamorous women in these ads.

In Chinese ads, an over-time ANOVA analysis showed that except for other, all
three categories changed significantly.\textsuperscript{19} A time x advertiser type factorial analysis
showed that time had main effect on realistic, glamour, but not on sexy or other.\textsuperscript{20} Over
time, glamour ads increased significantly, but realistic ones decreased. Advertiser type
did not have significant main effect on any of the four, however, plot charts showed that
variance was again found mostly in foreign and joint ventures. In US ads, the changes
over time were not significant.\textsuperscript{21}

The results did not support Hypothesis 7, which stated that although Chinese ads
had increasingly negative depictions of women, there would probably be significantly
fewer instances of ritualization of subordination, licensed withdrawal, and sexy and
glamorous appearance of women in Chinese than US ads. Data showed that China and
the US were not significantly different from each other in these aspects. China increased

\textsuperscript{18} Realistic: F (16, 432) = 6.534, p<.0001; glamour: F (16, 432) = 5.233, p<.0001; sexy: F
(16, 432) = 3.856, p<.0001; other: F (16, 432) = 1.785, p<.031.

\textsuperscript{19} Realistic F (4, 308) = 10.894, p<.0001; glamour: F (4, 308) = 6.197; p<.001; sexy: F (4,
308) = 2.789, p<.027; other: F (4, 308) = .131, p<.971.

\textsuperscript{20} Realistic: F (4, 308) = 4.875, p<.001; glamour: F (4, 308) = 3.343, p<.011; sexy: F (4,
308) = .690, p<.599; other: F (4, 308) = .932, (p<.446).

\textsuperscript{21} Realistic: F(4, 131) = .164, p<.956; glamour: F(4, 131) = .450, p<.772; sexy: 1.405,
p<.236; other: F(4, 131) = .472, p<.756.
use of sexy and glamorous appeals, but did not change in other negative depictions of women over time.

**Gender Role Depiction**

This section was meant to investigate if there was an over-time increase of women in domestic or recreational roles in Chinese ads. An overall China-US comparison revealed that except recreation roles, Chinese ads differed significantly from US ones. US ads had more women in domestic roles and Chinese ads more in occupational roles. Two countries together, product type had effect on all three roles (all p<.001). Domestic roles were found most often in food, personal and household hygiene products, occupational roles in industrial products, and recreational roles mostly in alcoholic beverages and tobacco products.

In China, a time x advertiser type analysis indicated a time main effect on domestic, occupational, but not recreational or other categories. Over the twenty-year period, Chinese ads increased significantly in domestic category and a general decrease in occupational roles, but did not change significantly in recreational roles. Advertiser type did not have main effect on any category. In the US, the changes across time were not significant (domestic p<.068, occupational p<.096 and recreational p<.557).

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24 Domestic: F (2, 310) = 1.512, p < .222; Recreational: F (2, 310) = 1.659, p< .086; occupational: F (2, 310) = 2.146, p < .119; other: F (2, 310) = .059, p < .943.
Thus, Hypothesis 8 - there would likely to be more Chinese ads with women in domestic and recreational roles in the late 1990s than in earlier times while US ads did not have significant change - was tenable. Based on the assumption that women in more traditional societies would be more often stay inside the family, and Glasser’s (1997) finding that Chinese fictional depiction of women in the 1990s were more and more in the domestic setting. Hypothesis 9 projected that there would be more Chinese than US women in domestic settings in the late 1990s but in earlier times there would not. Results suggested that American ads over the whole time period had more depiction of women in domestic settings, rejecting the hypothesis. The implications will be discussed in the conclusions section in conjunction with smaller size, functional ranking, licensed withdrawal and ritualization of subordination.

Minority Depiction

Chinese magazines had no ads featuring domestic minorities over the twenty-year period. However, there were quite a lot of ads featuring Westerners (Caucasians and blacks). I put Westerners into a different category although Westerners are a minority in China – my reasoning is that Westerners are a not minority in the usual sense but are often associated with social status, wealth and trust-worthiness. In general, Chinese ads featuring Westerners changed from 4% in the 1979-82 period to 15% in the 1995-98 period. The changes were statistically significant.\(^{25}\) An analysis by advertiser type revealed that while state-run firms increased ads featuring Western models [F(19, 1365)]

\(^{25}\) F(4, 882) = 7.442, p< .0001.
such ads decreased in foreign and joint-venture companies \( [F(14, 208) = 2.939, p<.0001] \).

Minority depiction in US ads increased significantly over the two decades (\( p <.010 \)). Thus results supported Hypothesis 10, which predicted that Chinese magazines would have significantly fewer ads featuring minorities, and that there would be more US ads featuring minorities in the 1990s than in earlier periods.

**Contact**

“Contact” represents how the producer addresses the viewer and how she wants the viewer to interpret the image. There are two types of contact: demand and offer. In demand pictures, the viewer is the addressee, the object. The offer images does not address the viewer directly. No contact is made between the represented subject and the image viewer.

A t-test showed that the Chinese and US ads were not significantly different in the contact dimension (\( p<.909 \)). In China, ads differ significantly in contact by advertiser type.\(^{26}\) Joint ventures had the most demand ads, followed by foreign firms and then state-run enterprises. Since demand and offer ads were mutually exclusive, the opposite was true of offer ads. This makes sense since joint ventures enjoy the benefits of both the state-run and foreign companies. If indeed demand is the trend, then they are the most daring in embracing change.

\(^{26}\) \( F(2, 883) = 9.912, p <.0001. \)
The over-time change of this aspect in China was also significant, with demand increasing and offer decreasing. The over-time changes in US ads were not significant.\(^{27}\) Thus, Hypothesis 11 was not supported – Chinese ads were not significantly different from US ads in contact.

**Social Distance**

Social distance is the degree of how close the image-maker wants to involve the image viewer. There are three “settings” depending on the lens’ field of view and subject distance: intimate, social and impersonal.

Overall, An independent sample t-test showed that China and the US were significantly different in all three categories of social distance (all p’s < .0001). The US had more intimate ads (mean = 81\%) than China (mean = 60\%), but fewer social and impersonal ads (14\% versus 27\%, and 5\% versus 13\% respectively). A time x country ANOVA indicated that country had main effect on all three categories; time had main effect on intimate, social but not on impersonal; and there was no time x country interaction.\(^{28}\) Within China, the changes over time were not significant.\(^{29}\) A time x

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advertiser type ANOVA showed that year did not have effect on any category. Similar to all ideological analyses so far, state-run enterprises were always the one with the least variance. Changes over the years on the US side were also not significant.

Hypothesis 12, that there would be more intimate ads in the US and social distance representation in both countries would remain stable over time, was thus supported.

**Attitude**

"Attitude" similar to social distance, is also about image-maker and image-viewer relationship. Instead of dealing with the frontal distance, attitude deals with the relative horizontal and vertical positions of the two. In the horizontal dimension, when the frontal plane of the represented object and that of the camera are parallel or aligned with each other, it is "involvement;" when they form an angle, it is "detachment." In the vertical movement, when the depicted object is higher than the camera, it is "media power;" when it is eye-level, it is "equal power;" and when it is lower than the camera, it is "viewer power;"

Overall, China and the US were totally different in involvement and detachment. The US had more involvement ads (mean = 72%, 47% for China) and the opposite was true of detachment ads (mean = 28%, 53% for China) as involvement and detachment were mutually exclusive. US and Chinese ads were also different in media

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power, with China having more media power ads (mean = 8% versus 2.5% for the US). So far, the findings supported Hypothesis 13, which projected that there would be more involvement US ads. However, Hypothesis 13 also predicted that there would be more viewer-power US ads. Results did not support this part of the hypothesis: China and the US were not different in viewer power or equal power ads.33

A within-country analysis showed that in China, the changes in involvement and detachment were not significant.34 There were significant changes in viewer power and equal power, with viewer power decreasing and equal power increasing over time, but there was no significant change in media power.35 In the US, there were significant changes in involvement and detachment, but none in the other three categories.36 A post hoc analysis of over-time changes in involvement and detachment did not give much insight. Therefore, as a whole, Hypothesis 13 was not confirmed.

