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Cultural values in Hong Kong's print advertising, 1946 to 1996

Abstract

A content analysis of 600 print advertisements for the period 1946 to 1996 was conducted. Cheng and Schweitzer's (1996) framework of cultural values was adopted to investigate the advertising content. The study identified 'quality', 'economy', 'modernity', 'popularity', 'social status' and 'convenience' as the six cultural values that dominated Hong Kong advertising. The set of dominant values was a combination of utilitarian and symbolic values that put emphasis on product features as well as human feelings of being recognized and prestige. However, the set of dominant values consisted of mainly western values and there was no typical eastern values. The manifest of cultural values depended mainly on the product category. Specific types of products and services tended to use a specific set of cultural values. As a result, the change in cultural values mainly reflected the types of products or services advertised in different time periods. However, the manifest of 'quality' and 'popularity' values depended on product category as well as year. An additive model of product category, year and their interaction accounted for 10.2 to 20.2 percent of the variation of the frequencies of the six dominant cultural values. The manifest of cultural values was rather consistent and the study did not support a rapid shift from utilitarian values to symbolic values over the past fifty years.

Cultural values in Hong Kong's print advertising, 1946 to 1996

1. Introduction

Defined as 'the governing ideas and guiding principles for thought and action' in a given society (Srikandath, 1991), the cultural values manifest in advertising are recognized as powerful forces shaping consumers' motivations, life-styles, and product choices (Tse, Belk & Zhou, 1989). Consumer cultural values reflected in advertising has been one of the main study of advertising scholars. Most of the studies were focused on the relationship between culture and advertising content (for example, Unwin, 1974; Hong, Muderrisoglu, and Zinkhan, 1987, Ramaprasad and Hasegawa, 1992). In an attempt to develop a conceptual framework for understanding the advertising content, Ramaprasad, Wu and Gao (1995) identified culture as the most important environmental factor that influences both the content variables, such as strategies and values, and the executional variables, such as colour.

Pollay (1986) argued that any culture is a mosaic of multiple values and a culture is characterized in substantial measure by the relative importance of these values. However, all not cultural values are employed and echoed in advertising. Pollay (1986) argued that advertising was a 'distorted mirror' on the reflection and transmission of cultural values. It modelled and reinforced only certain lifestyles and philosophies that serve sellers' interests (Pollay and Gallagher, 1990). Based on Pollay's (1986) concept that advertising is a mirror that reflects prevailing cultural values, this study attempts to map the change in consumer cultural values in Hong Kong newspaper advertising in the past fifty years.

Advertising in Hong Kong is being studied because Hong Kong has been a unique place where East meets West. Hong Kong has also been a source of social influence to neighbouring countries in South East Asia (Tse, Belk and Zhou, 1989). Knowledge of the cultural values depicted in advertising enhances the understanding of the development of consumer culture in Hong Kong and facilitates advertising professionals' decisions on marketing and creative strategies for international advertising.

Since China re-opened its door in 1979, Hong Kong is widely perceived as the gateway to China. Studying the evolution of consumer culture in Hong Kong also helps the understanding of consumer cultures in China.

The study was designed to achieve the following objectives:

to study the dominant cultural values manifest in Hong Kong newspaper advertising;

to map the differences, if any, in the cultural values reflected from 1946 to 1996; and

to investigate whether the change in the cultural values will depend on the type of products and services advertised.

2. Literature review

The value system is thought to include sets of beliefs, attitudes, and activities to which a culture subscribes, and is reinforced by rewards and punishments for those who follow or deviate from these guidelines (Rokeach, 1973). While culture refers to the total pattern of human behaviour in the society, values are often defined as a set of enduring beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end states of existence which are shared amongst people from the same cultural background. Consumer cultural values are regarded as the governing ideas and principles for thought and action in a given society and a powerful force shaping consumers' motivations, life-styles and product choices (Tse, Belk & Zhou, 1989).

Analytical studies on the cultural values manifest in advertising have been conducted since the early 1980s. Pollay (1983) developed a coding framework that contained predominantly western cultural values. After a modification of Pollay's (1983) framework, Srikanth (1991) identified the predominant cultural values transmitted through Indian television commercials. In studying of Japanese magazine advertising, Mueller (1987) added several eastern cultural values to Pollay's (1983) framework. Belk and Pollay (1985) and Belk and Bryce (1986) compared eastern and western cultures conveyed through American and Japanese advertising. Belk and Pollay (1985) concluded that there was evidence of increasing Americanization in Japanese advertisements but deep-seated Japanese cultural values still remain distinct. Pollay (1986) concluded that advertising is a 'distorted mirror' that reflects only certain attitudes, behaviours and values. It models and reinforces only certain life-styles and philosophies that serve sellers' interests (Pollay and Gallagher, 1990).

