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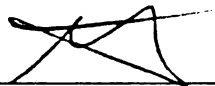
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL VALUES
REFLECTED IN CHILDREN'S TV COMMERCIALS
BETWEEN
THE U.S. AND CHINA

presented by

RUHUI NI

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for the

Ph. D. degree in Educational Psychology and
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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL VALUES REFLECTED IN
CHILDREN'S TV COMMERCIALS BETWEEN
THE U.S. AND CHINA

By

Ruhui Ni

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Educational Psychology and Educational Technology

2009

ABSTRACT

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL VALUES REFLECTED IN CHILDREN'S TV COMMERCIALS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHINA

By

Ruhui Ni

The disparities in students' academic achievement and differences in various aspects of educational systems and practices across countries have been found in international comparison studies during the past few decades and have drawn increasingly attention. In order to further understand both the observable differences in various aspects of education, and how these differences might be contributing to the achievement gap between the U.S. and China, this study examined the differences of the larger societal contexts where schools and educational practices are deeply embedded in by investigating the similarities and differences in educational values— cultural values associated with child rearing and education— between the U.S. and China.

Hofstede's cultural dimension is adopted as the main theoretical framework.

Children's TV commercials were employed as a specific provider of educational values.

Comparisons were drawn based on the analyses of the messaging embedded in children's TV commercials in each country.

It is found that the value of formal schooling and children's academic achievement receives much higher emphasis in China than in the U.S. For the general cultural values concerning children and education, the values of individualism, independence, uniqueness, enjoyment, modernity, adventure and magic are emphasized more in the U.S. than in China, whereas the values of group consensus, affiliation, family, patriotism, popularity, veneration of elderly, tradition, tamed, appearance, and social status are emphasized more in China than in the U.S. Children and young people receive high attention both in Chinese and American society.

The finding of this study has its implication by suggesting a more comprehensive perspective to understand and interpret the existent students' academic achievement gap across countries. In addition, the conclusion of this study provide important cautions that should concerned by education reformers and policy makers who advocate borrowing ideas and practices from countries of different cultures.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It took me six years to complete the doctoral program at Michigan State University. I have been very fortunate to have all those professors and friends beside me to help me along the process, and also make these six years unforgettable.

I am deeply indebted to my academic advisor, Dr. Yong Zhao, who has served as a role model with his enthusiasm for educational research, his dedication to academic career, and his broad range of interests in related academic areas. I have been lucky to be introduced to some interesting fields and have been eyes-opened by him through taking his courses, reading books he recommended, as well as through informal talking with him. I am grateful for his guidance, support, and all kinds of influence on me.

I would like to thank Dr. David Wong for his constant support and encouragement. I appreciate his sincere advice throughout my graduate studies. I would also like to thank Dr. William Schmidt for his help and advice with my dissertation, as well as his guidance on statistic analysis in general through his courses. I want to thank Dr. Jack Schwille who has helped me with my dissertation and have encouraged me in different ways during my graduate studies.

I am very grateful for Mr. Ken Dirkin who has helped me with data collection of the U.S. part. Without his help, finishing this study would have been impossible. My good friend and former colleague in Beijing, Fei Li has helped me with data collection of the China part. I want to thank her as well for her contribution to this study. I must acknowledge another important person who has helped me with the dissertation too, Mr.

Xuyang Yao. I want to thank him for the support he has provided me.

I want to thank Xi Chen for all the happy gatherings and for her great influence on me. From her, I learned how to take positive attitudes towards life. I want to thank Jing Lei for her constant support, encouragement and valuable friendship. I also want to thank my friends with whom I have been studying and working together for years: Chun Lai, Bo Yan, Wei Qiu, Gaoming Zhang, Naiyi Xie, Yi Ma and others. They have had influences on my life one way or another. I appreciate their support along the way. I am also very appreciative to Dave Dai, Lisa Payne for providing various resources and helping me solve all kinds of problems.

I would very like to thank my parents, Mingjian Ni and Anan Jin who have given me the maximum freedom to explore my life and to follow my passion. I am deeply grateful for their endless love and support. Finally, I want to specially thank Xiaodong Zhu, who entered my life late, but has accompanied me all the way through the hardest time of dissertation. I can never thank him enough for what he has brought into my life.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This study is about educational values— a core component of educational culture. The main goal of this study is to discover the similarities and differences in educational values between the U.S. and China. The differing policies and practices of each country's educational system have yielded different outcomes, generated quite a discrepancy, and raised a lot of questions. This study examines television commercials as a specific provider of educational values, and draws comparisons between the messaging embedded in children's television commercials in each country.

Why Investigate Educational Values

Better Understanding Differences in Academic Achievement

In the last few decades, a variety of large-scale, cross-national studies on students' academic achievement have drawn global attention (Baker & LeTendre, 2005; Schmidt, McKnight, Cogan, Jakmerth, & Houang, 1999; Schmidt, McKnight, & Raizen, 1997; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992). Studies including TIMMS and PISA have informed people about the educational differences between countries. Widely noticed, most of these international comparison studies showed that American students underperformed in various tests in comparison with their counterparts from other countries (e.g. Schmidt et al., 1999; Stevenson, 1993). These findings have aroused significant concern from researchers, policy makers and educators, as well as the U.S. public at large.

While the international comparisons revealed the disparities in academic achievement between the U.S. and other countries, educators and researchers have made great efforts to discern possible reasons and search for explanations for the achievement

differences. Many aspects of education have been scrutinized, and differences have been found, including differences in textbooks and curriculum (Schmidt et al., 1999; Schmidt et al., 1997; J. Stigler & Perry, 1990; Suter, 2000), variability in teachers and teaching (Baker & LeTendre, 2005; K. Cheng & Wong, 1996; Schmidt et al., 1996; Schmidt et al., 1999; Schmidt et al., 1997; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992; J. W. Stigler & Hiebert, 1999; J. W. Stigler, Lee, & Stevenson, 1987; Jian Wang & Lin, 2005), influences of parental and family beliefs (Hess & Azuma, 1991; Holloway et al., 1990; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992; D. B. Wang, 2004; Jian Wang & Lin, 2005), school organization (Peak, 1991; Stedman, 1994; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992), and student's self-concept and motivation (Bempechat & Drago-Severson, 1999; Bempechat & Elliott, 2002). These investigations, aimed at explaining the achievement differences and informing policymakers and educators about how to improve our educational system, have focused on revealing how various aspects of educational practices differ between the U.S. and other countries, with particular emphasis on top-performing nations.

Despite the strong focus on identifying the differences themselves, there has been comparatively little effort to address the larger question of specifically why these differences in various aspects of educational practices exist. For instance, TIMSS (Schmidt et al., 1999; Schmidt et al., 1997) reported that some top-performing countries and regions such as Singapore, Japan, Korea and Hong Kong routinely implement a centralized curriculum system, whereas U.S. schools adopt a decentralized system with splintered visions that are reflected in highly variable curricula, textbooks, and instructional strategies. While it remains an empirical question whether and how the differences in curriculum systems contribute to achievement gaps, there is a more

significant question yet to be asked, let alone answered: Why do the curriculum systems differ between the U.S. and these East Asian countries?

Similarly, this same question could be raised for any of the identified areas of difference: Why do teachers from other countries embrace different teaching philosophy, teach with different methods, and work in different ways with their colleagues compared with those in the U.S.? Why are American schools' organizational structures different than that from other countries? Why do American parents hold different expectations for their children's academic outcome and make various degrees of involvement in children's school work in contrast with parents from other countries? These questions and others like them have led researchers to realize that identifying the areas of difference themselves does not sufficiently address the question.

Identifying both the areas of difference and the reasons that could possibly contribute to those differences is the more meaningful path of inquiry. The answers to the questions of why could be crucial to better understand the differences in academic achievement and various aspects of education found in international comparison studies.

Example of the U.S. and China

Schools do not exist in vacuum, but are deeply rooted in a larger societal context in every country. How the end and means of education are perceived and shared by societal members, and how the structure and functioning of educational system work in a society are largely determined by a society's social, economical, political, and cultural orientation. As McAdams (1993) pointed out, the most basic cultural influence on the school is the attitude that the general society displays toward the rearing and education of children (1993, p. 288). In other words, the attitudes, beliefs and values concerning child

rearing and education shared by the society play an important role in understanding the role and status of education in a society.

For example, China and the U.S. vary greatly in their respective cultures concerning their notions about childhood and how to conduct education. Berliner and Biddle (1995) suggest that American's hold some unique attitudes toward children's education and the American educational system. For instance, Americans are generally known to think that children should have a wide variety of experiences and it is worthwhile for young people to gain work experience and to learn how to handle their own money. They also pointed out that Americans are profoundly committed to breadth of education and American teenagers may have more nonacademic interests and a wider knowledge base than do students from countries that stress narrow academic concerns. Moreover, Americans like their children to be creative, to be spontaneous, to be socially responsive and friendly, and to challenge unreasonable authority. It is discussed by Berliner and Biddle too that American society, in which schools are designed to promote these qualities in children is not likely to equally emphasize some other qualities that might be conducive to generate high level academic achievement. Thus, the academic achievement is not the only, or the most important pursuit in children's education.

In contrast, Chinese people think that academic achievement should be the most important aspect of a child's education (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992). For the sake of higher performance, children's nonacademic interests could be easily neglected. Chinese children are less likely to spend time on gaining work experiences, for example, as they are considered not likely to benefit students in getting higher scores on examinations. Moreover, being creative or spontaneous does not sound bad, but it has been mostly

compromised in favor of the more dominant value that opposes overt challenges of teachers, the elderly and other authority figures in China's society. In short, the U.S. and China differ on the attitudes that shape child rearing and education. These cultural differences are expressed not only through people's attitudes and beliefs, but are made manifest in various aspects of education system.

Many have recognized collectivism vs. individualism as one of the most important cultural differences between the U.S. and China (e.g. Hofstede, 1984). Collectivism has long been a dominant cultural value in East Asian countries, including China, Japan, Korea and Singapore. Its influence has permeated every field in their societies, and education is no exception. Chinese culture, with a typical emphasis on collectivism, places collective goals ahead of personal goals, emphasizes harmony between the individual and the group, and encourages individual sacrifice for the sake of group benefit. Moreover, presenting a sharp contrast to the U.S., Chinese society is very hierarchical, built upon strict, many-layered hierarchies by which every societal member is expected to abide. As a result, centralization is the standard for most social institutions including education. The educational system in China and its practices at various levels are highly centralized and unified, which in turn supports a centralized curriculum system as well as standardized textbooks, assessment, school structure, and even teaching practice.

By contrast the culture of freedom, individualism, and independence are much more emphasized in the U.S., which results in a distinctive model of local control as the hallmark of its educational system. As Schmidt et al (1999) describes, "US tradition in public education has long reflected shared responsibility for educational goals and

policies – responsibilities shared by local school district, states, and to a lesser extent, federal agencies” (1999, p. 187). Schmidt et al (1999) noted:

One practical result of this tradition of shared responsibility and decentralized education policy is distributed educational decision-making. Educational decision-making is decentralized and that this is a characteristic, structural, and systemic feature of US education, which had the consequences that directly affect the quality of education. (p. 191)

The emphasis on local control is reflective of American educational practice as well as national beliefs and values (Schmidt et al., 1999, p. 191). In the U.S., each school district has its own preference on textbook selection and curriculum, each school district has their own criteria of and makes their own decision on teacher recruiting, each school can set up their own “bell schedule” without consulting any higher authority, and so on. This model vastly differs from that of the highly centralized Chinese model and is one of the major differences between the two countries with regard to educational philosophy.

Likewise, differences in the approach to collaboration among teachers can also be interpreted through the lens of cultural differences. Teachers in East Asian countries such as Japan and China are formally organized to work together, study the curriculum and prepare lesson plans together (Paine, 1997; Paine & Ma, 1993; Jian Wang & Paine, 2003). They routinely organize public lesson which invite teachers to observe their colleagues’ teaching, critique each other’s classroom practice, and analyze student learning collaboratively. In this sense, teaching in China is not perceived as an independent profession, but as a collaborative discipline that is continually engaged in collaborative research and scholarship in their discipline. In the U.S., teaching is viewed as an independent profession with which privacy and autonomy are expected. It is very hard, if

not impossible, to organize formal collective activities for teachers, and observation and critique other teacher's work is rare and often avoided.

Furthermore, the difference in the role of parents, parental belief and parental involvement is another aspect that may contribute to differences in educational outcomes across nations. Many researchers have noted that Chinese parents place a high value on education, hold a higher expectation for children's achievement, and involve themselves in their children's school work to a larger extent than American parents. Furthermore, Chinese parents view children's achievement primarily in terms of their academic achievement. By contrast, American parents place less emphasis on the significance of children's academic skills but highly value children's social skills and self-esteem. American parents also express higher degrees of satisfaction with their children's academic achievement and tend to establish lower standards for academic outcomes than Chinese parents (Chao, 1995, 1996; Chen, Lee, & Stevenson, 1996; Crystal et al., 1994; Hess, Chih-Mei, & McDevitt, 1987; Huntsinger, Jose, Liaw, & Ching, 1997; D. B. Wang, 2004).

Parental values and beliefs are actually a reflection of values endorsed collectively by societies in which they live. Traditionally, education has long been highly valued and treated with importance in Chinese society. For more than one thousand years, academic success through Imperial Examination System has been the only path to upward mobility at the ladder of social class. Moreover, while the standardized and unified academic examination has been the assessment and selection criterion exclusively in education, the success in education has been transformed to the success in academic examination. Therefore, Chinese parents tend to place a high value on education, make higher

investments in their children's education, and conduct more direct interventions in their children's schooling and learning. American society, by contrast, advocates the value of pursuit and realization of individual capacities and talents, and thus tends to emphasize more diverse opportunities for individual success. The result is an American educational focus that places strong emphasis on the diversity and the breadth of children's experiences. Academic achievement is still considered important, but it has never been a unique index or exclusive prediction of an American child's future. Thus, American parents tend to place a lower value on children's academic achievement than other aspects of the child's development.

In summary, the variations of cultural influence on education across different societies impact notions about childhood, attitudes toward child rearing, beliefs about education, and perceptions about how to structure and conduct education. Consequently, these unique societal perceptions result in the observable differences in the structure and function of educational institutions, educational practices and outcomes. Therefore continued examination of the difference in cultural values regarding child rearing and education might provide a more comprehensive perspective to understand both the observable differences in various aspects of education and how these differences might be contributing to the achievement gap between the two countries.

Informing Educational Reforms

The purpose of cross-national comparisons is not merely to learn who is a stronger or weaker performer, but to explore why the gap exists, and to explain what the underlying reasons for the gap might be. Educators and policy makers want to be informed about effective instructional practices both within their own countries and in

others. The goal is always to promote the highest possible achievements for student learning, and taking cultural values into consideration is beneficial to this central issue of comparative studies in education.

The U.S. and China are two countries that are trying to learn from each other. While the Chinese government attempts to reduce the negative influence of its centralized education system, and foster innovative competency and creativity in Chinese students, the U.S. government is trying to issue more centralized standards to control the quality of schooling through government intervention in state education policy. It appears that two governments are reforming their respective educational systems in nearly opposite directions to achieve their goals, and each is borrowing experience and models from the other as they do so.

Educational reform and improvement is actualized through policy intervention in schooling practice. It is important to remain cognizant of the highly sociocultural nature of education and the degree to which educational values are a reflection of the culture, because policy interventions borrowed from abroad may carry various levels of compatibility with the cultural underpinnings of a given society (K. Cheng, 1998). The process of borrowing educational practices from another society implies to some extent an acceptance of cultural values embedded in the particular practices, and this is something that may have to be mediated within the new setting. Cheng (1998) notes that the adoption of educational policies and practices from abroad could result in a shift in the receiving society's value system. The receiving society may not be prepared or unable to undertake such a fundamental change despite the desired improvement in education outcomes, such as students' achievement.

Therefore, serious questions must be raised to educators and policymakers about the extent to which a society can be expected to adjust its values to achieve its educational goals. It is important to gain an understanding of the similarities and differences in cultural values, particularly the values concerning education and child rearing between the U.S. and other countries of interest. Currently, this is an area that has not been sufficiently explored, and there is little empirical research related to the issue of cultural values within education and their role in shaping conceptions of academic achievement.

Why Compare the U.S. and China

The current study is aimed at comparing cultural values associated with child rearing and education between the U.S. and China. As aforementioned, The U.S. and China vary to a great extent in their cultural values (Hofstede, 2001). Pairing U.S. and China as research counterparts accounts for the majority of comparative studies, which are not only limited in educational research area, but prevail in other research fields as well. Cheng and Schweitzer's (1996) observation in their examination on advertising in the U.S. and China indicates that China serves as an important counterpart of U.S., whether considering the economic situation, ideological reality or social cultures. While the United State is regarded as typical Western culture, China is considered as a representative of Eastern culture, which makes the comparison between U.S. and China an examination of great importance that can influence not only the two nations themselves, but others as well.