Modality

Modality refers to what is considered real in representing the outside physical world. It is grounded in color and detail. If a person considers only a full-colored representation of an object real, she is using a "naturalistic" coding orientation. A trained technician, on the other hand, makes sense of a blueprint and considers it a "real"

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32 Involvement: t (1380) = -10.779, p < .0001 (the same were true of detachment since they were mutually exclusive).
33 Viewer power: t (1380) = -.397, p < .691; equal power: t (1380) = -1.907, p < .057; media power: t (1380) = 4.632, p < .0001.
34 F (4, 881) = 2.025, p < .089.
representation of an object – she is using the “technical” coding orientation. Whenever modality (truthfulness, credibility) is still high even when something is reduced to the abstract, it is the “abstract” modality; whenever color is a source of pleasure and affective meaning in the rendition, it is the “sensory” orientation. The more diverse a society is, the more coding orientations it can tolerate and would have.

Overall, Chinese and US ads remained totally different in their modality.\textsuperscript{37} In China, the predominant mode was the naturalistic mode (mean = 90%). Abstract, sensory and technical modes combined only comprised 10% of all ads. Therefore, Chinese ads shunned away from black-and-white images (although in the early periods, they were quite a few black-and-white ads because of the technical limitation – color printing was very expensive then), which in the naturalistic mode is considered a low modality. They also avoided out-of-the-ordinary shots, as the color saturation, representation (abstractness and vividness), composition or any other features that are different from the natural state of things would be considered “not real” or “more than real,” both low modalities, in the naturalistic orientation.

In the US, the distribution is more equal, with naturalistic 63%, abstract 17%, sensory 15% and technical 4%. There was a much greater tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty on the US side. In China changes over the years were not significant.\textsuperscript{38}


\textsuperscript{37} Naturalistic: t (1380) = -4.806, p < .0001; sensory: t (1380) = -8.498, p < .0001; abstract: t (1380) = -8.235, p < .0001; technical: t (1380) = -4.806, p < .0001.

However, a time x advertiser type analysis showed that advertiser type had main effect on all but the abstract coding orientation ($p < .486$) – foreign and joint ventures used a lot more diverse coding orientations than state-run firms. State-run firms remained virtually unchanged in the whole time period using overwhelmingly (well over 90%) naturalistic coding orientation. On the US side, all orientations remained quite stable and the changes were not significant. Hypothesis 14 predicted that the US would have more modalities than China, who would have one predominant mode, the naturalistic orientation; and modalities in both countries would remain constant over the twenty-year period. The results supported the hypothesis.

A summary of all the findings in relation to the hypotheses is presented in Table 5. Since there is no result directly connected with Hypothesis 15 – the hypothesis about globalization – it will be discussed in the conclusions chapter.

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Legend and Notes:
1. = US
2. Higher or lower in the figure means statistically significant differences unless noted by "(NS)."
3. The slope in the line means increase or decrease over time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesis</th>
<th>Predictions</th>
<th>Findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>H1</td>
<td>Ads per issue, larger ad size and higher pictorial/text ad ratio.</td>
<td>Hypothesis was supported.</td>
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<tr>
<td>H2</td>
<td>Info Image Person Lifestyle</td>
<td>Hypothesis was supported.</td>
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<tr>
<td>H3 + H5</td>
<td>Collectivistic appeals</td>
<td>Hypothesis was supported.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Individualistic appeals</td>
<td>China did not have individualistic appeals at the beginning, but then had more of these appeals than the US from 1987 on.</td>
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<tr>
<td>H4 + H5</td>
<td>Social background and social status appeals</td>
<td>Hypothesis was supported.</td>
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<tr>
<td>H6 + H7</td>
<td>Negative depiction of women</td>
<td>China is not significantly different from the US in negative depiction of women.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5: A summary of findings in relation to hypotheses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesis</th>
<th>Women in domestic roles</th>
<th>Hypothesis was supported.</th>
<th>Ads with minority appearance</th>
<th>Hypothesis was supported.</th>
<th>Demand ads</th>
<th>Hypothesis was supported.</th>
<th>Intimate ads</th>
<th>Hypothesis was supported.</th>
<th>Involvement ads</th>
<th>Equal power ads</th>
<th>(NS)</th>
<th>Equal power ads are not different.</th>
<th>Viewer power ads</th>
<th>Media power ads</th>
<th>(NS)</th>
<th>Viewer power ads are not different in the two countries.</th>
<th>Hypothesis was supported.</th>
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<tr>
<td>H8 + H9</td>
<td>China had significantly lower occurrence in domestic roles.</td>
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<td>H10</td>
<td>Hypothesis was supported.</td>
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<td>H11</td>
<td>There was no difference between China and US. Demand ads were increasing in China. The US did not change.</td>
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<td>H12</td>
<td>Intimate ads were increasing in China.</td>
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<td>H13</td>
<td>Involvement ads were increasing in China.</td>
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<td>H14</td>
<td>Hypothesis was supported.</td>
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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter discusses the results of each level of analysis in light of the interactive model of advertising, culture and society. A new framework of intercultural communication will be proposed and my own personal “reading” of the semiotic landscape of each society will be given. Then, the results will be examined in relation to the hypothesis about transfer of media professionalism and globalization.

Format Analysis and Implications

The results of the format analysis showed that China was converging to the US in ad size, number of ads per issue and pictorial/text ad ratio. China was moving in the same direction in the linear ad development process. Although China and the US are two countries with totally different cultures and economies, advertising does seem to follow a progressive route. In its early stages, language plays an important role and is the major mode for meaning, which is represented by a low pictorial/text ad ratio. At this stage of ad development, meaning of the ad is prescribed to the audience. However, as the industry progresses and matures, together with the superstructure of the whole society, meaning of the ad is more and more constructed in the interaction between the copy
creator and the receiver. As Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) commented, in this more advanced stage:

There are no words to authoritatively impose meaning on the image and the image is no longer an illustration; the words, rather than the image, come second. The world of 'one image, many different verbal texts' imposes a new mode of control over meaning, and turns the image, formerly a record of nature, into a more powerful, but also more rigorously controlled and codified public language, while it gives language, formerly closely policed in many social institutions, a more private and less controlled, but also less powerful status. (p. 21)

The findings also supported Leiss et al.'s (1986) conceptualization that advertising transforms from its initial information provision function to its later form of appealing to the more symbolic, psychological and emotional needs of the consumers. The relatively high incidence of product information format in China and its gradual over-time decrease give supporting evidence to the argument.

There are several cultural and socio-economic determinants for the high information provision in Chinese ads. Rice and Lu (1988) proposed that because of the lack of experience and low income of most Chinese consumers, they maximize their search for information on product attributes in order to make these high-involvement purchase decisions less risky. Rice and Lu also pointed out that Chinese advertising content was heavily influenced by the political climate and management philosophy of government-controlled advertisers. The government emphasized that advertising should be an educational tool that helps achieve the state's economic and cultural objectives. Advertising managers in China, supporting the government's goal, believed that advertising should emphasize price, product information, and consumer information.
Cultural Analysis Results and Implications

Cultural analysis results showed that there was a high occurrence of social status and social background appeals in Chinese ads. This seems to concur with Belk and Pollay's (1985) finding that high status appeals are correlated with rapid economic growth and burgeoning job opportunities, and that Japan, a "collectivistic" society, has more social status appeals in its ads than the US, an "individualistic" society. The high percentage of social background appeals may also be associated with Rice and Lu's (1988) notion that due to low income in Chinese consumers, purchasing decisions are comparatively of a more high-involvement nature. Thus, my reasoning is that advertisers tried to reduce consumer uncertainty by providing manufacturer and managerial background information. By giving ad recipients peace of mind, advertisers were more likely to succeed in persuading them.

