The globalisation of Western advertising: a case study of the impact of imported advertising on cultural values in Malaysia

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The Globalisation of Western Advertising:
A Case Study of the Impact of Imported Advertising on Cultural Values in Malaysia

by
Azizul Halim Yahya

A Doctoral Thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of
Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University

July, 2001

Supervisor: Professor Peter Golding
Department of Social Sciences

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Keywords

By

Azizul Halim Yahya
Department of Social Sciences

1. Cultural Imperialism
2. Cultural Representation
3. Cultural Values
4. Globalisation
5. Global Advertising
6. Global Economy
7. Malaysia
8. TNAAs (Transnational Advertising Agencies)
9. TNCs (Transnational Corporations)
10. Western Advertising
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The Globalisation of Western Advertising:  
A Case Study of the Impact of Imported Advertising on Cultural Values in Malaysia

The rapid growth of the Malaysian economy during the last twenty years has, it is claimed, provided Malaysians with greater purchasing power. This has influenced directly the growth in consumption. The globalisation of the world economy has contributed in no small way to this phenomenon. The influx of FDI (foreign direct investment), for example, has created many job opportunities in Malaysia, which have enhanced purchasing power. This trend is seen as a golden opportunity for Western countries to market their goods and services; there has been a considerable increase of western based TNA's (Transnational Advertisers) together with their marketing arm, the TNAA's (Transnational Advertising Agencies). This thesis is mainly concerned with the impact of the resulting increase in advertising on cultural values in Malaysia, and with whether or not advertising may be seen as a major source and repository of those values.

The investigation focuses on the three dimensions of 'cultural representation', 'regulation and production' and 'impact on social life and values'. In the first, a comparison is made of the content of Western and Malaysian product advertisements on television, using content analysis and semiology and including topics from Western and Malaysian representation of dominant cultural values. In the second, interviews were conducted with advertising practitioners and regulators in order to explore the processes of production and regulation of advertisements. Here the role of the parent company of the TNA and TNAA is investigated as well as the process of self-regulation by TNA's and the role of the State and the NGO in protecting and preserving the national interest. In the third dimension, group interviews with fifty Malaysian households were conducted to investigate the impact upon them of TV advertising and resultant changes in their lifestyles.

The findings show that Malaysian social life and values have changed to some extent due to globalised western advertising. There are signs of homogenisation in culture and consumption, that society is becoming more dependent on technology, liberalisation of thought and attitudes, improving human rights and consciousness of the environment and of health and hygiene. There is a greater focus on independence and individualism. An important discovery of this work is the willingness of the audience to accept changes in their social life and values provided it will benefit society.
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<td>Radio Television Malaysia</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>RVS</td>
<td>Rokeach Value Survey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRM</td>
<td>Survey Research Malaysia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRS</td>
<td>Survey Research Singapore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STMB</td>
<td>Sistem Televisyen Malaysia Limited (Berhad)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNAAs</td>
<td>Transnational Advertisers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNAAs</td>
<td>Transnational Advertising Agencies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNCs</td>
<td>Transnational Corporations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMNO</td>
<td>United Malays National Organisation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMS</td>
<td>Unfederated Malay States</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCTAC</td>
<td>United Nations Conference on Trade and Development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organisation</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
**Malaysian Glossary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apa khabar?</td>
<td>A Malay phrase for 'How do you do?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assalam Mualaikum</td>
<td>An Arabic greeting for 'How do you do?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurat</td>
<td>The parts of the body that have to be covered according to Islamic law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baju Kurung</td>
<td>A traditional Malay dress for women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baju Melayu</td>
<td>A traditional Malay shirt for men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balai Rong</td>
<td>A hall in the Malay Palace normally used for formal occasions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balik Kampung</td>
<td>Hometown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barisan Nasional (BN)-</td>
<td>National Front - the ruling party in Malaysia. An alliance of UMNO, MCA, MIC and SNAP. BN was established in 1976 and has been a ruling party until today.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batik</td>
<td>A popular pattern of fabric in Malaysia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belacan</td>
<td>A prawn paste normally used in Malay dishes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bersanding</td>
<td>Where a bride and a groom wearing special wedding costumes sit together on a special stage on their wedding day or reception, being watched by the guests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boria</td>
<td>Choir group originated from Penang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budu</td>
<td>A fermented fish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bumiputera</td>
<td>A term to describe the indigenous people such as Malay, Kadazan, Dayak, Iban etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capati</td>
<td>An Indian bread like Naan but more oily.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cencalok</td>
<td>A type of pickle made of prawns usually consumed by the Malays, together with rice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheong Sam</td>
<td>A traditional Chinese dress worn by females.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coli</td>
<td>A bra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congkak</td>
<td>A traditional indoor game using marbles, played by two people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayak</td>
<td>An aborigine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dikir Barat</td>
<td>An all males traditional group performance originated from Kelantan - a northern state of Malaysia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodol</td>
<td>A traditional Malay dessert made of rice flour, coconut and brown sugar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamelan</td>
<td>A traditional musical instrument normally played by the Malays in North East Malaysia, such as the Kelantanese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gasing</td>
<td>A spinning top.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halal</td>
<td>Foods that have been prepared according to Islamic rights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joget Modern</td>
<td>A traditional Malay dance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadazan</td>
<td>An aborigine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampung</td>
<td>Village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kebaya Pendek/Panjang</td>
<td>A traditional Malay dress for women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenduri</td>
<td>A gathering or party where all the guests are served with food and drink.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenduri Selamat</td>
<td>A gathering to thank God by performing a special prayer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurtas</td>
<td>A thin white cotton shirt normally worn by the Indians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mak cik</td>
<td>Aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mamak</td>
<td>A slang word to describe an Indian Muslim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masyarakat Maklumat-</td>
<td>Information Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mini-Telekung</td>
<td>A mini-veil normally worn by Muslim women to cover their hair from the public, as instructed by Islamic law.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Naan - An Indian bread.

Nasi Lemak - Boiled rice cooked with coconut milk commonly served during breakfast.

Putu Kacang - A type of Malay cookie made of green bean flour and fine sugar.

Rakan Muda - Meaning 'Young Friends'. A campaign introduced by the government to promote positive activities, such as hiking and mounting climbing to the youngsters so they do not become involved with negative activities such as drugs.

Reformasi - Comes from the word 'Reformation'. A term coined for 'resurgence' used by Anwar Ibrahim, a former Deputy Prime Minister.

Rojak - A dish made of different types of fresh fruit, mixed with chilli, tomato sauce and ground nuts. It is commonly used as a slang word for 'mixed-up'.

Rukun Negara - Malaysian Ideology, introduced after the ethnic unrest of May 13, 1969. The adoption of these five principles as pillars of the national philosophy and outlook represents an attempt to base national unity on certain concepts, which are universal and acceptable to all citizens, regardless of ethnic origin or religious affiliation. The declaration of the five Principles is formulated as follows:

OUR NATION, MALAYSIA is dedicated; TO ACHIEVING a greater unity for all her peoples; TO MAINTAINING a democratic way of life; TO CREATING a just society in which the wealth of the nation shall be equitably distributed; TO ENSURE a liberal approach to her rich and diverse cultural traditions; and TO BUILDING a progressive society which shall be orientated to modern science and technology. The five principles are: 1) Belief in God 2) Loyalty to King and Country 3) The Supremacy of the Constitution 4) The Rule of Law 5) Mutual Respect and Good Social Behaviour.