Moreover, China is one of the countries that have outperformed the U.S. in many measures of academic achievement. A considerable number of cross-national comparison

studies on student's academic achievement have focused on the difference between U.S. and China, and China tends to prevail in nearly all areas (Stevenson, 1993; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992; Jianjun Wang, 1996; Jian Wang & Lin, 2005). Wang (1996) listed a series of studies centered on the U.S. vs. China comparison conducted from 1989 to 1996. Although some of large-scale comparison studies recruit Japan, Korea, Singapore or other Asian countries as counterparts of U.S., it is acknowledged that these countries are strongly influenced by Confucianism, for which China is regarded as its headstream and the most representative country of its manifestation.

How Does This Study Investigate Values?

To compare the cultural values between the U.S. and China, this study adopted Hofstede's (2001) theory of cultural dimensions as its theoretical framework. Moreover, this study employed content analysis of children's TV commercials to measure and compare cultural values in the context of education between the U.S. and China. Both the theoretical framework and the content analysis method will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. Based on the data collected in children's TV commercials from both countries, the study seeks the answer of the following research question:

What are the similarities and differences between the U.S. and China in cultural values as reflected by children's TV commercials which provide one manifestation of the cultural context surrounding education?

This investigation will not only benefit further understanding of the achievement gaps and educational differences between the U.S. and China, but will also be significant

to policymakers and educational practitioners in the U.S. who have attempted to learn and borrow ideas, practices and policies from China to improve American education.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework that guides this comparative study examining the similarities and differences in cultural values manifested in educational contexts between the U.S. and China. This review of the literature will address the constructs of value and cultural values, the ways in which cultural values have been investigated in the literature and how these values have been measured and compared internationally. In addition, the selected methodology of the study is discussed with particular emphasis on Hofstede's work on cultural dimensions and how they differ from one country to the next.

Definition of Value

Value has been an important concept receiving sustained attention and investigation in various research fields. The centrality of the value concept in social science is proclaimed by Rokeach (1973), a prominent scholar whose work has been focused on human values:

The value concept, more than any other, should occupy a central position across all the social sciences—sociology, anthropology, psychology, psychiatry, political science, education, economics, and history. More than any other concept, it is an intervening variable that shows promise of being able to unify the apparently diverse interests of all the sciences concerned with human behavior. (1973, p. 3)

A similar stand has been taken by sociologists and anthropologists as well (e.g. Kluckhohn, 1951; Williams, 1968). To begin this theoretical literature review, value and cultural values, the key constructs used in this study needs to be defined and explicated.

The most widely cited and recognized definition of value is from Rokeach (1973): “A *value* is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state

of existence” (1973, p. 5). To say a person has a value is to say that he has an enduring belief with the above quality. Kluckhohn (1951; 1967) defined a value as: “a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of actions”. Hofstede (2001, p. 5) gives an simplified version of Kluckhohn’s, which is also in line with Rokeach’s: a value is “a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others” (p. 5).

Basically, a value is construed as a concept of beliefs about certain desirable or preferable states or behaviors. Moreover, Rokeach (1973) differentiated the concepts of value and attitude by pointing out that a value transcends objects and situations, whereas an attitude is focused on some specified object or situation. In addition, a person has values organized into hierarchical structures and substructures, and this creates what is known as a value system. In this sense, a value system is: “an enduring organization of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance” (Rokeach, 1973, p. 5). In other words, a value system is an ordered set of values which form a system of value priority. Often a person is confronted with a situation which activates two or more values that may be in conflict with one another. For example, a person may have to choose between behaving obediently or behaving in an opposite way. In these instances a person’s value system “represent[s] a learned organization of rules for making choices and for resolving conflicts—between two or more modes of behavior or between two or more end-state existence” (Rokeach, 1968, p. 161).

Moreover, as Kluckhohn suggested that values exert influence on people's choices, Rokeach also emphasized that values serve as the criteria people use to guide the selection, justification and the evaluation of behaviors, self and others, and events. Therefore, values are considered "determinants of virtually all kinds of human behaviors that could be called social behavior or social actions, attitudes and ideology, evaluations, moral judgments and justifications of self and others, comparisons of self with others, presentations of self to others, and attempts to influence others" (Rokeach, 1973, p. 24).

As Schwartz and his colleagues noted, although there are a large number of definitions of human values from the literature, five features are common to most of the definitions: From all sources, there is agreement that values are:

1. Concepts of beliefs,
2. Focused on desirable end states or behaviors,
3. Intended to transcend specific actions and situations,
4. Standards to guide selection or evaluation of behavior, people and events, and
5. Ordered by importance relative to one another (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987; Smith & Schwartz, 1997).

Cultural Values

With a definition of values in place, the focus then shifts to how one defines cultural values. Values can be held by individuals as well as collectively (Hofstede, 2001, p. 5). Rokeach and Kluckhohn both suggested, in their definitions of value, that the establishment of values and the creation of a values system is not a wholly individual act,

but that holding and sharing a set of values and establishing a common value system is also common among groups of people.

People share certain values within their cultural groups, and they differ from other cultural groups by holding different sets or structures of values, or adopting different value systems. Smith and Schwartz (1997) explicated the difference between individual-level and cultural-level value analysis by noting that for individuals, values represent the motivational goals that serve as guiding principles in their lives, and the value priorities of individuals represent central goals that relate to all aspects of behavior. When values are used to characterize cultures, what is sought are the socially shared, abstract ideas about what is good, right, and desirable in a society or other bound cultural group.

Therefore, we consider cultural values as a set of values and its associated value system that shared largely by a group of people which can be distinguished from people in another group by their different cultures. The concept of cultural values does not necessarily imply that all members from one culture share the same values to the same degree, but it does imply that members will be more likely to share the common values, and express those values collectively.

Furthermore, the value priorities prevalent in a society are a key element, and are perhaps the most central expression of its culture (Smith & Schwartz, 1997). A well-known anthropological consensus definition of culture holds

Culture consists in patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consist of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values. (Kluckhohn, 1951)

This definition affirms that culture includes values, and systems of values are a core element of culture. The relationship between values and culture has enabled the examination on values as a way of understanding cultures (Smith & Schwartz, 1997). The differences in cultural values could therefore serve as a primary indicator to reveal the cultural differences across groups of people, nations, societies and cultures.

Measuring Cultural Values

Self-report Survey Method

Self-report surveys are the most common method employed to gather information about individual and cultural values. Structured questionnaires are used by researchers to ask people directly about their endorsement of particular values, and the survey questions are often presented as single words, short phrases, or paragraphs describing a general goal orientation. Almost all contemporary cross-cultural studies of values use survey methodology which asks participants to either rate the importance of a standard set of values as guiding principles in their lives (e.g. Schwartz, 1992, 1999), or to rank the relative importance or preference for these values (e.g. Rokeach, 1973, 1979).

Smith and Schwartz (1997) noted that the members of each cultural group share many value-relevant social experiences and they come to accept similar cultural values. As a result, the average value priorities of societal members reflect the “central thrust of their shared enculturation”. These average value priorities therefore are used to suggest the underlying common cultural values. Based on this assumption, participants in cultural values studies are asked to assess and report their own values according to their own beliefs; and then researchers aggregate each participant’s independent judgments and use

the mean to represent the values of the culture that the participants come from, i.e. the average of individual value priorities becomes the measurement of the prevailing culture values. Thus cross-cultural comparisons are conducted based on the aggregated self-reported individual responses on each value or on some sets of values (e.g. Hofstede, 1984, 1994, 2001; Peng, Nisbett, & Wong, 1997; Schwartz, 1992, 1999; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987).

The use of aggregated data runs the risk of losing nuance within the collected data. This is one of several potential disadvantages of using a self-report survey to measure and compare cultural values. As Hitlin and Piliavin (2004) pointed out, measuring values, like measuring many social psychological concepts, is imperfect. Peng et al (1997) indicated that some factors which could affect the validity of survey method, such as the content of value surveys and the representativeness of survey samples, are easy to recognize. Some others are less obvious due to the individual cognitive process generated by the survey methodology. Because the self-report responses about attitude or value are subjective products of an individual's mental constructive process, the results of these mental processes are subject to various individual heuristics, biases, and errors.

The influence of response bias arising from the subjectivity of self-report survey method is a known issue with the approach. For example, when using value rating to examine people's values, there is a tendency for some participants to rate all values more or less important regardless of content, which could impair the validity of the measurement to a large degree. Furthermore, in a self-report survey, the evaluation of one's own beliefs of values is likely to be influenced in part by social comparisons, which can make their responses more relative than empirical. Additionally, people often

express deprivation-based preferences during a self-report survey. In other words, people often state stronger preferences for something they lack than they do for things they have. Because the perception of deprivation is also relative, it might also produce misleading expression of values preference (Peng et al., 1997).

De Mooij (1994) has also noted the problem of inconsistency between values and behavior, observing that when people are asked to state a preference among alternative values, their answers should not be taken too literally because in practice, people will not always act according to their answers. This problem plagues attitude researchers as well (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; Schuman, 1995).

In addition, using self-report surveys to compare values cross-culturally could give rise to, and even aggravate, the response bias. Respondents from different cultures may vary in the way they typically respond to rating scale formats in a survey. For example, people from one culture may tend to use more extreme responses, while members of another culture may use more moderate response. This response bias makes researcher confront a tough problem of determining whether the observed variance in result is from the artifact induced by the measurement or could be understood as true differences in cultural values (Smith & Schwartz, 1997).

Finally, researchers may confront the problem of meaning equivalence, whereby interpretations of the values presented in a survey may or may not have the same meaning in different cultures. When participants are asked to rate or rank a set of abstract broad values as guiding principles in their lives, their interpretations of these values could be very different among members of different cultures. Thus, the discussion of value

preference or relative importance at both abstract and general levels could be misleading (Peng et al., 1997; Smith & Schwartz, 1997).

In summary, self-report surveys are convenient, but pose multiple disadvantages, and these disadvantages are difficult to offset. The criticism of self-report survey does not suggest that rating or ranking method cannot have cross-cultural validity. In fact, self-report survey is still the most adopted method to measure and compare cultural values. However, the implicit limitations of the approach must be considered, and additional methods of inquiry should be used whenever possible.

An Alternative Method to Measure Cultural Values

Given the implicit limitations of self-report surveys, the identification of alternative methods for measuring cultural values is important to gathering useful and accurate data about this phenomenon. To move beyond self-report, the researcher is required to seek avenues of observation that do not require direct, conscious input from the subjects of the study. Hofstede (2001) elucidated two types of strategies for measuring observable phenomena from which underlying values can be inferred. Hofstede defined observable phenomena as the behaviors or outcomes of behavior can be categorized as either provoked or natural, and are overt and therefore subject to direct observation. In this model, content analysis of speeches, documents and other types of cultural artifacts and products created by subjects of interest can be used as products of naturally occurring behaviors that evolve organically and without researcher intervention. This approach makes cultural artifacts and cultural products the focus of the inquiry rather than the individuals themselves.

Researchers have also noted the problem of accessibility, which means individual persons and cultural spokespersons may not have conscious access to abstract definitions of values and value systems (Hechter, 1993; Zavalloni, 1980). Thus, inferring values indirectly from culture products is an alternative adopted by cross-cultural researchers (Smith & Schwartz, 1997; Williams, 1968, p. 285). Though it is theoretically sound to infer values from cultural products like movies or literature, and practically feasible, few cross-cultural value studies have adopted this method to measure and compare cultural values. Most researchers ask people about their values directly, following the survey tradition initiated by Rokeach (Smith & Schwartz, 1997).

One of the intentions of the current study is to experiment with the alternative measurement of cultural values in order to avoid the possible vulnerabilities in survey method, and to test the validity of the new method. The content analysis method, therefore, is adopted in the present study to examine and compare values cross-culturally. The cultural artifact chosen for content analysis in this study is television advertisement. Unlike in survey methodology, the subjects of content analysis are not people, but advertisements which could appear on newspapers, magazines, radio, TV, the internet or any kind of mass media. Specifically, television advertisements have been selected as target subjects for this study in light of the popularity and great influence of TV as a mass media. Since the advertising analysis deals with advertisements instead of human beings, the disadvantages of subjectivity embedded in the self-report survey method could be counterbalanced. As television advertising is the selected focus for this study, it is appropriate to discuss why and how content analysis of advertising could serve as a valid method to measure and compare cultural values, and how it has been used in the past.

Advertising as a “Mirror” of Cultural Values

Advertising, as a type of mass media, is a product of social culture. Researchers argue that, in the post-industrial age, in addition to family, religious institutions, universities, judicial courts and other institutions, mass media has become another influential institution that both reflects and facilitates the transmission of cultural values (H. Cheng, 1994; Pollay, 1983; Srikanth, 1991). Within mass media, advertising has emerged as the major institution that is considered as both the portrayal and transmission of cultural values.

Many have argued and agreed that advertising has a reflective quality. McCracken (1987, p. 122) noted the nature of advertising is the “conduit through which meanings are constantly transferred from the culturally constituted world to the consumer good”. McLuhan (1964) stated that “... the ads of our time are the richest and faithful daily reflections that any society ever made of its entire range of activities”. Advertising serves as a dual societal role which is both a collective expression of the society’s culture and an active agent to influence, shape, and transmit culture.

In consideration of the purpose of the present study, advertising’s capability of revealing cultural values is more emphasized than its other role of transmitting cultural values. A metaphor of advertising’s reflective quality says that the advertisement is a “mirror” that reflects the culture in which it is embedded. All manifestations of culture, at different levels, are “mirrored” in advertising. Advertising collectively reflects how people think, what they believe, how they relate to each other, how they live, what they desire, what they value, and what state of life they pursue. Therefore, to examine

advertising in a society could provide a sound tool to examine the culture values endorsed by this society.

Advertising Appeals and Cultural Values

Content analysis of advertising could focus upon a number of different advertising features, such as appeals, themes, portrayed activities, information content, settings, models, spokespersons, voice-overs, advertising styles, creative strategies, and so on. Among them, advertising appeal is especially noteworthy because it is believed that the advertising “mirror” functions primarily through associating advertising appeals with values people hold. Advertising aims at persuading consumers to purchase the advertised product. As described in an advertising textbook (Wells et al, 1995), “Persuasion in advertising rests on the psychological appeal to the consumer. An *appeal* is something that makes the product particularly attractive or interesting to the consumer”. This definition of appeal is somewhat imprecise, but it reveals the dynamic nature of advertising appeal in terms of its representation format.

An appeal in an advertisement is the persuasive messages conveyed by any possible format of media, or through any likely combination of different media formats exploited in the advertisement, such as written text, verbal language, static images, video images, and animations. To tell if there is a certain appeal in an advertisement, all messages expressed by the advertisement should be reviewed, regardless of which way they have been expressed. For example, to advertise certain food product A on TV, the captions in the commercial could emphasize the long history of the brand as “has been providing A product for 80 years”; the voice-over could highlight the distinctiveness of the product by saying that A is “the only”, or “the best”, etc; the video images could show a happy

family enjoying eating the product A; the housewife could explicitly express how she likes product A because it is quick and easy to cook for the whole family. Clearly, the message that the product is reliable, rare, family-favorable, and handy has been expressed through various ways within one commercial. Hence, the tradition appeal, the distinctiveness appeal, the family appeal and the convenience appeal have all been adopted in this TV commercial.

Appeals, embedded into the advertisements in every possible way, are supposed to evoke target consumer's desire to purchase by implying that the potential consumers' "preferred state" or "desired state" can be fulfilled or enhanced by using the product. As Hofstede (2001) defined values as broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others, the "preferred state" or "desired state" actually implies what people truly value in their lives. The appeals used in an advertisement usually reveal or demonstrate, either explicitly or implicitly, people's "desired state" or "preferred state". Thus, the appeal represents the underlying value through the revelation. In fact, "appeals" and "values" are often used interchangeably in advertising literature, because "appeals are used to appeal to the values a consumer holds, and as such, values are the underlying source of appeals" (Dahl, 2005).

In addition, appeals do not necessarily represent product attributes, nor do they have to be realistically connected to the product. As in the above example, convenience appeal adopted in the commercial is directly connected to a product attribute: Product A is easy and handy to cook. In contrast with convenience appeal, the adopted family appeal is not directly linked to any product attributes. However, family happiness is a state preferred, i.e. the value held by potential consumers. Thus family appeal is adopted because it could

also make the product A attractive to consumers. Moreover, advertisers may adopt multiple appeals in one advertisement to attract consumers. As shown in the same example, a strategy for advertising product A might simultaneously employ a tradition appeal, distinctiveness appeal, family appeal, and convenience appeal. Some other appeals, such as economy appeal - showing that the product A is economical compared with other products alike - and popularity appeal - showing that product A has been chosen by many people - could also be integrated into the commercial in order to influence consumers to the maximum extent.