Individualistic appeals began to appear in Chinese ads in 1984, six years after the start of the Opening and rose dramatically during the economic boom of 1984 to 1986. Although there were setbacks presumably due to political upheavals in the time period, they remained high. The co-existence of high individualistic and collectivistic appeals questions Hofstede's individualistic-collectivistic society dichotomy. It seemed to me that both individualism and collectivism could exist in each culture with equal strength. The difference among societies lies in which one they keep in check and which one they allow their citizens to express.

My personal theory is that the goals of the so-called "collectivistic" societies are actually individualistic benefits and those of the "individualistic" societies are
collectivistic well-being. However, the particular social-historical contexts prompt societies to approach their goals differently. The collectivistic societies usually enjoy a relatively less efficient mode of production and have less mobile populations. thus, they adopt a top-down approach and try to achieve individual freedom and individual well-being by advocating sharing, collective ownership and mutual obligation. Collectivism is thus only a surface phenomenon rather than the society's raison d'être. The consequences are that in the process of socializing, the individual gets annihilated. Once the individual's short-term good is out of sight, there is no incentive for the individual to contribute to the social group, amounting to "my rights and your obligations," thus subjecting these societies in a vicious cycle of making themselves less efficient. Another consequence is that once the individual's self efficacy is hindered, those in power will have a more concentrated authority, leading many collectivistic societies to authoritarian rule. This one-upmanship provides great satisfaction for those in power and becomes a great incentive for all its social group members. Ultimately, moving up on the social hierarchy becomes the goal of the whole society. If there is a social mechanism to keep the expansion of the individual ego in check, this personal struggle for one-upmanship may in some cases (e.g. in Japan) lead to overall social prosperity.

In the so-called "individualistic" societies, individual efficacy is encouraged, giving its citizens incentives to contribute to the common goal. Thus, once a society realizes the importance of individualism, and protects individual rights, it gets into a virtuous cycle: citizens, by going for their own benefit, contribute to society; society in turn gives the benefits back to its citizens by encouraging individual rights and protection
of individual freedom. My theory explains well the fact that most individualistic societies nowadays have social welfare, well-built social infrastructure and relatively more efficient governments, while most collectivistic societies are still engaged in individual strive for survival. I think the individualism-collectivism theory thus has its limitations in explaining intercultural communication phenomena and a new bimodal intercultural communication model will be proposed at the end of this chapter.

Ideological Analysis Results and Implications

Findings in ideological hypotheses offer a good description of the social ethos of the United States and China. As the US is the most studied country in advertising and intercultural communication, I will focus my attention on China.

Depiction of Women

It is a surprising finding that overall China was not any different in negative depiction of women from the US. Women had always been used in Chinese ads to sell products, even in the initial opening years, although no glamorous or sexy appeals were used at that time. Women in this time period were generally portrayed in occupational roles. However, starting in the late 1980s, withdrawal and subordination depiction increased in number followed by a decline in both domestic and occupational roles. Plot charts showed that there was an upward change in recreational roles, subjugating women to unimportant decorative roles.

The results regarding Hypotheses 6 and 9 – that China had as many ritualization of subordination in the 1990s as in earlier times, and was not significantly different from the US; that Chinese women were more often portrayed in occupational roles than US
women — gave an interesting low domestic-high occupational-high recreational combination. It indicated that women’s status, rather than changing from good to bad, went from bad to worse with China’s opening to the outside. Women in China were suffering from low social status even at the beginning of the twenty-year period when they were predominantly in occupational roles. The fact that they had the double burden of domestic and occupational roles while being in subordinate positions indeed demonstrated that working for women in China was, as Glasser (1997) noted, not a liberation or personal fulfillment, but rather a financial necessity or social pressure.

The depiction of women in Chinese magazines suggests that Chinese women are not holding up half of the sky as they purportedly are. While they are encouraged to go outside of the home to work and have in fact surpassed Chinese men in many capacities (e.g. Chinese women are much better known in the world for their athletic talent than Chinese men), they are construed as playing secondary, unimportant roles. On the other hand, their sexuality and glamour are often exploited in selling goods and promoting certain lifestyles. Even though they are in a self-claimed egalitarian socialist state, they are as often subjected to stereotypical and degrading portrayals as women in the US, which is often considered a typical capitalist society.

**Depiction of Minorities and Westerners**

The use of Western models in Chinese ads has several implications. First, it sheds light on the standardization and localization issue. Data showed that once China opened up in 1978, it took state-run companies almost five years to begin using ads featuring Westerners, but once the trend caught on, these ads increased steadily. On the other
hand, foreign and joint ventures started to decrease the proportion of ads using Western models in the mid-1980s. This may have been a localization effort by foreign and joint ventures either for congruency of cultural values or to cut down the cost of hiring Western models. This seems to concur with Yin’s (1999) finding that few foreign companies used standardized strategies in China, and a majority of them used combined or localized strategies.

Second, since Westerners carry a favorable connotation, this result is also in agreement with the result from cultural appeals analysis that Chinese ads were more concerned with social status appeals. The rebound of using Westerners by joint and foreign ventures indicated that using Western models in the late 1990s might have been a different thing from that in the late 1970s and early 1980s. As Yin (1999) points out, localization efforts were highly correlated with company resources and financial strength. The initial use of Westerners in the ads was probably the only choice for many start-up companies and was a standardization effort to reduce cost and cope with the inexperience of advertisers in the local market. However, in the 1990s, after getting familiar with the local market, using Western models was a localization endeavor to address the local market’s social status needs.

Third, the use of Western models by foreign/joint ventures as well as state-run firms suggested that the drive for modernization in China was internal rather than “thrust upon” by the West. This has serious implications on the issue of media transfer and cultural imperialism, which will be dealt with in more detail later.
While the US increasingly featured minorities in its ads, and some researchers (e.g. Taylor & Stern, 1997) were already reporting an over representation of minorities in the media that led to new positive minority stereotypes, the non-existence of minority image in Chinese media was a high contrast. When the depiction of Westerners in Chinese ads is reflected upon in conjunction with the depiction of women, it is appropriate to suggest that there is gender, race and elite hegemony in this party-state-military-economic-ideological-cultural complex (terminology by Xu & Xiao, 1990).

This conclusion is further supported in the interactive meaning analysis. Media in China are the "mouthpieces" of the communist party (Lee, 1994). The media, and even advertising, are used as a tool to reinforce the ideological dominance of the party. The high incidences of media power ad, impersonal ads and monolithic natural coding orientation are not only a good reflection of the government's rhetoric for stability and conformity, but also a reflection of the unimodal ontology and epistemology of the nation.

The failure to support three out of the nine ideological analysis hypotheses was at first perplexing. However, a closer examination of the rejected hypotheses in light of the interactive advertising, culture and society model, I was able to discern a "split" in the ideology of China, which could account for the failure. The result of the hypothesis testing suggested that although there was continuous hegemony and political monotony in China over time: there was much change in the media's attitude toward message recipients. While women and minorities were being ignored and annihilated, ads increasingly involved and yielded power to their audience (as indicated by increasingly
more involvement ads and higher percentage of equal-power and viewer-power ads).

The interactive advertising-culture-society model indicates that the split was the result of the different interest of the advertising system and the societal and market conditions, i.e. the political environment, regulations and social culture did not share the same purpose. While the advertising system tried to involve ad recipients and give them more power, the party-state-military-economic-ideological-cultural complex was going in the opposite direction.

