



One region, two worlds? Cultural values in Chinese and Indian TV commercials

Hong Cheng & Padmini Patwardhan

To cite this article: Hong Cheng & Padmini Patwardhan (2010) One region, two worlds? Cultural values in Chinese and Indian TV commercials, Asian Journal of Communication, 20:1, 69-89, DOI: [10.1080/01292980903440863](https://doi.org/10.1080/01292980903440863)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01292980903440863>



Published online: 17 Mar 2010.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 358



View related articles [↗](#)



Citing articles: 5 View citing articles [↗](#)

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

One region, two worlds? Cultural values in Chinese and Indian TV commercials

Hong Cheng^{a*} and Padmini Patwardhan^b

^a*E. W. Scripps School of Journalism, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, USA;* ^b*Department of Mass Communication, Winthrop University, Rock Hill, South Carolina, USA*

(Received 29 November 2008; final version received 21 March 2009)

Major cultural values in Chinese and Indian TV commercials were identified in this content analysis. Commercials in both countries were found emphasizing *modernity* over *tradition* as a dominant value. Chinese commercials used more traditional values while Indian commercials reflected a more Western value orientation. Foreign brands used *modernity* more frequently than domestic brands. Foreign brands of Eastern origin used *modernity* even more often than those of Western origin. Product category emerged as the most important variable affecting cultural values in both countries' commercials. While contributing to international advertising research, this study provides implications for international advertising practice.

Keywords: cultural values; China; India; TV commercials; content analysis

Introduction

In cross-cultural and cross-national advertising studies, the extent to which global advertisers represent Eastern–Western and modern–traditional value systems in their advertising messages has been the subject of much discussion (Belk, Bryce, & Pollay, 1985; Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Mueller, 1987, 1992; Sengupta & Frith, 1997). Nowhere is this investigation more pertinent than in countries undergoing economic and social transition. Advertising in these countries tends to be in more flux than in developed nations. The negotiation of local and global cultural forces leads to questions about shifting value frameworks and their possible effect on the development of advertising campaigns. In this article, the advertising–culture connection in China and India, two major transforming consumer societies, is explored through an investigation of cultural values reflected in their TV commercials.

The attraction of China and India to global advertisers is obvious: their population and consumption. With 1.34 billion and 1.17 billion people, respectively, they are the two most populous nations on earth (China, 2009; India, 2009). Especially appealing to global advertisers is their fast-growing middle class and the projected momentum for continued growth in the decades to come (Adler, 2009). As active participants in the global economy, the two countries are drastically affected by globalization.

*Corresponding author. Email: chengh@ohio.edu

While functioning as an economic tool in a consumer society, advertising is also a carrier of cultural messages (Chan & Cheng, 2002; Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Kwok, 2006; Pollay, 1983, 1986; Pollay & Gallagher, 1990). While prior research suggests that ‘cultural variables are the best variables to explain differences’ in consumer behavior (de Mooij, 2004, p. 86), globalization of both countries’ advertising industries raises important questions for the interaction between advertising and culture. On the one hand, advertising messages shape and influence culture; on the other, they reflect culture (Frith & Mueller, 2003). It is possible, therefore, to observe the extent to which traditional value systems have adapted to the ongoing effects of globalization as reflected in advertising content.

The significance and timeliness of this study is twofold. From a cultural perspective, it provides the first simultaneous examination of cultural messages in ads in the two Asian giants. Although the rapid economic growth of China has made it a focal point for international advertising research (Taylor, 2005), little scholarly attention has been directed at India. Second, side-by-side comparison of advertising content in Chinese and Indian commercials is instructive for global advertising strategy analysis. A good understanding of changes in culture, as reflected in ads, is pivotal for interpretation of international advertising decisions regarding advertising appeals, execution styles, and formats (de Mooij, 2010).

Theoretical frameworks

Convergence and divergence in consumer behavior

The convergence–divergence model in consumer behavior proposed by de Mooij (2004) establishes a basis for understanding the relationship between advertising and culture. As she explained, the wealthier (the more convergent) countries become, the more manifest (the more divergent) is ‘the influence of culture on consumption and consumer behavior’ (p. 69). As two fast-growing developing nations, China and India are in a flux of numerous convergences and divergences. As gaps in wealth and technology between them and more developed nations narrow, the influence of culture on their consumers’ behavior will increase. Therefore, examining cultural messages in Chinese and Indian ads is an important and indispensable first step toward understanding cultural influences on their consumers.

Cultural values

Centrally placed in various definitions of culture (de Mooij, 2010; Giddens, 1989; Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005; Inglehart, 1990; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961), a value is ‘an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to alternate modes of conduct or end-state of existence’ (Rokeach, 1968, p. 160). Although each individual has a unique set of personal values, *cultural values*, ‘the governing ideas and guiding principles for thought and action’ (Srikandath, 1991, p. 166), tend to permeate a culture and differ in *valence* (the positive or negative interpretation of a value) and *intensity* (the strength or importance of a value) from culture to culture. Cultural differences exist in part because of the valences and intensities given to various cultural values. If we imagine such value differences along a minimum–maximum

dimension, the maximum differences are observed between Asian and Western cultures (Porter & Samovar, 1997). Thus, some cultural values (such as *collectivism*, *reverence for elders*, and *tradition*) are more representative of Eastern cultures while others (such as *individualism*, *youth*, and *modernity*) are more typical of Western cultures (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987; Mueller, 1987, 1992; Pan, Chaffee, Chu, & Ju, 1994; Srikandath, 1991).

Many cultural values may also be differentiated as utilitarian and symbolic. *Utilitarian values* may indicate a low-context culture, in which 'communication is vested in the explicit code'. *Symbolic values* could, although not necessarily always, suggest a high-context culture, in which 'very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message' (Hall, 1976, p. 177). In advertising, utilitarian values (such as *effectiveness*, *efficiency*, and *quality*) mainly highlight product features while symbolic values (such as *modernity*, *tradition*, and *youth*) suggest human emotions (Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Zhang & Harwood, 2004).

Both China and India are part of Eastern culture, sharing many traditional values like *reverence for elders*, *respect for tradition*, *harmony with others*, *modesty*, and *diligence* (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987; de Mooij, 2010; Pan et al., 1994; Shunglu & Sarkar, 1995). At the same time, noticeable differences exist: *Time* magazine's term for India is 'the un-China' (Elliott, 2006, p. 38). Religion is a mainstay of Indian life, with all major world religions represented though Hinduism and Islam are dominant (India, 2009). Although Buddhism and Daoism are more influential than other world religions in China, the overall role of religion is less prominent (China, 2009). Both countries also differ in English usage, which is more important for national, political, and commercial communication in India than in China. Moreover, 'India, the world's largest democracy, has enjoyed a remarkably free press' (Hachten & Scotton, 2007, p. 20) whereas most media in China are state-owned and regarded as being 'caged ... in a free economy' (Hachten & Scotton, 2007, p. 94).