Sari - An traditional Indian dress made of a piece of long cloth wrapped around the body.

Sarung - A Malay garment worn by both sexes, consisting of a long strip of cloth tucked round the wrist or under the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Selamat Pagi</td>
<td>A Malay phrase for ‘good morning’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sepak Takraw</td>
<td>A type of game played by a few people using a special woven rattan ball. The ball is thrown into the air and the players have to prevent it from falling to the ground by using their legs and head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silat</td>
<td>A traditional Malay martial art.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songket</td>
<td>An exclusive, hand woven fabric made with gold or silver thread, normally worn on special or formal occasions. For example, the bride and groom wear wedding costumes made from this fabric on their wedding day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songkok</td>
<td>A Malay cap commonly black in colour and usually used by the man during prayers and religious festivals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanjak/Tengkolok</td>
<td>A traditional head gear made of cloth usually worn by males. Commonly worn by the King and Royal Family on formal occasions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tari Inai</td>
<td>A Malay folk dance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teh Tarik</td>
<td>Malaysian favourite tea prepared in a unique way where the tea that has been mixed with sweetened condensed milk, is ‘poured highly’ using 2 different mugs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tempoyak</td>
<td>A fermented mashed ‘Durian’ (a favourite fruit in Malaysia).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wajik</td>
<td>A traditional Malay dessert made of glutinous rice, coconut and brown sugar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wau</td>
<td>A kite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayang Kulit</td>
<td>A traditional shadow play normally performed in North East Malaysia. Very popular in the state of Kelantan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter One

Introduction

I sit on a man’s back, choking him and making him carry me and yet assure myself and others that I’m sorry for him and wish to lighten his load by all possible means—except by getting off his back.

-Tolstoy

The Malaysian economy has been growing rapidly for the past two decades and at the same time has been integrating into the global economy. This has been coupled with the growth of consumption. Some see these phenomena as directly influencing the growth of the media and of advertising. Advertising may be regarded in this scenario as a link and catalyst between the economy and the growth of the media. The question here is that of relating the impact of advertising to cultural values in Malaysia. Can advertising be seen as a major source and repository of cultural values in Malaysia and does it promote cultural imperialism? Or does it have a role to play at all? These questions are today exercising the public and media mind, and many people are questioning the role of the West.

Globalisation is often portrayed by the non-Western societies as a tool for 'Western Domination', which has been partly blamed for creating an unjust, unequal world in economy, politics and culture. Western countries, with their political stability and economic and technological superiority, have also been accused of taking advantage of peripheral nations, of ‘colonising’ them.

What is seen as particularly unfair is the total monopoly exercised by these dominant
global forces over the production of the world’s commodities. The centres of power in the West are manipulating intellectual property rights to control the flow of scientific and technical knowledge and ideas. The most powerful channels of print and electronic media communication are also in the hands of a minority located largely in the West (Naisbitt, 1995). It is this control and domination over information, ideas and knowledge that have enabled the centres of power in the West to shape the world to their liking.

What has annoyed some individuals and groups in the non-Western world is that Western influence, most of the time, is no longer an alien element intruding into non-Western societies. It is an influence that has become integrated into the mind and body, the heart and soul of non-Western human beings. Western domination, in other words, has become normal and natural.

The West is accused of bias in making decisions, depending on who is friend and who is foe, while at the same time they are portraying themselves as champions of human rights and claiming that their society is based on equality. All these claims confuse the non-Western world but there are indications that some people there are beginning to question Western dominance. Western ‘sincerity’ is now in question.

Malaysians are known to value sincerity and friendship but resist unfair dominance. They have learned from the past. Today, they do not readily accept the colonisation by Western powers that has been a dominant feature of their history. Younger generations have been imbued with the idea of the ‘independent state’, which has been evoked from Rukun Negara, the Malaysian ideology. This has created nationalistic citizens who are cautious and suspicious of ‘foreign elements’, especially those from Western countries. Apparently, the state can not exclude such elements, as the world is changing; a new world economic, political, and cultural order is emerging. In reality, the state and the economy are very much interconnected with and dependent upon the rest of the world even if, as some say, external elements are invading and threatening the indigenous culture. One of these elements is ‘Advertising’.

In recent years, many international scholars of advertising have warned transnational
advertisers not to threaten the indigenous culture of developing countries (Ha, 1996:95), seeing such action as ‘Cultural Imperialism’. Western advertisers are accused of establishing a Western consumer culture through their advertising in Malaysia, and some of them have questioned whether ‘the traditional’ still exists in this country. The Malaysian government, which treasures traditional cultural values, is afraid of the erosive influence of the Western consumer culture. According to Frith and Frith (1990), ‘consumer culture’ is a Western social standard that encourages consumption and individualistic competition for material satisfaction. This is in conflict with the collective, non-materialistic cultural values of most developing countries. Yet, we know advertising is a ‘consciousness’ industry that is involved in both creating culture and in reflecting it (Lester, 1994:7). One source of such a threat can be foreign advertising containing cultural values and standards that are in conflict with traditional cultural values of the host country, or domestic advertising, which in itself encourages overall increased consumption. To have an impact on the Malaysia market, foreign advertising must be well received by the local consumers. Indeed, Western advertising has already set the standard for domestic advertising in Malaysia.

As the Malaysian economy expands, providing greater disposable income to consumers, competition for those consumer ‘ringgit’\(^1\) increases and the number of brands sold escalates. The marketplace becomes more attractive for suppliers to introduce new imported brands. This more competitive environment increases the importance of effectively communicating information offered to potential consumers (Krishna, Chuang and Axinn, 1997:223). Malaysia is one of the Southeast Asian countries that has experienced tremendous economic growth in recent decades. Malaysia’s increasing trade with the ‘world triad’, the European Community, Japan and the USA, encourages the globalisation of advertising. Increasing trade between countries contributes to economic growth in general, which in turn, enhances the development of media systems (ibid.:224). As a part of this economic system, Malaysia has experienced a rapid growth in the communication industry, notably in the electronic media sector, including the broadcast and cable segments of the television industry. Television is accessible to most people in Malaysia. Ninety per cent of the Malaysian people now have access to television (A&M, 1995c).

\(^{1}\) Malaysian currency
At present, there are five major television networks in Malaysia; TVI, TV2, STMB, Metrovision and ntv7, servicing 20 million people. TV1 and TV2 are owned and operated by the government. These five channels have recently been supplemented by numerous privately owned and operated cable channels and satellite services, offered to viewers by multinational broadcasting corporations, including NBC and CNN. Thus, as channel capacity has increased, viewers enjoy more freedom in choosing programs and they are also exposed to advertisements of a wide array of products, both local and global. Besides the five channels mentioned, there are also cable and satellite TV. Cable TV, or Mega TV, has five channels and satellite TV, or ASTRO, has more than thirty channels (A&M, 1995c).

It is not surprising, with new technological developments in the media sector, that the advertising industry in Southeast Asia experienced rapid growth in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Malaysia exemplifies the booming advertising industry in the Asian-Pacific basin. Total advertising expenditure in Malaysia increased from 1980 to 1996, particularly between 1987 and 1988 and in the first half of 1990. These spurts in the nation's advertising expenditures are testimony to the industry's rapid growth. At present, many multinational companies advertise on Malaysian television alongside local companies.

Meanwhile, the influence of Western advertising on Malaysian culture has long been criticised by the Malaysian public. The issue is constantly discussed by the policy makers and Non-Governmental Bodies (NGOs) and it seems to be a never-ending process. Thorough research is urgently needed in order to clarify what this influence is and what damage it may be doing to Malaysian culture.