In brief, advertisers choose appeals to represent those values which are believed to be shared by the target societal members— consumers, who have established a tight and mutually reflective association between advertising appeals and cultural values. Therefore, analyzing appeals adopted in advertisement can serve the purpose of examining the cultural values that drive the appeals.

Content Analysis on Multiple Aspects of Advertising

While appeals are directly associated with cultural values, there are other aspects of advertising that also lend themselves to examining values as well. For example, to examine Americans' attitudes to pre-teens and teens' various roles, Peterson (1998) analyzed portrayed activities in 5,041 TV commercials designed to appeal to children aged 6-12 and teenagers. Through identifying the major role occupied by the children appearing in the commercials, and noting whether the children appearing in each commercial were depicted favorably or unfavorably, Peterson study discovered that pre-teens and teens are more frequently depicted in roles other than scholarly activities, such as athletic activities, eating or drinking, and visiting with friends. Moreover, children are

often not favorably portrayed in TV commercials with a scholarly role. Positive portrayals were significantly more frequent in other-than-scholarly roles, such as athletic activities, eating or drinking, and exercising. This result shows that Americans hold a less positive attitude toward children's scholarly activities than they do toward other activities. In other words, this study reveals how Americans value their student's academic achievement compared with other aspects of a student's life.

Content analysis has also been used to compare values cross-culturally. Ji and McNeal (2001)'s examination of American and Chinese children's TV commercials was conducted through not only analysis of advertising appeals, but also various aspects of commercials including portrayed activity, information content, models, spokesperson/character, style of display, and voice-over. To reveal the difference of cultural values with respect to the masculinity versus femininity dimension, Ji and McNeal examined the difference of the gender of models, spokespersons, and voice-overs in children's TV commercials between U.S. and China. The result shows that a higher percentage of Chinese children's commercials chose men as models, spokespersons, and voice-overs. This supported their hypothesis that China may have a higher level of masculine orientation when compared with the U.S. In both of the above-referenced studies, values are not observed directly from the advertisement appeal, but were derived from an inference on the part of the researcher, based on observation.

In summary, advertising has been viewed and studied as a mirror that reflects the culture in which it is embedded. Advertising appeals are strongly associated with culture values. Moreover, content analysis of advertising on its various features has been shown to provide a sound tool for inferring cultural values. Therefore, we consider content

analysis of advertising as a valid method to measure cultural values and to compare values cross-culturally.

Hofstede's Framework of Cultural Dimension

To compare cultural values prevalent in different societies and cultural groups, a framework must be assumed to organize the profusion of cultural values into a manageable number of dimensions on which to compare societies. Researchers of cultural values function under the agreed assumption that the dimensions of cultural values are a reflection of basic issues or problems that societies must confront in order to regulate human activity. The problems are recognized by societal members and especially by decision-makers. Moreover, society uses their values to plan responses to problems, and motivate one another to cope with them (Smith & Schwartz, 1997). In this sense, Schwartz (1999) further pointed out that, cultural values are the “vocabulary of socially approved goals that they use to motivate action and to express and justify the solution”.

In this connection, Hofstede suggested four basic social problems that underlie cultural value dimensions as a) social inequality; b) the relationship between individual and group; c) concepts of masculinity and femininity; and d) dealing with uncertainty. Accordingly, four cultural dimensions are defined as: a) power distance; b) individualism versus collectivism; c) masculinity versus femininity; and d) uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede, 1991). In addition, Bond (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987) extended Hofstede's research and outlined a new dimension of Confucian Work Dynamism. Hofstede adopted it as an added value dimension of cultural variation and interpreted it as opposing a dynamic orientation towards the future to a more static orientation towards

the past and present. It was then named “long-term orientation” as the fifth dimension incorporated in his model.

Hofstede’s model of five dimensions of cultural difference set forth the framework on which the specific cultural values comparisons will be based. According to Hofstede, Power Distance (PDI) that is the extent to which the less powerful members of organizations and institutions (like the family) accept and expect that power is distributed unequally. This represents inequality (more versus less), but defined from below, not from above. It suggests that a society’s level of inequality is endorsed by the followers as much as by the leaders. Power and inequality, of course, are extremely fundamental facts of any society, and anybody with some international experience will be aware that “all societies are unequal, but some are more unequal than others” (Hofstede, 2001).

Individualism (IDV), as opposed to collectivism, describes the degree to which individuals are integrated into groups (Hofstede, 2001). On the individualist side, we find societies in which the ties between individuals are loose, and everyone is expected to look after him/herself and his/her immediate family. On the collectivist side, we find societies in which people from birth on are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, often extended families (with uncles, aunts and grandparents), which continue protecting them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. The issue of the relationship between individuals and group addressed by this dimension is an extremely fundamental one, regarding all societies in the world (Smith & Schwartz, 1997).

Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI) deals with a society’s tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity; it ultimately refers to man’s search for truth (Hofstede, 2001). It indicates the extent to which a culture programs its members to feel either uncomfortable or

comfortable in unstructured situations. Unstructured situations are novel, unknown, surprising, and different from usual. Uncertainty-avoiding cultures try to minimize the possibility of such situations by strict laws and rules, safety and security measures, and on the philosophical and religious level by a belief in absolute truth: “there can only be one Truth and we have it”. The opposite type, uncertainty-accepting cultures, are more tolerant of opinions different from what they are used to; they try to have as few rules as possible, and on the philosophical and religious level they are relativist and allow many currents to flow side by side (Hofstede, 2001).

The masculinity (MAS) dimension is defined as the degree to which a society is characterized by masculinity (assertiveness, competitiveness) versus femininity (modest, caring). The issue of the duality of the sexes is whether biological differences between the sexes should have implications for their roles in social activity (Hofstede, 1984, 1998).

Long-Term Orientation (LTO) versus short-term orientation dimension was found in a study among students in 23 countries around the world, using a questionnaire designed by Chinese scholars. Values associated with Long Term Orientation are thrift and perseverance; values associated with Short Term Orientation are respect for tradition, and protecting one’s “face”.

The rest of this chapter will discuss how cultural values are manifested in educational contexts, and how they are reflected in children’s TV commercials. The analytical hypotheses will be developed in light of the discussion and the review of previous studies.

Children's TV Commercials and Cultural Values in the Context of Education

A fundamental premise of this study is that communication content is the consequence of antecedent conditions or contextual factors, including cultural, social and economic influences that have led to or shaped its construction. Therefore, advertising is a reflection of the cultural, social and economic condition in the society in which the advertisements are developed and broadcasted (Ji & McNeal, 2001). Advertising appeals and cultural values are closely related, which enables examination of advertising a valid and effective method to investigate cultural values. This assumption refers to advertisements appearing not only on TV, but on all kinds of mass media like newspaper, magazine, radio, and the internet. Likewise, the assumption is applicable to a subcategory of TV commercials— children's TV commercials as well.

Children's TV commercials are different from general TV commercials in their advertised products and target viewers. Ji and McNeal (2001) suggested two criteria to define a children-targeted commercial, and these two criteria were adopted for this study as well. In this study, I will use the term "children's TV commercial" to represent these three kinds of commercials unless there is need to distinguish them from each other.

First, *children's TV commercial* is identified as the product advertised in the TV commercial which is commonly consumed by infants, children, or teenagers. The types of products advertised in children's TV commercials range from food, entertainment, toy, game, to health care product, and education product, etc. The viewers of this kind of commercial could be both children and their parents. However, it is noticeable that parents, in many cases, are the only viewers of the commercials for certain products, such as diapers and infant formulas. In addition, though children are always the ultimate

consumers of these products, it is the parents that make the decision of purchasing. In this case, the target consumers are mostly parents.

As with any type of commercial, various advertising appeals are incorporated into children's commercials as inducements to stir target consumers' desire to purchase. The primary purpose of commercials is to demonstrate to parents that their "preferred state" or "desired state" will be fulfilled by using the product. Evidently, when children's consumption is concerned, parents "preferred state" or "desired state" immediately points to the overall well-being of their children and varied aspects of children's welfare including health, happiness, education, and development, and so on. The appeals adopted in children's commercials are the reflections of the preferences for every aspects of children's well-being endorsed by parents. Therefore, children's commercials reveal how parents prefer or desire for their children, and what they value the most in child rearing and children's education.

Second, *children's TV commercial* is identified when the commercial itself is especially developed for children or teenagers as the primary audience. This kind of commercial consists of public service announcements (PSA), which are usually classified as advertisements for promoting social morality, social norms and civil duties. The intention of and the values endorsed in this kind of commercial are even more explicit due to the inherent educational purpose of the media. Thus, the behaviors praised or discouraged, the beliefs and attitudes promoted or disapproved in PSA commercials are overt manifestations of what and how a society prefer its children and youth to pursue or to shy away from.

Hence, the cultural values depicted in children's TV commercials specifically pertain to a subset area of social culture and social practice. In other words, the cultural values reflected in children's TV commercials are the revelation of values prevailing in a given society concerning its notion about childhood, child rearing and children's education. Thus, we consider the related values portrayed in children's TV commercials as educational values.

Cultural Dimensions, Cultural Values, and Advertising Appeals

The process of developing the analytical framework is directly related to Hofstede's cultural dimensions, with emphasis on pertinent cultural values in the context of education in the U.S. and China. The purpose of the framework is to establish the connection between these values and advertising appeals in children's TV commercials from both countries. Thus, there are three domains which need to be connected:

1. The values suggested by cultural dimensions according to cultural dimension framework;
 2. The values regarding child rearing and education are considered prevailing in the context of education;
 3. The appeals have been identified and examined in advertising research literature.
- Only the values, which satisfy simultaneously the above three domains will be included into the analytical framework in the present study.

Many advertising studies have used Hofstede's cultural dimension as a framework to identify appeals of interest (e.g. Albers-Miller, 1994; Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996; Ji & McNeal, 2001; Zandpour et al., 1994). However, not all dimensions are found related to

appeals in advertising. The dimensions of individualism, power distance and uncertainty avoidance used in these studies have more power of suggestive and more readily linked to specific appeals in advertising. Moreover, appeals in advertising have the limitation of reflecting all specific values associated to cultural dimensions.

Albers-Miller and Gelb (1996) conducted a study aimed at relating 42 appeals used in advertising to Hofstede's cultural dimensions. From their study, masculinity was found not significantly related to any appeals that are usually adopted in children's commercials. Moreover, long-term orientation was not included in their study (Albers-Miller, 1994; Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996). Although there are some values suggested by the long-term orientation dimension that are theoretically relevant to the culture of education, such as the pursuit of social status and respect for tradition, these values are suggested and can be explained by dimensions of power distance and individualism. Therefore, to reduce the complexity of analytical framework, two dimensions of masculinity and long-term orientation are not adopted in the present study.

Regarding the values suggested by cultural dimensions, it is important to note that not every cultural value could be solely derived from, or explained by, only one cultural dimension. For example, the index scores for individualism and power distance dimensions are often related (Hofstede, 2001). Therefore, associated values and related societal norms are often correlated and suggested by both dimensions. The predictive function of cultural dimensions is not an unconditional mapping tool. It would be oversimplifying the complexity of the methodology to suggest that cultural dimensions and their related cultural values always directly and clearly correspond, and so reliance upon the framework must be paired with researcher discretion.

Secondly, the suggested values have to fit the context of education. The values suggested by cultural dimensions are usually aimed at general social culture, which might not be suitable for application in one specific aspect of that culture. Then the definition and connotation of values are under unavoidable alternation during the development of the analytical framework, and often dimensions overlap. As a result it is important to recognize that even though discussion of the framework is divided into subcategories according to cultural dimensions, oftentimes the specific values are derived based on the connotations from more than one dimension. Thus how certain cultural values manifest in education is a result of researcher judgment, which consequently renders the operational definition and connotation of these cultural values more contextualized, and sometimes divergent from cultural values in a general context.

Thirdly, there have been matured frameworks of appeals in advertising, which, obviously, carrying the objective of investigating the possibility of standardization and localization of advertising across cultures, could not be a perfect fit for the purpose of educational research. Thus, the necessary elimination and rephrasing will be conducted to existing appeals framework from advertising literature as well.

The Value of Academic Achievement

For the purposes of this study, “education” assumes a specific meaning of formal schooling, its every related practice, and particularly the most used assessment for the outcome of the schooling: students’ academic achievement. Students’ academic achievement is the value most central to this study and will therefore be discussed independently. The reasons this value is discussed separately are because how a given society values education might be the most crucial value. The value placed on education

exerts a powerful influence on how the educational system forms and evolves, how the educational practices are conducted, and how the evaluation applied to the outcome of educational institutions in this society. Therefore the investigation on this value is critical. Moreover, there has been a great deal of research which suggested that the attitude, belief and value on education, especially students' academic achievement, is quite different between the U.S. and China, and so this is also an important point of comparison.

According to Hofstede (2001), there have been no suggestions for this value which could be derived directly from the connotation of any cultural dimensions. Thus this value is not likely to be elicited easily from the discussion of any single cultural dimension, and thus requires its own examination. This absence of a dimension focusing on the value of education might imply that there is no single dimension which is fully "responsible" for suggesting this value, but every dimension has something to say about the value of education, since education is one of the fundamental social practices which are influenced by various societal antecedents and the consequences of education also deliver far-reaching impact on the entire society.

It should also be noted that an "education" value has not been a frequently examined appeal in the existing literature of advertising research. In Pollay's (1983) seminal coding scheme, the closest one is "wisdom", which emphasizes the products' characters of "knowledge, education, awareness, intelligence, curiosity, satisfaction, comprehension, sagacity, expertise, judgment, experience" (Pollay, 1983). In Cheng's coding scheme, revised based on Pollay's model, the "wisdom" appeal "shows the respect for knowledge, education, intelligence, expertise, or experience". Moreover, in Albers-Miller and Gelb's (1996) work relating cultural dimensions and advertising appeals, "wisdom" was

eliminated from the list of examined appeals. There are only two studies (Ji & McNeal, 2001; Y. B. Zhang & Harwood, 2004) that have investigated an “education” appeal, which have also adopted the most applicable operational definition: the appeal emphasis “is on claiming to make a child smarter and obtain higher academic achievement.”

Therefore, the cultural value of education, deserving special attention, but without direct mapping from cultural dimension model, and not having been noticed sufficiently from advertising research, will be discussed in detail and separately from other cultural values.

Many researchers have noted that academic achievement is considered the most important aspect in Chinese children’s life (e.g. Stevenson & Stigler, 1992). Chinese culture has strongly emphasized education for centuries, partly because of the influence of Confucianism. Traditionally, education is highly valued because one’s achievement in scholarly pursuit became the only indicator of one’s overall success in China. Moreover, academic success is the only path leads to social upward mobility and brings honor to the individual, the family and the related clan. Meanwhile, a standardized and centralized examination system has been dominant in history and prevailing in today’s Chinese society. Therefore, the outcome of examination has grown to be the unique criterion on which to evaluate academic success. Consequently, the pursuit of test scores becomes an exclusive focus in Chinese children’s life.

In addition, China’s one-child policy holds a great deal of influence on this aspect. Recently, China’s one-child policy has fueled a trend that cannot be ignored, as parents seek to give their little “emperors” or “empresses” ever possible advantage. When the only child has the exclusive love and attention from both parents and grandparents, this

only child's responsibility and pressure for success in academics have also been aggravated. Educational literature also suggests that the patterns of parental involvement are quite different between American families and Chinese families (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992). It is observed that around the time for children to enter schools, American parents begin to abdicate many of their responsibilities to their children's teachers, whereas Asian parents get more involved in their children's academic life as they enter school.

In contrast, academic achievement doesn't hold as important a position as in the U.S., as shown by Peterson's (1998) study. Peterson found that young people in the U.S. are depicted in athletics activities more often than in scholarly activities. This is not to say that American parents are unconcerned with their children's academic achievement, but they rather do not view the academic achievement as the only indicator of happiness and success in children's life. Furthermore, it is emphasized very much in the U.S. that no matter what children are engaging in, fun and enjoyment is the most important measure of success.

As mentioned, the appeal of "education" is identified when the advertisement claims that using the product would make a child smarter and obtain higher academic achievement. Zhang and Harwood (2004) observed that typical Chinese parents sacrifice greatly for their children's education, for example, by spending a few months' salary on an electronic game. One example from their study demonstrates that an advertisement for a toy took advantage of a parent's willingness to invest on their children's education by claiming that the product benefits student performance in school. The scene showed a proud father cheering for his son during a math competition. The capacity of the games to enhance education was articulated in a simple assertion that your child would get better

academic performance if you bought the game console. On the contrary, this kind of scene would appear rarely, if at all, in American commercials. Therefore, a difference in how frequently this education appeal is adopted in children's TV commercial from each country is expected.

Advertising appeals are not the only reflection of cultural values. The product categories, featured activities and settings may also indicate cultural values in an implicit way. Research has suggested that particular value themes are associated with product categories (H. Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Y. B. Zhang & Harwood, 2004). Hence, we assume that the distribution of an advertised product category has something to do with this issue. It is reasonable to say that educational products are widely popular in China and that there may be more advertisements for educational products in a society that emphasizes the importance of education and the significance of academic achievement than those in a society with less emphasis. Thus, the distribution of the products of education is expected to be different between U.S. and China.