Dimensions of national culture model: individualism vs. collectivism

When viewed through the prism of Hofstede's (2001) dimensions of national culture, other obvious differences exist. Hofstede's (2001) dimensions include power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, and long-term orientation. The dimensions are measured on a scale from 0 to 100. (The stronger a cultural dimension, the higher a score.) While China emerges as a higher power distance society with stronger long-term orientation and uncertainty avoidance, India is seen as more individualistic. This study focuses on individualism vs. collectivism as cultural differentiators because individualism is the only dimension on which India has an obvious higher index ('45') (a little above the world's average, '43') than China ('20'), offering an opportunity to examine how this core US cultural value (Hofstede, 2001) is reflected in the ads of two typically non-Western societies.

The reflection hypothesis and the value paradox concept

The 'reflection hypothesis' (Tuchman, 1978) suggests that mass media in a society have to reflect its dominant social values to attract the audience while playing safe. From an advertising perspective, ads have to attract audiences generally interested in

familiar images, and advertising content cannot move too far away from public opinion (Kwok, 2006). At the same time, the primary purpose of advertising is to stimulate purchase behavior. It does so by adopting strategies that rework culture to create new aspirations and desires for products (Ciochetto, 2004). In this context, de Mooij (2010) states that seemingly paradoxical values are found in every culture and often reflected in its advertising. At the heart of the paradox lies a potential conflict between what is 'socially desirable' and what is 'individually desired'. Countries experiencing rapid economic growth may be more susceptible to such cultural conflicts (Taylor, 2005). This study incorporates several seemingly opposite values or value types into the investigative framework: *Eastern vs. Western*, *symbolic vs. utilitarian*, and *collectivistic vs. individualistic* values. In particular, the *modernity vs. tradition* paradox is examined because neither China nor India severs ties with tradition in a national quest for modernity. This paradox is not uniquely Chinese or Indian: 'It occurs at almost every turning point of world history. Successful social transformations are often based on complex relationships between past and present' (Wang, 1996, p. 1).

Advertising as a 'distorted mirror'

In his seminal research on advertising and culture, Pollay (1983) formulated a coding framework (consisting of 42 cultural values) to systematically measure how values are reflected in advertising. Three years later, he developed the well-known 'distorted mirror' metaphor to illustrate how his coding framework was related to the nature of advertising (Pollay, 1986). In 1990, Pollay and Gallagher tested the 'distorted mirror' concept empirically and identified 25 cultural values frequently depicted in North American ads that showed 'high consistency over time and across media' (p. 359). As they pointed out, '[t]he mirror is distorted ... because advertising reflects only certain attitudes, behaviors and values ... those that serve sellers' interests' (Pollay & Gallagher, 1990, p. 360).

Modified versions of Pollay's framework have been widely used in cross-cultural studies focused on Eastern and Western cultures (Belk et al., 1985; Chan & Cheng, 2002; Cheng, 1994, 1997; Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Ji & McNeal, 2001; Kwok, 2006; Lin, 2001; Srikandath, 1991). Yet, this framework is criticized for its excessive number of value items (Zhang & Harwood, 2004). While keeping the strengths of Pollay's framework intact, this article avoids its limitations by focusing on a smaller number of cultural values selected after a careful literature review.

In sum, working together, the above-mentioned theories, models, and concepts constitute a coherent theoretical framework for this study. The convergence-divergence model and the value paradox concept proposed by de Mooij (2004, 2010) justify the need for examinations of cultural values in general and for investigations of seemingly antithetical cultural values in particular. Hofstede's (2001) dimensions of national culture provide this study with empirical backing for assuming some major similarities and differences between Chinese and Indian cultures. While the 'reflection hypothesis' suggests the reflective nature of advertising, the 'distorted mirror' concept not only indicates how cultural values could be selectively reflected in advertising messages but also offers a tangible scheme for identifying those values.

Research questions and hypotheses

Documented scholarly inquiries on cultural messages in ads began in the early 1960s (Cheng, 1994). It was not until the early 1980s when Pollay (1983) formulated his cultural values framework that analytical studies began to look at cultural values reflected in advertising content. Studies can be broadly assembled into five groups (Chan & Cheng, 2002): (1) comparison of ads from Eastern and Western cultures; (2) focus on one selected country (e.g., Japan, China, or India); (3) cultural values depicted in one particular product category (like automobile or beer); (4) focus on a particular cultural value (like *individualism*) manifest in ads from two or more countries; and (5) an emerging trend beginning in the late 1980s where researchers (e.g., Chan & Cheng, 2002; Tse, Belk, & Zhou, 1989) examine cultural values reflected in ads from regions with a similar culture. A 'latecomer', as it were, this research group has gained strong momentum given the growing interest in some 'hot-spot' regions in the world today. This article falls into the fifth category; so far, no study has compared ads in the world's two most populous and fast-growing markets.

Dominant cultural values

Although all major studies on cultural values and advertising were thoroughly reviewed, only studies of cultural values in Chinese and Indian ads are mentioned here as they directly relate to research questions and hypotheses. The first research question is broadly descriptive, investigating similarities and differences in cultural values reflected in Chinese and Indian commercials:

RQ1: What differences, if any, exist between dominant cultural values manifest in Chinese and Indian TV commercials?

Four Eastern values (*tradition, collectivism, veneration for elders, and oneness with nature*) and four Western values (*modernity, individualism, hedonism, and manipulation of nature*) were selected for comparison. Despite a strong focus on modernization, Chinese society is still fundamentally traditional in its social norms (Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996) while India, a democratic and more liberal society than China, is subject to less government control on media (Hachten & Scotton, 2007; Merrill, 2004) and has historically greater social exposure to Western themes and influences. Though both share some traditional Eastern values, basic political and societal differences do exist. H1 reflects this Eastern–Western difference:

H1: Dominant Western cultural values will be reflected more frequently in Indian commercials whereas dominant Eastern cultural values will be reflected more frequently in Chinese commercials.

The modernity value

Modernity is a cultural value identified in many prior studies of Chinese and Indian advertising (Cheng, 1994, 1997; Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Lin, 2001; McIntyre & Wei, 1998; Sengupta & Frith, 1997; Srikandath, 1991; Zhang & Harwood, 2004; Zhang & Shavitt, 2003). Although literature suggests that modernization does not mean abandonment of traditional values that reflect what is 'socially desirable', a

primary purpose of advertising is to advance economic progress (Rotzoll & Haefner, 1996). Advertising in modernizing societies may stress what de Mooij (2010) called ‘desired’ rather than ‘desirable’ values. Because the *modernity* value (representing the ‘individually desired’) can be a consequence of rapid economic progress and ongoing globalization, we expect that:

H2: The *modernity* value will be used more frequently than *tradition* in both Chinese and Indian TV commercials.