Studies on cultural values manifest in advertising in Chinese societies are scarce. Tse, Belk and Zhou (1989) analyzed print advertising of three Chinese societies, Hong Kong, the Mainland

China and Taiwan, for the period 1979 to 1985. Tse, Belk and Zhou (1989) suggested that the differences in cultural values were due to the societal differences in level of economic development, political ideology, attitudes towards consumption and business training and philosophy. However, Tse, Belk and Zhou's (1989) frame of analysis has the disadvantage that it is a mix of values, communication appeals and information contents. The sample size of fifty advertisements for each society for each year is also considered to be rather small.

Cheng (1994) analyzed a total of 572 magazine advertisements in China for the years 1982 and 1992. Results indicated that 'modernity', 'technology' and 'quality' as three predominant cultural values manifest in Chinese advertising over the past ten years. The cultural values also changed from utilitarian values to symbolic and emotional values. Cheng (1996) content analyzed 483 Chinese television commercials for the years 1990 and 1995 and found that 'modernity', 'technology' and 'youth' predominate Chinese advertising in 1990, and the dominance of 'quality' in 1990 was superseded by 'tradition' in 1995. Results also indicated that the new Advertising Law implemented in 1995 did not reduce western values depicted in Chinese commercials. Cheng's (1994) and (1996) studies have the merit of developing a comprehensive framework that incorporates both eastern and western cultural values used in previous studies.

Cheng and Schweitzer (1996) compared 1,105 Chinese and American television commercials and identified eight cultural values that dominate either Chinese or American television advertising. The findings indicated that the current Chinese advertising was a melting pot of eastern and western cultural values and a 'double-distorted mirror' that reflected advertising's commercial nature with a strong tendency to fit into the idiosyncratic social reality in China.

Review of literature shows that there is no study about Hong Kong's consumer cultural values using a comprehensive framework of both eastern and western values. This study serves as an excellent study to fill such gap. The Hong Kong society has undergone dramatic social changes in the past five decades. Since the ending of the World War II in 1945 and the influx of immigrants from China in 1949, Hong Kong rapidly evolved from a fishing village to an industrial city, an important trading port and now a service dominating society. Hong Kong's

almost totally free market economy and a laissez-faire approach to public policy have resulted in a vigorous and liberal consumer market environment. Consumers enjoy a wide selection of products and services and are always encouraged to consume. Advertisers are eager to emphasize on different appeals like wealth, modernity, image, luxury, enjoyment and an easier life. It is expected that with the growth in economic conditions, consumer culture in Hong Kong is moving from satisfaction of basic needs to the fulfillment of symbolic need for self-recognition and achievement. In addition to studying advertising in a place where both eastern and western cultures coexists, this study contributes to an increasing interest in historical analysis in marketing research (e.g. Belk and Pollay, 1985, McCracken, 1987). Swanson (1996) pointed out the importance to frame an understanding of the conduct of marketing and advertising in a historical context. Pollay (1983, p. 89) remarked that 'examination of the changing bases of appeal will elucidate marketing history, potentially evidencing the competitive and strategic process over time'. Examination of advertising appeals utilized within a specific product category would also help to identify the specific appeals which were the universals and which became the basis for specific segments (Pollay, 1983).

3. Research methodology

The sample: The newspaper *Sing Tao Jih Pao* was selected for this study. It was one of the existing papers that had wide circulation and long history. *Sing Tao Jih Pao* started publishing on August 1, 1938 and had nearly sixty years of establishment. The paper ceased to publish only during the period December 1941 to July 1945. A total of 24 days (i.e. the 13th and the 21st day for each month) was randomly selected for each year of 1946, 1956, 1966, 1976, 1986 and 1996. For each selected day, four advertisements were selected based on size (i.e. to select the largest advertisements). One more advertisement was selected on the 21st of March, June, September and December. For advertisements of similar size, the choice would be to include advertisements of different types of products and services. Any duplicate advertisements appearing in the same year were excluded in order to eliminate any redundancies. Classified advertisements were excluded. A total of 600 different advertisements (24 days x 6 years x 4 ads plus 4 days x 6 years) was copied from the microfilms.