The issues raised by the concerned parties are inevitable as the advertising industry is growing at an unprecedented rate. It is very likely that more advertisements will appear with more disputable 'meaning'.
Chapter One

1.1 Aims and Methodology

Pertaining to advertising, there are a number of studies, which cover a variety of different aspects and approaches. One very topical issue, which is important to developing countries such as Malaysia, has informed this research: ‘The Globalisation of Western Advertising: A Case Study of the Impact of Imported Advertising on Cultural Values in Malaysia’. Discussion of globalisation has consistently dominated business and academic seminars. In Malaysia, for instance, some Non-Governmental Organisations and Opposition Parties have always used the issues to criticise the ruling government on its policies, especially when it comes to flexibility in imposing guidelines and regulations. Some of the outcry concerned the possibility of globalised the country. This issue is not new, having been widely debated in the study of ‘Cultural Imperialism’.

This thesis focuses particularly on the TV advertisement. The reasons for not including print advertisements in this research are two-fold. Firstly, TV advertising is more powerful and influencing compared to that of other media. Electronic media are characteristically more impacting due to the combination of sound and movement of the image. In addition, when the whole advertising campaign has been developed, it will include other media such as the press, magazines, radio, billboards and many others. Secondly, although the study of the press and other media constitutes an important topic for media studies and merits sustained investigation, it is beyond the scope and resources of this thesis.

The purpose of this research is to study the impact of imported advertising on cultural values in Malaysia. The thesis aims to investigate three dimensions of the relationship between advertising and cultural values in Malaysia: 1. Cultural Representation, 2. Regulation and Production, 3. Impact on the Social Life and Values. A comparison of contents between Western product and Malaysian product advertisements is made. Due to its importance, the influence of the insight of the regulator and the producer during the production process of the advertisement, are also examined. The purpose of including this is to identify the relationship between globalisation and the finished advertisement. The study would also be incomplete
without examining the impact of the advertisement. To this end, an audience research was conducted on the Malaysian audiences. Listed below are the objectives of this research:

1. To examine Cultural Westernisation in Malaysia in relation to globalisation in television advertising. In examining the cultural content, quantitative and qualitative content analysis/semiology have been employed. Several cultural elements were used, such as value and attitudes, identity and representation and lifestyles. Three hundred and seven sample TV advertisements were employed to compare Western product advertisements and Malaysian product advertisements and ten advertisements for the semiology. The findings of this study are discussed in Chapters Eight and Nine.

2. To investigate the process of regulating and producing advertisements. These processes play an important role, with other types of influences, in shaping and moulding Malaysian culture. In order to investigate them, personal interviews were used. The interviews were conducted with the advertising practitioners from the advertising agencies, advertisers, government bodies, broadcasting and consumer associations.

3. To provide a preliminary analysis of the impact of imported advertising on family lifestyles and values in Malaysia. Audience Research, in which personal interviews were conducted with Malaysian families, was used for this purpose.

1.2 Outline of the Thesis

The thesis comprises eleven chapters, which are divided into three parts:
1. Part 1 (Chapters 2-5) - Theoretical Framework and Contextual Background
2. Part 2 (Chapter 6-10) - Research Methodology and Empirical Work
3. Part 3 (Chapter 11) - Conclusion
Chapter One serves as an 'Introduction' to the thesis. The 'Introduction' includes 'Aims and Methodology' and an 'Outline of the Thesis'. 'Part One' is divided into four Chapters, beginning with Chapter Two, and serves as the theoretical and contextual background of the thesis. Chapter Two is divided into three sections; 'Theories of Globalisation', 'State, Politics, Sovereignty and Globalisation' and 'Globalisation and the World Economy'. This chapter attempts to explore the notion of current globalisation and to conceptualise its relationship with the economy and politics. Literature considered in this includes studies of the dynamism of globalisation, state and sovereignty, present trends and players in the World economy, transnational corporations and global marketing strategy. Chapter Three, 'Global Advertising and its Consequences' is divided into two main sections, 'Transnational Advertisers and Transnational Advertising Agencies' and 'Globalisation and Culture - the Consequences' which includes globalising culture, consumption and its consequences.

Chapter Four, 'Politics, Economy and Culture: The Case of Malaysia,' provides a brief background on Malaysian culture, including its population, language, religion, lifestyles, consumption, politics and the economy. All these subjects are relatively important as they help to formulate the research design, which attempted to differentiate between Western and Malaysian cultures. This chapter also considers the present status of the Malaysian economy and patterns of consumption. Chapter Five, 'The Changing Structure of Malaysian Advertising', outlines the framework of the Malaysian advertising industry. This chapter begins with the history of the Malaysian advertising industry, its present trends, the major players and their relationships with the media, together with the involvement of regulations and pressure groups. In other words, this chapter tries to show the dynamism of the advertising industry and its contribution to the growth of the media industry as a whole. It also attempts to demonstrate how the industry overcomes rules and constraints from regulators and pressure groups, which in no small way accounts for its present character.
Part Two: Chapter Six to Chapter Ten

Part Two specifically covers all the empirical work conducted and is divided into five chapters. Chapter Six, 'Methodology' concerns the methods used in the empirical study, which includes a literature review of the subjects. The methods used include content analysis, semiology, personal in-depth interviews and audience research - group interviews. Chapter Seven is about 'Regulating and Producing Advertisements'. This chapter provides an in-depth analysis on how advertisements are produced and how they are 'actually' being regulated. This chapter also investigates the involvement of transnational advertising headquarters and agencies and how they influence the domestic advertising campaign. Chapter Eight, 'Cultural Representation in Television Advertisements' aims to identify some important cultural elements, which appear in TV advertisements from the 1,977 samples which were selected. From these, 307 samples with different themes were used for comprehensive analysis. Several categories were created, such as theme, values and attitudes, dress, eating habits etc. Chapter Eight also provides, a comparative study on the cultural content of Western and Malaysian product advertisements. This chapter aims to differentiate the extent of impact on cultural representation from brands originating in the West.

Chapter Nine 'Meaning, Sign and Representation - a Qualitative Analysis' employs qualitative techniques in exploring 'meaning', 'sign' and 'representation' adopted in advertising. Qualitative analysis (Semiological Analysis) was used in selected advertisements in relation to some of the discovered values. This chapter aim to explore the meaning of cultural elements represented in the television advertisements. Chapter Ten 'The Impact of Western Advertising: An Audience Study', concludes Part Two of this thesis. It provides the findings and analysis of audience research. The main objective of this chapter is to examine audience views on changing social life and to study the level of impact upon Malaysian audiences of TV advertisements. The study was divided into two sections - 'Cultural Values' and 'Background and Contact - Audiences Responsiveness to Advertisements'. Fifty households, in which a 'quota sample' was employed, were interviewed in this chapter. The samples were chosen according to ethnic background, marital status, urban and rural distribution, and income.
Part Three: Chapter Eleven

The final chapter constitutes Part 3 of the thesis. It introduces an overall perspective of globalisation and Western advertising in Malaysia. The aim is to map out the future prospects for the Malaysian audience concerning their cultural identity, and sovereignty. This chapter also includes a full review of general arguments. In the conclusion it offers some reflections and suggestions for advertising research and culture in the future.
Chapter Two

Globalisation

2.1 Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to provide a theoretical framework to the study of the impact of globalisation of Western advertising on Malaysian culture. My concern is to explain the incorporation of Malaysia into globalisation. The purpose is to examine the degree of impact on Malaysia of inclusion in the global economy. The areas to be examined are; 'Globalisation', 'State' and 'Economy'. I have divided the chapter into three sections - 'Theories of Globalisation', 'State, Politics, Sovereignty and Globalisation' and 'Globalisation and the World Economy'. In the course of this it is hoped that the pattern of transnational exchanges between 'centre' nation and 'periphery' nation will emerge (Galtung, 1971:84).

