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Political advertising in Taiwan and the US: Across-cultural comparison of the 1996 presidential election campaigns

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Political Advertising in Taiwan and the US A Cross-Cultural Comparison of the 1996 Presidential Election Campaigns

This study applies Hall's (1977) culture-context theory and Hofstede's (1991) individualistic/collectivistic aspects of cultural differences to understand how content and appeals of political advertising in Taiwan and the US differ. The aspects examined included the presence of direct and indirect attacks, the presentation of issues, types of settings, and the use of metaphors, symbols, and songs. Analyses showed that most of the findings were consistent with cultural expectations.

Communication is a mirror of culture, and the impact of culture manifests itself through different types of advertising. Although systematic culture differences that are mirrored in product advertising content have been documented (e.g., Han & Shavitt, 1994; Mueller, 1987), less attention has been paid to culture differences reflected in political advertising (for an exception, see Tak et al., 1997).

In Taiwan, the use of political advertising in elections can be seen as an influence from the US. However, culture theories suggest that the way messages are delivered and what messages are presented will vary across cultures. Therefore, it seems meaningful to examine whether candidates in Taiwan have adopted American campaign techniques whilst still maintaining unique cultural differences. Specifically, this study will examine how and what information was presented in the 1996 presidential elections in Taiwan and the US. This examination will be based on Hall's (1977) culture context theory and Hofstede's (1980) individualism/collectivism theory.

According to Hall's (1977) culture context theory, Taiwan is categorized as a high context culture, while the US is a low context culture. Individuals in a high context culture rely on

contexts for communication and do not need to be provided with clear-cut messages. On the other hand, in low context cultures, communication among individuals is based on explicitly articulated information. Given the contextual differences between Taiwanese and US cultures, one would expect that the candidates' styles of communication, such as use of direct attacks, discussion of issues, use of metaphors and symbols, use of theme songs, shots of candidates, and choice of settings to differ between the two countries.

In addition, Hofstede (1991) suggests that Taiwan is a collectivistic culture, whereas the US is an individualistic one. Individuals in a collectivistic culture value interdependency and emphasize cooperation. By contrast, people in an individualistic culture are more self-reliant. Given the differences, one would expect that candidates in Taiwan are more likely to be featured with their families or other people.

■ The 1996 Presidential Election Campaign in Taiwan

□ *The Election*

The 1996 presidential election was the first direct presidential election in Taiwan. Competing against Lee Teng-hui, the incumbent, were Pen Ming Min from the Democratic Progressive Party, independent Lin Yang-kang, and independent Chen Li-an. The official campaign period lasted from 24 February to 23 March. The election was completed successfully with a voting rate of 76 per cent. Lee swept 54 per cent of the votes and remained in power.

□ *Campaign Regulations in Taiwan*

Campaign advertising on mass media was not allowed in Taiwan's elections till the late eighties when Taiwan underwent drastic political reform. In 1989, restrictions on the use of mass media as campaign vehicles were loosened; candidates could run campaign ads in newspapers and magazines but not on radio or television. Two years later, these restrictions were again relaxed, yet still not completely abolished.

In each high-level election (including elections for the governor of the Taiwan province, mayors of two special municipalities, legislators, etc.), the Central Election Committee would provide each party with free airtime for political messages on three government-affiliated broadcast television stations: the Taiwan Television Corporation (TTV), China Television Corporation (CTV), and Chinese Television Services (CTS). The focus of this study will be on television spots, which accounted for almost 70 per cent of media expenditure during the election.

■ High and Low Culture Context

Hall (1977) suggests that communication in different cultures exhibits contextual variations. According to Hall and Hall (1987: 158),

Context refers to the fact that when people communicate they take for granted how much the listener knows about the subject under discussion. In low-context communication, the listener knows very little and so must be told practically everything. In high-context communication, the listener is already 'contexted,' and so does not need to be told very much.

In high context cultures, communication relies on a good knowledge of the context. Therefore, only minimal information need be transmitted because most information is either known to the audience or available in the physical environment when the communication takes place. Information, thus, is usually vested in implied and indirect messages. China, Taiwan and Korea are classified by Hall as high context cultures.

On the other hand, in a low context culture, communication relies heavily on information stated in explicit codes. Messages are usually clearly articulated, not implied. The US has been seen as an example of a low-context culture.