This split was also documented by several other researchers. For example, Yu (1994) and Zhao (2000) believe that after the 1989 Tiananmen incident, a new awareness of individual freedom and rights was raised and that the media (especially advertising) might have resisted the official doctrine. This general social sluggishness and media resistance might have prompted Jiang Zemin's new party-image campaign and tightening of political reign in 1992. The irony is that political oppressiveness was accompanied by a call for the economic development acceleration, thus resulting in a perplexing phenomenon of an authoritarian rule and media conglomeration going side by side with economic liberalization. This strange co-existence of economic development and political oppressiveness inevitably led to advertising's being a "double distorted mirror" in China (Cheng, 1997) — commercial and political interests both want to take advantage of ad message appeals to achieve their respective goals. Baudot (1989) also points out that in centrally planned countries, ideological and socio-economic issues underlie advertising policy. Governments in such a political and regulatory environment often
try to restrain the development of advertising due to its perceived role as a force working against the “well-being” of the consumer.

The implications of my discovery of the ideological split in China are that party administrators need to realize the importance of the counteractive force of advertising to economic development. Cultural diversity and political liberalization must be a precedent of economic development because the advertising system cannot give a positive feedback to the social, cultural and market system without a certain degree of freedom – advertising cannot shift from its simple informational stage to its more complex, symbolic stage without political and ideological liberalization. And without this positive impetus from a sophisticated advertising system – the avant garde in economic development – China’s modernization drive will be hindered. The ideological split as represented in Chinese ads will take its toll in time.

Implications on Transfer of Media Professionalism and Globalization

The findings suggest that there was indeed the transfer of professionalism in the process of China’s opening up. As foreign and joint ventures penetrated the Chinese market, advertising format in China in the forms of ad size, pictorial/text ad ratio, number of ads per magazine issue was converging toward that of the US in the long run. Cultural appeals and the immediate attitude of the image-maker towards the audience in Chinese magazine ads were also becoming similar to those in the US. There were also more and more demand, intimate and social images in China. Technically, social distance is created by the camera lens’ field of view, thus, the change in social distance not only
denotes a change in semiotic meaning, but also indicates that Chinese magazine
advertising staff was increasingly using similar equipment to their US counterpart.

Because these changes were first taking place first in foreign and joint ventures
and then in state-run enterprises, and because the changes happened after China's
opening, it can be determined, through the logic of association and temporal precedence,
that the convergence was caused by the transfer of media professionalism.

Although transfer of media professionalism is taking place in China, whether
professionalism means the same thing in the United States is a different matter. Because
the state subjects its economic goals to its regulatory hand and actions of the political
system, a free press, the hallmark of journalistic professionalization, is not guaranteed
(Yu, 1994). Lee (1994) points out that the very norms of media professionalism are
underdeveloped in the Chinese soil: "these vaguely understood imported values have
coexisted uneasily with a Confucian ethos that bestowed the moral high ground on
intellectual advocacy in Taiwan and has run counter to Leninist ideology (pp. 9-10)."

Summarizing all the findings and the above reasoning, I conclude that Hypothesis
15, that although there was transfer of media professionalism, there was no evidence of
cultural imperialism, is still tenable. The reasons are as follows:

First, media changes in China were superficial. Changes were only occurring in
format and the more immediate, direct, and interactive aspects of media-audience
relationships. The more latent, more profound social ideological meaning underlying
media did not change. The gap between China and the US in these aspects came from the
state-run firms' slow change.
Second, major changes in advertising and in the media were caused by internal rather than external forces. There are three findings that support this claim. One, results from the individualistic appeals. The fact that China had a higher incidence of individualistic appeals than the US in its ads means that individualism was probably not “imported” through the transfer of professionalism or possible cultural imperialism from the West, but rather it was inherent in the local culture. “Opening to the Outside World” only created an opportunity for individualism’s omni-presence in the media; it was not the cause for its existence. Two, the non-significant change and high incidence of negative depiction of women suggested that such gender hegemony was something already in the culture and brought forth by economic liberalization rather than professional freedom and responsibility. Three, state-run firms were the pace-setters in advertising. Indeed by sheer number, state-run or domestically owned firms ran most ads in the twenty-year period (664 versus 223 by foreign and joint ventures). Also, the non-change in most appeals was due to the fact that state-run enterprises remained stable over time. The changes during the period immediately after the Opening were probably brought by external factors, but the driving force behind the current changes are definitely internal.

Third, China’s internal cultural hegemonic practices are far more serious than hegemony from the West. The fact that advertising appeals change in concert with the political climate indicates that external forces are secondary compared to internal upheavals. This claim is further supported by the foreign and joint-venture firms’ efforts to subject their own commercial goals to the local political and economic objectives. It
seems that cultural imperialism from the outside, if any, is rather weak in the face of internal hegemony.

In summary, the findings of this study suggest that the transfer of professionalism was taking place in China after it opened up to the outside world. However, it seems that the Chinese party-state-military-economic-ideological-cultural complex exerts strong influence on advertising and the press in general. Professionalism from the West is selectively incorporated into internal journalistic values. The local resistance to cultural and ideological change is very strong and cultural imperialism from the West is not a tenable thesis. In this Chinese context, globalization does not seem to have such a landslide impact on media in a Third World country as some scholars have purported.

Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research

This study, by offering a new conceptualization about society, culture and advertising, gives evidence that it is possible to combine methods from both the critics and advocates of advertising. It also tested and offered some initial evidence that Kress and Van Leeuwen's interactive meanings and modality frameworks are viable constructs in analyzing media content and understanding the relationship between media and society.

I believe that advertising is a good entry point for understanding a society's ethos and ideological landscape. Ads are static and are available for scrutiny at any time, they allow for the relatively easy rechecking of data already collected and for the gathering of additional information, if necessary (Brown, 1981). More importantly, in the particular
social milieu of China, where interviews and participant observations are not reliable research methods (Chu & Ju, 1993). Advertisements offer a very good option.

However, content analysis also has its limitations: it is only one side of the story and this study shares the same fate. At most, it only deals with the motives of the message creator and sender. The intended effect of advertising on audience depends on a lot of factors. In reality, "advertisements merely share the characteristics of many other suspect forms of evidence about popular attitudes: ...we do not know if audiences share or adopt the ideas presented" (Marchand, 1985, p. xviii). Audience’s interpretations of ads and the actions they take in response to the ads are therefore unpredictable. As Rotzoll, Haefner and Hall (1996) point out, because of its complexity of forms and functions, advertising is highly prone to disparate interpretations. In their words, "much of what is seen in advertising depends on who’s looking and where" (p. 10).

Second, this study assumes that the US and China have one culture or at least one dominant culture, while in reality it may not always be true: the within-country differences are sometimes bigger than between-country ones. Samiee and Jeong (1994) warn that the use of country as unit of analysis may be appropriate in cases which there is relative within-culture homogeneity, but inappropriate in cases where there are large segments of the population with distinctly different cultures. Unfortunately, both China and the US are countries with multiple ethnic groups and interpretations of the results of this study need to have this factor in check.

This study did some initial work in describing the effect of globalization on media format change in a Third World country China; however, the overall impact of
globalization on media in the periphery needs to be assessed with multiple studies using different methodology. Further research needs to address the institutional and audience reception parts of the advertising system.

Communication, Culture and Society: A New Model

My data showed that there was intrinsic relationship among the individualism-collectivism dimension, social background and social status. Pondering over the relationship and looking at the data for an extended period of time, I have found that there is a "deeper structure" that is abstract enough to explain these relationships and can string together the intercultural communication theories summarized in the Literature Review. It seems that in collectivistic, high-context, high power distance cultures, people predominantly use an "attached" mode of communication, while those in the other side of the continuum a "detached" mode.

Two Basic Modes of Intercultural Communication

By employing Hofstede's (1991) mental programming metaphor, which indicates that different social, ecological forces may have shaped different "algorithms" in people, and incorporating Hall's context concept and the classic Shannon-Weaver (1949) communication model, I came up with these two "basic modes of communication." As the Shannon-Weaver model has drawn quite some criticism (Adler & Towne, 1990; Saral, 1979) for its linear view, I used Adler and Towne's improved two-way interaction model, and changed the terms "sender" and "receiver" to "interactant" to indicate the change of view and assumptions. This proposed new model, as far as assumptions are concerned, is closest to Bernstein's "restricted versus elaborate code" (1964) model.
However, the difference is that the two modes both exist in any particular culture and individual at the same time. Which model is used in a particular context or used predominantly all the time depends on the dynamic interplay of socio-ecological factors, context and personal disposition.