Axford (1995:1) stressed that globalisation should be construed as a multi-dimensional process. This was shared by Robertson (1990:17-8), who pointed to the importance of including the discussion of the politics of the global-human condition.

2 'Centre' nations rank high internationally in terms of absolute properties as measured by development variables such as GNP/capita and percentage employed in non-primary sectors. Conversely, 'Periphery' nations rank low on these dimensions. The terms in lower case, i.e. 'centre' and 'periphery', refer to groups of individuals with any particular nation (be it advanced or poor). The 'centre' is made up of those individuals or group of individuals who are richer, more educated, stronger, and are able to place themselves on top of a vertical interaction in the economic and social structure. Correspondingly, the 'periphery' is made up of those individuals, or group of individuals, who are poorer, less educated, weaker, and are found at the bottom of the vertical interaction in the economic and social structure. The 'centre' and 'periphery' can be viewed as distinct groups by looking at the distribution of income within the population. The 'centre' may be defined as the small percentage of the population receiving a certain large percentage of the total income. Conversely, 'periphery' is the larger percentage of the population receiving the smaller percentage of the total income. The 'centre' in the 'Centre' nation generally is a larger group than the 'centre' in the 'Periphery' nation. Thus, in a two-nation world, imperialism can be defined as one way in which the Centre nation has power over the Periphery nation, so as to bring about a condition of disharmony of interest between them.
especially in order to theorise the general field of globalisation. This is also an attempt to understand the discourse about the shape and 'meaning' of the world as a whole, in which he insisted that economics and culture of the global scene should be analytically connected to the general structural and actionable features of the global system.

In order to understand the impact of Western advertising on Malaysian culture as a result of incorporation into the global economy, I will start with the concept of globalisation. In the first section, I will examine the theories and concepts of globalisation and its arguments. The ideas of many theoreticians and scholars concerning globalisation will be included in this. In the second section, I will examine the idea supported by some scholars, that globalisation might reduce the role of the nation-state and impinge upon its sovereignty. This requires an understanding of the role and involvement of the Malaysian government in regulating advertising, described in Chapter Five. Section three examines the role of the globalised economy in the Malaysian economy. This includes a discussion on the role and effect\(^3\) of TNCs/transnationalisation and its players, the marketing strategy and the advertising industry.

2.2 Theories of Globalisation

2.2.1 Background

Globalisation is the buzzword of our time, yet its meaning remains elusive. Here, we could say globalisation refers to the interconnectedness of human activity on a global scale, to the unprecedented flow of capital and labour, technology and skills, ideas and values across state and national boundaries, but in ways which neither states nor nations can adequately control. As to its contributions, there is no denying its profound impact on our economies, politics, cultures, and social lives.

'The terms global and globalisation - referring to the idea that the world is becoming

\(^3\) 'Contrasting approaches have been noted amongst theorists concerned with the effect of transnationalisation. 'Modernisation' theorists have enthused about the 'propaganda' for 'a whole modernised way of life' offered by commercial media...while theorists close to a 'cultural imperialism' approach have been more concerned with what they think of as the 'cultural homogenisation' of the world...and the 'export of consumerism.' (Sinclair, 1987:157).
one place as opposed to a myriad of relatively independent, different, and faraway places—came into popular use only 40 years ago' (Waters, 1995). Many theories of globalisation have stated that the increasing interconnectedness of individuals and societies has in fact been occurring for many centuries (Robertson, 1992:58-60) and that it is also contemporary with modernisation, internationalisation between states, and processes of commercial and economic systematisation (Rosenau, 1990; Riley and Monge, 1998:355). Recent theories of globalisation also are focusing on the increasing rate of innovations in communication technologies and transportation networks that compress time and make the world smaller (Giddens, 1991). It is also agreed by Riley and Monge (1998:355) and King (1991:viii) that the development of phenomena such as mass-mediated communication, a global telecommunications industry, world-wide banking and financial markets, multinational corporations, international non-governmental organisations, global warming, and the notion that 'Chernobyl is everywhere', brings the idea of a global society or community into prominence once again. This leads many people, including theoreticians, to appreciate that the interconnected nature of globalisation has largely accelerated social mobility, facilitated the dissemination of knowledge and generally made communication easier and cheaper. What is more, members of communities differing in culture and religion are assumed to have greater capacity than ever before to know and understand one another.

Today, societies are believed to be able to co-ordinate their responses to common problems and common needs. Through the United Nations and other international organisations, universal standards are being established in such areas as the rule of law, public accountability, human rights, and the principles of good governance. There is, in particular, much greater consciousness of the rights of women, of the need to question the legitimacy of male dominance in both personal relationships and social institutions. Yet, these and other benefits, valuable though they may be, are not the only forces that are relentlessly driving globalisation forward.

In the globalising world, the market seems to have become the new god. Increasing production and consumption are now seen as the key to human salvation. The need to subordinate all economic activity to the rigours of global competition has achieved the status of a universal dogma. Not only economies but also entire societies and cultures
are being restructured in the name of productivity, as if it were the only reliable measure of progress.

Many state leaders are aware of the impact of this phenomenon and some are cautious. During the recent APEC conference on November 16, 1998, the Malaysian Prime Minister, Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, in his opening speech, welcomed 'globalisation' but cautioned against rushing towards it, for fear that it would be abused and cause world-wide poverty and disparities between the rich and poor. He said, 'We should not reject globalisation. It has to come to this shrinking world. But the big and the powerful can be magnanimous and accord the small and the weak time and latitude to prepare and make adjustments' (New Strait Times, 1998a).

While the 'State' itself is subjected to powerful pressures for privatisation and deregulation - for instance, railway and telecommunications, - it is less and less able to exercise effective control over the national economy, to sustain public services, or prevent gross inequalities of wealth and income. Some consider that the state might lose its exclusive control of territory, and function less as a sovereign entity due to the effect of the international market and new communication media (Hirst & Thompson, 1996: 170-1) while other critics do not agree. The issues are generally dialectical in nature and are unevenly experienced across time and space (McGrew, 1992: 74).

Diverse claims have been made concerning the consequences of globalisation. Many commentators highlight the progressive breakdown of family values and with it the exacerbation of social problems, not least of which are crime and drug abuse. For others it is racial and religious fanaticism as a response to the effects of Western style modernisation (Waters, 1995: 2). Those that take a broader view focus on the impact on economic and social life interlaced with other factors, which creates a 'snowball effect'.

4 Issues on homosexuality, such as the right of gay and lesbian couples to bring up children.

5 Drug issues are no longer treated as domestic problems. They have been accepted as a global problem. For example American Marines were sent to Columbia to fight drug barons and eradicate the 'coca' plant in those countries. Money was given to Bolivian farmers to replace their 'coca' plants with 'citrus' plants.