Prior studies have also indicated that cultural values in advertising are frequently correlated with product categories (Chan & Cheng, 2002; Cheng, 1997; Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996). Therefore, we also examine country differences in the use of the *modernity* value across frequently advertised product categories:

RQ2: Among Chinese and Indian TV commercials that use *modernity* as dominant cultural value, how does its use across the most frequently advertised product categories differ by country?

Also, foreign brands in China and India are likely to use *modernity* more frequently than domestic (local) brands (Cheng, 1994, 1997; Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Sengupta, 1996). Since the 1990s, both countries have seen an influx of foreign (especially Western) advertisers. Considering both countries’ quest for modernity and the continuous process of assimilation of foreign advertisers within local contexts, we propose:

H3: In both Chinese and Indian TV commercials, *modernity* will be used more frequently by foreign-origin brands than by domestic brands.

Cultural values vs. product category, product usage, and brand origin

The final research question examines influence of three control variables on dominant cultural values in both countries’ commercials. Presence of specific cultural values has been shown to differ by product categories (Chan & Cheng, 2002; Cheng, 1997; Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996), product usage (e.g., personal vs. shared product use) (Zhang & Gelb, 1996; Zhang & Shavitt, 2003), and products’ countries of origin (Cheng, 1997; Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996). Even though many countries of origin are no longer easily identifiable due to multi-country production, brand origin perceptions continue to play an important role in consumers’ purchase decisions (de Mooij, 2004, 2010) and deserve research attention. No previous studies have simultaneously compared the effect of these three variables (product category, product usage, and brand origin) on cultural values manifest in advertising:

RQ3: Which of the three independent variables (brand origin, product category, and product usage) exert the biggest effect on dominant cultural values reflected in Chinese and Indian commercials?

Research method

As an effective way to monitor changes in advertising messages in fast-growing markets, content analysis is very appropriate to the current investigation. As recommended by several scholars, we employ higher-order content analysis with both descriptive and inferential methods (Naccarato & Neuendorf, 1998; Neuendorf,

2002) to (1) quantify and tally presence of cultural values and (2) test country differences and relationships between values and other variables.

Data sampling and collection

Commercials from three Chinese TV channels and three Indian channels constitute the sampling universe. China Central Television (CCTV), the national network, was selected because of its high viewership and advertising revenue streams (Cheng, 2000; Yang, 2008). Of CCTV's 16 channels, three were selected because of their general-audience target and representation of a variety of programming. CCTV-1, the flagship channel, is the earliest and most influential in China. CCTV-2 is mainly for economy, lifestyle, and services programs. CCTV-3 has popular entertainment as its mainstay, which combines music, literature, theater arts, and information services (Cheng, 2005). Similarly, three major networks (Doordarshan, STAR TV, and Zee TV) were selected in India. The state-owned Doordarshan (with 21 channels) operates one of the largest terrestrial TV networks in the world and is the top advertising grosser. Its flagship DD1 channel reaches some 400 million viewers ('Read all', 2005). STAR India, a Murdoch-controlled satellite network, has a 25% TV market share in the country ('The king', 2005). Zee TV is a major privately-owned Indian satellite network with a 19% market share (ZEEL February, 2009).

Data were collected simultaneously in both countries during a one-week period (20–26 June 2005). There was no major holiday in either country during the week, so data are representative of the 'average' national commercials on the air in the two countries. To ensure audience and programming variability, programs were taped from four dayparts (morning, afternoon, evening, and night) each day, one hour per daypart. Using the rotation principle developed by Katz and Lee (1992), taping was rotated over the seven days of the sampling week. As a result, 28 hours of programs with commercials were taped from each country. A total of 687 commercials were collected from China and 221 from India. The Indian sample is smaller due to fewer ads run on Indian television during the sampling period.

Coding instrument

The unit of analysis was each complete TV commercial. The coding design for this study was largely a modification of Cheng's (1994) framework (originally built on Pollay's 1983 typology of the cultural values manifest in advertising) and several other studies on cultural values (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987; Mueller, 1987, 1992; Pan et al., 1994; Srikandath, 1991; Zhang & Harwood, 2004; Zhang & Shavitt, 2003). The modified coding scheme constitutes, among other variables, 15 cultural values (Table 2). Each value can also be placed into at least one of these subcategories: Eastern, Western, utilitarian, or symbolic values. Apart from cultural values, commercials were coded into 14 product categories (Table 1), which could be further categorized under personal vs. shared product use, as well as three types of brand origin: domestic, Eastern-foreign (e.g., originating from Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, or Taiwan), or Western-foreign (e.g., originating from the US or a Western European country).

Table 1. Frequencies of product categories by country.

Product categories	China (<i>n</i> = 515)		India (<i>n</i> = 208)	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
<i>Personal products</i>				
Beauty/personal care	120	23.3	50	24.0
Clothing/apparel	34	6.6	11	5.3
Personal accessories	3	.6	9	4.3
Personal electronics	13	2.5	13	6.3
Personal finance	0	.0	3	1.4
<i>Shared products</i>				
Food/soft drink	70	13.6	29	13.9
Liquor	5	1.0	0	.0
Household electronics	25	4.9	18	8.7
Household products	25	4.9	18	8.7
Medicine/tonics	97	18.8	8	3.8
Baby products	0	.0	2	1.0
Banking/insurance/real estate	52	10.1	3	1.4
Automobile	20	3.9	23	11.1
Travel	18	3.5	8	3.8
Others	33	6.4	13	6.3

$\chi^2 = 90.672$; $df = 14$; $p < .001$.

Coding procedure

Dependent variables were cultural values manifest in the samples. Independent variables were China and India, hypothesized to indicate differences, if any, in representation of cultural values in the commercials. Product category, product usage, and brand origin were three control variables to examine differences in cultural values.

Two trained Chinese coders skilled in both Mandarin (the language used in taped Chinese commercials) and English independently coded the Chinese commercials. Likewise, two trained Indian coders fluent in both Hindi and English (languages used in the taped Indian commercials) independently coded the Indian commercials. Coder training included discussion of the codebook and a pre-test of 60 Chinese and 40 Indian commercials. Pre-test coding reliability for all variables based on Holsti's percentage of agreement stood at an acceptable 85% for China and 81% for India, respectively (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005). After comparison of Chinese and Indian pre-tests, the codebook was finalized by the researchers.