Researchers have also noted the portrayed activities in commercials and the relationship to the value of education (Ji & McNeal, 2001; Peterson, 1998). Scholastic activities in commercials refer to children and teenagers as they prepare, participate, or talk about learning or school-related activities regardless where they occur. Non-scholastic activities refer to depictions of children as they prepare, participate, or talk about exercise, games, sports, and so forth, regardless where the activities occur. In both Ji and McNeal and Peterson's studies, the differences in depicted scholastic or non-scholastic activities indicated how differently the society values education.

It has also been noticed that even in commercials which neither advertise educational products nor use educational appeal, scholastic settings might still appear in background. For example, a commercial advertising a type of snack food does not use educational appeal. The major scene is two children talking about this snack food at home, with some textbooks, a schoolbag and other school-related objects appearing in the commercial. Advertisers might have done it unconsciously, but it exactly reflects how much people expect their children to focus on academic pursuit. Scholastic setting implies the scene portrayed in a commercial is either directly related to school such as classroom, playground, library, and so on, or there is any school-related artifact, such as textbook, schoolbag appearing even though the environment is not in school, but such places as home, park, neighborhood, and so on. Thus it is assumed that the more frequently a scholastic setting appears in commercials, the more of the children's life is academic-oriented.

In summary, based on the assumption that education, particularly children's academic achievement is much higher valued in China's society than it is in American society, it is postulated that (see Table 1):

A higher percentage of Chinese children's TV commercials falls in education category than that of American's; Chinese children's TV commercial use more education appeal than do their American counterparts; on average, a higher percentage of Chinese children's TV commercials have scholastic activities portrayed than do those of the U.S.; and on average, a higher percentage of Chinese children's TV commercials have scholastic settings appeared than do those of the U.S.

The Dimension of Individualism (IDV)

One of the most striking differences lies in the dimension of Individualism (IDV), as opposed to collectivism, which describes the relationship between the individual and the collectivity that prevails in a given society (Hofstede, 2001). U.S., with the score of 90, has Individualism as its highest dimension among five, and also ranks the highest in Individualism dimension among all participant 50 countries and 3 regions in Hofstede's (2001) study.

The high individualism index score and ranking for the U.S. indicates that American society holds a more individualistic attitude. Individualistic cultures emphasize the goals of individuals rather than group concerns and needs. People in individualistic cultures stress initiative and achievement and depend more on factual information for decision making as opposed to seeking group harmony and consensus. Consequently, independence is a stressed societal norm. People are more self-reliant and expected to take care of themselves or their immediate family only (Hofstede, 2001).

Moreover, people's identities are based in individuals, instead of in the social system. "I" consciousness is highlighted, thus being different and unlike others is encouraged and pursued. There is also a belief in individual decision making. People living in an individualistic culture are entitled to his or her own opinion. The extent to which the value of uniqueness endorsed is therefore larger in an individualistic culture than in a collectivistic culture. In addition, an important connotation of individualism is the extensive appeal of enjoyment and pleasure in life. Compared with collectivist societies, individualistic societies place higher emphasis on individual variety and pleasure (Hofstede, 1984).

Accordingly, living in an individualistic society, a child learns very early to think of himself as “I” instead of as a part of “we”. It is expected that one has to stand on his own feet and not get protection from his group (Hofstede, 1994). Children are infused with values of independence, being distinctive, and encouraged to pursue and enjoy happiness in life from the very beginning of their socialization and enculturation.

In contrast, China, with the IDV index score of 20, ranks much lower in IDV dimension compared to U.S., and lower than any other East Asian country with an average of 25 (Hofstede, 2001). A common shared societal norm in collectivist culture is to place collective goals ahead of personal goals when there is a conflict between the two (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). Chinese culture, with a typical collectivism orientation, emphasizes harmony between the individual and the group, and encourages individual sacrifice for the sake of group benefit. People pay more attention to in-group goals, such as family harmony, integrity, and the well-being of the in-group. Thus the group decision making and consensus is highly valued.

Moreover, in a country with a low score in the IDV dimension, Chinese people have an emotional dependence on organization and institutions, and the perception of belonging is emphasized (Hofstede, 2001). Although one’s private life is invaded by organizations and clans, those organizations provide protections, loyalty and security (Hofstede, 2001). The society fosters strong relationships where everyone takes responsibility for fellow members of their group, and a child learns to respect the group to which it belongs. When children grow up, they remain members of their group, and they expect the group to protect them when they are in trouble.

The prevailing societal norm in a collectivist culture is that people are born into extended families or clans, which protect them in exchange of loyalty. Thus affiliation and patriotism are stressed in a collectivistic culture. In this kind of society, an individual's identity is based in the social system rather than in the individual. "We" consciousness is highlighted. The voice of collectivity is dominant, rather than the individual's. Hence distinctiveness is not encouraged.

People who live in a society with low IDV are more likely to consider the relationship between the self and the group, which leads to more consideration and caring about how one looks before others. This value is reflected in parents' expectations for their children as well. It is found in Chinese commercials and other popular culture examples that Chinese people emphasize the appearance, such as one's height, fitness and image very much (Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996). Therefore, it is postulated in this study that the appeals of Appearance are used more frequently in children's TV commercials in China than in those of America.

Previous literature has demonstrated that this individualism vs. collectivism dimension has important implications for the content of advertisement. Many studies have recognized collectivism vs. individualism as one of the most important cultural differences between U.S. and China (H. Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Hofstede, 1984; Ji & McNeal, 2001; Lin, 2001; Y. Zhang & Gelb, 1996). For example, Zhang and Gelb conclude that Chinese consumers respond more favorably to a collectivist than to an individualistic appeal (Y. Zhang & Gelb, 1996); Cheng indicates that group consensus is an effective commercial appeal for Chinese audiences (H. Cheng, 1994).

Thus, it is expected that the appeals of individualism, independence, uniqueness, and enjoyment are used more frequently in children's TV commercials in the U.S. than in China; and the appeals of group consensus, family, affiliation, popularity, and patriotism are used more frequently in children's TV commercials in China than in those of the U.S.

The Dimension of Power Distance (PDI)

Power distance is defined as the extent to which less powerful members of organizations and institutions, like the family, school, working place, accept and expect that power is distributed unequally (Hofstede, 2001). It refers to the degree of inequity among people that the population of a country considers normal, from relatively equal (small power distance) to extremely unequal (large power distance) (Hofstede, 1984, 1994).

According to Hofstede (2001), China has a significantly higher Power Distance index score of 80 compared to American's of 40, to the other East Asian countries' average of 64, and the world average of 55 (Hofstede, 2001). This is indicative of a high level of inequality of power and wealth within the society. This condition is not necessarily forced upon the population, but rather accepted by the society as their cultural heritage. The United States has a quite low score. This is indicative of a greater equality between societal levels, including government, organizations, and even within families. If we are from a culture that has low power distance, we might endorse the attitude that inequalities among people should be minimized; students should treat teachers as equals, etc. People in a culture with less power distance have little tolerance for authority and are more likely to make their decisions on the basis of facts and reasoning (Hofstede, 1991; Tai, 2004).

The societal norm in a country with a high score on the PDI dimension suggests that people with power are considered to be right and good, and they are expected to have privileges. The respect of authority and social status are typically more dominant in high power distance countries than low power distance ones. In extremely high power distance countries, the respect for authority figures such as teachers, superior managers and parents is generally so high that their decisions are not questionable and have to be obeyed, regardless of whether or not these decisions make any sense to the recipient. By contrast, in low power distance countries, decision from the top can and should be questioned, and are typically based on reasoning and factual information (Dahl, 2005; Hofstede, 1984).

China has a long history as an authoritarian society (Hofstede, 1994) that emphasizes Confucius' five cardinal relations between sovereign and minister, father and son, husband and wife, old and young, and friends (Ji & McNeal, 2001). Compared with American society, Chinese people have a stronger respect for authority (Bond, 1991), and are prone to accept authority without question. Although the value of veneration of elderly people has undergone a change due to the introduction and invading of western culture since China's openness to the world three decades ago, the veneration of elderly people still remains a typical feature of Chinese culture (H. Cheng, 1994), and a common theme in Chinese advertisements (Lin, 2001).

Therefore, it is more natural for young people in China to accept authority from opinion leaders, including older people, family elders, parents, and teachers. Moreover, being socialized in an authoritarian culture, Chinese children are expected to be obedient and restrained, as a consequence of not being used to challenge questionable authorities.

Thus, Chinese young people would express the characteristic of being restrained more often than those from the U.S.

While the veneration of elders is an important characteristic in Chinese culture, Chinese people also have pride in their traditions. Chu and Ju (1993) examined the status of 18 traditional Chinese cultural values, and it is found that an overwhelming majority of respondents were proud of China's long heritage. As the cultural value of a long heritage has been passed down generation after generation in China, it is well recognized that transferring and inheriting the valuable and estimable tradition is a responsibility of every Chinese citizen. In contrast with China, Americans place emphasis on modernity and deification of the younger generation (Y. B. Zhang & Harwood, 2004). The U.S. is a relative "young" country, and inheriting tradition is much less emphasized in its cultural values. Contrarily, without long and somewhat "heavy" tradition attached, U.S. culture encourages a disobeying of the tradition and highly values innovation and creativity.

Furthermore, the value of social status and appearance are associated with the dimension of PDI as well. In advertising literature, the social status appeal refers to that the use of the product is claimed to be able to elevate the position or rank of the user in the eyes of others (H. Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Pollay, 1983). The value of social status is often reflected by a person's material possessions, which are reflective of economic achievement, and economic upward mobility is an important goal for which people are expected to strive in a Confucian society (Wong & Aaron, 1998). This compares with the expression of economic achievement in Western culture, where the display of material wealth is an individual tendency rather than a social expectation (Lin, 2001). Similarly, in countries with large power distance, the exercise of power gives

satisfaction, and powerful people try to maintain and increase power differences (Hofstede, 1980). It is likely that the expensive symbols of status acquired through conspicuous consumption are used to show power, wealth, and elitism (Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996).

As a result, it is expected that the appeals of youth, which emphasizes the deification of the younger generation (H. Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996), and modernity, which emphasizes the notion of being new, contemporary, up-to-date, and ahead of time in a commercial (H. Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996), are used more frequently in children's TV commercials in the U.S. than in those of China's, and appeals that focus on veneration of the elderly, tamed, tradition, appearance, social status are used more frequently in children's TV commercials in China.

The Dimension of Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI)

In the dimension of Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI), the U.S. and China do not score much differently (Hofstede, 2001). Uncertainty avoidance represents the degree to which the society is unwilling to accept and cope with uncertainty, and the degree to which people prefer structured over unstructured situations (Hofstede, 1994). The dimension is related to anxiety and need for security (Hofstede, 1991). Based on the index scores (the U.S. scores at 46, and China at 30), both the U.S. and China are identified as moderately low in uncertainty avoidance, which means people in both society are willing to accept and deal with uncertainty. The score of the U.S. is little higher than that of China. However, whether the values associated with this dimension in the context of education as reflected in children's TV commercials differ between two countries are unknown.

One characteristic of a high uncertainty avoidance culture is that it has little tolerance for ambiguity. People from a society that has a strong uncertainty avoidance measure will have a strong need for regulations and place a high value on rules. In a high degree of uncertainty avoidance society, ideas that are unusual or deviant are likely to be suppressed. If people from a society that has a low uncertainty avoidance measure, they will prefer not to have rules and regulations, they will be happy to accept unusual and innovative ideas and behavior.

The societal norm associated with uncertainty avoidance includes intolerance for uncertainty (Hofstede, 1980). This norm suggests a positive relationship between UAI and the value of safety, which emphasizes the reliable and secure nature of a product (H. Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Pollay, 1983); and of the value of durability, which suggested the characteristics of long-lasting, permanent, stable, enduring, strong, powerful, hearty, and tough.

A low ranking in the uncertainty avoidance dimension is indicative of a society that has fewer rules and does not attempt to control all outcomes and results. Such societies also have a greater level of tolerance for a variety of ideas, thoughts, and beliefs. Countries with low UAI scores accept uncertainty and as a result people are more willing to take risks. This societal norm suggests a negative relationship between UAI and the values of adventure, which suggests boldness, daring, bravery, courage, seeking adventure, or thrill (H. Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Pollay, 1983); and magic, which emphasizes the miraculous effect and nature of a product. Moreover, a higher tolerance for youth is expected in low UAI countries because youth is considered suspect in high

UAI countries. Therefore, the youth appeal is expected to be related negatively to UAI (Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996).

With respect to the necessary characteristics of being innovative and creative, the dimension of uncertainty avoidance should be taken into consideration as well. A society with strong uncertainty avoidance can be called rigid, whereas one with weak uncertainty avoidance is flexible. Chinese people are generally considered to be unlikely to take on high risk and averse to ambiguity; whereas Americans favor taking risks, trying new ways and using novel approaches (Dahl, 2005). These characteristics are very likely to manifest in the context of child rearing and education. In the case of advertising to children, it is reasonable to assume that compared with American children, Chinese children are expected to be restrained, conservative, and prone to avoid adventurous or unknown circumstances.

Then it is hypothesized that the appeals of adventure, magic and youth are used more frequently in children's TV commercials in the U.S. than in those of China, and the appeals of safety and durability are used more frequently in children's TV commercials in China.

Research Question and Hypotheses

This study seeks the answer the question: What are the similarities and differences of cultural values manifested in the context of education between the U.S. and China?

To answer this, a series of hypotheses have been developed. To better present the hypotheses, the cultural dimensions, the cultural values in the context of education, the corresponding hypotheses, and the hypothesized directions for each country are

illustrated in the Table 1 and Table 2. The symbols of positive and negative under each country indicate this country's possible preference on the related hypothesis. For example, for the appeal of Individualism, the positive under the U.S. and the negative under China indicated a higher percentage of American children's TV commercials adopt Individualistic appeal than does that of the China's.

Table 1

Emphasis on the value of education, the corresponding hypotheses, and the hypothesized directions for each country

<u>Examined Features in Commercials</u>	<u>Hypotheses</u>	<u>Inclinations</u>	
		U.S.	China
Education Product	The percentage of commercials falls in the education category	-	+
Education Appeal	The percentage of Education appeal used in children's TV commercials	-	+
Scholastic Activity	The percentage of Scholastic Activities depicted in children's TV commercials	-	+
Scholastic Setting	The percentage of Scholastic Settings depicted in children's TV commercials	-	+

Table 2

Cultural dimension, the cultural values/advertising appeals, the corresponding hypotheses, and the hypothesized directions for each country

<u>Cultural Dimensions</u>	<u>Cultural Values/ Advertising Appeals</u>	<u>Hypotheses</u>	<u>Inclinations</u>	
			U.S.	China
IDV	Individualistic		+	-
	Independence		+	-
	Uniqueness		+	-

Table 2 cont'd

	Enjoyment	The percentage of *** appeal used in children's TV commercials	+	-
	Group Consensus		-	+
	Affiliation		-	+
	Family		-	+
	Patriotism		-	+
	Popularity		-	+
PDI	Veneration of Elderly		-	+
	Tradition		-	+
	Tamed		-	+
	Appearance		-	+
	Social Status		-	+
	Youth		+	-
	Modernity		+	-
UAI	Safety		-	+
	Durable		-	+
	Adventure		+	-
	Magic		+	-

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the sampling method, data collection, unit of analysis, coding, and data analysis.

Sampling Method

The TV commercials that were the focus of this study appeared on major TV networks channels from both China and the U.S., and were collected to generate the samples for content analysis. Since the purpose of this study is to compare educational values between these two countries, only children's TV commercials were included in the sample pool. Two kinds of TV channels, both comprehensive TV channels and children's TV channels were selected. Comprehensive TV channels cover a variety of content programs and commercials aiming at audiences with a full range of ages. Children's TV channels are specialized in children's programs, aiming at children and teenagers as target audiences.

TV Channels Selected in China

Three television channels in China were selected for collecting children's commercials. Two channels were chosen from China Central Television Network (CCTV), the national television network in China. The third one is HunanSTV based in Hunan province. All of the three channels broadcast nationally.

CCTV is run by the central government, and regarded as the most effective and influential media vehicle to represent mainstream values in China (J. Zhang & Shavitt, 2003). In addition, CCTV is a national television network which enjoys broad popularity across different age and geographical groups. Most advertising research involving China has selected channels from CCTV network as their primary source for collecting

commercial samples (e.g. H. Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Ji & McNeal, 2001; Lin, 2001; J. Zhang & Shavitt, 2003; Y. B. Zhang & Harwood, 2004).