6 Taleban, the ruling government of Afghanistan demonstrated anti-imperialism by burning and destroying tapes, cassettes and CDs coming from the West. A young woman was stoned to death for
This could be seen in the recent economic meltdown experienced by the 'Asian Tigers'. Responsibility was also placed on George Soros and the currency speculators who make the currency volatile and unpredictable (New Strait Times, 1998b). Globalisation can also result in societies becoming politically unstable. Demonstrations in Indonesia led to the downfall of Suharto\(^7\) and political unrest in Malaysia, in which the people have urged reform, or 'Reformasi'\(^8\) of the government, illustrated such consequences. Global traits could be seen to prevail when Al Gore, the Vice President of the United States supported 'Reformasi', by proclaiming the protesters as 'the brave people of Malaysia' (CNN, 1998). This has angered the Malaysian government, which considers its sovereignty to have been questioned.

The point here is that interference in the domestic problems of other countries is not a single nation issue. If that happens, globalisation could leave third world countries totally exposed and unable to protect themselves. The net effect, some critics point out, is the blocking of the development of third world countries, of their emergence as newly industrialised economies.

The discussion of globalisation is interesting, never seeming to end, and has drawn in many scholars. Ideas on globalisation are varied and definitions lack consensus, which is not surprising as many of them, emanate from different backgrounds and schools of thought. The present discussions on globalisation are widely distributed into several disciplines and domains, which include sociology, economy, politics and culture.

In this thesis, globalisation will be examined through economic, political and cultural perspectives, with a concentration on the relationship between international economy, state and sovereignty and cultural imperialism. In order to do this, the general ideas of globalisation by Robertson, Giddens, Harvey, Ohmae, Held, Hirst and a few other scholars will be surveyed in terms of the conceptualisation of globalisation, the dimension of globalisation, the state and its politics and the concept of sovereignty.

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\(^7\) The riot in Indonesia caused by economic turmoil in the country which lead to inflation. The President was accused of corruption and cronyism.

\(^8\) Reformasi, or Reformation, lead by deposed Deputy Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim. The objective of reformasi is to stop the government from practising corruption.
Before examining the concept, I feel it is essential to begin with the manifestations of globalisation and its paradox.

2.2.2 The Manifestations of Globalisation and its Paradox

Globalisation has its own character and particular impact in almost all areas including economy, politics and culture. However, some of the claims made are diametrically opposed and open to challenge (Curran and Seaton, 1998:243). Listed below are some of the many characteristic claims in relation to globalisation;

A. The world is shrinking - referring to the concept of time-space and the factor contributed by technology such as transportation, communication etc. It has also contributed by reducing the costs of computing power and telecommunication (Norman, 1994:3).

B. The dynamism of the global financial system - the expansion of financial systems to other nation-states.

C. Expansion of transnational corporate activity - the rapid growth of TNCs and MNCs to other nation-states, international ownership and acquisition.

D. The rapid growth in global communication and media networks - new technology, such as satellites, television, internet, satellite telephone etc. (Curran and Seaton, 1998:242).


F. The emerging authority of institutions and communities above the nation-state level - EC, ASEAN, United Nations, IMF etc..

G. The reducing role of the nation-state - Reduction of this role can be seen in government policy-making, legislation, law and control. Factors contributing to this arise from economic liberalisation promoted by IMF, EC, NAFTA, APEC etc.

H. Sense of similarity across borders - in terms of a single culture, social life, fashion, beliefs, ideology etc.

Scholars are far from agreeing over globalisation. The characteristics enumerated above are not undisputed. The greatest contention centres on how the term 'globalisation' should be understood, whether or not it is new and what its
consequences are (Giddens, 1998:28). Some of the disagreement is related to divergent political and economic positions. Some argue that globalisation is largely a myth, or the continuation of long established trends and, as has been repeatedly mentioned before, globalisation itself is complicated and dialectical. It is dialectical since it embraces contradictory dynamics. As Giddens said, globalisation is a dialectical process because ‘...it does not show ....a generalised set of changes acting in a uniform direction, but consists in mutually opposed tendencies’ (Giddens, 1990:64). Included below are some of the arguments surrounding the issue.

1. The question of how new globalisation is? - Robertson insists that the process of globalisation is not new, that it predates modernity and the rise of capitalism. However, modernisation tends to accelerate globalisation and the process moves to the level of consciousness during the contemporary period (Robertson, 1992:58). In mapping the path of globalisation, Robertson disagreed with Wallerstein (Wallerstein, 1974; Waters, 1995:41), who suggests that the world has been undergoing social compression since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Robertson (1992:58-60) argues that its history is in fact much longer. He maps the path of globalisation through five phases9 (ibid.). Some claim the essence of globalisation can be traced in Durkheims’ work on his theories of differential and culture, Weber in his ideas on ‘rationalisation’ (Water, 1995:5) and Marx in capitalism (Marx, 1977:222-3). In spite of their disagreement over the exact date, they somehow agree that globalisation is a process continuing from the past. However, Giddens (1998:30) argued that globalisation is a present reality. It is not just a continuation of or a backtrack to previous years. His argument is based on the nature of the past and present as being very different politically and economically, which is very closely echoed in the Malaysian past and present.

2. The question of how global the global economy is? - Hirst and Thompson (1996:1)

91. The Germinal Phase
2. The Incipient Phase
3. The Take-off Phase
4. The Struggle-for-Hegemony Phase
5. The Uncertainty Phase9
questioned the concept of the existence of global economy alongside the necessity for
nation states to outline their economic strategies. He argued that if a truly global
economy has emerged then national economies would be extinct and thus the
outlining of domestic economic strategies by nation-states would be redundant.
However, nation-states are still outlining their own policies (ibid.:1996:1). European
trade, argued another theorist, still remains regional in nature, and exports go in the
main to other countries in the area, as they did in 19th century. However, Giddens
(1990) argues that today national economies are more open than in the past. For
example more products and services are traded today. Mutual trading arrangements
exist with many more countries than before. The significant thing that is happening is
the increase in world financial markets, operating on a real time basis and 24 hours a
day.

3. The question of universalisation - One of the earlier claims for a consequence of
globalisation was the universalising of modern social life. The basis of this claim was
a phenomenon exemplified in the Far East; standard modes were applied on assembly
lines, global fashion and tastes were an accepted feature of consumption regardless of
nation. However, some claim that this situation also promotes particularisation.
Particularisation could be seen by relativising ‘locale’ and ‘place’ so that an
intensification of uniqueness is thereby fostered. Manufactured products were made
to show differences in order to promote the resurgence of nationalism and ethnic
identities (Robertson, 1990; Wallerstein, 1991; Harvey, 1989; McGrew, 1992:74) -
Cashmere cardigans are promoted as Scottish though in actual fact could be woven
somewhere else, ‘Made in UK’ rhetorically referring to quality’, Kentucky Fried
Chicken is served with French fries in global chains, but not in Indonesia, where it is
served with rice.

4. The question of a world ‘sans frontiers’ - One consequence of globalisation is a
world without frontiers. Political boundaries are no longer significant in conducting
transactions in commodities and services. ‘The first amendment’ or freedom of
speech seems to apply to all nation-states (internet, e-mail). Keniche Ohmae (1995)
emphasised that people now live in a borderless world, the nation-state today is a
fiction and politicians have lost their power. Giddens said, ‘they are not, but the
shape is being altered’, the reality is ‘boundaries are becoming fuzzier than they used
to be', for example the EU. In fact the nation-state could be expanding and its power could be growing rather than diminishing. For example, the Eastern European countries after the collapse of the Berlin Wall (Giddens, 1998:32).