During final coding, coders were instructed to identify the dominant value in each commercial determined mainly by the overall first impression and the key elements in the visual and audio components (Mueller, 1992). Duplicate commercials for the same brand were excluded from the sample 'in order to eliminate any redundancies which may [skew] the results' (Stern & Resnik, 1991, p. 39). As a result, 723 commercials (515 from China and 208 from India) were coded. When discrepancies between coders for Chinese ads and coders for Indian ads arose, the researchers served as tie-breakers. Intercoder reliability was checked by using the more sophisticated Perrault and Leigh (1989) reliability index, which involves qualitative judgments of nominal data: $I = \{[F/N] - (1/k) / [k/(k-1)]\}^{.5}$ where I = Reliability Index, F =

observed frequency of agreement between judges, N = total number of judgments, and k = the number of categories. For China, intercoder reliability was .91; for India, it was .93. Obtained intercoder reliabilities were satisfactory (Riffe et al., 2005).

Results

The top three advertised categories were beauty/personal care (23.3%), medicine/tonics (18.8%), and food/soft drink (13.6%) for Chinese commercials and beauty/personal care (24.0%), food/soft drink (13.9%), and automobile (11.1%) for Indian commercials (Table 1). Thus two of the three most frequently advertised product categories (beauty/personal care and food/soft drink) were common to both countries. For other categories, there were several differences. Ads for medicine/tonics occurred more frequently in China (18.8%) than India (3.8%) as did banking/insurance/real estate ads in Chinese commercials (10.1%), which were almost absent (1.4%) in Indian commercials. Commercials for automobile (11.1%), household electronics (8.7%), and household products (8.7%), were more frequent in India than in China.

RQ1 examined the profile of cultural values depicted in the commercials. Overall, more significant differences than similarities were observed (Table 2). Chinese commercials used dominant symbolic values (*collectivism* [22.3%], *modernity* [18.3%], and *youth* [11.1%]) more frequently while Indian commercials used both dominant symbolic (*modernity* [21.6%], *individualism* [12%]) and utilitarian (*effectiveness* [20.7%]) values. Additionally, Chinese commercials used other symbolic values (*veneration for elders*, *oneness with nature*, *health*, *wisdom*, and *patriotism*) more frequently while Indian commercials used the other two utilitarian values examined (*efficiency* and *quality*) more often.

Table 2. Dominant cultural values in TV commercials by country.

Cultural values	China ($n = 515$)		India ($n = 208$)	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
<i>Modernity</i>	94	18.3	45	21.6
<i>Tradition</i>	41	8.0	15	7.2
<i>Individualism</i>	25	4.9	25	12.0
<i>Collectivism</i>	115	22.3	14	6.7
<i>Hedonism</i>	13	2.5	18	8.7
<i>Veneration for elders</i>	27	5.2	1	.5
<i>Manipulation of nature</i>	10	1.9	0	.0
<i>Oneness with nature</i>	20	3.9	0	.0
<i>Youth</i>	57	11.1	18	8.7
<i>Health</i>	32	6.2	3	1.4
<i>Wisdom</i>	19	3.7	1	.5
<i>Patriotism</i>	31	6.0	0	.0
<i>Effectiveness</i>	14	2.7	43	20.7
<i>Efficiency</i>	11	2.1	15	7.2
<i>Quality</i>	5	1.0	9	4.3
Others	1	.2	1	.5

$\chi^2 = 172.957$; $df = 15$; $p < .001$.

H1 posited that Western cultural values would be reflected more frequently in Indian commercials while Eastern values would be more prevalent in Chinese commercials. This hypothesis was supported by the statistically significant findings ($X^2 = 172.957$; $df = 15$; $p < .001$) (Table 2). Among the four Western values examined (*modernity*, *individualism*, *hedonism*, and *manipulation of nature*), the first three were found more often in Indian commercials. The only exception was *manipulation of nature*, which was absent in Indian commercials. Furthermore, all four Eastern values examined (*tradition*, *collectivism*, *veneration for elders*, and *oneness with nature*) occurred more frequently in Chinese commercials.

H2 proposed that *modernity* rather than *tradition* would be a frequent dominant value in both Chinese and Indian commercials. The hypothesis was supported because differences in the use of *modernity* (18.3% in China; 21.6% in India) and *tradition* (8% in China; 7.2% in India) were statistically significant (China, $X^2 = 9.946$, $df = 1$, $p < .01$; India, $X^2 = 4.463$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$) (Table 3).

RQ2 asked whether, for commercials using a dominant *modernity* value, there were any differences by product category between the two countries. Of the total 139 ads that used *modernity* as dominant cultural value (China, $n = 94$; India, $n = 45$), product category differences across country were significant ($X^2 = 40.137$, $df = 13$, $p < .001$). Chinese ads used *modernity* most frequently for banking/insurance/real estate (26.6%), beauty/personal care products (21.3%), and clothing (10.6%). Indian adverts used *modernity* most often for personal electronics (17.8%), automobile (15.6%), and household electronics (15.6%) (Table 4).

H3 proposed that the *modernity* value would be used more frequently by foreign-origin brands than domestic (local) brands. The hypothesis was supported because foreign brands used *modernity* more often than domestic brands in both countries (Table 5). Another interesting finding was that *modernity* use was statistically different for domestic brands, Eastern-foreign brands, and Western-foreign brands. Thus, Eastern-foreign brands used *modernity* more frequently than Western-foreign brands in both countries (Table 5).

RQ3 examined effect of product category, product usage, and brand origin on dominant cultural values in Chinese and Indian commercials. Three-way ANOVA *F*-tests were conducted to determine combined as well as individual effects of these variables (Table 6). Partial *F*-values were compiled for (1) interactions of product category, product usage, and brand origin; product usage and brand origin; product category and brand origin; and product category and product usage; (2) main effects of brand origin, product usage, and product category alone; and (3) overall combined effect. The overall combined effect refers to an additive effect of combination of the four interaction effects and the three individual main effects.

Table 3. *Modernity vs. tradition as dominant values by country.*

	<i>Modernity</i>		<i>Tradition</i>		X^2 value*	Sig. levels
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
China	94	18.3	41	8.0	9.946	.002
India	45	21.6	15	7.2	4.463	.035

* X^2 analysis compared cultural values within countries.

Table 4. Product categories promoted with the *modernity* value by country.