Coding scheme: The unit of analysis was individual newspaper advertisement. The coding frame was based on Cheng and Schweitzer's (1996) framework, which was originally built on Pollay's (1983) typology of the cultural values. The coding scheme consisted of 32 cultural values and the conceptual definitions were displayed in Table 1. These cultural values can be classified into utilitarian and symbolic values. Utilitarian values refer to those emphasizing product features or attributes, such as 'convenience', 'economy', 'effectiveness' and 'quality'. Symbolic values refer to those suggesting human emotions such as 'enjoyment', 'modernity', 'popularity' and 'sex' (Cheng and Schweitzer, 1996). In addition to the cultural values, product categories were also coded to help explaining the change in cultural values.

[TABLE ONE ABOUT HERE]

Coding process: Two Chinese graduates with competence in English and Chinese were recruited as coders. They were trained on the concepts of the cultural values and tested on a pilot exercise of 40 advertisements. They attempted to identify two most dominant values in each advertisement by first examining on the headlines and illustrations, then the key elements in the major captions and the body copy. The dominant value was decided mainly by the overall impression or the key elements of the 'gestalt', the end result or the total message possibly received by audiences (Srikandath, 1991). The coding results were discussed and clarifications were made. Coding of the sample started when the two coders reached over 70% inter-coder reliability in the pilot exercise. They viewed all the 600 advertisements independently to code for two dominant cultural values for each advertisement. Discussion sessions were held when the coders finished coding a batch of 100 advertisements. The sample was re-examined by the author for checking and resolving for any disagreement which had occurred. An inter-coder reliability level of 84.3% was achieved. It was close to the minimum reliability level of 85% specified by Kassarian (1977). The reliability obtained was satisfactory.

The frequency of appearance of the dominant cultural values was recorded and percentage was compiled. One-way and two-way ANOVA tests were conducted to investigate whether there were any significant change in cultural values over time for different product categories.

4. Findings

Sample profile: The sample consisted of 600 advertisements. Table 2 shows the distribution of advertisements among different product categories. The results indicate that the majority of the sample were car and durable (21%), leisure, travel and catering services (18%) and real estate (13%) advertisements. Results of the F-test indicate that there were significant differences in product categories of advertisements over years. Years 1956, 1966 and 1976 had a higher proportion of car and durable advertisements. Years 1946, 1956 and 1966 had a higher proportion of food and drink, and pharmaceuticals and personal items advertisements. Years 1976, 1986 and 1996 had a higher proportion of industrial and business services advertisements. The year 1996 was dominated by a very high proportion of real estate advertisements. This is because Chinese newspaper's market has become highly segmented in the 90's and *Sing Tao Jih Pao* has become specialized in the property advertising.

[TABLE TWO ABOUT HERE]

Dominant cultural values: Table 3 summarizes the total frequencies of the 32 cultural values found in Hong Kong advertising as well as the percentage frequencies occurring for each sampled year. The most frequently occurred dominant values were 'quality' (37.0%), 'economy' (31.5%), 'modernity' (18.0%), 'popularity' (16.2%), 'social status' (13.2%) and 'convenience' (10.2%). Three cultural values with zero frequency were 'individualism', 'natural' and 'work'. Percentage frequencies for all other values were under 10 percent. F-tests were conducted to investigate whether manifest of cultural values would change over time. Of the 29 values with non-zero frequencies, 9 values had significant F-values. For the six dominant cultural values, three had significant change over time (i.e. quality, economy, popularity) and three had no significant change over time (i.e. modernity, social status, convenience).

[TABLE THREE ABOUT HERE]

Product categories: Table 4 summarizes the total frequencies of the 32 cultural values found in Hong Kong advertising as well as the percentage frequencies occurring for each product category.

Again, F-tests were conducted to check whether manifest of cultural values would depend on types of product and services advertised. Results indicated that product category had great influence on the values manifest in advertising. Of the 29 values with non-zero frequencies, 19 values generated significant F-values. This indicated that specific product category tended to use specific appeals. For the six dominant cultural values, they all had significant F-values. The value 'quality' was most frequently found in advertisements of beauty, clothing and household goods, as well as car and durables. The 'economy' value occurred most frequently in retail and personal services and real estate advertisements. The 'modernity' value was most frequently found in advertisements of automobiles and durables as well as industrial goods and business services. The 'popularity' value frequently occurred in food and drink advertisements and the 'social status' value frequently occurred in real estate advertisements. Industrial goods and business services advertising frequently contained the 'convenience' value.

[TABLE FOUR ABOUT HERE]

Product categories and time: Two-way ANOVA F-tests are conducted to investigate the main effects of product category and year alone as well as their interaction effect on the manifest of cultural values. Partial F values were compiled for the interaction of product category and year, the main effect of product category alone and the main effect of year alone. The full model is an additive model of the two main effects and the interaction effect. The results are summarized in Table 5.