The concept of cultural context has been shown to be useful in predicting the relative effectiveness of different brand image strategies (Roth, 1992) and advertising strategies (Martenson, 1992) employed in various countries, and in understanding what type of ad appeals or what strategies ad practitioners in different cultures are likely to employ (Biswas et al., 1992; Taylor et al., 1994). Therefore, this study will also employ culture context

orientation in examining cultural variations in political advertising.

■ Individualism and Collectivism

One of the important aspects of culture concerns individuals' relationships with one another. The classification of cultures into collectivistic and individual cultures emerged based on the relative emphasis of others and self (Hofstede, 1980). Collectivism and individualism thus represents the relationship of individuals and groups at the cultural level (Triandis et al., 1988).

In collectivistic cultures, individuals subordinate their personal goals to the goals of the groups they belong to (Triandis et al., 1990). According to Markus and Kitayama (1991), people in collectivistic cultures hold an interdependent view of the relationship between self and others. Individuals are constantly aware of the interests of the group and are willing to conform their behaviours to the norms of the group. For the best interests of the group, cooperation is usually expected. In-group harmony is highly desirable whereas confrontation is likely to be avoided (Hofstede, 1991). Conflicts are resolved for the sake of welfare of the group. For people in collectivistic cultures, feeling emotionally integrated with a group is also important (Hofstede, 1991). Taiwan, as well as China, Japan and Korea fall into this category (Hofstede, 1980; 1991).

In individualistic cultures, people hold an independent view of the self with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Personal achievements are placed ahead of group goals (Triandis et al., 1990). Individuals' behaviours are regulated by their personal preference or interests. Self-reliance and independence are highly regarded and competing to achieve personal goals is encouraged. Individualistic cultures can be found in most northern and western regions of Europe and in North America. America is one example of an individual-oriented culture (Hofstede, 1991).

Hofstede's theory on individualism and collectivism has been shown to explain differences among various cultures for many important aspects: work-related values (Hofstede, 1980); consumer behaviours (e.g., Lynn et al., 1993); and advertising appeals (e.g., Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996). Therefore, this study employs Hofstede's concept of individualism and collectivism to explore content differences in political advertising.

■ Cultural Comparisons of Advertising

□ *Product Advertising*

Dimensions of cultural variability can be traced by examining the content of product advertising. Among the most studied dimensions are individualism-collectivism (e.g., Han & Shavitt, 1994; Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996) and high versus low context (e.g., Biswas et al., 1992; Taylor, et al., 1994).

Individualism-collectivism is usually the main theme in cultural comparison studies between Eastern and Western countries. For example, comparing product commercials in the US and Korea, Han and Shavitt (1994) showed that commercials in the US usually addressed the individual benefits that a product could provide, whereas commercials in Korea were more likely to emphasize in-group harmony.

Hall's culture context theory has also been used as a theoretical thrust to explain advertising differences in different countries. For example, Biswas et al. (1992) suggested that France, compared with the US, was lower in cultural context. Analyses of advertising content in these two cultures also demonstrated the culture context difference on the amount of emotional appeals and information appeals. Taylor et al. (1994) also found that a culture's context level determined when products or brands would be shown in ads and how long they would be shown. Culture context variation has been further adopted to predict effectiveness of information ads in high versus low context cultures. For example, Taylor et al. (1997) demonstrated that Americans were more likely than Koreans to respond favourably to ads with more information.

Other cross-cultural studies have examined content differences in product commercials without employing any specific theories. Our review of these studies will generally be limited to studies that focus on cultural differences between East and West.

A majority of studies exploring cultural differences across Western and Eastern countries use the US to represent the Western culture and Japan to stand for the Eastern culture. For example, Mueller's (1987) content analysis of magazine ads in the US and Japan found that ads in Japan tended to use the soft-sell approach, appealed to social status and exhibited veneration of tradition and the elderly. On the other hand, ads in the US were more likely to employ the hard-sell approach and talked about product merits. Hong et al. (1987) demonstrated that Japanese ads used more

emotional appeals and employed less comparative appeals than US ads. Similarly, Javalgi et al. (1995) analysed print advertising in these two countries and documented differences in the amount and types of visual appeals, headline types and the number of people featured in the ads.