Product categories	China (<i>n</i> = 94)		India (<i>n</i> = 45)	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
<i>Personal products</i>				
Beauty/personal care	20	21.3	4	8.9
Clothing/apparel	10	10.6	1	2.2
Personal accessories	1	1.1	1	2.2
Personal electronics	3	3.2	8	17.8
Personal finance	0	.0	1	2.2
<i>Shared products</i>				
Food/soft drink	3	3.2	6	13.3
Liquor	1	1.1	0	.0
Household electronics	6	6.4	7	15.6
Household products	2	2.1	0	.0
Medicine/tonics	3	3.2	0	.0
Banking/insurance/real estate	25	26.6	1	2.2
Automobile	5	5.3	7	15.6
Travel	4	4.3	2	4.4
Others	11	11.7	7	15.6

$$\chi^2 = 40.137; df = 13; p < .001.$$

Of the three dominant values (*collectivism*, *modernity*, and *youth*) in Chinese commercials, *collectivism* and *modernity* showed significant interaction *F*-values between product category and brand origin while *collectivism* and *youth* had significant interaction *F*-values between product category and product usage. The findings indicate differences in use of these values between specific product categories and brand origin and between product categories and product usage. A closer examination of the data makes these interactions clearer: While *collectivism* was most frequently used for domestic products (24.6%) in Chinese commercials (Table 5), the value is depicted more often for products with shared use (27.9%) than those for personal use (11.4%) (Table 7). Within shared products, *collectivism* was most likely to be portrayed in commercials for household products (56%) and foods/soft drinks (42.9%) (Table 8). For the interaction of product category and brand origin for *modernity*, this value was used most often for banking/insurance/real estate (48.1%) in Chinese commercials (Table 8) while it is manifest more often in foreign brands than domestic brands (Table 5). The significant interaction between product category and product usage for *youth* is even more obvious. While this value was used far more often for personal products (26.9%) than shared products (2.9%) (Table 7), the manifestation of the value was highly concentrated on personal accessories (66.7%) and beauty/personal care products (32.5%) (Table 8). The intensity of the main effects of both product usage and product category is indicated by the significant *F*-values (Table 6).

Of the three dominant values in Indian commercials, the interaction of product category and brand origin for *modernity* shows significant *F*-values. As seen in Table 8, personal electronics (61.5%) used this value most often. As shown in Table 6, *modernity* was used more often for foreign brands than Indian brands. This finding is

Table 5. Dominant cultural values in Chinese and Indian TV commercials by brand origin.

	Domestic		Eastern-foreign		Western-foreign		X^2 values*	Sig. levels
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
China								
<i>Collectivism</i>	96	24.6	1	7.7	18	16.1	5.310	ns
<i>Modernity</i>	59	15.1	6	46.2	29	25.9	13.716	.001
<i>Youth</i>	38	9.7	2	15.4	17	15.2	2.864	ns
India								
<i>Modernity</i>	23	17.7	10	71.4	12	18.8	21.980	.001
<i>Effectiveness</i>	29	22.3	1	7.1	13	20.3	1.780	ns
<i>Individualism</i>	16	12.3	0	.0	9	14.1	2.175	ns

* X^2 analysis compared each cultural value across brand origins.

Table 6. Three-way ANOVA of effects of product category, product usage, and brand origin on the manifest of dominant cultural values by country.

	Sig. of interaction of PC, PU & BO	Sig. of interaction of PU & BO	Sig. of interaction of PC & BO	Sig. of interaction of PC & PU	Sig. of BO	Sig. of PU	Sig. of PC	Full model*	
								Sig. levels	R squared (%)
China									
<i>Collectivism</i>	.	.	.014	.032	ns	ns	.000	.000	19.2
<i>Modernity</i>	.	.	.013	ns	ns	ns	.000	.000	19.9
<i>Youth</i>	.	.	ns	.000	ns	.000	.001	.000	23.2
India									
<i>Modernity</i>	.	ns	.045	.	.028	ns	.006	.000	37.1
<i>Effectiveness</i>	.	ns	ns	.	ns	ns	.000	.000	35.7
<i>Individualism</i>	.	ns	ns	.	ns	ns	.049	.005	28.5

PC = Product Category; PU = Product Usage; BO = Brand Origin.

*Full model predicts an additive effect of combination of the four interaction effects and the three individual main effects.

·Interaction cannot be calculated. ns =not significant at .05 level.

Table 7. Dominant cultural values in Chinese and Indian TV commercials by product usage.

	Personal use		Shared use		χ^2 values*	Sig. levels
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
China						
<i>Collectivism</i>	20	11.4	95	27.9	18.163	.000
<i>Modernity</i>	34	19.4	60	17.6	.246	ns
<i>Youth</i>	47	26.9	10	2.9	67.137	.000
India						
<i>Modernity</i>	17	19.1	28	23.5	.589	ns
<i>Effectiveness</i>	14	15.7	29	24.4	2.317	ns
<i>Individualism</i>	11	12.4	14	11.8	.017	ns

* χ^2 analysis compared each cultural value across product usage.

supported by the significant *F*-value for the main effect of brand origin on *modernity* (Table 6).

Finally, two findings in Table 6 are shared by both Chinese and Indian commercials. First, only main effects of product category on all six dominant values from both countries have significant *F*-values. This indicates product category is the single most important variable affecting the cultural values manifest in Chinese and Indian commercials, in comparison with product usage and brand origin. Second, the overall combined effects for all six dominant values are statistically significant, which means that although interaction of two variables or an individual main effect alone may not affect the manifest of cultural values in Chinese or Indian commercials significantly, the synergy of all the interactions and all individual main effects always exerts a significant impact.

Discussion

Dominant cultural values

The first interesting difference is the preponderance of symbolic values in Chinese commercials and utilitarian values in Indian commercials. China still seeks to preserve its traditional cultural values actively, which may explain why Chinese advertising used more symbolic values. Further, high-context cultures employ less verbally explicit communication since members share common contexts while in low-context cultures, cultural beliefs and practices often need to be explicated and externalized (Frith & Mueller, 2003; Hall, 1976). Prior research on Chinese and US commercials (Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996) has attributed higher frequency of symbolic values in Chinese commercials to China's high-context culture and utilitarian values in US commercials to its low-context culture. Surprisingly, despite India's classification as a high-context culture, Indian commercials showed greater use of utilitarian values, a finding supported by another study that revealed more informational than transformational cues in Indian commercials (Patwardhan & Patwardhan, 2007). Whether this is a result of openness to Western influence and standardized transnational global strategy in India or a reflection of consumers' growing need for information as new products flood the Indian market calls for further investigation.

Table 8. Dominant cultural values in Chinese and Indian TV commercials by product category.