For the interaction effect of product category and time variables on cultural value, 8 out of the 29 values with non-zero frequency showed significant F-values. For the six dominant values, only 'quality' and 'modernity' values showed significant interaction F-statistics. Results indicated that these two values were more frequently employed in specific years for specific product categories. Detailed examination of the data showed that the 'quality' value were mostly often used in food and drink, and beauty, clothing and household goods advertising in 1946. The

'modernity' value was mostly frequently found in advertisements of leisure, travel and catering services in 1946, and in advertisements of pharmaceuticals and personal items in 1966.

For the main effects, out of the 29 values with non-zero frequencies, 19 values showed significant partial F-values by product category and only 3 showed significant partial F-values by year. This indicated that the product category had greater influence on the manifest of cultural values than the time variable. For the three dominant values that showed significant F-values in Table 3 (i.e. quality, economy and popularity), partial F-statistic of the 'economy' value by year was not significant when the product category was controlled. This indicated that the change of the 'economy' value was mainly due to the change in type of products and services advertised over years. Partial F-statistics of the 'quality' and 'popularity' values for the main effect of year were still significant when the product category was controlled. This indicated that in addition to the change in type of products and services advertised over years, there was change in the manifest of these two values across time. For the three dominant values with no significant F-values in Table 3 (i.e. modernity, social status, convenience), the partial F-values by year remained not significant. However, all these three dominant values had significant partial F-values by product category.

The full model is taken to be an additive model of the main effects of product category and year, and the interaction effect of product category and year. Out of the 29 cultural values with non-zero frequencies, 18 had significant F-statistics at 0.05 level. The multiple R square ranged from 5.2 percent to 33.7 percent for these significant full models. The results indicated that product category, year and their interaction accounted for 5.2 to 33.7 percent of the variation of frequencies of the 29 coded cultural values. Furthermore, the additive model accounted for 10.2 to 20.2 percent of the variation of frequencies of the six dominant cultural values.

Frequencies of the 'quality' value was a contribution of the effect of product category, year and their interaction. 'Quality' was most frequently used in beauty, clothing and household

goods, and car and durable advertising, in years 1946, 1976 and 1986, and in food and drink, beauty, clothing and household goods advertising in 1946. Frequency of the 'popularity' value was a combination of the effects of product category and year. The 'popularity' value was most frequently used in food and drink advertising, and in years 1956 and 1966.

Frequency of the 'modernity' value was a combination of the main effect of product category and the interaction of product category and year. The 'modernity' value was most frequently employed in advertisements of car and durable, and in advertisements of leisure, travel and catering sessions in 1946, and in advertisements of pharmaceuticals and personal items in 1966.

[TABLE FIVE ABOUT HERE]

The dominant values of 'economy', 'social status' and 'convenience' were mainly affected by the product category alone. There was no support that these values were more likely to occur in specific years.

5. Discussion and conclusion

The sample profile itself gave some indication on the societal change in Hong Kong. In the early years of 1946 and 1956, the main advertisers were mainly basic necessities such as food and drink, clothing and pharmaceuticals. The abundant amount of pharmaceutical advertising was probably due to the inadequate medical services and the public depended largely on over-the-counter medicines and food for health. There was an excessive concern over health. Even beer advertisements used longevity as its selling point. During the years 1956, 1966 and 1976, car and durables constituted close to one third of the sample. Many household appliances such as refrigerators, cameras, and air-conditioners frequently occurred as means to improve the overall living standard. Coupled with industrial development in the 70's and 80's, there was an increasing proportion of industrial goods and business services advertising. The dominance of real estate advertisements in 1996 reflected the boom of the property market. It also indicated

that the public were keen to invest on long term asset. Another possible explanation was that the newspaper have become specialized in property advertising.

Of the six dominant values found in the sample, three represented utilitarian values (i.e. quality, economy and convenience) and three represented symbolic values (i.e. modernity, popularity and social status). The top two dominant values, 'quality' and 'economy', were both utilitarian in nature. Furthermore, the 'popularity' value was often used in food and drink advertisements as an indicator or a substantiate of quality. The emphasis on value-for-money purchase indicated that Hong Kong advertising had been very practical and straight-forward.