Studies which explicitly compared advertising in Taiwan and Western countries were scarce, but not totally absent. In a study comparing commercials in the US, Taiwan and France, Zandpour et al. (1992) demonstrated that ads in the US, compared with ads in Taiwan, were more likely to feature a celebrity or a credible source and employed strong arguments. Ads in Taiwan, on the other hand, used symbols and drama appeals to a greater extent.

■ Political Advertising

Most of the past studies to explore cultural differences in advertising have been limited to examinations of product advertising. One of the exceptions is a cross-cultural study of political advertising in the US and Korea by Tak et al. (1997). Their study showed that political advertising messages in Korea differed from messages in the US on three cultural indicators: communication context, uncertainty/avoidance, and non-verbal behaviours. Differences of communication context manifested themselves through the amount of attacks candidates used in ads and the type of attack strategies they employed. Koreans tended to use fewer attacks, and when they employed negative appeals, they were more likely to use implied comparisons. Americans were more likely to employ attacks and more likely to use direct comparisons. Variations of uncertainty/avoidance in these two cultures displayed themselves in the amount of issues discussed and the amount of ethical appeals used, with Koreans scoring high on both. Analyses of non-verbal behaviours of candidates in the ads also showed that candidates in Korea used their hands and arms significantly less often than candidates in the US and they were more likely to be dressed formally and presented in formal settings than their US counterparts.

Similar to the work by Tak et al. (1997), this study assumes that culture variations will manifest themselves in political advertising. However, this study will explore other content elements and techniques that can be expected from theoretical perspectives but were not examined by Tak et al. (1997).

■ Hypotheses

Studies have shown that persuasion in accordance with cultural expectation will be more effective (Taylor et al., 1997). Therefore, we expect that political advertising will tend not to violate cultural expectations or norms. As a result, we are able to observe traces of culture uniqueness in political spots.

The first set of hypotheses is derived from the theoretical thrust of Hall's (1977) culture context. According to this theory, in a high context culture, messages can be derived from the context of communication and therefore direct confrontations are not necessary to get the messages across. Kim et al. (1998) have shown that people from high context cultures have more self-restraint and are less likely to resolve conflicts through confrontation. Becker (1986) also argued that there are inherent barriers from socio-historical, linguistic and philosophical traditions in Chinese culture that discourage people from accepting argumentation and debate as a method of communication. Therefore, the author argues that in Taiwan, a high-context culture, direct attacks tend to violate people's expectations. And in cases when confrontations cannot be avoided, they are more likely to be expressed in a more subtle way.

Based on the three modes of negative political advertising identified by Johnson-Cartee and Copeland (1997), the author argues that 'implied comparisons' are more likely to be used in Taiwan whereas 'direct attacks' and 'direct comparisons' are more likely to be seen in the US.

H1.1: Compared with candidates in the US, candidates in Taiwan are less likely to use negative ads.

H1.2: When attacking opponents, candidates in Taiwan are more likely to use implied comparison whereas candidates in the US are more likely to employ direct comparison.

Symbols, according to Webster's Dictionary, are visual signs of something invisible. A good example of a symbol in political communication would be a flag, which usually stands for patriotism. Metaphors, according to Webster's Dictionary, are defined as words that literally denote one kind of object or idea and are used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy. For example, for Chinese people, a bunch of chopsticks can denote the strength of cooperation. For people sharing Chinese cultural values, the relationship between a bunch of chopsticks and cooperation does not need to be explicitly expressed but can still be understood.

Since people in a high context culture do not need to communicate with explicit information, information is widely shared through simple messages with profound meanings. Therefore, this study suggests that people in high-context cultures tend to use symbols and metaphors to convey their messages instead of expressing them literally.

H1.3: Compared with candidates in the US, candidates in Taiwan are more likely to employ symbols.

H1.4: Compared with candidates in the US, candidates in Taiwan are more likely to employ metaphors.

Songs usually convey more meaning than they appear to. Songs with different melodies, pitch, pace can move listeners in different ways. Sometimes we sing to express ourselves, and sometimes we can tell how a person feels from the song he/she sings or hums, because songs denote meanings beyond what their physical elements stand for. Therefore, the author suggests that candidates in a high-context culture like Taiwan are more likely to embed their messages in songs. Instead of expressing their thoughts explicitly in words, they often use songs to appeal to voters.