	Personal products					Shared products										X ² values*
	BC %	CA %	PA %	PE %	PF %	FD %	LI %	HE %	HP %	MT %	BP %	BI %	AU %	TR %	OT %	df = 12 p = .000
China																
<i>Collectivism</i>	14.2	.0	.0	7.7	/	42.9	20.2	28.0	56.0	35.1	/	9.6	10.0	.0	12.1	73.490
<i>Modernity</i>	16.7	29.4	33.3	23.1	/	4.3	20.0	24.0	8.0	3.1	/	48.1	25.0	22.2	33.3	66.946
<i>Youth</i>	32.5	11.8	66.7	.0	/	8.6	.0	.0	.0	4.1	/	.0	.0	11.1	.0	92.164
India																
<i>Modernity</i>	8.0	9.1	11.1	61.5	33.3	20.7	/	38.9	.0	.0	/	33.3	30.4	25.0	53.8	39.751
<i>Effectiveness</i>	26.0	.0	11.1	.0	.0	17.2	/	22.2	66.7	62.5	/	.0	4.3	.0	15.4	47.739
<i>Individualism</i>	.0	54.5	33.3	15.4	.0	13.8	/	11.1	.0	.0	/	33.3	21.7	12.5	7.7	37.559

BC = Beauty/Personal Care; CA = Clothing/Apparel; PA = Personal Accessories; PE = Personal Electronics; PF = Personal Finance; FD = Food/Soft Drink; LI = Liquor; HE = Household Electronics; HP = Household Products; MT = Medicine/Tonics; BP = Baby Products; BI = Banking/Insurance/Real Estate; AU = Automobile; TR = Travel; OT = Others.

*X² analysis compared each cultural value across product categories.

With reference to Western and Eastern values, significantly higher usage of *individualism* in Indian ads and *collectivism* in Chinese ads provides substantive support for country differences on Hofstede's (2001) individualism dimension, reflecting a major difference in changing Chinese and Indian societies. As Perry (2006) comments, '[t]he rise of China has been the product of methodical state planning, but India's is all about private hustle', which leaves more room for individual initiative (p. 41). Advertising is highly regulated in China, with a state law dedicated to advertising and numerous regulations at both state and local levels on advertising practice (Cheng, 1997, 2000; Gao, 2004, 2007). Despite some relaxation of government control on advertising since China officially joined the WTO in 2001, most domestic and foreign advertisers still choose to play safe by featuring cultural values less likely to offend the government and, more pragmatically, Chinese consumers. In China, it is not just the government that preserves and promotes 'good' traditional Chinese cultural values (such as *tradition*, *collectivism*, and *reverence for elders*) in media content (including advertising). Chinese citizens too have become appreciative of many traditional values mainly due to growing national pride stimulated by a three-decade sustained economic boom (Li & Shooshtari, 2007). This reality adds new support to Tuchman's (1978) 'reflection hypothesis' reviewed earlier. On the other hand, India's status as a free democracy, its openness to private enterprise, its historical cultural exposure to Western ideas, and its overall younger population (Green, 2006) increase receptivity to modification of traditional values. The different socio-cultural environments may account for the stronger overall tendency of Indian commercials to use typical Western cultural values more often than their Chinese counterparts.

The value of modernity

As both nations advance, presence of *modernity* as a dominant cultural value in both countries' advertising is not surprising. However, both countries have negotiated modernity without abandoning tradition; China more so than India. If advertising transmits culture, *modernity* use in Chinese commercials is tempered by the maintenance of a largely traditional Asian value system; in India, it works in consonance with a more Western value orientation. Cheng and Schweitzer (1996) observed that, in China, modernization is not synonymous with Westernization. Thus traditional Chinese/Eastern values like *collectivism* and *reverence for elders* coexist with *modernity* in Chinese ads, a reflection of de Mooij's (2010) value paradox concept. For India, our study points to a fundamental value shift as reflected in commercials. Westernization is almost taken for granted in urban India these days, despite ongoing debate on its merits. Thus, the majority of Indian ads in this study utilize Western values of *modernity*, *individualism*, and *hedonism*, eschewing Eastern values like *collectivism* and *reverence for elders* that have traditionally been part of the Indian psyche. Whether this is a reflection of Pollay's (1986) 'distorted mirror' view of advertising or a more paradigmatic cultural value shift can only be determined through future monitoring.

This study also uncovered differences in the use of *modernity* for domestic and foreign-origin brands advertised in both countries. As expected, foreign-origin brands used *modernity* more frequently than domestic brands. However, findings provide some new food for thought: foreign brands of Eastern origins in both countries used

modernity far more frequently (China 46% and India 71%) than foreign brands of Western origins (China 26% and India 19%). Two reasons may explain this new and 'surprising' finding. Most foreign countries/territories in the East (like Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan) became fully modernized more recently than the US and Western Europe. Advertisers from these Eastern-foreign countries/territories may have better 'memory' and more 'excitement' of achieving modernization. What is more, because of continued criticism of transnational advertising agencies (TNAAs) imposing Western values on indigenous cultures (Anderson, 1984), Western advertisers might have become more culturally sensitive in their advertising messages. Naturally, this assumption calls for further testing.

Product category, product usage, and brand origin

Finally, product category was found to be the single most important control variable that affected all dominant cultural values identified in the study although product category, product usage (personal vs. shared), and brand origin (domestic, Eastern-foreign, and Western-foreign) collectively exerted a strong influence on dominant values represented in the ads of both countries. The role product category plays is probably due to the inherent connection some cultural values may hold with certain products, which are then relayed in advertising messages. For example, *modernity* in Chinese commercials was most often used for banking/insurance/real estate and personal accessories. Products in these two categories tend to have 'a naturally modern flavor' to Chinese consumers nowadays because they are relatively new in the Chinese market.

Limitations, contributions, and implications of the study

This study has some limitations. The Indian sample is relatively small because of the limited number of ads run on Indian television during the data collection period. Inter-country coder reliabilities could not be checked, due to the difficulty in finding coders fluent in both Mandarin and Hindi. A constructed week would have provided an ideal sample but was not feasible due to time constraints.

Nevertheless, this comparative study of advertising and cultural values in two of the world's oldest civilizations and newest economic powerhouses makes several important contributions to international advertising research. It broadens the scope of decades-long scholarly inquiries on cultural messages in advertisements. Most prior studies on this topic focused on either developed countries (Belk et al., 1985; Caillat & Mueller, 1996; Frith & Wesson, 1991; Katz & Lee, 1992; Lin, 1993; Mueller, 1987, 1992) or compared developed and developing countries (Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Frith & Sengupta, 1991; Sengupta, 1996; Tansey, Hyman, & Zinkhan, 1990; Tse et al., 1989). This study is the first to focus simultaneously on two developing nations, offering a relevant and timely look at advertising's cultural characteristics in modernizing societies. The emphasis on *modernity* as a value in China and India reinforces our understanding of the fundamental role of advertising and the important justification for its existence: to promote things that are new and precipitate change rather than maintain the status quo (Rotzoll & Haefner, 1996). It also holds implications for international advertising practice, suggesting that both countries are very open to new products and new ideas from the West.