The dominance of the 'quality' and 'economy' values found in 1976 and 1986 was quite similar from the results obtained by Tse *et al.* (1989) in the analysis of consumption appeals from 1979 to 1985. Tse *et al.*'s (1989) findings indicated that the dominant values in terms of average percentage occurrence were 'value of purchase', 'hedonism', 'ingredients' and 'product performance'. The concepts of 'economy' and 'quality' were coded as 'value of purchase' and 'product performance' in Tse *et al.*'s (1989) study respectively. It was difficult to compare for the consumption appeal of 'hedonism' but it probably included values such as 'social status', 'beauty', 'enjoyment' and 'uniqueness'. By adding the percentages of occurrence of these four values for the years 1976 and 1986 in this study, it would also become a dominant value. It was therefore concluded that the results in this study did not deviate significantly from a similar study conducted for a section of the time period using a different coding framework. The findings provide some external validity of this study.

When compared with the results obtained from the content analysis of Chinese magazine advertisements in 1982 and 1992 (Cheng, 1994) and Chinese television advertising in 1990 and 1995 (Cheng, 1996), the greatest difference in the manifest of dominant cultural values was the strong emphasis on 'modernity' and 'technology' in Chinese advertising. This is probably because of the limited consumption experience held by the consumers after the cultural

revolution and many products are totally new to them. The use of 'modernity' and 'technology' values also ties in with the political philosophy of 'four modernization plans' that put emphasis on development in agriculture, industry, technology and national defense. Unlike the Chinese consumers, Hong Kong consumers enjoy a high personal income, live in a laissez-faire society, and have abundant consumption experience and uninterrupted encounter with advertising. It is expected that Hong Kong advertising will use more symbolic appeals (Tse *et al.*, 1989). In this study, three of the six dominant cultural values (the third, the fourth and the fifth most frequently occurred values), 'modernity', 'popularity' and 'social status', were all symbolic in nature. As the 'modernity' value contains the essence of advertising to promote things that are new and to encourage change rather than maintaining the status quo (Rotzoll *et al.*, 1976), it is frequently used in Hong Kong, China as well as the United States (Cheng and Schweitzer, 1996). The emphasis on 'popularity' and 'social status' values reconfirmed the importance of 'face' in Chinese societies (Bond and Hwang, 1986). To promote things that are universally recognized and accepted, or things that give the feeling of prestige and pride was very common and important in Hong Kong. The dominant values manifest in Hong Kong advertising also indicated that Hong Kong was a very westernized city in terms of consumption experience. Typical eastern cultural values such as 'family', 'respect for elderly' and 'tradition' occurred only sparingly throughout the whole study period.

The influence of product category on the manifest of cultural values was consistent with previous findings in Hong Kong (Tse, *et al.*, 1989), China (Cheng, 1994; Cheng 1996) and the United States (Cheng and Schweitzer, 1996). Previous study on information content of television commercials in Hong Kong and China also found that the use of informative or emotional appeals had much to do with the product categories advertised (Chan, 1995). The results showed that specific values were more often adopted by advertisements of specific types of products and services. However, there is no evidence that these values will be more readily accepted by the consumers. Future research is needed to investigate the effectiveness of

advertising campaigns using typical as well as non-typical cultural values for the same product categories.

When product category was controlled, there was no significant change in the manifest of the dominant cultural values of 'economy', 'modernity', 'social status' and 'convenience' over a period of fifty years. This indicated that these values had been consistently emphasized throughout the study period. The results did not indicate a rapid evolution from the use of utilitarian values to symbolic values. The changes in the cultural values have more to do with the type of products and services advertised than an underlying structural change in the adoption of communication appeals.

However, the manifest of the dominant cultural values of 'quality' and 'popularity' showed significant change over the years in addition to the change in products and services advertised. There were special emphasis on these two values in specific years. 'Quality' value occurred more frequently in 1946, 1976 and 1986. 'Popularity' value occurred more frequently in 1956 and 1966.

As most of the interaction affects of product category and year for the cultural values were not significant, the study did not support a rapid change in the use of certain values over time for a specific type of product or service advertised.

To conclude, in response to the economic and societal change in Hong Kong in the past fifty years, the types of products and services advertised had a drastic change from predominantly basic necessity goods (food and clothing) in 1946 and 1956, to durable goods in 1956 to 1976, and industrial and business services, retail and personal services and real estates in 1986 and 1996. The six dominant cultural values manifest during the period from 1946 to 1996 were 'quality', 'economy', 'modernity', 'popularity', 'social status' and 'convenience'. The set of dominant values contained both utilitarian and symbolic values that put emphasis on both product features as well as human feelings of being recognized and prestige. However, the set of

dominant values consisted of mainly western values and there was no typical eastern values. So, Hong Kong's advertising was basically endorsing western cultural values.

The manifest of cultural values depended highly on the product category. Specific types of products and services tended to use a specific set of cultural values. As a result, the change in cultural values mainly reflected the types of products/services advertised in different time periods. The manifest of cultural values was rather consistent and the study did not support a rapid shift from utilitarian values to symbolic values.