Two channels selected from CCTV network are CCTV-1 and CCTV-Children. CCTV-1's primary content covers news, sports, TV serials, entertainment programs, as well as children's programs. A popular afternoon children program on CCTV-1 on average attracts over 10 million people aged 4-14 (Chan & Chan, 2004, CVSC-TNS Research, 2002). The commercials airing on CCTV-1 cover all kinds of products, including products commonly consumed by infants, children and teenagers. The selection of CCTV-1 was made in light of its representativeness and popularity. The children's commercials appearing on CCTV-1 were collected and constituted part of the sample.

CCTV- Children, launched in 2003, is the first TV channel specialized in children's TV programs in China. It broadcasts 18 hours a day from 6 a.m. to 12 p.m. Broadcasting nationally, CCTV- Children has a larger audience than any other provincial children's TV channel. The target of CCTV-Children consists of four segments, children ages 0-6, elementary school children ages 6-12, secondary school children ages 12-18, and parents (Chan & Chan, 2004, Yu, 2004). Specializing in children's programs, CCTV- Children is the TV channel where children's commercials collectively appear most.

HunanSTV, run by Hunan TV network, was launched as a comprehensive satellite TV channel in 1997. Since then, HunanSTV has enjoyed a high nationwide audience rating. Recently, HunanSTV has obtained a new record of No. 1 rating in China, outperforming major channels from CCTV network (HunanTV, 2009). The TV serials aired on HunanSTV have drawn a large audience all over the country, which renders it as a representative of mainstream culture in China. Renowned for its success in advertising

market, the total amount of commercials aired on HunanSTV are greater than CCTV channels and other provincial TV channels. Because of its popularity and success in advertising, HunanSTV was also selected to collect commercials in this study.

TV Channels Selected in the U.S.

Three television channels, Nickelodeon, Cartoon Network and CBS were selected to collect children's TV commercials in U.S. Nickelodeon is the first children's TV channel in the world, and has been broadcasting for 27 years. Cartoon Network is the world's first 24-hour cartoon TV channel. Both Nickelodeon and Cartoon Network are major TV channels that target children and teenagers aged from 2 to 17. The majority of commercials aired on them are children's commercials.

CBS is a comprehensive TV channel. Since it is one of four major U.S. TV networks (including ABC, NBC, and FOX), the content programs and commercials appearing on it could be taken to represent the prevalent attitudes and values of American society. Moreover, CBS is one of the channels that have been conventionally chosen for all major research on U.S. TV commercials (H. Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996). Thus the children's commercials aired on CBS were collected to constitute part of the American sample.

Data Collection

Data Collected in China

All the data from Chinese television was collected between July 8 and July 19, 2008. Two-day TV programs on CCTV-1 and CCTV-Children, one weekday and one weekend, were recorded. One weekday TV programs on HunanSTV were recorded. The recording lasted 15 hours for each day from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. All commercials were extracted from

the TV programs and classified into children's commercials or other commercials. Table 3 provides basic information of data collected from these three channels on five days.

Table 3

Data Collected in China

	<u>Day of collecting</u>	<u>Children's commercials</u>	<u>Other commercials</u>	<u>Total no. of commercials</u>	<u>Percentage of children's commercials</u>
CCTV-1	weekday	14	141	155	9.03%
	weekend	17	160	177	9.60%
	18 (No. of total individual children's commercials aired on CCTV-1 on two days, excluding duplicated ones)				
CCTV-Children	weekday	34	13	47	72.3%
	weekend	40	13	53	75.5%
	49 (No. of total individual children's commercials aired on CCTV-Children on two days, excluding duplicated ones)				
Hunan	weekday	49	125	174	28.2%
STV	49 (No. of total individual children's commercials aired on HunanSTV)				

Combining commercials of 5-day TV programs from three channels together, after excluding duplicated ones, the number of total individual children's commercials collected in China is 98.

Data Collected in the U.S.

All of the data for the review of U. S. commercials also took place during summer 2008. Two-day TV programs on CBS and Cartoon Network, one weekday and one weekend, were recorded. One weekday TV programs on Nickelodeon were recorded. The recording lasted 15 hours for each day from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. All commercials were

extracted from the TV programs and classified into children's commercials or other commercials. Table 4 provides basic information of data collected from these three channels on five days.

Table 4

Data Collected in the U.S.

	<u>Day of collecting</u>	<u>Children's commercials</u>	<u>Other commercials</u>	<u>Total No. of commercials</u>	<u>Percentage of children's commercials</u>
CBS	08/28 Thurs	16	362	378	4.2%
	08/30 Sat	35	253	288	12.2%
	49 (No. of total individual children's commercials aired on CBS on these two days, excluding duplicated ones)				
Cartoon	08/29 Fri	116	23	139	83.5%
Network	09/27 Sat	118	28	146	80.8%
	131 (No. of total individual children's commercials aired on Cartoon Network on these two days, excluding duplicated ones)				
Nickelodeon	08/27 Wed	136	70	206	66.0%
	136 (No. of total individual children's commercials aired on Nickelodeon)				

Combining commercials of 5-day TV programs from three channels together, after excluding duplicated ones, the number of total individual children's commercials collected in the U.S. is 194.

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is each complete children's TV commercial. Any duplicate commercials for the same products were excluded from the sample to eliminate

redundancies (H. Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Ji & McNeal, 2001; Lin, 2001; J. Zhang & Shavitt, 2003). However, an exceptional case was noticed in an exploratory study: there is possibility that two or more different commercials advertise one product (Ni, 2008 submitted). In this case, although the products featured in these commercials are the same, the content of these commercials are quite distinct from each other. Consequently, the appeals used in these commercials vary from one to another in most cases. Therefore, if two or more commercials which advertise the same product are different from each other in major advertising content, they were counted as individual commercials.

Coding

Coding Scheme

Most research examining cultural values in TV commercials using content analysis relies upon Pollay's (1983) seminal appeals coding framework (e.g. Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996; H. Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Ji & McNeal, 2001; Y. B. Zhang & Harwood, 2004). Based on an extensive review of previous studies on values, Pollay developed a list of 42 values (appeals) manifest in advertising. Despite its verified reliability and repeated adoption by many researchers, Pollay's framework has been criticized for its reliance upon western culture as its foundation (H. Cheng, 1994; Y. B. Zhang & Harwood, 2004). As such, critics have argued that the model might not be suitable for cross-cultural study when eastern culture countries are involved. Based on Pollay's coding framework, Cheng (1994) consulted studies on eastern cultural values and refined Pollay's framework in his study on Chinese magazine advertisement from 1982 to 1992.

Furthermore, an updated version of Cheng's coding framework was derived from a test of about 50 TV commercials from China and 60 TV commercials from the U.S. (H. Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996). In a result, Cheng's coding framework consists 32 cultural values, suitable for cross-cultural comparison between the East and the West and particularly effective for studying cultural values in TV commercials. Based on both Pollay (1987) and Moller's (1983) work, Cheng (1996) prepared the operational definition for each of the cultural values in his framework.

The coding scheme in the present study is designed largely based on Cheng's refined coding instrument. Since the current study deals only with children's TV commercials and seeks the values focused on education, some appeals in existing coding instruments are infrequent. For example, the appeal of sex, with which the commercial uses glamorous and sensual models or has a background of lovers holding hands, embracing, or kissing to promote a product, is not likely to be adopted by children's commercials. Moreover, although some appeals are used in children's commercials, such as neatness, has not been related to any cultural dimensions (Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996), or is irrelevant to educational values prevailing in a given society. Both of these appeals, therefore, have been excluded in order to develop an applicable coding instrument with a limited number of appeals.

As a result, 21 appeals are included in this study. The operational definition for each appeal, also incorporating other researchers' work (Ji & McNeal, 2001; Mueller, 1987) is prepared. According to the analytical framework, these 21 appeals, portrayed activities, settings and the distribution of product category in the samples are examined (see Appendix).

Coding Method

All featured activities in commercials were coded as either scholastic activities where children and teenagers prepare, participate, or talk about study or school-related activities regardless where the activities occur, in school or out of school; or non-scholastic activities where children prepare, participate, or talk about exercise, games, sports, and so forth regardless where the activities occur (Peterson, 1998). The scholastic activity is coded as 1, and non-scholastic activity is coded as 0.

Second, the settings portrayed in commercials were also coded as either scholastic setting or non-scholastic setting. Scholastic setting implies the scene portrayed in a commercial is either directly related to school such as classroom, playground, library, and so on, or there is any school-related artifact, such as textbook, schoolbag appearing even though the environment is not in school, but such places as home, park, neighborhood, and so on. All other environments, neither in school, nor are there any appearance of school-related artifacts, were coded as non-scholastic setting. The scholastic setting is coded as 1 and non scholastic setting is coded as 0.

Third, all 21 appeals were examined in each individual commercial. All appeals are coded on a two point scale as yes (code as 1), and no (code as 0). If a commercial uses any of appeals, it is coded as 1 under the relevant appeals; otherwise, it is coded as 0.

Coding Procedure

Four coders were involved in coding. Two of them, including the researcher, are graduate students who are native Mandarin speakers and also fluent in English. The other two coders are native English speakers, and one of them is a graduate student. Before

coding, a tutorial was given to the other three coders by the researcher to reach agreed understanding of each operational definition of appeal in the coding scheme.

The two Chinese bilingual coders have lived in the U.S. for about 5 to 6 years. It should be noted that their relatively short stay in the U.S. might give rise to the possibility of lack of an inadequate understanding of American culture. Moreover, their Chinese cultural background might also cause some biases in interpretation of the American TV commercials. Therefore, all 4 coders coded only 10% of randomly selected commercials from the U.S. sample. This amounted to 20 commercials, and this sample was used to check the inter-coder reliability. An inter-coder reliability analysis using the Intraclass Correlation Coefficient (ICC) was performed and was found to be $ICC = 0.835$ ($p < 0.001$), 95% CI (0.718, 0.916), demonstrating a high level of agreement among all four coders.

From there, the two bilingual coders coded 25% of the randomly selected commercials from both the U.S. and China samples, which are 50 and 25 commercials respectively. The inter-rater reliability was calculated as well and the ICC was found to be 0.910 ($p < 0.001$), 95% CI (0.732, 0.964), which again, shows the high level of the agreement between two bilingual coders. The researcher coded all the samples from both the U.S. and China.

Data Analysis

Chi Square test was adopted to analyze the data of product category distribution, frequency of portrayed activities, settings, and adopted appeals in commercials in order to provide the result for answering corresponding research questions.

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter discusses the main results from data analysis that address the major research question: What are the similarities and differences of cultural values in the context of education reflected by children's TV commercials between the U.S. and China?

Product Category Distribution

All 292 commercials, 98 Chinese and 194 U.S., were classified into 6 product categories. The categorization is based on the suggestions of previous studies (Katz & Lee, 1992; Lin, 2001) as well as considering the distinctiveness of children's TV commercials. These categories are

1. Food/drink. The advertised products in this category are food and drink usually consumed by children. The commercials for fast food and regular restaurants are also included in this category.
2. Clothing. The commercials in this category also include those for the product of footwear, backpack and accessories.
3. Entertainment. The advertised products in this category consist of video product, e.g. Disney's released DVD; toy, game and amusement park, e.g. Cedar Point. The promotion commercials for entertainment programs broadcasting on each channel are considered as entertainment products as well.
4. Education.
5. Personal Care, including healthcare, medicine and cleaning products.
6. Public Service Announcement (PSA).

Percentage Breakdown of Product Category

The product category breakdown in descending order for U.S. samples is shown in Table 5 as follows: entertainment (49%), food/drink (26.3), personal care (9.3%), clothing (6.2), PSA (5.2%) and education (4.1%). For the Chinese samples, the percentage breakdown is as follows: food/drink (40.8%), clothing (22.4%), personal care (16.3%), education (12.2%), PSA (7.1%) and entertainment (1%).

Table 5

Percentage Breakdown of Product Category

<u>Product Category</u>	<u>Percentage (US)</u>	<u>Percentage (China)</u>
Food/Drink	26.3	40.8
Clothing	6.2	22.4
Entertainment	49	1
Education	4.1	12.2
Personal Care	9.3	16.3
PSA	5.2	7.1

Of all the products advertised in American commercials during the research period, the largest group was entertainment product, which accounts for almost half of the samples. The finding of a high percentage of entertainment products is consistent with previous studies including Browne (1998), who found that 55.4% of American children's commercials were for toy products, which was the largest group among 6 categories adopted in his study. Ji and McNeal (2001) also found in their samples that the largest group of products advertised in the U.S. children's TV commercials was toys (55.5%).

The factors that determine the number of commercials broadcasted on TV could be manifold, one was noted by researchers is that the difference in the percentage of the

product category is a reflection of the different priorities of need gratification (Ji & McNeal, 2001). The above compatible findings suggest that satisfying children's need for entertainment perhaps has been given top priority in the U.S. Although food, clothing and health are three basic needs of living, providing children with good food, clothing and healthcare is considered as a given in the U.S., the most affluent country in the world. Thus the focus tends to be on satisfying children's higher order need for play and entertainment.

The smallest product category among the American samples is education, which only accounts for 4.1% of all commercials. The dominance of entertainment products and the scarceness of education products present a sharp contrast. It might suggest that in comparison with the strong emphasis of the need for entertainment, the importance of education perhaps has been downplayed.

The breakdown of product categories in Chinese samples tells a different story. The top three categories of advertised products are food/drink, clothing, and personal care; next follows the education. This ranking of product categories also reflects how Chinese people consider the priorities regarding meeting needs of children. Although China's economy has undergone rapid development and the living standard has been dramatically increased in the past three decades, China as a developing country has not reached the status of great abundance. Thus providing children good food, clothing and healthcare are still issues receiving most attention.

It is noticeable that education products follow right after the first three categories. It might suggest that as long as the children's fundamental needs of living are addressed, education is regarded as the second most important need. Furthermore, entertainment

products are the lowest category in Chinese samples. Out of 98 commercials, there was only 1 commercial that advertised a toy product. The impression one can get from the scantiness of entertainment products in Chinese commercials is that entertainment in children's life is not a high priority. The need for children's entertainment is downplayed in favor of meeting children's basic needs of living, and their education.

Comparing Product Category Distribution between Two Countries

Table 6 shows the result of the Chi Square test, examining differences between the two countries with regard to product category. The data reveals that there are significant differences in the number of commercials in 4 product categories between the U.S. and China. The U.S. has a larger number of commercials in the entertainment category than does China. In comparison, China has a larger number of commercials in the product categories of food/drink, clothing and education than does the U.S. The distribution of product categories of personal care and PSA is similar between the U.S. and China.

Table 6

Product Category Distribution

<u>Product Category</u>	<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>U.S. (N=194)</u>		<u>China (N=98)</u>		<u>Total (N=292)</u>	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Food/Drink	* 6.406	51	26.3	40	40.8	91	31.2
Clothing	*** 16.739	12	6.2	22	22.4	34	11.6
Entertainment	*** 67.832	95	49	1	1	96	32.9
Education	** 6.731	8	4.1	12	12.2	20	6.8
Personal Care	3.144	18	9.3	16	16.3	34	11.6
PSA	0.469	10	5.2	7	7.1	17	5.8

*p<=.05

**p<=.01

***p<=.001

The comparative result reveals how children's needs are perceived differently between the U.S. and China. As discussed, the largest group of advertised products is entertainment in U.S. samples, whereas entertainment is the smallest group in Chinese samples. In contrast, education product prevails more in China than in the U.S., suggesting that children's education, particularly their academic success, receives more attention in China than in the U.S. Moreover, meeting children's need for food and clothing is placed with a higher priority in China than in the U.S. The issue of children's personal care may receive the same attention in two countries.

Dominant Values

Appeal Use Distribution

The distributions of appeal uses are different in the Chinese and US commercials. Appeal distribution in the US commercials is more concentrated. As shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2, while the top five appeals all appeared in more than 70% of the commercials, the bottom 12 appeals each appeared in less than 10% of the commercials. In contrast, the use of appeals is more evenly distributed in Chinese commercials. All but 1 appeal, the appeal of youth, appeared in less than 50% of the commercials. However, only 3 appeals appeared in less than 10% of the commercials.