**Attached and Detached Processing**

The basic idea of the two modes is that in the attached mode, the interactants seek out, during and at the onset of the interaction, each other's socio-economic status, background, mood, attitude, and behavior at the moment. How the communication is carried out is more important than what has been communicated. In the detached mode, on the other hand, the message is the only exchange that goes on in the interaction. An analogy is that attached mode is similar to analogue and detached to digital transmission, as illustrated in Figure 3.
Figure 3: Two modes of intercultural communication: attached and detached processing.
The Game Rules

For these two modes to work, certain "game rules" need to be established for communication to be carried out in an orderly fashion. The game rules are also the basic goals for human communication, and are drawn from Bettman, Luce and Payne (1998) in marketing research. When the rules are applied, the two modes are able to explain all of the existing theories. These rules are summarized as:

1. The goal of the interaction (hence communication) is to maximize persuasion and minimize communication breakdown.
2. Interactants strive to minimize cognitive effort (to avoid information overload).
3. Interactants make their best effort to minimize negative emotions.

The Consequences

Focus. Because of Rule #3, in Attached Mode, interactants try their best to gauge what the other's status, background and opinion, thus the message itself becomes less important and the extraverbal channels become predominant; in Detached Mode, however, since no other exchange goes on, the message becomes a goal in itself. The context concept can thus be explained. As in restricted and elaborated codes, Attached Mode is status-oriented and focuses on relationships (consummatory). Detached Mode, on the other hand, is targeted at the verbalizing of ideas (instrumental). This can also explain Yum's (1991) process- versus goal-oriented cultures.

Efficiency. As the focus of Attached Mode is in the extraverbal channels, and by creating shared meaning and context in interaction, words have more meaning in Attached Mode, but each interaction takes more time and more iterations to accomplish:
thus Detached Mode is more efficient in general. More pauses and silence is used in speech in Attached Mode, thus a person with a Detached Mode orientation will find her counterpart with an Attached Mode orientation evasive and unfathomable, while Attached Mode-oriented individuals will find Detached Mode-oriented people naive and lack of sophistication.

**Power.** In Attached Mode, as the interactants focus on seeking out each other's socio-economic background and information on their behaviors and attitudes, the one with higher socio-economic status becomes more powerful as a result of the interaction; and once the power is out of balance, it reinforces itself, resulting in one-upmanship. In Detached Mode, the mode does not reinforce the imbalance but promotes equality. This explains power distance very well. And because of this imbalance of power, Attached Mode more likely leads to vicious cycles (communication breakdowns) or virtuous cycles (tightly-knit groups which offer security and comfort) depending on context.

Another consequence of the power imbalance, and an effect of Rules #2 and #3, is that individuals generally have low self-efficacy and feel powerless and deterministic in Attached Mode, but not in Detached Mode: Status symbol, wealth are thus displayed more in Attached Mode to gain and maintain power. This consequence explains variations in the masculinity and femininity dimension.

As a result of Rules #1 and #3, interactants try to gain power with emotions, tone, silence etc. in Attached Mode, but they use facts, evidence (the message itself) to do so in Detached Mode. This confirms the consummatory and instrumental orientations mentioned above and as a result, Attached Mode is more often associated with emotions.
and feelings while Detached Mode with rational and objectivity. Assumptions are more common in Attached Mode.

**Flexibility.** Due to the cognitive effort involved and Rule #2, individuals in Attached Mode know fewer people than those in Detached Mode, but they know their acquaintances much better than people in Detached Mode. This explains the in- and out-group differentiation. It also illustrates Bernstein's notion that people limited to restricted code are lower in verbal IQ and have lower ability to handle diverse interactional situations. While this may be the result of communal living, the communication mode itself in turn prohibits the person from switching to another mode.

The general consequences of Detached Mode are closely associated with Inkeles and Smith's (1974) concept of "modern man":

> He [sic] is an informed participant citizen; he has a marked sense of personal efficacy; he is highly independent and autonomous in his relations to traditional sources of influence, especially when he is making basic decisions about how to conduct his personal affairs; and he is ready for new experiences and ideas. That is, he is relatively open-minded and cognitively flexible. (p. 290)

**The Determinants**

The two modes have some socio-ecological, contextual and personal determinants – which mode is used is the result of the interplay of the three. These conclusions are derived from Inkeles and Smith (1974), Hofstede (1991) and Berstein (1964).

**Socio-ecological Determinants.** An integration of mode of production, high density of population, low level of modernization leads to Attached Mode. An old civilization, oral tradition and a highly developed relation-maintenance vocabulary will also tend to generate Attached Mode. As far as history is concerned, the more famines,
natural disasters and wars the area experiences, the more likely Attached Mode will
develop in that area. The reason is that during these uncertain times, it is vital for people
to seek out each other’s identity before interaction can continue. The opposite is true of
Detached Mode.

**Contextual Determinants.** The modes are determined by involvement, urgency
and familiarity. The higher the stake in the matter at hand, interactants are more likely to
seek out the background and extraverbal channel information about the other to avoid
making mistakes and getting negative emotions. Urgency also plays a role in mode
selection. When the perceived urgency is high, a person is less likely to dwell on rapport-
building, but rather try to get the message across. As far as familiarity is concerned, once
the interactants get to know each other, with rapport built up and shared understanding
achieved, they temporarily stop seeking background information and instead focus on the
message itself until new information requires the further exploration of background.

**Personal disposition.** There are some inherent cognitive dispositions for these two
modes, but these dispositions are heavily influenced by the environment the individual is
brought up and lives in. At the psychological level, the modes are reflected in the
personality dimension labeled allocentrism vs. idocentrism by Triandis, Bontempo and
Villareal (1988). However, individuals are also likely to “inherit” a certain mode from
their parents because of constant exposure and reinforcement. The place of work, as
indicated by Inkeles and Smith (1974), has a profound effect on which modes an
individual uses and clings to. Persons working in an environment in which she sees and
interacts with a lot of people are more likely to adopt Detached Mode. This may be an
inevitable result of Game Rule # 2. Persons who are in constant uncertainty and chaotic relationships are more likely to have Attached Mode. The determinants are summarized in Figure 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>socio-ecological factors</th>
<th>mode of production</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>population</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>degree of modernization</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>age of civilization</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>history</td>
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<td>language development</td>
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<tr>
<th>personal disposition</th>
<th>family upbringing</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>place of work</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amount of people in contact</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cognitive style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>past experience</td>
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</tbody>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>context</th>
<th>involvement</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>urgency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>familiarity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4: Determinants of attached and detached processing modes.
A Bimodal Model of Intercultural Communication

This bimodal model of intercultural communication is abstracted to a higher level than existing theories and offers, as illustrated above, power to explain more intercultural communication phenomena. This new model assumes that the communication modes are present in all cultures and individuals, but which one is used in one occasion or which one is predominantly used all the time is determined by the dynamic interplay of social-ecological, contextual and personal factors.

Its second assumption is that communication styles are part of culture itself. In existing intercultural communication theories, the basic assumption is that cultures are different to begin with, and these differences molded different values, beliefs and behavior among people, thus, different communication styles are the consequences of culture. In this bimodal model, socio-ecological factors have oriented people to two distinct modes of communication. Instead of being the result of values, beliefs and belief systems shaped by culture, these communication styles are conceptualized as having come before other cultural components and served as a kind of “lens” through which individuals view the world (McCracken. 1986). They enable individuals to select, evaluate and organize stimuli from the external environment (Singer. 1987). As a fundamental part of culture, they play a very important role in how the world is perceived, organized, communicated, and learned (Zandpour & Harich. 1996). With this “selective inattention” (Ruben, Askling, & Kealey. 1979), “a myriad of perhaps very important details of necessity gets blurred at best and omitted at worst,” resulting in different values, beliefs and behavior. They are then learned as culture and passed from
one generation to another. It is precisely because each of these groups teaches all of its members how to order, evaluate and react to specific external stimuli that we can become a group (Singer, 1979).