It is hoped that this content analysis can serve as a benchmark with which to compare future historical studies of cultural values of advertising in China or in other countries. Comparison of cultural values across different advertising media may also help to identify different message strategies in different media. However, one should bear in mind the limitation of the study of media contents. Findings obtained purely from advertising content do not permit extrapolations to audience's rational thought, changes in consumers' aspirations and emotions, and their values and morality. It would be a severe violation of content analysis principles to try to make inferences about changes in consumers' perceptions, attitudes, or behaviours. Study of this kind should be supplemented with surveys on consumers' preferred values and morality.

(4,389 words)

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Table 1 Conceptual definitions of cultural values

Adventure	This value suggests boldness, daring, bravery, courage, or thrill.
Beauty	This value suggests that the use of a product will enhance the loveliness, attractiveness, elegance, or handsomeness of an individual.
Collectivism	The emphasis here is on the individual in relation to others typically in the reference group. Individuals are depicted as integral parts of the group.
Competition	The emphasis here is on distinguishing a product from its counterparts by aggressive comparisons. While explicit comparisons may mention the competitor's name, implicit comparisons may use such words as "number one" or "leader."
Convenience	A product is suggested to be handy and easy to use.
Courtesy	Politeness and friendship toward the consumer are shown through the use of polished and affable language.
Economy	The inexpensive, affordable, and cost-saving nature of a product is emphasized.
Effectiveness	A product is suggested to be powerful and capable of achieving certain ends.
Enjoyment	This value suggests that a product will make its user wild with joy.
Family	The emphasis here is on the family life and family members. The commercial stresses family scenes: getting married, companionship of siblings, kinship, being at home, and suggests that a certain product is good for the whole family.
Health	This value commends that the use of a product will enhance or improve the vitality, soundness, strength, and robust of the body.
Individualism	The emphasis here is on the self-sufficiency and self-reliance of an individual or on the individual as being distinct and unlike others.
Leisure	This value suggests that the use of a product will bring one comfort or relaxation.
Magic	The emphasis here is on the miraculous effect and nature of a product, e.g., "Bewitch your man..."; "Heals like magic."
Modernity	The notion of being new, contemporary, up-to-date, and ahead of time is emphasized.
Natural	This value suggests spiritual harmony between man and nature by making references to the elements, animals, vegetables, or minerals.
Neatness	The notion of being clean and tidy is stressed.
Nurturance	This value stresses giving charity, help, protection, support, or sympathy to the weak, disabled, young, or elderly.
Patriotism	The love of and the loyalty to one's own nation inherent in the nature or in the use of a product are suggested here.

Table 1 Conceptual definitions of cultural values (Con'd)

Popularity	The focus here is on the universal recognition and acceptance of a certain product by consumers, e.g., “Best seller”; “Well-known nationwide or worldwide.”
Quality	The emphasis here is on the excellence and durability of a product, which is usually claimed to be a winner of medals or certificates awarded by a government department for its high grade or is demonstrated by the product’s excellent performance.
Respect for the elderly	The commercial displays a respect for older people by using a model of old age or asking for the opinions, recommendations, and advice of the elders.
Safety	The reliable and secure nature of a product is emphasized.
Sex	The advertisement uses glamorous and sensual models or has a background of lovers holding hands, embracing, or kissing to promote a product.
Social status	The use of a product is claimed to be able to elevate the position or rank of the user in the eyes of others. The fooling of prestige, trendsetting, and pride in the use of a product is conveyed.
Technology	Here, the advanced and sophisticated technical skills to engineer and manufacture a particular product are emphasized.
Tradition	The experience of the past, customs, and conventions are respected. The qualities of being historical, time-honored, and legendary are venerated, e.g., “With eighty years of manufacturing experience”; “It’s adapted from ancient Chinese prescriptions.”
Uniqueness	The unrivaled, incomparable, and unparalleled nature of a product is emphasized, e.g., “We’re the only one that offers you the product.”
Wealth	This value conveys the idea that being affluent, prosperous, and rich should be encouraged and suggests that a certain product or service will make the user well-off.
Wisdom	This value shows respect for knowledge, education, intelligence, expertise, or experience.
Work	This value shows respect for diligence and dedication of one’s labor and skills. A typical example is that a medication has regained a desperate patient his or her ability to work.
Youth	The worship of the younger generation is shown through the depiction of younger models. The rejuvenating benefits of the product are stressed, e.g., “Feel young again!”