Prior studies have documented that utilitarian values were common in ads from a low-context culture (like the US) (Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Mueller, 1987, 1992; Zhang & Harwood, 2004). Significantly, we now find that utilitarian values appeal to advertisers in India, a high-context culture. It is worth mentioning that Chinese ads had a higher tendency to use utilitarian values in the 1980s; the early years of China's ongoing modernization drive (Cheng, 1994; McIntyre & Wei, 1998). This scenario may be playing out in India today probably due to the fact that the Indian market is still at a less mature and competitive stage than the Chinese market. Given India's high-context cultural heritage, as modernization progresses, will Indian advertising shift to the use of predominantly symbolic values in the future as its Chinese counterpart is now doing? Or will it continue to follow the US model due to the stronger Western influence on India and its greater receptivity to Westernization than China? This study paves the way for future investigations of these interesting questions. Although prior research on advertising and cultural values has examined the individual roles that product categories (Chan & Cheng, 2002; Cheng, 1997; Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996), product usage (Zhang & Gelb, 1996; Zhang & Shavitt, 2003), or country of origin (Cheng, 1997; Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996) play in the selection of cultural values in ads, no study compared the effect of all three variables.

The article also offers a fresh perspective on the impact of the socio-cultural environment on advertising content through the observation of two substantially different cultural value patterns in Chinese and Indian ads. Despite advertising's selective promotion of consumption-driven cultural values (Ciochetto, 2004; Pollay, 1986), the influence of history, social systems, and government regulation is evident. This supports Leiss, Kline, Jhally, and Botterill's (2005) theory of social communication in advertising, in which advertising is regarded as both 'a discursive practice contributing to cultural and economic change and a representational practice wherein such changes can be witnessed and interpreted' (p. 16). Different cultural value patterns (in terms of Eastern vs. Western values and symbolic vs. utilitarian values) imply that international advertisers need to treat Chinese and Indian markets differently, not just in tactics but also in strategies. Because Indian commercials, like US ads (Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Mueller, 1987, 1992; Zhang & Harwood, 2004), tend to use Western cultural values and utilitarian values more often, advertising messages strategically standardized in terms of core values (not necessarily in terms of tactical executions) from the West might be more acceptable to the Indian market. On the other hand, since Chinese commercials display a combination of Eastern and Western cultural values and reflect symbolic values most of the time, international advertisers need to consider localizing their advertising values choices to better fit into China's unique socio-cultural environment.

Notes on contributors

Hong Cheng (PhD, Pennsylvania State University, 1995) is an associate professor of advertising in the E.W. Scripps School of Journalism at Ohio University, USA. His research interests center on international and cross-cultural advertising, social marketing, and global branding.

Padmini Patwardhan (PhD, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, 2003) is an associate professor of mass communication at Winthrop University, USA. She has teaching and

research interests in international advertising and public relations, integrated marketing communication, and media effects.

References

- Adler, R.D. (2009). Counting on the middle class. Retrieved March 20, 2009, from <http://www.miller-mccune.com/article/counting-on-the-middle-class>
- Anderson, M.H. (1984). *Madison Avenue in Asia: Politics and transnational advertising*. Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
- Belk, R.W., Bryce, W.J., & Pollay, R.W. (1985). Advertising themes and cultural values: A comparison of US and Japanese advertising. In K.C. Mun & T.C. Chan (Eds.), *Proceedings of the inaugural meeting of the Southeast Asia region* (pp. 11–20). Hong Kong: Academy of International Business.
- Caillat, Z., & Mueller, B. (1996). The influence of culture on American and British advertising: An exploratory comparison of beer advertising. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 36(3), 79–88.
- Chan, K., & Cheng, H. (2002). One country, two systems: Cultural values reflected in Chinese and Hong Kong television commercials. *Gazette, International Journal for Communication Studies*, 64, 385–400.
- Cheng, H. (1994). Reflections of cultural values: A content analysis of Chinese magazine advertisements from 1982 and 1992. *International Journal of Advertising*, 13, 167–183.
- Cheng, H. (1997). Towards an understanding of cultural values manifest in advertising: A content analysis of Chinese television commercials in 1990 and 1995. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 74, 773–796.
- Cheng, H. (2000). China: Advertising yesterday and today. In J.P. Jones (Ed.), *International advertising: Realities and myths* (pp. 255–284). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cheng, H. (2005). China. In A. Cooper-Chen (Ed.), *Global entertainment media: Content, audiences, issues* (pp. 161–181). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Cheng, H., & Schweitzer, J.C. (1996). Cultural values reflected in Chinese and US television commercials. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 36(3), 27–45.
- China. (2009). *The world factbook*. Retrieved March 20, 2009, from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>
- Chinese Culture Connection. (1987). Chinese values and the search for culture-free dimensions of cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 18(2), 143–164.
- Ciochetto, L. (2004). Advertising and globalization in India. *Media Asia*, 31(3), 157–169.
- de Mooij, M. (2004). *Consumer behavior and culture: Consequences for global marketing and advertising*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- de Mooij, M. (2010). *Global marketing and advertising: Understanding cultural paradoxes* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Elliott, M. (2006, June 26). India awakens. *Time*, 38–39.
- Frith, K.T., & Mueller, B. (2003). *Advertising and societies: Global issues*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Frith, K.T., & Sengupta, S. (1991). Individualism and advertising: A cross-cultural comparison. *Media Asia*, 18(4), 191–194, 199.
- Frith, K.T., & Wesson, D. (1991). A comparison of cultural values in British and American print advertising: A study of magazines. *Journalism Quarterly*, 68, 216–223.
- Gao, Z. (2004). Harmonious regional advertising regulation? A comparative examination of government advertising regulation in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. *Journal of Advertising*, 34(3), 75–87.
- Gao, Z. (2007). The evolution of Chinese advertising law: A historical review. *Advertising and Society Review*, 8(1). Retrieved March 20, 2009, from <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/asr/v008/8.1gao.html>
- Giddens, A. (1989). *Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Green, W. (2006, June 26). How to ride the elephant. *Time*, 46.
- Hachten, W.A., & Scotton, J.F. (2007). *The world news prism: Global media in a satellite age* (7th ed). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