As these communication styles influence people's values and beliefs, the values and behaviors in turn will reinforce the communication mode, which locks an individual's culture with its communication mode. This interlocking mechanism makes a society or an individual's communication style relatively consistent over time until the socio-ecological environment prompts a major change.
APPENDIX A: Magazine Titles and Frequencies Nominated by Interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine Title</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Magazine Title</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>读者 Reader</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>北京电视周刊 Beijing TV Weekly</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大众电影 Popular Cinema</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>咆哮钨 Woodpecker (a literary monthly)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>半月谈 Current Affairs Biweekly</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>中外电视月刊 Chinese and Foreign TV Monthly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>青年文摘 Youth Digest</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>中国体育 China Sports</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>世界博览 World Panorama</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>知识就是力量 Knowledge Is Power</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>故事会 Storyboard</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>悲默大师 Humor Master</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大众医学 Popular Medicine</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>演讲与口才 Public Speaking and Eloquence</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>世界青年 Chinese Youth</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>小朋友 Little Friends</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>世界知识画报 World Knowledge Pictorial</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>现代家庭 Modern Family</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>喜望 Outlook Weekly</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>希望 Hope (a monthly for teenagers)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>环球银幕画刊 Global Cinema Pictorial</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>收获 Harvest (a literary bimonthly)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>海外文摘 Overseas Digest</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>世界之窗 A Window on the World</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>英语世界 English World</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>少年文艺 Adolescence Literature</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>新体育 New Sports</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>软件世界 Software World</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>小说月报 Fiction Monthly</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>人民文学 People’s Literature</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>世界时装之苑 World Fashion</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>漫画世界 Cartoon World</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>时尚 Trends</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>健与美 Fitness and Beauty</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>十月 October</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>家庭 Family</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>女友 Love (Female Companion)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>集邮 Philately</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>民主与法制 Democracy and Law</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>婚姻与家庭 Marriage and Family</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>足球世界 Football World</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>环球影视 World Cinema and TV</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>译林 Translation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>环球 Around the Globe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>上海服饰 Shanghai Style (Fashion)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>海外博览 Overseas Panorama</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>青年一代 Young Generation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>广州青年 Guangzhou Youth</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>萌芽 Mengyu (a literary monthly)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>父母必读 A Must for Parents</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>辽宁青年 Liaoning Youth</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>儿童时代 Children’s Times</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>黄金时代 Golden Times</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>电影画报 Cinema Pictorial</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>海外星云 Overseas Stars</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>电脑世界 Computer World</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>飞碟探索 UFO Exploration</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>电脑爱好者 Computer Fan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>儿童文学 Children’s Literature</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>当代 Contemporary Times (a literary quarterly)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>读书 Dushu (Reading)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>大众电视 Popular TV</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大众摄影 Popular Photography</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>兵器知识 Weaponry Knowledge</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>北京周刊 Beijing Review</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>八小时以外 Beyond Eight Hours</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B: Matrix of Nominated Magazines and Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine Category</th>
<th>Category Nominated Frequency</th>
<th>Nominated Magazines in the Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>影视、娱乐 TV, Cinema and entertainment</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>大众电影 Popular Cinema, 环球银幕画刊 Global Cinema Pictorial, 北京电视周刊 Beijing TV Weekly, 中外电视月刊 Chinese and Foreign TV Monthly, 大众电视 Popular TV, 环球影视 World Cinema and TV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>时事政治、新闻 Current affairs, news and politics</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>半月谈 Current Affairs Biweekly, 喜望 Outlook Weekly, 北京周刊 Beijing Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>体育 Sports</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>新体育 New Sports, 足球世界 Football World, 中国体育 China Sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>文学、艺术 Literature and art</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>十月秋刊 October, 读书 Dushi, 小说月报 Fiction Monthly, 萌芽 Mengya, 译林 Translation, 当代 Contemporary Times, 人民文学 People’s Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>综合文摘 Digests</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>读者 Reader, 青年文摘 Youth Digest, 海外文摘 Overseas Digest, 海外星云 Overseas Stars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>休闲、消遣、生活 Leisure, pastime and life</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>故事会 Storyboard, 女友 Love, 中国青年 Chinese Youth, 青年一代 The Young Generation, 辽宁青年 Liaoning Youth, 幽默大师 Humor Master, 漫画世界 Cartoon World, 海外博览 Overseas Panorama, 八小时以外 Beyond Eight Hours, 健与美 Fitness and Beauty, 黄金时代 Golden Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>知识、科学 Knowledge and promotion of science</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>世界知识画报 World Knowledge Pictorial, 世界博览 World Panorama, 飞碟探索 UFO Exploration, 世界之窗 A Window on the World, 知识就是力量 Knowledge is Power, 环球 Around the Globe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>家庭、健康 Family and health</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>大众医学 Popular Medicine, 婚姻与家庭 Marriage and Family, 家庭 Family, 现代家庭 Modern Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>教育、少年儿童 Education, children and the young</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>儿童文学 Children’s Literature, 英语世界 English World, 少年文艺 Adolescence Literature, 希望希望 Hope, 小朋友 Little Friends, 儿童时代 Children’s Times, 父母必读 A Must for Parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>法律 Law</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>民主与法制 Democracy and Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>时装 Fashion</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>世界时装之苑 World Fashion, 时尚 Trends, 上海服饰 Shanghai Style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>军事 The Military</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>兵器知识 Weaponry Knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>业余爱好 Hobbies</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>大众摄影 Popular Photography, 集邮 Philately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>计算机 Computers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>电脑世界 Computer World, 电脑爱好者 Computer Fan, 软件世界 Software World</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>画报 Pictorials</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>电影画报 Cinema Pictorial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

145
APPENDIX C: List of Magazines Sampled

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine Category</th>
<th>Magazine Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV, Cinema and entertainment</td>
<td>大众电影 Popular Cinema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current affairs, news and politics</td>
<td>嘉兴 Outlook Weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>新体育 New Sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature and art</td>
<td>读书 Dushu (Reading)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digests</td>
<td>读者 Reader, 青年文摘 Youth Digest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure, pastime and life</td>
<td>中国青年 Chinese Youth, 青年博览 Youth Panorama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge and promotion of science</td>
<td>知识就是力量 Knowledge is Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family and health</td>
<td>家庭 Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education, children and the young</td>
<td>父母必读 A Must for Parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>民主与法制 Democracy and Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashion</td>
<td>上海服饰 Shanghai Style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Military</td>
<td>军事历史 Military History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies</td>
<td>集邮 Philately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computers</td>
<td>电脑爱好者 Computer Fan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pictorials</td>
<td>人民画报 People’s Pictorial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D: Advertisement Survey Statistics Recording Sheet

Number of advertisements (including those without pictures) in this issue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>ID #</th>
<th>Page Number</th>
<th>Measurement Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(1/20th page minimum)</td>
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<td>面积 (最小到1/20版)</td>
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</tbody>
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APPENDIX E: Shooting Instructions

拍摄要求

1. Only advertisements accompanied by photographic images should be photographed. Advertisements with images of drawing, Chinese or Western paintings are excluded.

请只拍摄有照片图案的广告，有中国画、西洋画和其他手工图案的广告不拍。

2. The page with the advertisement(s) should be photographed in its entirety to show the location and area proportion of the advertisement(s).