Table 2 Profile of sample by year (N=600)

Product category	1946 %*	1956 %*	1966 %*	1976 %*	1986 %*	1996 %*	Total N	Total %	F- value	Sign. level
Car and durable	6	30	31	33	18	8	126	21	9.4	0.0001
Leisure, travel and catering services	20	16	17	20	19	15	107	18	0.3	N.S.
Real estate	0	2	9	13	12	40	76	13	22.0	0.0001
Retail and personal services	11	10	8	10	19	14	72	12	1.5	N.S.
Pharmaceuticals and personal items	23	17	12	3	8	6	69	12	5.6	0.0001
Industrial goods and business services	2	4	6	11	18	15	56	9	5.0	0.0005
Food and drink	18	10	14	4	1	2	49	8	6.7	0.0001
Beauty, clothing and household goods	20	11	3	6	5	0	45	8	7.7	0.0001
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	600	100		

* Percentage is the same as the number of advertisements as 100 advertisements are coded per year.

Table 3 Cultural values by year

Cultural value	Total number of occurrence		1946	1956	1966	1976	1986	1996	F-value	Sign. level
	N	%	%	%	%	%	%			
Quality	222	37.0	45	32	23	43	43	36	3.12	0.01
Economy	189	31.5	24	18	27	40	37	43	4.71	0.0005
Modernity	108	18.0	16	25	23	14	18	12	1.77	NS
Popularity	97	16.2	19	25	22	14	9	8	3.66	0.005
Social status	79	13.2	5	13	14	12	15	20	2.09	NS
Convenience	61	10.2	10	10	10	11	11	9	0.06	NS
Competition	52	8.7	4	10	13	9	6	10	1.30	NS
Effectiveness	52	8.7	16	11	5	4	9	7	2.49	0.05
Leisure	49	8.2	6	4	11	6	8	14	1.85	NS
Uniqueness	43	7.2	5	4	9	9	11	5	1.23	NS
Safety	34	5.7	4	8	3	5	7	7	0.72	NS
Tradition	33	5.5	3	3	8	8	4	7	1.13	NS
Technology	29	4.8	3	8	8	6	3	1	1.87	NS
Health	27	4.5	13	5	7	0	0	2	6.08	0.0001
Magic	22	3.7	9	8	4	0	1	0	4.74	0.0005
Wealth	16	2.7	1	1	2	0	2	10	5.37	0.0001
Family	15	2.5	6	1	1	5	1	1	2.28	0.05
Enjoyment	14	2.3	1	5	1	3	3	1	1.17	NS
Wisdom	14	2.3	0	1	0	4	6	3	2.60	0.05
Courtesy	13	2.2	1	1	2	5	3	1	1.21	NS
Beauty	11	1.8	3	3	1	1	2	1	0.53	NS
Sex	6	1.0	1	2	2	0	1	0	0.81	NS
Neatness	4	0.7	0	1	2	1	0	0	1.01	NS
Adventure	3	0.5	1	1	1	0	0	0	0.60	NS
Collectivism	2	0.3	2	0	0	0	0	0	2.02	NS
Patriotism	2	0.3	2	0	0	0	0	0	2.02	NS
Nurturance	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.00	NS
Respect for elderly	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.00	NS
Youth	1	0.2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1.00	NS
Individualism	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	--
Natural	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	--
Work	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	--

NS: not significant at 0.05 level

Table 4 Cultural values by product category

Cultural value	Total number of occurrence		DU	FD	BC	IB	LC	PP	RE	RP	F-value	Sign. level
	N	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Quality	222	37.0	48	43	53	39	26	13	39	39	5.2	0.0001
Economy	189	31.5	24	14	40	32	31	4	47	61	11.8	0.0001
Modernity	108	18.0	26	4	20	23	18	17	9	18	2.5	0.05
Popularity	97	16.2	17	33	16	9	20	14	13	10	2.3	0.05
Social status	79	13.2	12	12	7	2	16	1	38	10	9.3	0.0001
Convenience	61	10.2	8	16	7	30	7	9	3	11	5.2	0.0001
Competition	52	8.7	14	12	7	9	10	3	3	7	1.9	NS
Effectiveness	52	8.7	2	6	13	2	0	48	0	8	31.4	0.0001
Leisure	49	8.2	5	0	2	0	17	0	25	7	9.2	0.0001
Uniqueness	43	7.2	10	4	4	9	11	3	5	4	1.3	NS
Safety	34	5.7	6	2	4	9	7	7	3	4	0.7	NS
Tradition	33	5.5	5	6	0	9	8	10	0	4	1.9	NS
Technology	29	4.8	15	2	7	4	0	1	0	4	6.2	0.0001
Health	27	4.5	1	18	2	0	0	23	0	0	16.4	0.0001
Magic	22	3.7	0	4	2	0	0	28	0	0	23.0	0.0001
Wealth	16	2.7	2	0	0	5	0	0	12	3	5.1	0.0001
Family	15	2.5	2	6	2	4	2	6	0	1	1.3	0.05
Enjoyment	14	2.3	2	4	0	2	5	1	1	1	0.8	NS
Wisdom	14	2.3	2	0	0	11	1	0	1	6	3.8	0.0005
Courtesy	13	2.2	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	9.6	0.0001
Beauty	11	1.8	0	4	11	0	1	4	0	0	4.8	0.0001
Sex	6	1.0	0	2	0	0	5	0	0	0	2.9	0.01
Neatness	4	0.7	0	2	2	2	0	1	0	0	1.0	NS
Adventure	3	0.5	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	2.0	NS
Collectivism	2	0.3	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.3	0.005
Patriotism	2	0.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2.2	0.05
Nurturance	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.1	NS
Respect for elderly	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0.7	NS
Youth	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1.1	NS
Individualism	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	--
Natural	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	--
Work	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	--