5. The question of the reality of homogenisation? - Another claim for globalisation is the homogenisation of our modern social life. This creates the concept of ‘sameness’ or ‘similarity’ across the globe - consumer products, city life, religion, human rights, bureaucratisation etc. Today, no one will go hungry for McDonald’s or thirsty for Coca-Cola as they can get them almost anywhere in the world. Levi jeans are globally acceptable as trousers and worn regardless of status, income, nationality, ethnic background or gender. City life in the modern state is similar in terms of the stress of traffic congestion or losing money on the stock exchange. Here, the claim for global homogenisation seems to be true, though some critics disagree. The opposing point of view says that globalisation also involves assimilation and re-articulation of the global in relation to local circumstances. For instance, practice in religions such as Islam or Christianity across the globe has it own pattern of differentiation. Moslems in Malaysia and those in the U.K. each have their individual ways of celebrating Eid. Christians in the Philippines celebrate Easter in a different manner to that of the Catholics in the Vatican City (Hannerz, 1991:107-28; McGrew, 1992:74).

6. The question of integration - Many scholars claim that a consequence of globalisation is the integration of economies and union of people across territorial boundaries. The former can be seen in the European Union. Integration can also mean the sharing of a single currency, taxation system and laws. New forms of global, regional and transnational communities or organisations unite people across territorial boundaries. The United Nations, transnational corporations, sports organisations, trade unions and transnational class formations, for example. However, globalisation could also be seen as an agent of fragmentation in certain areas. For instance, labour becomes increasingly divided along local, national and sector lines. Meanwhile, ethnic and racial divisions become more acute while the ‘other’ groups become more closely knit (Bull, 1977; Bozeman; 1984; McGrew, 1992:75). Apart from economy, the claim that integration produces a single society and culture has also been questioned. While such a trend is conceivable, according to Water it will
probably not be harmonious. Instead, it will probably lead to high levels of differentiation, multicentricity and chaos. This is because there is no central organising government and no tight set of cultural preferences and prescriptions (Waters, 1995:3).

The next section will examine the concept of globalisation and its dimension with the nation-state and economy.

2.2.3 The Concept of Globalisation

Robertson conceptualises his idea on globalisation by defining it as follows;

Globalisation as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole.

(Robertson, 1992:8).

His idea of the compression of the world refers to an increasing level of interdependence between national systems by way of trade, military alliance and domination, and 'cultural imperialism'. The second part of his definition, the intensification of global consciousness, refers to the increasing chances that individual phenomenology will be expanded to the whole world rather than to a local or national sector of it. We could apply this to the present phenomena in mass media. For example, 'Star Wars - the Phantom Menace' movie has been watched by people all over the world and TV series like the 'X-Files' still maintain their position in a prime time slot in almost every country. In consumption, Coca-Cola and McDonald's icons are easily recognised regardless of age, culture, race, religion or nationality. Global consciousness can be seen in other aspects too. For instance, in 'world order' (Nato gives a 48 hour ultimatum to Yugoslavia to abide by the agreement with the Kosovo Liberation Army), issues on economy (discussion to prevent the world from falling into recession), human rights, the 'ozone layer' issue, the 'greenhouse effect', religious extremism etc.

According to Robertson, with the increase in global consciousness and the increased level of material interdependence among the occupants of the world, there is an increased probability that the world will become a single system. Based on this argument, people conceptualise the world as a whole, so they reproduce it as a single
unit and in turn increase the probability that this is the way in which it will be conceived. He adds that the world will become a more ‘unified and systematic place’ (Robertson, 1990).

The differences in idea between Robertson and Giddens is that the latter sees globalisation as a direct consequence of modernity. This is because globalisation involves a profound reordering of time and space of social life (McGrew, 1992:66), what he calls ‘time-space distanciation’ (Giddens, 1990:14). According to him, the growth of world networks of communication and complicated global systems of production and exchange decrease the local control over people’s lives. For instance, job retrenchment in Dentsu, Young & Rubicam, Malaysia, was decided by Young and Rubicam in New York and not by the local management which has direct involvement in the local situation. Giddens also wrote;

"...the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa."

(Giddens, 1990:64)

Here, he (1990:79) emphasises the process of ‘disembedding’ of social relations or removing them ‘from local contexts of interaction’ and recombining them across time and space, a process associated with the forces of modernity. Globalisation expands the disembedding process, creating a situation where a ‘...larger and larger number of people live in circumstances in which disembedded institutions, linking social practices with globalised social relations, organise major aspects of day-to-day life.’ This does not mean that ‘locale’ is no longer important in our lives, but rather that ‘the truth of experience no longer coincides with the place in which it takes place’ (Harvey, 1989:261).

Giddens (1990) also added that, the process of globalisation could become complicated and debatable as he sees that local happenings may move in an opposite direction from the very distanciated relations that shape them¹⁰. According to him ‘local transformation’ which is part of globalisation, acts as the side extension of social connections across time and space. The liberation of time and space is an

¹⁰ For example, the cost of a product in a local neighbourhood is likely to be influenced by factors such as the cost of production, which is operating distance away from that neighbourhood (further reading

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entirely modernising development which he stresses, is a prerequisite for the process of globalisation.

According to Giddens, globalisation can be conceived as action 'at a distance' (1990; Held, 1995:20). The particular form of action at distance that is of concern here is endangered by the broadening and deepening of relations across the borders of nation-states, which is occurring with an increasing intensity.

As to application of the concepts, Giddens writes,

the concept of globalisation is best understood as expressing fundamental aspects of time-space distanciation. Globalisation concerns the intersection of presence and absence, the interlacing of social events and social relations 'at a distance' with local contextualities.

(Giddens, 1991:21).

According to him, the three main dynamics of modernisation that are needed in the process of globalisation are; time-space distanciation, disembedding and reflexivity, that make possible global networks of relationship (systems in international relationships, economy, politics, culture etc.). Apart from the creation of a global network of relationships, the important point here is to provide the fundamental in extending the temporal and spatial distance of relationship. To him, the three concepts reflect the complexity in interaction that develops between local action and relationship across distances. For example, higher demand in employment in the Malaysian microprocessor industry is a reflexivity of increasing use of the internet which influences the global demand for personal computers.

Another theorist who has made a significant contribution in this area is Harvey (1989), whose ideas are described in the book 'The Condition of Postmodernity'. Harvey also applied the concept of 'time-space' used by Giddens. According to him, globalisation is an expression of our changing experience of time and space, which he refers to as 'time-space compression' (Harvey, 1989:240). In this the pressures of technological and economic change have made space and time continually collapse (McGrew, 1992:67).
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Concerning the impact of globalisation according to Harvey, '...we have been experiencing, these last two decades, an intense phase of time-space compression that has had a disorienting and disruptive impact upon political-economic practices, the balance of class power, as well as upon cultural and social life' (Harvey, 1989:284). This experience may refer to the crisis in the late 1970s and early 80s in capital accumulation that has been associated with the intensification of globalisation, especially in manufacturing production and finance. This intensification was also caused by the speeding up of technological advance and organisational change that increased the mobility of capital, which in turn created a new international division of labour (McGrew, 1992:67).

2.2.4 The Dimension of Globalisation

Theoreticians who have defined the concept of globalisation may be divided into two groups. The first group identifies globalisation through single causal logic. Among these are Wallerstein - economy (1984), Rosenau - technology (1990) and Gilpin - politics (1987). The other group identifies the dynamism of globalisation by multi-causal logic. These are Robertson (1992) and Giddens (1990). Both of these notions will be examined using Malaysia as a case study.