有广告的页面请整页拍摄，以示广告在页面中位置及广告和页面比例。

3. A ruler with both metric and English scales should be put next to the magazine page to show its actual size and the magnification of the photo.

请在每页边上放置一支有公制和英制两用的尺子以示页面的真实尺寸和照片的缩小比例。
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame Count</th>
<th>Magazine Title</th>
<th>Page #</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Issue Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX G: Coding Book

Unitizing
The advertisement is the unit of analysis. An independent advertisement promoting a product, or in some cases a line of products from the same manufacturer (retailer) is considered one advertisement. It can be of a fraction of a page, or contain several pages.

Categorizing
If an advertisement contains a photographic element, it is a “pictorial advertisement.” A “photograph” is defined as a graphic element in the advertisement produced by a camera without substantial special effects or electronic touch-ups. Advertisements with other artwork or advertisements whose graphic element cannot be determined if it is a photograph or other art work will be categorized as text advertisements.

Level I Analysis
(For all Advertisements)
1. ID number
   Computer-generated number specific to each ad surveyed.

2. Name of Magazine
   Use the following abbreviations for the magazine titles:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Chinese Name</th>
<th>English Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DNAH</td>
<td>电脑爱好者</td>
<td>Computer Fan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DS</td>
<td>读书</td>
<td>Dushu (Reading)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYAH</td>
<td>电影爱好者</td>
<td>Film Fans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DZWZ</td>
<td>读者</td>
<td>Reader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DZDY</td>
<td>大众电影</td>
<td>Popular Cinema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FMBD</td>
<td>父母必读</td>
<td>A Must for Parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FT</td>
<td>家庭</td>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSLS</td>
<td>军事历史</td>
<td>Military History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JY</td>
<td>集邮</td>
<td>Philately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LW</td>
<td>堆望</td>
<td>Outlook Weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MZFZ</td>
<td>民主与法制</td>
<td>Democracy and Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QNBL</td>
<td>青年博览</td>
<td>Youth Panorama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QNWZ</td>
<td>青年文摘</td>
<td>Youth Digest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHFS</td>
<td>上海服饰</td>
<td>Shanghai Style (Fashion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XTY</td>
<td>新体育</td>
<td>New Sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZGQN</td>
<td>中国青年</td>
<td>Chinese Youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZSLL</td>
<td>知识就是力量</td>
<td>Knowledge Is Power</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Use the following abbreviations for US magazines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Magazine Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>READ</td>
<td>Reader's Digest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATLA</td>
<td>Atlantic Monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIFE</td>
<td>Life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Year
Self-evident.

4. Issue
Type in the number of the issue.

5. Page Number
Self-evident. Exceptions:
I + # = insertion + page number
C2 = Cover 2
C3 = Cover 3
B = Back cover

6. Ad Number
Order of the ads appearing on the issue.

7. Area
Size of the ad in fraction of one page, ranging from 1 to 1/20 of a page. Enter "8" if it is 1/8 of a page, and "1/2" if it is two pages.

8. China/US
If the advertisement is from China, type in "1." if it is from the US, type in "2."
1 = Chinese advertisements
2 = US advertisements

9. Pictorial/text ads
The codes assigned for the different categories are:

0 = Text (only words, no picture) ads surveyed
1 = Pictorial ads surveyed
2 = Pictorial ads photographed

(END FOR TEXT ADVERTISEMENTS.)
(The following apply to pictorial advertisements only)

10. File Name
File name of picture according to film roll.

11. Product Type (from Gilly, 1988; Zandpour et al. 1992; and Cutler & Ravalgi, 1992)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product Type</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholic beverages</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile and accessories</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs and medicine</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance and real estate</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food, snacks and soda</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household appliances and furnishings</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial products</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional/public service</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal accessories (e.g. watches and jewelry), cosmetics and beauty products</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer and office equipment</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameras and photographic equipment (flashes, films, etc. but excluding industrial scale printers)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care products (e.g. exercise machines, medicinal pillows, etc.)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal hygiene and household cleaning products</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco products</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. Enterprise Type (from Cheng, 1994, 1997)
This category applies to Chinese advertisements only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enterprise Type</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic enterprise</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint venture</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign enterprise</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For all the following, if the advertisement has the feature of a category, count as one, and type in the sum number of the features in the space. If unknown, leave it blank. These categories are mutually exclusive, therefore, you can only type in one number (or leave it blank).


13.1 Product Information
The product is the center of attention and the focus of all elements in the ad is explaining the product and its utility. The brand name and frequently a picture of the package are prominent. Picture displays products only.
Components: Product + Information

13.2 Product Image
Brand name and package again play an important part, but he product is given special qualities by means of a symbolic relationship that it has to some more abstract and less pragmatic domain of significance than mere utility. The abstract values and ideas are signified by either a natural or social setting such as a landscape, the workplace, the household, a cluster of artifacts of daily life, a historic moment, or a recognizable tradition or myth. Product image is achieve by a juxtaposition of the product and a setting/context through narrative techniques like metaphor, implied use, allusion, allegory and story line.
Components: Product + Setting or Context + Symbol

13.3 Personalized Format
The direct relationship between a product and the human personality defines the primary framework of the personalized ad. In personalized ads people are explicitly and directly interpreted in their relationship to the world of the product. Social admiration, pride of ownership, anxiety about lack of use, or satisfaction in consumption become important humanizing dimensions of the interpretation of products. The distinction between person and product codes sometimes becomes obscured. Examples:
   d. testimonials in which the person's relationship to the product is based on experience with use or consumption
   e. a person's role, or even just fame, provides the connection between the product and its recommendation
   f. self-transformational or "makeover" ads: consumers are invited to imagine themselves in some more idealized state
Components: Product + Person

13.4 Lifestyle Format
In lifestyle ads a more balanced relationship is established between the elemental codes of person, product, and setting by combining aspects of the product image and personalized formats. People, products and settings of consumption are harmonized around a direct vision of a consumption style. A variant of the format synthesizes the component codes through a primary reference to an activity rather than directly to a consumption style. Here, the activity invoked in text or image becomes the central cue.
for relating the person, product, and setting codes. Lifestyle ads commonly depict a variety of leisure activities (entertaining, going out, holidaying and relaxing). The focus is action or behavior appropriate to or typical of a social group or situation rather than use, satisfaction, or utility.

Components: (Person + Product + Setting) + Activity/Consumption Style

**Level II Analysis**

**(Pictorial Advertisements Only)**

14. Number of People in the advertisement
Type in the number if there are people. If no or can't tell, leave it blank.

15. Number of Women
Type in the number if there are women (excluding girls under 12). If no or unknown, leave it blank.

For all the following, if the advertisement has the feature of a category, count as one, and type in the sum number of the features in the space. If none, leave it blank. These categories are not mutually exclusive.

16. Social and Cultural Meaning

16.1 Individualism (cf. Cheng, 1994, originally from Muller, 1987)
The ad emphasizes the achievement, freedom and self-reliance and self-sufficiency of the individual, or the individual as being distinct and unlike others. Chinese ads featuring the director or president of an enterprise belong to this category.

16.2 Collectivism (cf. Cheng, 1994, originally from Muller, 1987)
The ad depicts the individual in relation to others, typically the reference group. The individual is an integral part of the group. Ads romanticize family life, couples together, friends having parties or emphasize the collective belong to this category.

16.3 Social Background
The ads emphasize the moral and ethical quality of the factory directors and workers: ads that details the origin and history, procedures, environment, financial and mechanical capacity of the factory that manufactures the product; or ads that refer the user to his/her social background. (Emphasizing where the product is made and how good the factory is)

16.4 Social Status
Ads bearing appeals that address status among peers, status symbols, respect, esteem or aspire for a higher moral and material life. (how the product is symbolizing social status or how helpful it is in helping the user gain status)
17. Depiction of Women (from Weaver 1989; Griffin, Viswanath & Schwartz 1994; originally from Goffman, 1978)

17.1 Relative Size
Female body or body parts portrayed as shorter, smaller, or less weighty. This category applies only to pictures with women and men in the same shot.