H1.5: Compared with candidates in the US, candidates in Taiwan are more likely to use song-appeal.

In societies where information is implied in communication contexts such as Taiwan, the need for explicit verbal messages is reduced. Biswas et al. (1992) found that commercials in a high-context culture contain less information than commercials in a low-context culture. In elections, a candidate's stance on issues and policies is important information that is conveyed via campaign advertising. Based on Hall's culture context arguments, this study suggests that candidates in Taiwan are less likely to state their position explicitly, as manifested in a smaller number of issues discussed in ads and less amount of time devoted to the discussion of issues.

H1.6: Compared with candidates in the US, candidates in the US are less likely to discuss issues.

In high context cultures such as Taiwan, indirect and non-obvious communication is preferred over straightforward and outspoken communication (Gudykunt et al., 1987). Therefore, political spots in a high context culture are less likely to feature

candidates talking directly to voters. In addition, since more emphasis is placed on contextual cues and less on the candidates themselves, the total amount of time that candidates are shown on screen should be significantly shorter in high context cultures. Even when candidates in high context cultures appear on screen, they are likely to be shown in a context full of information. As a result, close-up shots of candidates are less likely to be presented.

H1.7: Ads in Taiwan are less likely to show candidates than ads in the US

H1.8: Ads in Taiwan are less likely to use close-up shots of candidates than ads in the US

Tak et al. (1997) argued that settings, as an important contextual cue, are signals of a person's role or status. For example, showing a candidate in a formal setting is a way to emphasize the importance of the candidate. Most importantly, when people in a high context culture communicate, they manage to orchestrate all contextual elements in order to transmit the right message to the listener. The setting where the candidate was shown works as an important contextual cue for people in high-context cultures. Formal settings thus convey significant information and are likely to be synthesized into communication for candidates in a high-context culture.

H1.9: Ads in Taiwan are more likely to show candidates in formal settings.

For people in collectivistic cultures like Taiwan, families are the core network upon which individuals rely for emotional, social and economic support. Han and Shavitt (1994) have demonstrated that product advertisements in a collectivistic culture such as Korea are more likely to emphasize family well-being. Cheng and Schweitzer (1996) have found that product commercials in China, also a collectivistic culture, tend to feature product users in a family scene. Therefore, this study suggests that candidates in Taiwan are more likely to be shown in a family scene in comparison to candidates in the US

H2.1: Ads in Taiwan are more likely to show candidates with candidates' families than ads in the US

For individuals in collectivistic cultures, interdependence and intra-group relationships are important. Cooperation is valued more than self-reliance. Product advertising in collectivistic

cultures has been found to highlight the importance of in-group harmony (e.g., Han & Shavitt, 1994), and feature users in group-contexts (e.g., Frith & Sengupta, 1991). This study suggests that, compared to candidates in the US, candidates in Taiwan are more likely to be shown with other people.

H2.2: Ads in Taiwan are more likely to show candidates with other people than ads in the US.

■ Methodology

□ Ad Samples

Political television spots from the 1996 presidential elections of both countries were analysed. Television spots were chosen for analysis due to the large amount of campaign budget that is spent on them in both countries. The second justification for analysing television spots is that visual content can convey bountiful information on cultural uniqueness. All broadcasts that were run in Taiwan in 1996 by the four candidates were included for the analysis. In the case of the US, a tape of general election ads was obtained from the Devlin Archive, featuring 1996 ads for Clinton, Dole and Perot. In total, 48 Taiwanese ads and 52 American ads were content analysed.

□ Coding Categories

A coding scheme was developed based on past content analysis studies of political advertising (e.g., Hitchon et al., 1995; Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1997; Kaid & Davidson, 1986; Shyles, 1986) and past cross-cultural studies of advertising that employed theories of culture context and individualism/collectivism (e.g., Han & Shavitt, 1994; Tak et al., 1997). Coding categories for detecting culture-context related content include: whether attacks are employed, type of attacks, the number of times that metaphors and symbols are used, the use of theme songs (whether a theme song or theme songs are used with film footage without any narration), length of close-up shots, length of appearance formally dressed, and length of appearance in formal settings.

Coding categories for examining individualism/collectivism

dimensions of content include: family scene (how many times candidates were shown with their families), and group scene (the length of time when candidates are shown in groups of people). An English version of the coding scheme and instructions were first developed and then a translation and back-translation process was used to develop a Chinese version of the coding scheme and instructions.