Figure 1

Appeal Use Distribution of US Sample

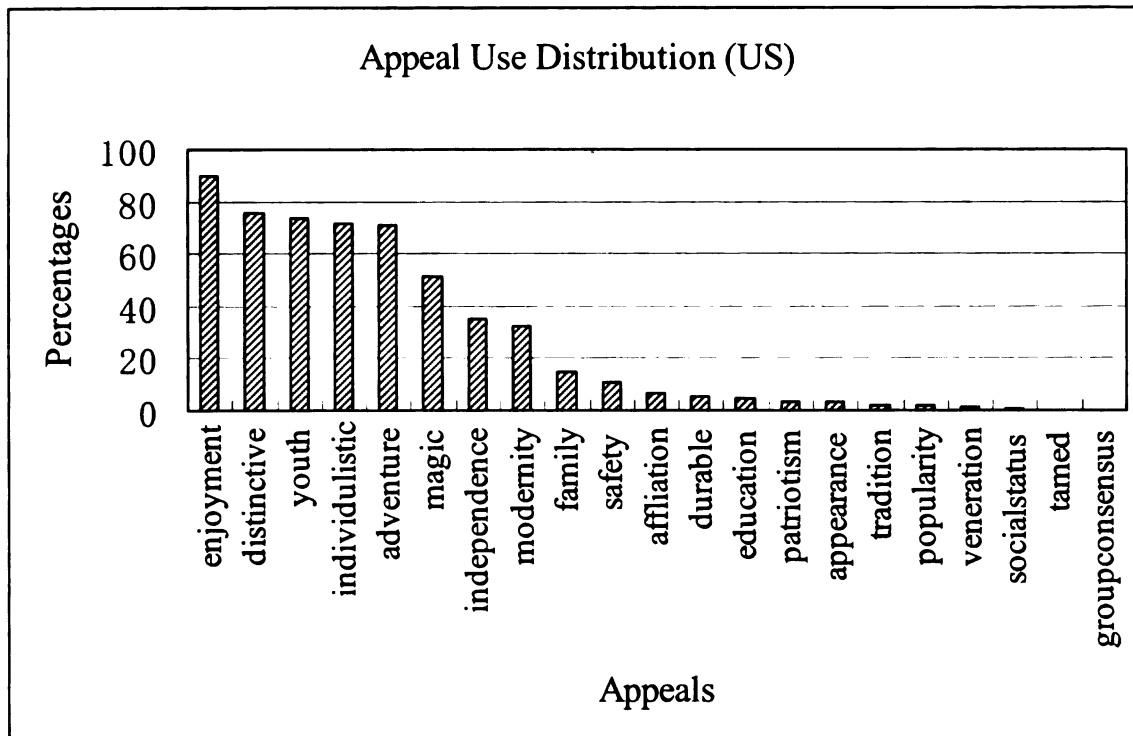
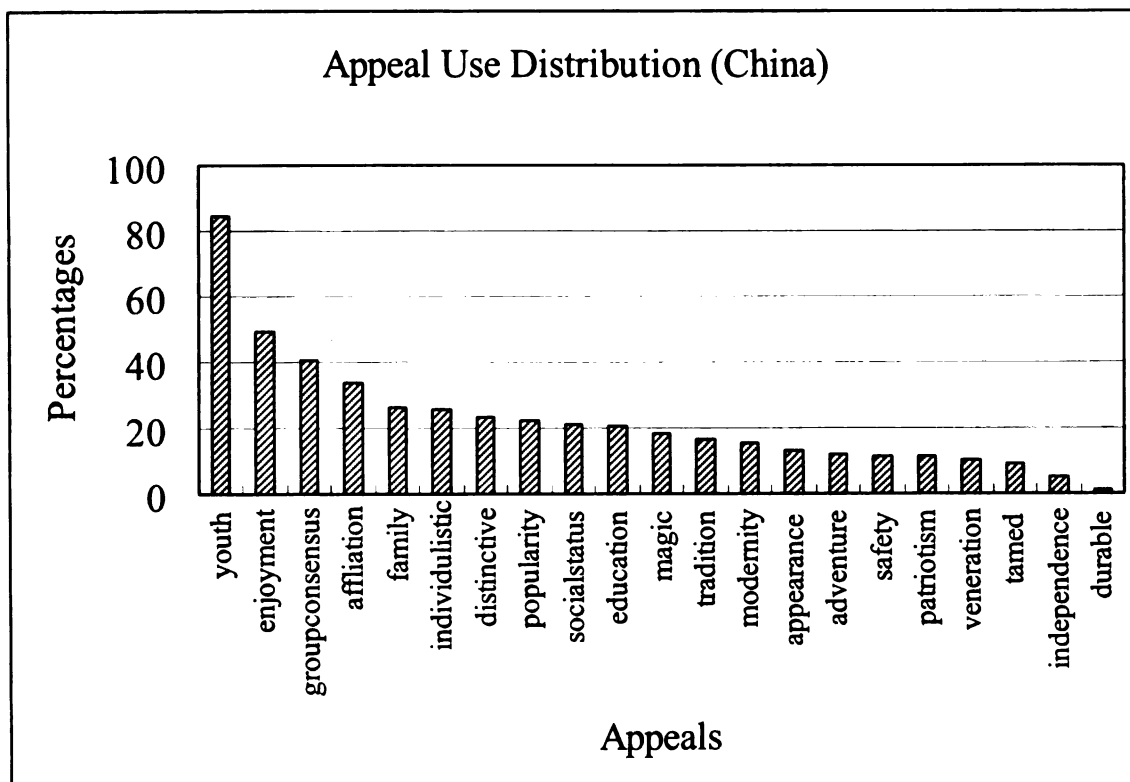


Figure 2

Appeal Use Distribution of China Sample



Five Most Frequently Used Appeals in American Commercials

Among the 21 values examined in this study, the first 5 values used most frequently are identified as dominant values (H. Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996). As shown in Table 7, in a descending order of their frequencies, the dominant values used in American commercials are enjoyment, distinctiveness, youth, individualistic and adventure.

Table 7

Five Dominant Values in US Commercials

<u>Value</u>	<u>U.S.</u>		<u>China</u>		<u>Chi-Square</u>
	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	
Enjoyment	178	89.9 (2.16)	48	49 (5.05)	*** 68.092
Distinctive	148	75.9 (3.07)	23	23.5 (4.28)	*** 74.854
Youth	146	75.3 (3.10)	83	84.7 (3.64)	3.426
Individualistic	139	71.4 (3.24)	25	25.5 (4.40)	*** 56.299
Adventure	141	70.9 (3.26)	12	12.2 (3.31)	*** 95.343

Standard Error in parenthesis

It is not surprising to see that the most frequently used value is enjoyment in the U.S. commercials. This result is supported by Hofstede's (1984) observation that the U.S. is a typical society of individualism, where the pursuit of individual's enjoyment and pleasure of life are highly valued. The result suggests a prevalent belief toward children in the U.S. that having fun and being happy is most important in children's life. In the majority of the American samples, children are portrayed to pursue fun and happiness through engaging all kinds of activities such as games, parties, feasts, sports and so on.

Furthermore, enjoyment appeal is used, and in a variety of contexts, not only in commercials which advertise entertainment products. While 95 (49%) commercials from

the U.S. sample are identified as entertainment product, 178 (89.9%) commercials have used enjoyment appeal. Among commercials which have adopted enjoyment appeal, nearly half of them are not entertainment products. In other words, enjoyment appeal has been applied to most of American commercials despite the product category. In fact, most commercials in the U.S. sample, regardless of the product itself, placed strong emphasis on enjoyment and fun.

Likewise, the presence of the appeals of distinctive (75.9%) and individualistic (71.4%) among five dominant values is also anticipated. The prevalence of these two values is suggested by high index score of the U.S. on individualism dimension.

Individuals in commercials are oftentimes depicted as standing out in a crowd.

Meanwhile, a great number of commercials have either emphasized the unrivalled, incomparable, and unparalleled nature of a product, or have conveyed the message of using the advertised product could make an individual different than others.

As one of the dominant values, the appeal of youth was used frequently (75.3%) in U.S. samples. This aligns with Hofstede's observation that the U.S. scores low in the dimension of power distance, resulting in the glamorizing of the younger generation. Moreover, the appeal of adventure was often adopted in American commercials. The relatively low US scores on uncertainty avoidance suggests that American society tends to accept uncertainty; people are willing to take risks, to explore new things, and adventurous experiences are favored.

Five Most Frequently Used Appeals in Chinese Commercials

As shown in Table 8, five values used most frequently in Chinese commercials are, in a descending order of their frequencies, youth, enjoyment, group consensus, affiliation and family.

Table 8

Five Dominant Values in Chinese Commercials

<u>Value</u>	<u>China</u>		<u>U.S.</u>		<u>Chi-Square</u>
	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	
Youth	83	84.7 (3.64)	146	75.3 (3.07)	3.426
Enjoyment	48	49.0 (5.05)	178	89.9 (2.16)	*** 68.092
Group Consensus	40	40.8 (4.97)	2	1.0 (0)	*** 83.689
Affiliation	33	33.7 (4.78)	13	6.7 (1.80)	*** 35.691
Family	26	26.5 (4.46)	24	12.4 (2.37)	** 9.199

Standard Error in parenthesis

Youth and enjoyment as the most dominant appeals in Chinese commercials, and this finding seems contradictory with Hofstede's observation that China scores low in individualism and high in power distance. The value of enjoyment is usually positively associated with the dimension of individualism, and the value of youth is usually negatively associated with the dimensions of power distance.

The possible reason of the frequently use of youth and appeals in Chinese samples is twofold: children's commercials are the only type of subject used in this study, and the definition of youth appeal adopted in the coding scheme may contribute some additional explanations. Youth appeal is identified when the *emphasis* of the younger generation is

shown through the depiction of younger models, and since all samples in this study are children's TV commercials advertising products consumed by children, children and young people would appear in commercials as models to attract target consumers of similar age group. With respect to the use of enjoyment appeal, although education product is abundant and entertainment product is scarce in Chinese samples, childhood is still the time that is expected to have fun compared with other age stages. Thus the frequent use of enjoyment appeal in Chinese children's commercials is not completely unanticipated.

The presence of group consensus, affiliation, and family among dominant values in Chinese commercials can be explained according to China's low score in the dimension of individualism in Hofstede's framework. Chinese society is characterized by collectivism. The focus is not on individual as distinct and unlike other, but on the individual in relation to others. Oftentimes, the individual is depicted as an integral part of the whole while the importance of keeping the harmony of the group is placed ahead of the interest of individuals, and group consensus is much more important than individual's opinion. Moreover, people from a society with a collectivist orientation depend emotionally on organization and institutions they belong to. Thus, the values of affiliation and family are stressed.

The ranking of five dominant values in commercials reveals possible differences in cultural values between the U.S. and China. In the U.S., the first five reflect the cultural orientation in high index of individualistic and low index of power distance and uncertainty avoidance. For the Chinese, although youth and enjoyment are at the first two

places, the rest three dominant values of group consensus, affiliation and family reveal a strong cultural orientation of collectivism in China.

The Value of Schooling and Academic Achievement

According to analytical framework, the appeal of education is defined as how a society emphasizes the importance of schooling and children's academic achievement. The hypothesis regarding the difference in the value of schooling and academic achievement between the U.S. and China is tested from the following four aspects:

1. The use of the appeal of education in commercials,
2. The frequency of advertised products falling into education category,
3. The portrayed scholastic and non-scholastic activities in commercials, and
4. The scholastic and non-scholastic settings adopted in commercials.

Education Appeal

First, the appeal of education in this study is identified when the commercials claim that using advertised products will make children smarter, benefit children's performance in school, or help them obtain higher academic achievement.

Table 9

Education Appeal Used in Commercials

<u>Appeal</u>	<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>U.S. (N=194)</u>		<u>China (N=98)</u>	
		n	%	n	%
Education	*** 21.899	7	3.6	20	20.4

*** $p \leq .001$

As shown in Table 9, a small number of children's TV commercials in the sample from the U.S. adopted the education appeal, whereas up to one-fifth of children's TV

commercials in the sample from China used the education appeal. The test of Chi-square shows that education appeal is used more often in children's TV commercials in China than is it in those of the U.S. ($X^2=21.899$, $p\leq .001$). Thus the hypothesis of how education appeal is used differently in commercials between two countries is supported.

Portrayed Activities

Second, portrayed activity is also an important aspect of examining the messages conveyed by commercials (Ji & McNeal, 2001; Peterson, 1994, 1998). Peterson (1998) classified the portrayed activities children may engage in TV commercials that included scholastic activities, athletic activities, family activities, working, visiting with friends, eating or drinking, and others. To discover how the importance of education is perceived in children's life, the present study classified all portrayed activities into two categories: scholastic and non-scholastic.

Scholastic activity is identified when children in commercials prepare, participate, or talk about learning or school-related issue such as homework, academic achievement, and the rest kinds of activities are all defined as non-scholastic activity. In some cases, both scholastic and non-scholastic activities are portrayed in one commercial. Both of them were identified and coded during the coding procedure. Thus the percentages of the number of commercials portrayed scholastic and non-scholastic activities do not total 100 percent.

As shown in Table 10, the test of Chi-square shows that a higher percentage of children's TV commercials in China have scholastic activities portrayed than do those in the U.S., and a higher percentage of children's TV commercials in the U.S. have non-scholastic activity portrayed than do those in China.

Table 10

Portrayed Scholastic and Non-scholastic Activities in Commercials

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>U.S. (n=194)</u>		<u>China (n=98)</u>	
		n	%	n	%
Scholastic activity	* 6.174	11	5.7	14	14.3
Non-scholastic activity	*** 11.121	187	96.4	84	85.7

*p<=.05 ***p<=.001

The difference in how frequently scholastic and non-scholastic activity is portrayed between two countries is also considered an indicator of how each country values education differently. In a society where education is strongly emphasized, the children's daily life is expected to be oriented by the school-related activities. Thus, when children assume models in commercials, they are more likely to be depicted as engaging in scholastic activities. On the contrary, if the value of education is not much underscored in a society, school-related activity does not likely abound in children's daily life in this society. Therefore, the portrayed activities in children's commercials are not likely occupied much by scholastic activities. These findings coincide with other data that suggests that the education value is used more often in Chinese commercials than in the U.S.

Adopted Settings

Setting is an additional aspect of commercial messaging that also implicitly shows how education is perceived in the U.S. and China. Commercials adopt certain environments where the scenarios take place. All the environments in commercials were classified into two categories. A scholastic setting is identified when the scenario takes place either in a setting in schools, or a setting out of school but with appearance of any

scholastic-related appliance. A non-scholastic setting is indentified when the environment in commercials is neither a setting in school, nor with any appearance of any school-related appliance.

As shown in the Table 11, the Chi-Square test shows that a higher percentage of commercials in China assume scholastic setting than do those in the U.S. and a higher percentage of commercials in the U.S. assume non-scholastic setting than do those in China.

Table 11

Appearance of Scholastic and Non-scholastic Settings in Commercials

<u>Setting</u>	<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>U.S. (n=194)</u>		<u>China (n=98)</u>	
		n	%	n	%
Scholastic setting	** 9.068	12	6.2	17	17.3
Non-scholastic setting	*** 11.220	186	95.9	83	84.7

**p<=.01

***p<=.001

The aspect of adopted setting is examined because it has been noticed that even in commercials which neither advertise education product, nor is scholastic activity is portrayed, the scholastic setting may still appear. The presence of scholastic setting in commercials, particularly its appearance in commercials for non-education products has reflected the subtle levels at which the importance of education is stressed ubiquitously in a society. When education is placed with much importance, children's lives are more likely to be centered with schooling. Thus the scholastic settings, as well as school-related appliance such as a school bag, textbook, or children's stationary will appear more often in children's daily life. Even when children are not engaged with scholastic activities, the settings where the activities take place might only be a school environment.

Education Product

Lastly, the test of product category distribution revealed a supportive finding. It is hypothesized that in a society where education is highly valued, educational products will be advertised with greater frequency. As shown in Table 12, 4.1% commercials in the U.S. sample advertised educational products, and the number in Chinese sample is 12, with the percentage of 12.2%. It is shown by the Chi-square test that a higher percentage of children's TV commercials in China falls into the category of education than does that of the commercials in the U.S. ($X^2=6.731$, $p\leq .01$).

Table 12

Education Product in the U.S. and Chinese Samples

Product Category	Chi-Square	U.S. (n=194)		China (n=98)		Total (n=292)	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Education	** 6.731	8	4.1	12	12.2	20	6.8

** $p\leq .01$

The difference in the education product between the U.S. and China also reveals how education has been valued differently between two countries. Although the number of commercials for education products appearing on TV might not exactly reflect the number of education products a country produces, the number of commercials for certain kinds of products still reveals the perceived need for the products.

Across Product Categories

Looking at the appearance of scholastic setting in commercials, it is noticeable that in the Chinese sample, scholastic settings do not appear only in those commercials that fall in education product category, or that make use of education appeals. In fact, no matter what kind of product is advertised, no matter what kind of appeal is used in

commercials, the environment, the background, the locus of the story is easily associated with schools, classrooms, textbooks, classmates, etc. For example, in a commercial for a particular brand of biscuit, the product advertised has nothing to do with education, and the appeal used in this commercial is not education appeal either. However, the whole story in the commercial happens in a typical K-12 classroom, and between two students who sit next to each other. In another food commercial, two kids are sitting together at home and enjoying the pleasure from the food. Still, some textbooks, and other school items are prominently portrayed on the table. Certainly, the school setting is one of the main environments in which children live, but from the higher rate of appearances of school-related subjects, one can easily get a sense of how important schooling is to children in China.