17.2 Functional Ranking
Females are depicted as playing a secondary role in the situation. Typical examples are: women as nurses while men as doctors, men as instructors and women as trainees, men as help-giver and women as recipient. This category also applies only to pictures with women and men in the same shot.

17.3 Ritualization of Subordination
17.3.1 Bashful knee bend
A woman pictured as bending her knee in a demure manner that did not serve a body support function.

17.3.2 Body/head cant
A woman's head or body is lowered or tilted in a manner unrelated to the task or activity. It is sometimes confused with head aversion in "licensed withdrawal." The difference is that in head aversion the head is usually lowered downward, with a "withdrawal" expression on the face. Head cant is a contrived head turn, usually to the side, but the person may still look at the camera.

17.3.3 Expansive smile
Exaggerated, expansive smile.

17.3.4 Reclining body
Women lying on bed or floor in recumbent positions. A woman featured in the same shot with a man with the men in a higher elevation.

17.3.5 Body clowning
Women as less seriously present in social situations, engaging in childlike activities and using the entire body as a playful gestulative device. Men and women playing games with the women collaborating through a display of attempts to escape and through cries of alarm, fear, and appeasement.

17.4 Licensed Withdrawal
17.4.1 Hand covering mouth
Women covering their mouths, as when in remorse, fear, shyness, giggling, laughter or refraining from speech. Finger-biting is included in this category.
17.4.2 Head or eye aversion/mental drifting
When the woman is looking away from the activity or another person, avoiding eye contact, or with the head turning away or lowered when in thought. Or women shown "mindlessly" drifting from the physical scene around them as if day dreaming or staring blankly out of the frame.

17.4.3 Behind objects
Women at the edge of the picture frame, behind objects, animals or other persons, shielding their participation and presenting them as if on the edge of the situation and "not available."

17.5 Role Depiction
17.5.1 Domestic
Female clearly portrayed in the role of mother or spouse, as indicated by the presence of children and/or husband; female portrayed as caretaker (in the home setting) as when administering medicine or comfort; female shown in home setting with people or activities associated with household affairs or "home life."

17.5.2 Recreational
Female in setting outside the home, but not working; female engaged in activity of playful or relaxing nature, such as eating out, shopping, sightseeing, etc.

17.5.3 Occupational
Woman in work or work-related setting outside the home, including school settings. Women in uniforms of their profession: e.g. doctors, athletes, factory workers, etc.

17.6 Appearance
17.6.1 Glamorous
Female with flamboyant, formal clothing and accessories that connoted wealth and sophistication (such as furs, jewelry, diamonds, sequins, gloves, evening gowns, etc.).

17.6.2 Realistic
No predominant body features or adornments is pictured, as in the case of women depicted in business or casual attire that is not excessive or "showy."

17.6.3 Sexy
When exaggerated and clearly predominant body parts were central to the picture and overemphasized for the "sex appeal" factor.

18. Depiction of Minority
Write in "1" for this category if ethnic groups other than the major race in the country are depicted.
In China ads, if minorities such as Mongolians, Koreans, Tibetans, Manchus, Zhuangs in ethnic costumes are featured; if whites, blacks or other known Westerners are present, code into a separate category.

In US ads, when Asians, Blacks, Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, Hispanics or multiracials are depicted.

19. Interactive Meaning (from Kress & van Leeuwen. 1996)

19.1 Contact
Contact is first dependent on the type of subject. If the subject is an object, then it is an "offer" picture. If the subject is a person (participant), then if the personal faces and addresses the viewer, it is a "demand" picture, otherwise it is an offer picture.

19.1.1 Demand picture
In a demand picture, the viewer is the addressee, the object. The participant in the picture addresses the viewer directly, realizing a visual "you." The participant's gaze demands something from the viewer, demands that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relation with him/her. The represented participants who look at the viewer are usually a human with a visual "invitation," a beckoning hand, a smiling expression, a visual warning or a visual "summon."

19.1.2 Offer picture
The offer picture is to be read as a piece of objective, factual information: the represented participant is the object of the viewer's dispassionate scrutiny, as though they were specimens in a display case. No contact is made. The viewer's role is that of an invisible onlooker. All images which do not contain human or quasi-human participants looking directly at the viewer are of this kind.

19.2 Social distance
Size of frame and the featured object's distance from the camera dictate social distance.

19.2.1 Intimate
Social distance is considered intimate if the human or object is shot with a telephoto lens in close range or as a close-up. However, picture size is another contributing factor. As a result, human figures framed in a close-up from shoulder up, and bigger than 1/9 of the picture area, are considered intimate. So are waist shots bigger than 1/4 of picture area. Objects smaller than a human face featured in close-up and appear bigger than 1/9 of whole picture area are also "intimate," as if the viewer is engaged with it.

19.2.2 Social
"Medium shots" when the objects are photographed with a normal lens at a social distance of 6-15 feet. Waist up or the whole human body, appearing bigger than 1/16 of picture area. Objects smaller than the human body appearing bigger than 1/16 of picture area.
19.2.3 Impersonal
Whole human figures smaller than 1/16 of picture area in buildings, natural environment or against monotonous background. Objects in full, smaller than 1/16 of picture area, with space around them, or if there is an invisible barrier between the object and the viewer. For example, the object is there for contemplation only, out of reach, as if on display in a shop window or museum exhibit. In the case of photographic composites when there is a lack of frame around the objects, the distance can be determined from the amount of detail we can discern.

19.3 Attitude
The camera’s vertical and horizontal angle determines attitude. Horizontal angle determines involvement or detachment; vertical angle decides viewer power, equality or representation power.

19.3.1 Involvement
It is a function of the relation between the frontal plane of the image-producer and the frontal plane of the represented participants. The two can either be parallel, aligned with one another, or form an angle, diverge from one another. The resulting image can have either a frontal or an oblique point of view. Frontal angle = involvement.

19.3.2 Detachment
Oblique angle = detachment.

19.3.2 Viewer Power
The represented participant is seen from a high angle.

19.3.3 Equal Power
Picture at eye level.

19.3.4 Media Power
The represented participant seen from a low angle.

20. Modality
Modality refers to the truth value or credibility statements about the world. It is the standards of what is considered to be real. Modality is grounded in differences of color and detail. There are four coding orientations.

20.1 Technical Coding Orientation
Whenever color is useless for the scientific or technological purpose of the image, such as a blueprint.

20.2 Sensory Coding Orientation
In ads where color is a source of pleasure and affective meaning, e.g. fashion, cooking, interior decoration and so on.
20.3 Abstract Coding Orientation
In such contexts where modality is higher the more an image reduces the individual to the general, and the concrete to its essential qualities, such as in "high" art. The ability to produce/read texts grounded in this coding orientation is a mark of social distinction.

20.4 Naturalistic Coding Orientation
This is the "commonsense" which is the one coding orientation all members of the culture share no matter what their education or training might be.
APPENDIX H: Examples of Chinese Ads in Each Category

Product Information Format

Product Image Format

Personalized Format

Lifestyle Format

Four Stages of Ad Format Development
Collectivistic Appeal

Individualistic Appeal

Social Background Appeal

Social Status Appeal

Cultural Appeals
Bashful Knee Bend

Body Cant

Expansive Smile

Reclining Figure

Ritualization of Subordination
Behind Object

Head and Eye Aversion

Mental Drift

Licensed Withdrawal

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Domestic Role

Recreational Role

Occupational Role

Role Depiction
Realistic

Glamorous

Sexy

Appearance
Viewer Power

Media Power

Depiction of Westerners
Four Coding Orientations

1. Naturalistic Modality (Original in Color)
2. Abstract Modality (Original Black & White)
3. Sensory Modality (Original in Color)
4. Technical Modality (Original in Color)
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