■ *Coders and Intercoder Reliability*

The Taiwanese political spots were coded by a Chinese graduate student who was blind to the research purpose. The ads from the US were coded by an American foreign exchange graduate student in a national university in Taiwan. The third coder was fluent in both English and Chinese and coded one-third of each of the Taiwanese and American spots. All three coders were trained and instructed to follow coding procedures suggested by Kolbe and Burnett (1991). The percentage of agreement between the first and the third coder was 0.93; between the second and third coder it was 0.88. Both results were considered to be satisfactory.

■ *Analyses and Results*

The first set of hypotheses deals with the high-low culture context of political ads. H1.1 suggests that candidates in the US are more likely to attack the other candidates than candidates in Taiwan. As expected, the Chi-square test was significant, $X^2(1, n=100)=10.71, p<0.01$. A larger percentage of US ads were negative (50 per cent) than those of Taiwanese ads (19 per cent). Thus, hypothesis 1.1 is supported.

H1.2 suggests that when attack ads are used, ads in the US are more likely to use direct comparison, whereas ads in Taiwan are more likely to employ implied comparison. Consistent with expectations, larger percentages of US candidates used direct attacks (62 per cent) than Taiwanese candidates did (33 per cent), and a larger percentage of US candidates employed direct comparison techniques (38 per cent) than Taiwanese candidates (22 per cent). On the other hand, larger percentages of Taiwanese candidates used implied comparison (44 per cent) than US candidates (0 per cent). Both findings are consistent with cultural expectations. The Chi-

square test was significant, $X^2(1, n=35)=13.05, p<0.01$. Therefore, hypothesis 1.2 is supported.

H1.3 argues that ads in Taiwan are more likely to employ metaphors, and H1.4 suggests that ads in Taiwan are more likely to employ symbols. In general, none of the US ads utilized metaphors, whereas metaphors appeared a total of eight times among all the Taiwanese ads that were reviewed. The difference was significant ($F[1, 99]=6.37, p<0.01$). On the other hand, ANOVA indicated that candidates in Taiwan did not apply more symbols than candidates in the US ($F[1, 99]=0.32, p=0.57, M_{US}=1.12, M_{Taiwan}=0.92$). Therefore, hypothesis H1.3 is supported whilst H1.4 is not.

H1.5 proposes that candidates in Taiwan are more likely to use theme-song appeal. Even though background music was present for most of the US (92 per cent) and Taiwanese ads (83 per cent), candidates in Taiwan tended to employ a song as the main theme of ads to a greater extent than candidates in the US. On average, in Taiwanese spots, 23 per cent of the ad time was devoted to theme songs. This figure was significantly higher than that of their US counterparts, which allocated an average of two per cent of ad time to theme songs ($F(1, 97)=10.24, p<0.01$). Therefore, hypothesis 1.5 is supported.

Hypothesis 1.6 argues that candidates in the US are more likely to discuss issues. To test this hypothesis, both the numbers of issues discussed and the percentage of time that these discussions took were analyzed. An average of 3.14 issues were discussed in American ads, whereas only 0.23 issues were mentioned in Taiwanese ads. The difference was significant ($F(1, 99)=57.27, p<0.01$). In addition, an analysis of percentages of time devoted to the discussion of issues revealed a significant difference ($F(1, 99)=46.78, p<0.01, M_{US}=0.51, M_{Taiwan}=0.11$). Therefore, hypothesis 1.6 is supported.

Hypothesis 1.7 suggests that ads in the US are more likely to show candidates in ads. The results indicated that candidates were featured in 30 per cent of ad time in Taiwan and 31 per cent of ad time in the US. ANOVA indicated that the difference was not significant ($F(1, 99)=0.41, p=0.52$). Therefore, hypothesis 1.7 is not supported.

Even though the percentages of candidates appearing in ads were similar across the two nations, given the tendencies for longer ads in Taiwan, the following hypothesis tackling how candidates were shown in political spots will be tested by analysing percentage

figures.

Hypothesis 1.8 suggests that ads in the US are more likely to use close-up shots of candidates. An average of 11.1 per cent of ad time was devoted to close-up shots of candidates in the US ads, but only 2.61 per cent of ad time employed close-up shots of candidates in Taiwan. ANOVA showed that the difference was significant ($F(1, 99)=9.50, p<0.01$). Therefore, hypothesis 1.8 was supported.