Similar observations are noted in the use of the education appeal. Educational appeals are used in not only education products, but food/drink and PSAs in the Chinese sample, whereas it is only used in education products in the American sample. On the other hand, not only is entertainment and toy/game products advertised in the U.S. more than those in China, enjoyment appeal is used much more frequently in American children's commercials, no matter what product is being advertised. As Ji and McNeal found (2001), although food product is the largest group in American samples in their study, the emphasis of these products in their TV commercials is still on fun and happiness.

From the above findings, it is evident that the value of education is more stressed in China than in the U.S., and Chinese children's life is mainly centered on school. In contrast, school and academic achievement might not be the most focused upon aspect of

American children's life. Play, entertainment and having fun are considered more important. In other words, Chinese children are expected from their parents, teachers and the society to pursue academic success, which is viewed as the most significance on top of everything in their life, whereas their counterparts in the U.S. are expected to have fun and pursue the enjoyment of play first.

Differences and Similarities in Cultural Values

There have been empirical studies that try to measure cross-country differences in cultural values along several dimensions (e.g. Hofstede, 2001; Schwartz, 1992). However, these studies are based on survey questions, and not focused on education. The present study measured the differences in cultural values using children's TV commercials. As discussed in Chapter 2, the cultural values depicted in children's TV commercials specifically pertain to a subset area of social culture and social practice. In other words, the cultural values reflected in children's TV commercials are the revelation of values prevailing in a given society concerning its notion about childhood, child rearing and children's education. Thus, these values are usually reflections of parents, teachers and the society's expectations about children, and are also likely to be manifested in educational practices.

The Dimension of Individualism (IDV)

The identified appeals in commercials associated with the values suggested by the dimension of individualism in this study are: individualistic, independence, uniqueness, enjoyment, group consensus, affiliation, family, patriotism and popularity.

As displayed in Table 13, the test of Chi-Square shows that the appeals of individualistic, independence, uniqueness and enjoyment are used more frequently in children's TV commercials in the U.S. than in those of China. The test of Chi-Square also showed that the appeals of group consensus, affiliation, family, patriotism, and popularity are used more frequently in children's TV commercials in China than in those of the U.S. These findings are consistent with Hofstede's results on the cultural differences between the U.S. and China.

Table 13

Appeals (IDV) Used in Commercials

<u>Appeal</u>	<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>U.S. (N=194)</u>		<u>China (N=98)</u>	
		<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Individualistic	*** 56.299	139	71.6	25	25.5
Independence	*** 29.588	66	34.0	5	5.1
Uniqueness	*** 74.854	148	76.3	23	23.5
Enjoyment	*** 68.092	178	91.8	48	49.0
Group Consensus	*** 83.689	2	1.0	40	40.8
Affiliation	*** 35.691	13	6.7	33	33.7
Family	** 9.199	24	12.4	26	26.5
Patriotism	* 7.000	7	3.6	11	11.2
Popularity	*** 33.363	4	2.1	22	22.4

*p<=.05 **p<=.01 ***p<=.001

The findings of the current study show that the U.S. has a strong orientation in individualistic culture, and advocates the values that associated with it. With respect to the relationship between the individual and the collective, the goal and intention of individuals usually receive more respect, recognition and emphasis than group concerns

and needs. Independence is a shared societal norm in American society. The value of uniqueness, being different and unlike others is favored.

This strong orientation of individualism is manifested in educational practices. For example, as noted in Tobin and his colleagues' research on preschools in Japan, China and the US, teachers in the US preschool have a strong belief of the rights and priority of the individual and are committed to treating children as individuals. They stress the importance of tailoring the curriculum and teaching to each child's unique temperament, needs, interests, and abilities (J. Tobin, Hsueh, & Karasawa, 2008; J. J. Tobin, Wu, & Davidson, 1989). Such emphasis on providing diverse curriculum and teaching methods to suit different individuals are not restricted to preschool only, but present at all levels of education.

The results also show that the pursuit of individual pleasure and enjoyment in life is placed higher emphasis in the U.S. than in China. This is consistent with the general belief in the US that children have an inalienable right to the pursuit of happiness and that schools and learning need to be fun. Because of this belief, students' freedom of choice is a key feature of the US school curriculum and pedagogy.

In contrast, the individual in Chinese commercials is usually depicted as an integral part of the whole, instead of standing out in a crowd. Group consensus and conformity to the will of the group are more emphasized. Meanwhile, individuals have dependence on organizations and institutions. The perception of belonging to and being loyal to a certain group is reflected by the abundant use of appeals of affiliation, family and patriotism. The recognition of popularity, which also implies being the same as others is more emphasized than uniqueness and distinctiveness in China. This group orientation is

reflected in the use of large group activities and teacher-directed pedagogy in the Chinese schools.

The Dimension of Power Distance (PDI)

Values that are associated with the dimension of power distance are veneration of elderly, tradition, tamed, appearances, social status, youth and modernity. The low index score of the U.S. and the high index score of China in the dimension of power suggests that the values of veneration of elderly, tradition, tamed, appearance and social status are more emphasized in China whereas the values of youth and modernity are more emphasized in the U.S. It was hypothesized that the corresponding appeals used in commercials would yield the same result.

As displayed in Table 14, the test of Chi-Square shows that the appeals of veneration of elderly, tradition, tamed, appearance, and social status are used more frequently in children's TV commercials in China than in those of the U.S. The appeal of modernity is used more frequently in children's TV commercials in the U.S. than in those of China. There is no significant difference regarding the use of youth appeal in commercials between the U.S. and China. Except the appeal of youth, the hypotheses concerning appeals associated with the dimension of power distance are all supported. This result is largely in line with Hofstede's observation that China scores considerably higher than the U.S. in the power distance dimension.

Table 14

Appeals (PDI) Used in Commercials

Appeal	Chi-Square	U.S. (N=194)		China (N=98)	
		n	%	n	%
Veneration of Elderly	*** 13.903	2	1.0	10	10.2

Table 14 cont'd

Tradition	*** 20.765	4	2.1	16	16.3
Tamed	*** 15.437	0	0	9	9.2
Appearance	** 9.517	7	3.6	13	13.3
Social Status	*** 37.333	2	1.0	21	21.4
Youth	3.426	146	75.3	83	84.7
Modernity	** 9.803	63	32.5	15	15.3

** p<=.01

***p<=.001

The veneration of the elderly and tradition runs deep in Chinese consciousness. A proud attitude toward Chinese history and tradition is also deep-rooted in Chinese culture. In fact, veneration of the elderly and being proud of China's long historical heritage are important parts of moral education for children and youth. From the very beginning of socialization, children are infused with the norm of respect for older people, and this respect expands to people with more power and authority. Consequently, the relationship between parents, grandparents and children at home, and the relationship between teachers and students in school are both characterized with younger people accepting of authority with little questioning. Students are expected to show their respect to teachers and behave obediently in classroom. As Hofstede noticed (1986; 2001), in a society where large a power distance appears, one could expect students are dependent on teachers, and treat teachers with respect in a classroom. Classroom instruction in this context tends to be teacher-centered. Usually, teachers initiate all communications in the classroom and they are considered as gurus who transfer personal wisdom to their students. Teachers' authority is not supposed to be challenged.

Furthermore, in a society with large power distance, the pursuit of social status is encouraged. Accordingly, external appearance, as one of the symbols showing status,

receives much attention by societal members too. The appeal of social status is identified when the commercials make the claim that the use of advertised product is able to elevate the position or rank of the user in the eyes of others. This appeal is used more often in children's TV commercials in China than in those of the U.S.

Reflected in children's commercials, particularly the commercials which advertise educational products, this appeal oftentimes is conveyed through the statement made by spokesperson or student characters saying that: this product has helped to rank No. 1 in the exam. In China, the emphasis on the value of social status permeates in school as a stress on the competition and ranking among students in terms of their test scores. Students' test scores and the ranking in class and grade are publicized and the ranking is usually used as a method to motivate students. The use of group pressures as an extrinsic motivational tool in the Chinese schools is in sharp contrast with the practice in the US schools, where individual choice is emphasized as a method to foster intrinsic motivation.

On the contrary, the veneration of elderly, tradition and tamed are much less emphasized in American society where power distance is quite small. Instead, disobeying tradition and the freedom to challenge authorities is encouraged. Also noticed by Hofstede (1986; 2001), one could expect teachers and students treat each other as equals in classrooms, and classroom instruction tends to be more student-centered. Students initiate communications as well as teachers.

The value of modernity, meaning the notion of being new, contemporary, and up-to-date, is also stressed more in the US commercials. Given the rapid economic and social changes that have occurred in the Chinese society over the last three decades, one might expect that current generation of Chinese would embrace the value of modernity much

more than older generations do and encourage children to be innovative and adaptive to a dynamic environment. The results from the children's commercials, however, show that that value of modernity is still emphasized less in China than in the US. It is interesting though to note that the difference in the value of modernity between the two countries is not as significant as the differences in the values of veneration to elderly, tradition, tamed and social status.

For the hypotheses concerning appeals associated with the dimension of power distance, the only one that is not supported by the data of the current study is the appeal of youth. One reason is that the appeal of youth is identified when the commercial conveys the message of the glorification of younger generation which is shown through the depiction of younger models. In children's commercials, the majority of the children's commercials inevitably adopt children or younger people as models to advertise the products that are consumed primarily by them. Thus, both American commercials and Chinese commercials have adopted this appeal to a great extent. Another reason is related to the dimension of uncertainty avoidance, which will be discussed in the following section.

The Dimension of Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI)

The dimension of uncertainty avoidance is associated with values of safety, durable, adventure, magic and youth. As displayed in Table 15, the test of Chi-Square shows that the appeals of adventure, magic, and youth are used more frequently in children's TV commercials in the U.S. than in those of China. There is not a significant difference in the use of appeals of safety, durable and youth between the U.S. and China.

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Table 15

Appeals (UAI) Used in Commercials

Appeal	Chi-Square	U.S. (N=194)		China (N=98)	
		n	%	n	%
Safety	0.057	20	10.3	11	11.2
Durable	2.578	9	4.6	1	1.0
Adventure	*** 95.343	141	72.7	12	12.2
Magic	*** 31.478	102	52.6	18	18.4
Youth	3.426	146	75.3	83	84.7

***p<=.001

The U.S. and China do not score much differently in the dimension of uncertainty avoidance. Both of them are considered as moderately low in this dimension. This is perhaps why the use of safety, durable and youth appeals do not differ between the two countries. However, there are significant differences of the use of adventure and magic appeals between two countries despite the U.S. scores a little higher in uncertainty avoidance than does China. This finding, though it seems contradictory with the prediction of national scores from Hofstede's cultural dimensions, confirms that Americans are more willing to take risks and to have adventurous experiences. In addition, the favor of magical experiences suggests that the ability of imagination and being creative is more valued in American society. Compared to Americans, Chinese are relatively more inclined to avoid adventurous or unknown circumstances (Dahl, 2005).

Relating the Values to Education and Non-Education Products

First, Figure 3 and Figure 4 show the appeal distribution by product type for both countries. For both countries, there are three main differences in the use of appeals in education and non-education products: 1) Both countries tend to adopt the appeal of

education more frequently in education products; 2) Both countries use the appeals of adventure and magic mainly in non-education products; 3) Both countries use the appeal of social status in education products more often than in non-education products.

Second, to see if the China-US differences in the use of appeals are affected by product type, the separate Chi-Square tests are conducted for each appeal using data of commercials for non-education products and education products, respectively. The results are reported in the Table 15 along with the original test result using the whole sample. The results for the whole sample carry through if only the data of non-education products are used. For the commercials of education products, the sample sizes are too small to make any meaningful statistic inference about the difference between the two countries. (Note that when expected frequencies are less than 5, Yate's correction is employed and the results are indicated with a superscripted Y.)

In summary, the China-US differences in the use of appeals reflect mainly the differences in the commercials for non-education products. For the use of scholastic activity and setting, it is affected by the product type where the main difference is contributed by educational products though.

Figure 3

US Appeal Distribution by Product Type

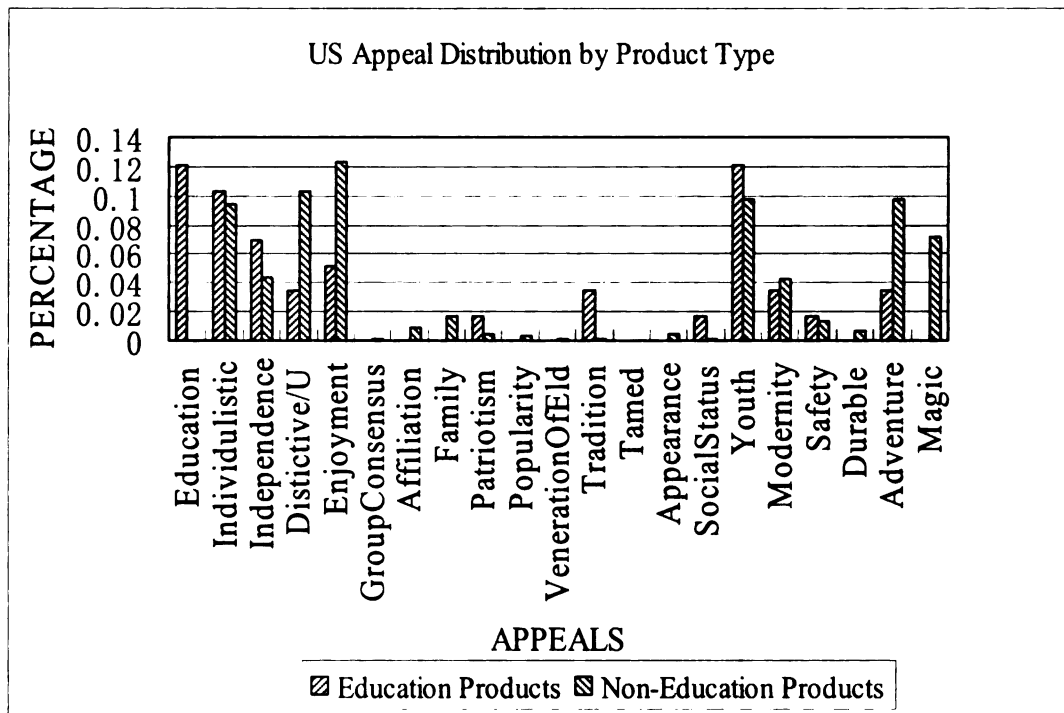


Figure 4

China Appeal Distribution by Product Type

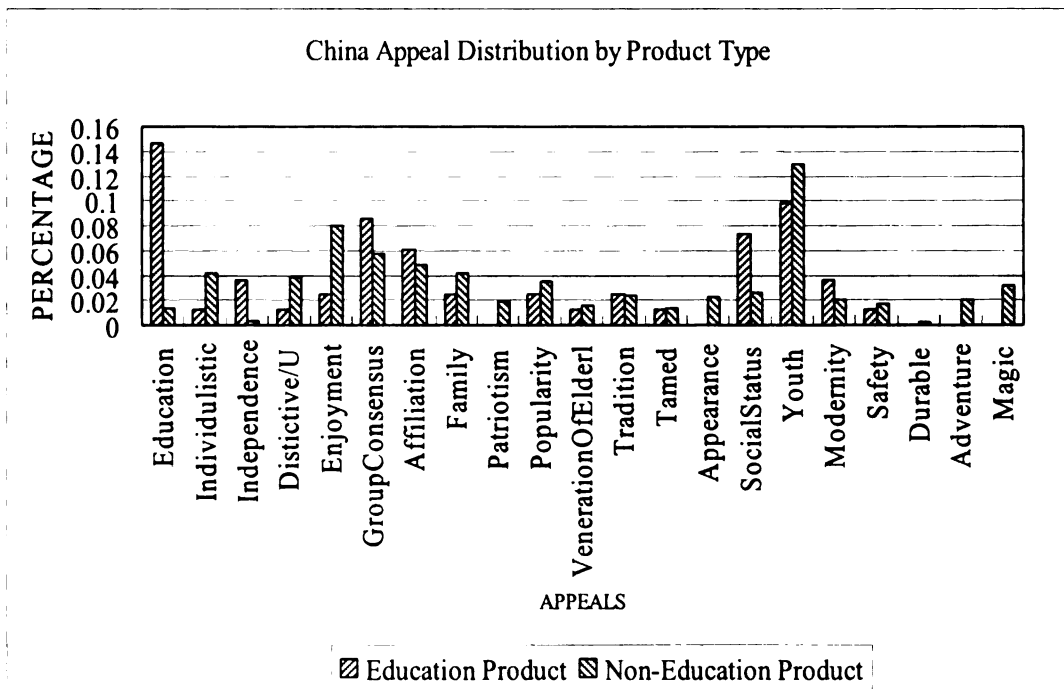


Table 16

Appeals Used across Education Products and non-Education Products

<u>Appeals</u>	χ^2 (Total)	<u>U.S.</u> (N=194)	<u>China</u> (N=98)	χ^2 (Education Product)	<u>U.S.</u> (N=8)	<u>China</u> (N=12)	χ^2 (non-Education Product)	<u>U.S.</u> (N=186)	<u>China</u> (N=86)
		n	n		n	n		n	n
Education	*** 21.899	7	20	Y 0.044	7	12	Y ***14.358	0	8
Individualistic	*** 56.299	139	25	Y **6.676	6	1	***45.806	133	24
Independence	*** 29.588	66	5	Y 0.449	4	3	***31.425	62	2
Uniqueness	*** 74.854	148	23	Y 0.147	2	1	***69.721	146	22
Enjoyment	*** 68.092	178	48	Y 0.278	3	2	***63.624	175	46
Group Consensus	*** 83.689	2	40	Y *4.844	0	7	***72.964	2	33
Affiliation	*** 35.691	13	33	Y 2.5	0	5	***30.034	13	28

Table 16 cont'd

Affiliation	*** 35.691	13	33	Y 2.5	0	5	***30.034	13	28
Family	** 9.199	24	26	Y 0.208	0	2	**9.109	24	24
Patriotism	* 7.000	7	11	Y 0.044	1	0	**9.182	6	11
Popularity	*** 33.363	4	22	Y 0.208	0	2	***32.959	4	20
Veneration of Elderly	*** 13.903	2	10	Y 0.044	0	1	Y ***11.052	2	9
Tradition	*** 20.765	4	16	Y 0.013	2	2	***24.554	2	14
Tamed	*** 15.437	0	9	Y 0.044	0	1	Y ***14.717	0	8
Appearance	** 9.517	7	13	**11.6	0	0	***11.127	7	13
Social Status	*** 37.333	2	21	Y 1.548	1	6	***30.354	1	15
Youth	3.426	146	83	Y 0.278	7	8	*4.852	139	75

Table 16 cont'd

Modernity	** 9.803	63	15	^Y 0.278	2	3	**10.633	61	12
Safety	0.057	20	11	^Y 0.208	1	1	0.123	19	10
Durable	2.578	9	1	**11.6	0	0	^Y 1.326	9	1
Adventure	*** 95.343	141	12	^Y 1.134	2	0	***87.964	139	12
Magic	*** 31.478	102	18	**11.6	0	0	***27.427	102	18

*p<=.05 **p<=.01 ***p<=.001

Yate's correction is employed when expected frequencies are less than 5 and the results are indicated with a superscripted Y

Summary of Major Findings

The major findings from the data analysis are distilled from the following aspects: the priority of need gratification, the dominant values, the value of schooling and academic achievement, and the differences in cultural values according to cultural dimensions.