DU= Automobiles and durables

LC= Leisure, travel and catering services

FD= Food and drink

PP= Pharmaceuticals and personal items

BC= Beauty, clothing and household goods

RE= Real estate

IB= Industrial goods and business services

RP= Retail and personal services

NS: not significant at 0.05 level

Table 5 Two-way ANOVA of effects of product category and year in manifest of cultural values

Cultural value	Total number of occurrence		Sign. of interaction effect	Product category		Year		Full Sign. level	Model R square (%)
	N	%		Partial F-value	Sign. level	Partial F-value	Sign. level		
	Quality	222		37.0	0.05	5.5	0.0001		
Economy	189	31.5	N.S.	12.1	0.0001	1.9	NS	0.0001	20.2
Modernity	108	18.0	0.05	2.6	0.05	1.7	NS	0.005	12.1
Popularity	97	16.2	N.S.	2.3	0.05	2.6	0.05	0.05	10.6
Social status	79	13.2	N.S.	9.2	0.0001	0.7	NS	0.0001	14.4
Convenience	61	10.2	N.S.	5.1	0.0001	0.1	NS	0.05	10.2
Competition	52	8.7	N.S.	1.9	NS	1.3	NS	NS	7.4
Effectiveness	52	8.7	0.05	32.3	0.0001	0.9	NS	0.0001	33.7
Leisure	49	8.2	N.S.	9.2	0.0001	0.8	NS	0.0001	15.2
Uniqueness	43	7.2	N.S.	1.3	NS	0.9	NS	NS	7.0
Safety	34	5.7	N.S.	0.8	NS	0.8	NS	NS	9.0
Tradition	33	5.5	0.0001	2.1	0.05	2.0	NS	0.0001	16.1
Technology	29	4.8	N.S.	6.3	0.0001	0.7	NS	0.001	13.4
Health	27	4.5	0.05	16.9	0.0001	1.7	NS	0.0001	24.1
Magic	22	3.7	N.S.	23.6	0.0001	1.4	NS	0.0001	28.2
Wealth	16	2.7	N.S.	5.3	0.0001	2.4	0.05	0.0001	14.4
Family	15	2.5	N.S.	1.3	NS	2.0	NS	NS	8.1
Enjoyment	14	2.3	N.S.	0.7	NS	1.2	NS	NS	6.6
Wisdom	14	2.3	0.05	4.0	0.0005	1.3	NS	0.0005	13.2
Courtesy	13	2.2	N.S.	9.5	0.0001	1.2	NS	0.0001	14.6
Beauty	11	1.8	0.0001	5.4	0.0001	0.4	NS	0.0001	21.3
Sex	6	1.0	N.S.	2.8	0.01	0.8	NS	NS	9.0
Neatness	4	0.7	0.0001	1.2	NS	1.5	NS	0.0001	19.7
Adventure	3	0.5	N.S.	1.9	NS	0.7	NS	NS	5.2
Collectivism	2	0.3	N.S.	3.3	0.005	1.5	NS	0.05	10.8
Patriotism	2	0.3	N.S.	2.2	0.05	1.5	NS	NS	8.4
Nurturance	1	0.2	N.S.	1.0	NS	1.1	NS	NS	7.0
Respect for elderly	1	0.2	N.S.	0.7	NS	1.3	NS	NS	6.5
Youth	1	0.2	N.S.	1.1	NS	1.1	NS	NS	8.2

Full model is an additive model of the main effects of product category and year, and their interaction

NS: not significant at 0.05 level