Hypothesis 1.9 suggests that candidates in Taiwan are more likely to be shown in formal settings. The percentage time of candidates depicted in formal settings was calculated as an average of two per cent in the US and 11 per cent in Taiwan. ANOVA showed that the difference was significant ($F(1, 99)=6.44, p=0.01$). Therefore, hypothesis 1.10 was supported.

The second set of hypotheses concerns the individualism/collectivism dimension of culture content in political ads. Hypothesis 2.1 argues that candidates in Taiwan are more likely to be shown with their families. Families of candidates were present in nine per cent of the Taiwanese ads. By contrast, only one in 52 ads showed an American candidate with his family. However, the Chi-square test was not significant, $\chi^2(1, n=100)=2.16, p<0.14$. Therefore, hypothesis 2.1 is not supported.

Hypothesis 2.2 argues that candidates in Taiwan are more likely to be shown with crowds or groups of people than are candidates in the US. Ads were coded for how many different scenes existed where candidates were shown with crowds. ANOVA demonstrated that candidates in Taiwan were more likely to be shown with crowds than candidates in the US ($F(1, 99)=37.32, P<0.01, M_{US}=0.67, M_{Taiwan}=1.90$). Therefore, hypothesis 2.2 is supported.

■ Discussions

This study examined political advertising in the 1996 presidential election in Taiwan and the US in order to explore cultural differences between the two countries. Results indicated that clear cultural differences exist, as manifested in different ad contents and appeals employed by candidates.

Hall's culture context orientation in communication has been shown to be a good indicator of cultural differences conveyed through political advertising. In the political ads of Taiwan, a culture where information is embedded in contexts and not

necessarily expressed explicitly, not much was found to be expressed literally. Instead, candidates utilized metaphors and songs to appeal to voters. Settings also served as important context cues. Although candidates in Taiwan were as likely to be featured in ads as their US counterparts, when they were shown, they were less likely to be addressing the public on election issues. Instead, ads were likely to be composed of film footage of smiling people, without any explicit association being made between the happy people and the candidate. Information is either implied or can be derived from communication contexts, as was expected from a high-context culture.

By contrast, candidates in the US put things in exact words. They usually spent more time on issues and were likely to be shown on screen addressing people concerning what they have done and what they will do. Attacks were employed to a higher degree and were substantiated with information. It is a mode of straightforward communication that is full of explicitly-stated information, as was expected from a low-context culture.

Hofstede's individualistic/collectivistic dimension of cultural differences has also been demonstrated to serve as a good determinant of how candidates will be featured in political spots. This study has found that candidates in Taiwan were more likely to be shown in group-oriented scenes. However, contrary to expectations, candidates in Taiwan were not more likely to be shown with families. It is likely that in a male-authority oriented society like Taiwan, showing candidates with families reduces the sense of sovereignty for candidates.

Scholars have documented cultural differences in all forms of communication. This study examined the contents of political spots cross-culturally, and found substantial evidence of cultural variations. Systematic inquiry into this area is warranted. However, we should note that the author did not intend to use Taiwan to represent all high-context or all collectivistic cultures. Indeed, not all high-context or all collectivistic cultures are the same, neither are all low-context or all individualistic cultures. For example, even though people in Great Britain and America may share a lot of similarities, they also show many differences in ad appeals or content. Compared with ads in the US, ads in Great Britain have been shown to reveal a higher level of individualism (Frith & Wesson, 1991), more humour and more indirect speech (Gaillat & Mueller, 1996).

Other factors, such as political systems and economic develop-

ment, are also likely to contribute to communication differences in political persuasion. Indeed, Tse, Belk and Zhou (1989) found that product commercials in the People's Republic of China, Taiwan and Hong Kong differed in the amount of utilitarian and hedonistic content they contained. These differences, as Tse, et al. (1989) suggested, were caused by different levels of economic development and different political ideology.

Therefore, future studies should explore cultural differences as well as political and social factors that may contribute to content differences in political advertising for a better understanding of how political persuasion takes its unique forms in different societies. In addition, it will also be important to examine whether different communication modes in political advertising work differently for voters in different cultures.

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