First, the value of formal schooling and children's academic achievement receives much higher emphasis in China than in the U.S. Chinese children's life is probably centered to a large degree on schooling and their academic achievement. The importance of entertainment in children's life might have been neglected to some extent within Chinese culture in favor of the higher priorities. The children's need for fun and entertainment is given top priority in the U.S., whereas the need for education might not have been stressed as much.

Second, for the general cultural values concerning children and education, the values of individualism, independence, uniqueness, enjoyment, modernity, adventure and magic are emphasized more in the U.S. than in China, whereas the values of group consensus, affiliation, family, patriotism, popularity, veneration of elderly, tradition, tamed, appearance, and social status are emphasized more in China than in the U.S. Children and young people receive high attention both in Chinese and American society. The findings support that the U.S. holds a strong orientation toward an individualistic culture, and a small power distance, whereas China holds a strong orientation toward collectivist culture and features a large power distance. Although both the U.S. and China are identified as societies which are moderately willing to accept and cope with uncertainty, the U.S. favors the values of adventurous and magic more than China.

CHAPTER 5. IMPLICATIONS

The findings from this study have some significant implications for understanding the differences in various aspects of education found in cross-national comparisons. Moreover, these findings also provide important cautions that should be concerned by education reformers and policy makers who advocate borrowing educational ideas and practices from countries of different cultures. This chapter explores the implications of these findings and makes recommendations for future research and practice in this area.

Implications for Understanding Differences Found in International Comparisons

Most cross-national comparisons have focused on discovering the differences in students' academic achievement and explaining the differences within educational context between the U.S. and other countries. These differences include various aspects of education including the curriculum system, the approach of teachers toward working together, and the importance of education perceived by parents and the general public. While it is argued that these differences should be understood at a broader level of societal environment, little research has been done to investigate the differences embedded in social culture and cultural values. The findings from this study, taking the comparison between the U.S. and China as an example, provide an exploratory answer to this question.

As revealed by this study, China and the U.S. differ to a large extent on their cultural orientation of individualism vs. collectivism and the degree of power distance manifested in the context of education. Hofstede (2001) noted that the relationship between the individual and the group, and the extent to which power is distributed equally or according to a hierarchy are intimately linked with values system shared by major groups

of the population and societal norms. Therefore, they affect both people's mental programming and the structure and functioning of all institutions in a society. As a consequence and expression of their distinctive cultures, the fundamental structure and functioning of educational system in the U.S. and China differ to a large degree.

The strong collectivist orientation and a large power distance manifested in the context of education are expressed by a centralized, unified and hierarchical educational system in China. Rather than emphasizing individual development, the major purpose of education in China is designed to prepare children to be adaptive to the skills and virtues necessary to be an acceptable group member. In this context, education is an organized means by which children learn to adapt themselves to the expectations of the larger community. In this sense, the benefit of collectivity is placed above individual interest. School education, then, is designed to instill in children the norms and expectations of the society. Education responds to this collective goal by forming and maintaining a centralized system, in which every school shares a common curriculum as well as the same textbooks, assessments and organizational structure.

In contrast, individualism and a small power distance are manifested in the context of education in the U.S. For Americans, education is viewed as a means of empowering children. The goal is to enable children to grow and respect themselves as individuals. Schools and parents encourage children to develop according to their unique needs and potentials. Consequently, education systems tend to honor individuality over conformity. Based on the recognition of and respect for differences across individuals and schools, as well as the purpose of education which emphasizing the development and realization of individuals' capacity and talents, the expression of this cultural orientation is typified by a decentralized model of local control. As such, the curriculum, textbook, assessment,

and organizational structure of schools are all marked with the features of a diversified, decentralized, and non-unified system to give students with different aptitudes and interests diverse choices. The education system seeks to maximize adaptation to individual need as far as resources permit.

Differences in the way teachers work together in each country has drawn much attention as well. In the U.S., working together has been neither an orienting goal of a teacher's work nor an organizational reality supported by the structure of school policy. Many teachers choose to teach because of the autonomy that teaching provides (Paine & Ma, 1993). Although U.S. teachers need to cooperate in building curriculum and effective school climate, in the actual planning and teaching of courses teachers prefer to work on their own, responsive to the uniqueness of their backgrounds and their students. In this sense, the teaching profession is characterized by privatization. The above perception of teaching profession and teachers' collaboration is in line with the fundamental cultural orientation of individualism. It is that emphasis on the values of individualism, independence, distinctiveness and the like that has supported school structure and which favors teachers working separately and independently.

Researchers have noted that the cultural assumptions and their expression in schools underpin the practice of formally working together for teachers have related in a great extent to the collectivism and the hierarchy in the organization in China (Paine & Ma, 1993). The Chinese approach to teaching is that teacher should work together in virtually every phase of their work. A centralized curriculum system is partly actualized through a universal national teaching outline which sets the common objectives for each subject at each grade level. Sharing the same objectives and content teaching approved by the states, teachers in China collectively study and discuss the teaching outline; prepare lesson plans

according to the outline; schedule specific plans for the content and approach to each lesson; arrange for peer observations of teaching, and so on. Moreover, this approach is formally supported by the structure of school organization through teaching research group. Instead of having desks in classroom, teachers have a common place as the office of teaching research group to work together.

Paine and Ma (1993) pointed out that elements of Chinese cultural traditions, the strong orientation of collectivism and emphasis on hierarchy underlie these practices in ways that have made the teaching research group uniquely Chinese, persistent in the face of reform, and powerful in its effect on teaching practice. The Chinese teachers' working together is shaped not only by the immediate organizational and structural practices, but to a large extent by its long tradition of collectivism orientation.

The findings of this study also confirm the difference in the perceptions of the value of education to children between the U.S. and China. Schooling and student academic achievement are viewed with greater importance in China. While the value of education is endorsed collectively by the whole society, it has strong impact on parent's attitudes and beliefs to children's education. Thus, it is observed that Chinese parents hold higher expectation for children's achievement, place a higher value on schooling, and involve themselves in their children's school work to a larger extent. On the contrary, the value of education is not stressed as much in the U.S. American parents tend to place less emphasis on the importance of their children's academic skills. They also tend to have higher degree of satisfaction and lower expectation for their children's academic outcomes than do Chinese parents.

Children are infused with the values of the society in which they live, and they are expected to assimilate the cultural values from the very beginning of their socialization

and enculturation. The cultural values endorsed by a society are established in a child's consciousness during his or her early years and are further developed and reinforced at school. It is noted that in U.S. schools, students' individual initiatives are encouraged in classroom; students are expected to speak up in class when they need or want to; they are encouraged to challenge questionable authorities without worry of violating any social norms; they are also supposed to be independent and stand on their own feet. The value of being distinctive is also stressed in school. There is a basically positive attitude toward difference and uniqueness. The values that are more emphasized in China suggest that students' individual initiatives could be discouraged in school. Meanwhile, being different is not valued; instead, the group consensus, the feeling of belong to a group is emphasized. Students are expected to show veneration of the elderly and tradition. Accordingly, tamed and obedient students are usually favored by teachers in China.

Implication for Educational Reform

As discussed, the structure and functioning of an educational system is greatly shaped by social culture and values prevalent in the society. It is acknowledged that the observable differences in educational practice and thinking between the U.S. and China exist for reasons that lie beneath the surface, and researchers agree that cultural values are not easily changed by simple advocacy or even by formal educational policies (e.g. K. Cheng, 1998). The differences in underlying educational values between the U.S. and China are an extension of each country's larger cultural milieu, and as such those interested in borrowing educational practices across nations should be cognizant of the difficulty and challenges implicit in doing so.

Many countries have tried to borrow ideas and practices from other countries as a solution to their own educational problems. However, education policy makers and reformers have come to recognize that educational ideas and practices borrowed from abroad may carry with it implicit cultural values that could end up being obstacles in the process of adoption. In this case, understanding the cultural background, particularly the cultural values, in the context of education of the original country is crucial to this kind of educational reform.

For example, there have been studies focusing on Chinese model for teaching, particularly the importance of establishing a teaching research group by which teachers formally work together (Paine, 1990, 1997; Paine & Ma, 1993). Teaching research groups are not indigenous to China but was introduced from the Soviet Union in the early 1950s (Paine & Ma, 1993). However, this practice has been well adopted and thrives in schools, in part because of its compatibility to the cultural orientation of collectivism in China. It is also acknowledged that the cultural assumptions in China about the purpose of education, knowledge, teaching, and teachers' expertise help create an environment which supports teachers working together. Educators who are interested in introducing this idea and practice to American schools should not only pay attention to the operational details of a teaching research group, but ought to be aware of the underlying cultural assumptions which are different, or even opposite to the cultural context existing in American schools. Ignorance to the cultural values embedded in particular practices could bring unexpected consequences during the process, and might lead to failure distortion.

Suggestions for Future Research

The present study has exploited the reflective potential of children's TV commercials to measure educational values. Cultural values are expressed in various forms. Although TV commercial is a mirror of social culture, there is a limitation of its capacity to reveal all of the cultural values that might be of interest and relevance to this study. To better describe cultural values in the context of education, more aspects of a society's cultural environment of education should be considered as subjects of investigation. For example, the commercials appearing on print media could also serve as a effective tool to measure values (H. Cheng, 1994). Some values which are not adopted as appeals in TV commercials could be reflected by the text used in advertising on print media. In fact, the more social products we examine, the broader our understanding of cultural values becomes.

Second, although the purpose of this study is to investigate cultural values reflected through children's TV commercials, the extent to which people's attitude and believes could be influenced by commercials remains unknown. Advertising reflects values, but how these values have been taken and assimilated by audiences is still a question. The power of mass media could take effect in different ways, and to different extents. Thus a future study could look at children, parents and teachers' perception of values conveyed by commercials to see if there is any pattern in the interaction between values embedded in commercials and the effect on audiences.

Finally it is important to note that commercials are an important component of mass media. They can not only reflect cultural values, but also play a role of change agent within social culture. How parents, children and the general public value education could be channeled and changed by being exposed to commercials and the degree to which

values might be influenced by this media needs further investigation. This stream of study also has a more pragmatic meaning. Advertisers are fully aware of the effect of appeals and their relationship to cultural values. This mechanism can be deliberately utilized to design, produce and disseminate commercial in order to promote desired social norms and cultural values, and thus can serve as a tool to help shape future values as they relate to education.

Appendix

Operational Definition for Activities, Settings and Appeals

The operational definitions of activities, setting and appeals are adapted from previous research including Cheng and Schwertizer's study, Ji and McNeal's study, Mueller's study, and Pollay's study. (Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Ji & McNeal, 2001; Mueller, 1987; Pollay, 1983)

Activity

Scholastic:

Children prepare, participate, or talk about learning or school-related activities

Non-scholastic activities:

Children prepare, participate, or talk about exercise, games, or sports

Setting

Scholastic environment:

Either a setting in school or a setting out of school but with appearance of any academic-related articles

Non-scholastic environment:

Neither a setting in school, nor with appearance of any academic-related articles

Appeal

The Value of Education:

This value shows respect for knowledge, education, intelligence, expertise, or experience. The emphasis is on claiming to make a child smarter and obtain higher academic achievement.

Individualistic:

The emphasis is on the individual as distinct and unlike others. Individuals are depicted as standing out in a crowd. Nonconformity is a key term.

Independence:

The emphasis is on the individual having the ability to be self-sufficient, self-reliance, autonomy, unattached, to-do it yourself, to do your own thing. Dependency is downplayed.

Distinctive/Uniqueness:

Rare, unique, unusual, scarce, infrequent, exclusive. The unrivalled, incomparable, and unparalleled nature of a product is emphasized, e.g., "We're the only one that offers you the product."

Enjoyment:

To have fun, laugh, be happy, celebrate, to enjoy games, parties, feasts and festivities, to participate. This appeal suggests that a product will make its user wild with

joy. Typical examples include the capital fun that children who enjoy food, or game/toy demonstrate in some commercials.

Group Consensus:

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

Affiliation:

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

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.

Patriotism:

The love and loyalty to one's own nation inherent in the nature or in the use of a product are suggested here. Relating to community, state, national publics, public spiritedness, group unity, national identity, society, patriotism, civic and community organizations or other social organizations.

Popularity:

The focus here is on the universal recognition and acceptance of a certain product by consumers, e.g. "Best seller"; "Well known..." Commonplace, customary, well known, conventional, regular, usual, ordinary, normal standard, typical, universal, general, everyday, etc are emphasized.

Veneration of Elderly:

Wisdom of the elderly is stressed. 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. Being adult, grown-up, middle aged, senior, elderly, having associated insight, wisdom, mellowness, adjustment, references to ageing, death, retirement, or age related disabilities or compensations.

Tradition:

Classic, historical, antique, legendary, time-honored, longstanding, venerable, nostalgic. The veneration of that which is traditional is stressed. The emphasis 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".

Tamed:

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

Appearance:

This appeal suggests that the use of the product will enhance the loveliness, attractiveness, elegance, or handsomeness of an individual. Having a socially desirable appearance, being beautiful, pretty, handsome, being fashionable, well groomed, tailored, graceful, glamorous.

Social Status:

Envy, social status or competitiveness, conceit, boasting, prestige, power, dominance, exhibitionism, pride in ownership, wealth (including the sudden wealth of prizes), trend setting, to seek compliments. The use of the product is claimed to be able to elevate the position or rank of the user in the eyes of others. The feeling of prestige, trendsetting, and pride in the use of the product is conveyed. This appeal 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.

Youth:

Being young or rejuvenated, children, kids, immature, underdeveloped, junior, adolescent. The worship of the younger generation is shown through the depiction of younger models. The rejuvenating benefits of the product are stressed; stress is on contemporariness and youthful benefits of the products.

Modernity:

Contemporary, modern, new, improved, progressive, advanced introducing, announcing, etc. The notion of being new, contemporary, up-to-date, and ahead of time is emphasized in a commercial.

Safety:

Security (from external threat), carefulness, caution, stability, absence of hazards, potential injury or other risks, guarantees, warranties, manufacturers' reassurances. The reliable and secure nature of a product is emphasized.

Durable:

Long-lasting, permanent, stable, enduring, strong, powerful, hearty, tough. 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.

Adventure:

This appeal suggests boldness, daring, bravery, courage, seeking adventure, or thrill. Sky-diving is a typical example.

Magic:

Miracles, magic, mysticism, mystery, witchcraft, wizardry, superstitions, occult sciences, mythic characters, to mesmerizes, astonish, bewitch, fill with wonder. The emphasis here is on the miraculous effect and nature of a product.

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