Wallerstein (1990) sees globalisation through his concept of 'world system theory' the ideas in which have some similarity to Robertson's (1990) concept of 'global compression'. Wallerstein's focus on the reality of world structure has led to criticism of his ideas as reductionist because of his single causal domain, economy.

Wallerstein stresses that capitalist global economy created a universal economic space (1990:35). Humanity remains fragmented into discrete nation-states with their own sovereign political rule. The world economy is also seen to have an unequal structural arrangement with core, semi-peripheral and peripheral areas. He also claims that this structure maintains inequalities in power and wealth. Periodic crises in the global-economy will stop the global economic restructuring, which reinforces these inequalities of power and wealth. These problems provoke resistance on a global scale in the form of anti-systemic movements (Wallerstein, 1991) such as
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those seen recently in Indonesia and Korea. Wallerstein's idea successfully breaks away from some of the limitations of orthodox sociological thought but it is criticised for its shortcomings, especially on the phenomena discussed by the theorists of international relations. As Giddens argued, world-system theory concentrates only on economic influences, which are insufficient when considering a subject like the rise of the nation-state and the nation-state system (1990:69).

Meanwhile, Rosenau (1990) describes globalisation as the intensification of global interconnectedness through the scope of technology. According to him, the factor of technology has made the world become smaller, has made people more mobile; news/information travelling at the speed of light gives people an ability to cross space and time that they never had before; the technology of modern transportation - aeroplane, train, the computer-internet, satellite-communication, media, news and others. As he said;

> It is technology that has profoundly altered the scale on which human affairs take place. It is technology, in short, that has fostered the interdependence of local, national and international communities that is far greater than any previous experienced. (Rosenau, 1990:17).

As for Gilpin (1987), he said 'globalisation is a product of political factors, in particular the existence of a 'permissive' global order - a political order which generates the stability and security necessary to sustain and foster expanding linkages between nation-states'. In a global states system, where a sovereign nation recognises no authority above its own, the creation of such a permissive political order can only arise from the exercise of power. According to him, globalisation is a historically contingent process, depending on the hegemonic state in the international system to impose a form of world order, which fosters interaction, openness, co-operation and interdependence. Based on his analysis, the modern era of global interconnectedness is conditional upon a stable and secure hegemonic (liberal) state.

Giddens maps the dimension of globalisation by stressing the need to include all the above ideas in understanding its process. He approaches the phenomenon of globalisation by distinguishing between what he understands to be its constituent

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11 Indonesian and Korean rioting against the government because of job losses and government
dimensions (Giddens, 1990:70). The multi-causal approach of Giddens is based on four dimensions of modernity; capitalism, surveillance (inter-state system), militarism, and industrialism.

According to Giddens, the centres of power in the world of economy are the capitalist states, in which capitalist economic enterprise is the main form of production. The operation of TNCs could be seen as operating independently of the political factor. The economic preponderance of the TNC's gives them the capacity to set up the linkage and exchange that turn the world into a single market for commodities, labour and capital (Giddens, 1990:70).

The surveillance process, according to Giddens, is also being extended globally in a system of nation states. According to him, nation-states are the main players within the global political order, while TNCs are the dominant agents within the world economy. Thus with both influences, state and TNCs, it provides a global extension of commodity markets, including money markets. This co-operation between the state and the TNCs could force the state to further the interests of its own population to the detriment of people in other states. This factor could create a scenario for global inequalities (Giddens, 1990:71).

The concept of alliance refers to the concept of world military order. With these alliances world war has become impossible, confrontation occurring only in local and peripheral conflicts (Giddens, 1990:75) such as in Rwanda and East Timor.

Industrialism in globalisation refers to the incorporation of local industries into an international division of labour in which there is an increasing level of trade in raw materials, components and commodities between previously separate and complete industrial economies. This industrialisation has also eroded Western economic dominance but has two significant consequences. According to Giddens, industrialisation has harmful effects on the ecology of the planet, but has contributed services and information development. This apparently has initiated the industrialisation of culture, especially with regard to consumption, through enforced 0% economic growth.
globalisation in mass media (Giddens, 1990:75-6).

According to him, the process of globalisation is full of contingency, uncertainty and unpredictability. Globalisation 'is more than a diffusion of western institutions across the world, in which cultures are crushed' instead globalisation 'is a process of uneven development that fragments as it co-ordinates' (Giddens 1990:175). Based on his ideas, globalisation and the world system should be seen as influenced by several sets of primary processes associated with the nation-state system, co-ordinated through global networks of information exchange, the world capitalist economy and the world military order (Giddens, 1987:288).

After examining many views of globalisation, it is generally agreed that the intensification patterns of global interconnectedness have serious repercussions for the conduct of organisational life, in the public and private sectors. If 'globalisation' constitutes the key 'predicament', then 'bureaucracy' is positioned as the crucial impediment to the successful management of its effects. Globalisation, it is argued, creates an environment characterised by massive uncertainty. In such an environment only those organisations that can rapidly change their conduct and learn to become ever more enterprising will survive and prosper. Because 'bureaucracy' is held to be a 'mechanistic' form of organisation best suited to conditions of relative stability and predictability, it becomes the first casualty of such an uncertain environment (Du Gay, 1996:154).

2.3 State, Politics, Sovereignty and Globalisation

Saskia Sassen (1996), in her book 'Losing Control: Sovereignty in an Age of Globalisation', claims that globalisation is denationalising the territory of the nation state;

Economic globalisation represents a major transformation in the territorial organisation of economic activity and politico-economic power.... The sovereignty of modern state was concentrated in mutually exclusive territories and the concentration of sovereignty in nation...economic globalisation has contributed to a denationalising of national territory.

The above opinion is hardly a surprising one since questions of 'threats to nation-
states and their sovereignty' have always attracted the attention of theorists and scholars. Some of the discussion focuses on who controls whom? The European parliament or the British parliament, whose sovereignty has been invaded? Why has the Queen's head been axed from the Euro dollar? Whose culture has been influenced and 'imperialised'? The type of threat has also been discussed. The main issues that are commonly raised are of threats to economy, politics and culture. Within these issues, concerning the effect of globalisation there are four critical aspects of the nation-state; its competence, its form, its autonomy and its authority (Bell, 1987:140).

Ohmae (1995:1-5) has said the nation-state is becoming fiction and government is becoming obsolete. In other words, nation-states are becoming less sovereign than they used to be especially in terms of controlling their internal affairs. According to Giddens, Ohmea's idea is not entirely wrong, but it needs to be examined more carefully. He claimed that some of the nation-states are expanding and changing (Giddens, 1998:31-32). As McGrew said, this is due to the uneven nature of globalisation and also the diversity of nation-states (McGrew, 1992:87). Whatever the arguments are, we need to have systematic application in examining the phenomenon. Held (1991:207-209) has outlined or hypothesised the general argumentation necessary in order to investigate the phenomenon of the crisis in the nation-state:

"Increasing economic and cultural connection reduce the power and effectiveness of governments at the nation-state level - they can no longer control the flow of ideas and economic items at their borders and thus their internal policy instruments become ineffective.

State power is further reduced because transnational processes grow in scale as well as in number - TNCs for example are often larger and more powerful than many governments.

Many traditional areas of state responsibility (e.g. defence, communications, and economic management) must therefore be co-ordinated on an international or intergovernmental basis.