- Hall, E.T. (1976). *Beyond culture*. Garden City, NY: Anchor/Doubleday.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations* (2nd ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hofstede, G., & Hofstede, G.J. (2005). *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- India. (2009). *The world factbook*. Retrieved March 20, 2009, from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>
- Inglehart, R. (1990). *Culture shift in advanced industrial society*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Ji, M.F., & McNeal, J.U. (2001). How Chinese children's commercials different from those of the United States: A content analysis. *Journal of Advertising*, 30(3), 79–92.
- Katz, H., & Lee, W. (1992). Ocean apart: An initial exploration of social communication differences in US and UK primetime television advertising. *International Journal of Advertising*, 11, 69–82.
- Kluckhohn, F.R., & Strodtbeck, F.L. (1961). *Variations in value orientations*. Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson.
- Kwok, S.W. (2006). Advertising and consumer culture. In K. Chan (Ed.), *Advertising and Hong Kong society* (pp. 145–169). Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- Leiss, W., Kline, S., Jhally, S., & Botterill, J. (2005). *Social communication in advertising: Consumption in the mediated marketplace* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Li, F. & Shooshtari, N. (2007). Multinational corporations' controversial ad campaigns in China – Lessons from Nike and Toyota. *Advertising and Society Review*, 8(1). Retrieved March 20, 2009, from http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/asr/v008/8.1li_shooshtari.html
- Lin, C.A. (1993). Cultural differences in message strategies: A comparison between American and Japanese TV commercials. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 33(4), 40–48.
- Lin, C.A. (2001). Cultural values reflected in Chinese and American television advertising. *Journal of Advertising*, 30(4), 83–94.
- McIntyre, B.T., & Wei, R. (1998). Value changes in Chinese advertisements from 1979 to 1995: A longitudinal study. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 8(2), 18–40.
- Merrill, J.C. (2004). International media systems: An overview. In A.S. de Beer & J.C. Merrill (Eds.), *Global journalism: Topical issues and media systems* (4th ed., pp. 19–34). Boston, MA: Pearson Education.
- Mueller, B. (1987). Reflections of culture: An analysis of Japanese and American advertising appeals. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 27(3), 51–59.
- Mueller, B. (1992). Standardization vs. specialization: An examination of Westernization in Japanese advertising. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 32(1), 15–24.
- Naccarato, J.L., & Neuendorf, K.A. (1998). Content analysis as a predictive methodology: Recall, readership, and evaluations of business-to-business print advertising. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 38(3), 19–33.
- Neuendorf, K.A. (2002). *The content analysis guidebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pan, Z., Chaffee, S.H., Chu, G.C., & Ju, Y. (1994). *To see ourselves: Comparing traditional Chinese and American cultural values*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Patwardhan, P., & Patwardhan, H. (2007). Information content of Indian television commercials. *International Communication Bulletin*, 42(3-4), 25–43.
- Perry, A. (2006, June 26). Bombay's boom. *Time*, 40–44.
- Perrault, W.D., & Leigh, L.E. (1989). Reliability of nominal data based on qualitative judgments. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 26, 135–148.
- Pollay, R.W. (1983). Measuring the cultural values manifest in advertising. In J.H. Leigh & C.R. Martin, Jr. (Eds.), *Current issues and research in advertising* (pp. 71–92). Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Graduate School of Business Division of Research.
- Pollay, R.W. (1986). The distorted mirror: Reflections on the unintended consequences of advertising. *Journal of Marketing*, 50(2), 18–36.
- Pollay, R.W., & Gallagher, K. (1990). Advertising and cultural values: Reflections of the distorted mirror. *International Journal of Advertising*, 9(4), 359–372.
- Porter, R.E., & Samovar, L.A. (1997). An introduction to intercultural communication. In L.A. Samovar & R.E. Porter (Eds.), *Intercultural communication: A reader* (8th ed., pp. 5–26). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

- 'Read all about it: India's media wars'. (2005, May 16). *Business Week*. Retrieved March 20, 2009, from www.businessweek.com
- Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F.G. (2005). *Analyzing media messages: Using quantitative content analysis in research* (2nd ed). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Rokeach, M. (1968). *Beliefs, attitudes, and values: A theory of organization and change*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Rotzoll, K.B., Haefner, J.E., & (with Hall, S.R.) (1996). *Advertising in contemporary society: Perspectives toward understanding* (3rd ed.). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Sengupta, S. (1996). Understanding consumption related values from advertising: A content analysis of television commercials from India and the United States. *Gazette. International Journal for Mass Communication Studies*, 57, 81–96.
- Sengupta, S., & Frith, K.T. (1997). Multinational corporation advertising and cultural imperialism: A content analysis of Indian television commercials. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 7(1), 1–18.
- Shunglu, S., & Sarkar, M. (1995). Researching the consumer. *Marketing and Research Today*, 23(2), 123–131.
- Srikandath, S. (1991). Cultural values depicted in Indian television advertising. *Gazette. International Journal for Mass Communication Studies*, 48, 165–176.
- Stern, B.L., & Resnik, A.J. (1991). Information content in television advertising: A replication and extension. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 31(3), 36–46.
- Tansey, R., Hyman, M.R., & Zinkhan, G.M. (1990). Cultural themes in Brazilian and US auto ads: A cross-cultural comparison. *Journal of Advertising*, 19(2), 30–39.
- Taylor, C.R. (2005). Moving international advertising research forward: A new research agenda. *Journal of Advertising*, 34(1), 7–16.
- 'The king is content; STAR India holds 25% of Indian television advertising market'. (2005, November 6). *Financial Times: India Business Insight*. Retrieved November 18, 2008, from Lexis-nexis.com
- Tse, D.K., Belk, R.W., & Zhou, N. (1989). Becoming a consumer society: A longitudinal and cross-cultural content analysis of print ads from Hong Kong, the People's Republic of China, and Taiwan. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15(4), 457–472.
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the construction of reality*. New York: The Free Press.
- Wang, Q.E. (1996). *Modernity inside tradition: The transformation of historical consciousness in modern China*. *Indiana University East Asia Studies Center website*. Retrieved March 20, 2009, from http://www.indiana.edu/~easc/resources/working_paper/noframe_10c_mod.htm
- Yang, T. (2008). CCTV advertising revenue in 2007 topped 10 billion yuan. *China Economics News*. Retrieved November 28, 2008, from <http://mediachina.net/>
- ZEEL February. (2009). *Presentation*. Retrieved March 20, 2009, from <http://www.zee-television.com/html/InvestorInformation.asp?Content=8>
- Zhang, J., & Shavitt, S. (2003). Cultural values in advertisements to the Chinese X-generation: Promoting modernity and individualism. *Journal of Advertising*, 32(1), 23–33.
- Zhang, Y., & Gelb, B.D. (1996). Matching advertising appeals to culture: The influence of products' use conditions. *Journal of Advertising*, 25(3), 29–46.
- Zhang, Y., & Harwood, J. (2004). Modernization and tradition in an age of globalization: Cultural values in Chinese television commercials. *Journal of Communication*, 54, 156–172.