States have thus been obliged to surrender sovereignty within larger political units (e.g. EU, ASEAN), multilateral treaties (e.g. NATO, OPEC), or international organisations (e.g. UN, WTO (GATT), IMF).

A system of 'global governance' is therefore emerging with its policy development and administrative systems, which further curtails state power.

This provides the basis for the emergence of a supranational state with dominant coercive and legislative power' (Held, 1991:207-209).
2.3.1 The Discourse of the Nation-State Losing its Role and Sovereignty

One of the claims for the contribution from globalisation is the reducing role of the nation-state and the elimination of sovereignty. Some see the state's capacities for governance have changed and in many ways have weakened, especially in national macroeconomics management (Hirst & Thompson, 1996:170). However, many have argued against this view.

Some commentators claim the nation-state has seen its role reduced and has lost its sovereignty due to 'interdependence' ('Interdependence' as per Robertson (1990)). According to Morse, the nation-state generally is facing a difficult task in trying to meet the demands of its people, due to systemic interdependence. This has contributed to a decline in the power and competence of the states. Interdependence has also caused disintegration of the traditional boundaries between the internal and external domains. At the same time it has influenced an expansion in the functions and responsibilities of the state, contributing to inefficiency in control of state policy formulation and policy outcomes (Morse, 1976; McGrew, 1992:87-88). In addition, it is claimed that pressure produced by the dynamism of globalisation has also altered the form of the state. Cox (1987, McGrew, 1992:88) refers to the emphasis on international co-ordination and co-operation, which has helped the transfer of 'executive power' to international regulatory institutions such as the IMF, to enforce rules, principles and regulations thus reducing the power of the nation-state. Thus, globalisation has had the effect of depriving the nation-state of its autonomy, imposing tighter limits on its power of decision across the policy domains (McGrew, 1992:88).

One example of the threat to sovereignty is the latest plan by the global economic elite to introduce a Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), which many states fear will lead to a loss of their sovereignty. The main purpose for an MAI is to dismantle barriers to investments all over the world in the quest for a progressively more open global economy (Corporate Europe Observatory, 1998). The speech given by former European Commissioner Sir Leon Brittan (European Commission, 1995) could be seen as a future threat to any government, especially that of a poor state:
Investment is a desirable and desired thing... Nonetheless, governments still sometimes find it threatening, because free direct investment limits administrations' ability to control and shape their countries' economic destiny. This is a small price to pay for allowing private sector decision-makers to generate economic benefits worldwide. Nevertheless, it is a price that some governments in some sectors still find difficult to pay. That is a tragedy.

According to Ohmae (1990; 1993) and Reich (1992), nation-states have become the local authorities of the global system and they are loosing control. The nation-states can no longer independently affect the level of economic activity or employment within their territories: rather, they are dictated to by the choices of internationally mobile capital. In order to counter this effect Malaysia has recently imposed a capital gains tax on foreign investors who would like to take their profit out of the country.

Hirst and Thompson both agree and disagree with the claim of loss of nation-state sovereignty to capitalism and the global economy (1996:190). According to them, the states will remain 'sovereign'. To them, missing sovereignty refers to the traditional concept of sovereignty. Sovereignty in the traditional sense refers to 'standing against all external entities as the sole means of government in a territory, or standing above sub-national governments and associations as the body from which they derive their powers by recognition and concession' (Hirst and Thompson, 1996:192). However, their meaning of sovereignty is not the idea of being powerful within a territory. By using 'sovereign', they refer to the power and authority in controlling and monitoring the borders of territory, embedded democratic politics, and the responsibility of representing the citizens within those borders (1996:190). And the nation states are still the sources of the rule of law, which is prerequisite for regulation through international law. The populations still remain territorial and subject to the citizenship of the state. This is what they called 'new sovereignty' in today's terms (Hirst and Thompson, 1996:192).

The cultural role of the state has also been under threat. Numerous commentators have argued that Canada pre-echoes the future of European television. Canada is invoked to exemplify the threat of the United States and the baleful consequences that attend loss of communication sovereignty and the absence of congruence between culture and polity which, it is assumed, inevitably obtains when more foreign than domestic television is viewed. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation stated in its
evidence to the task force on broadcasting policy that 'There can be no political sovereignty without cultural sovereignty' (Collins, 1998).

The question of the state losing control of its role and its sovereignty is very much in contention. The truth is difficult to determine as all arguments are based on reasonable logic and sense. In fact, the debate is between the right and the left. The right in the advanced industrial countries sees globalisation as the 'messiah' after the collapse of their monetarist and radical individualist policy experiments in the 1980s. While for the left, the notion creates a political impasse - the collapse of the 'Berlin Wall', or the socialist state, and the continuous struggles of the Third-World against imperialism.

2.4 Globalisation and the World Economy

As mentioned earlier, claims have been made that our cultures, economies and territorial borders are disintegrating. Discussion on this phenomenon centres around the notion of an accelerated and present process of economic globalisation. It is claimed that a truly global economy has emerged or is in the process of emerging, while distinct national economies and domestic strategies of national economic management are increasingly insignificant. The current trend is of a world economy that has internationalised in its basic dynamics, which, it has been claimed, are being dominated by uncontrollable market forces. The Transnational Corporations have been identified as the principle economic actors and major agents of change. They owe allegiance to no nation state and locate themselves wherever it is advantageous to do so. This picture is so evident that it has captivated analysts and captured political imaginations (Hirst and Thompson, 1996:1). But is this the case? This section will examine the players of world economy and the advertising industry which are major cultural sources.

2.4.1 The World Economy - Present Trends and Players

We could argue that the effects of globalisation seem to be beneficial to the nation-state. Theoretically, driven by unprecedented liberalisation, world trade continues to
expand faster than overall global economic output, inducing a wave of productivity and efficiency and creating millions of jobs. Even more impressive is the stunning increase in international investment that is building roads, factories and airports in the third world countries. For example, in July 1998, the world's finest airport was opened in Malaysia at a total cost of US$5 billion. In the 1990s alone, foreign investors have poured US$1 trillion into developing economies. This trade and investment is raising living standards in some countries faster than many thought possible. Until recently, it took at least two generations for living standards to double, but in China, living standards are now doubling every 10 years (Sutherland, 1998). However, the rapid increase in living standard has its cost - it is unequally distributed. According to Bin Zhoa (1997:45-51), the widening gap between the rich and the poor has its own consequences. The inequality in consumption leaves some consumers frustrated. This has been contributed to by tremendous changes in lifestyle in China, in which a new pattern of consumption has emerged. Some of the consumers go for style and taste rather than meeting their actual needs and consumption is more a display of individual differences in the name of modernity.

However, while globalisation has raised living standards for many, it has made life more difficult for those dislocated by change and it threatens to leave part of the world behind. It is no coincidence that the disappointing economic performance in much of Sub-Saharan Africa reflects a failure to integrate into the world economy and, thus, to trade successfully and attract investment as the countries in the Far East have done (Sutherland, 1998:2). The 'banana war' between the EU and the United Stated has the tendency to escalate trade war between two continents. The victim of this war is St. Lucia, whose economy is dependent upon the banana (BBC News, 1999).

In fact recently, the World Bank has warned that the global economy faces the prospect of plunging into recession next year. In its report on global financial prospects, the World Bank predicts that economic growth will be halved to less than two per cent this year, with most of the rise in output concentrated in rich countries. In East Asia, the five 'crisis economies' - Indonesia, South Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand - are predicted to contract by 8% in 1998 and to expand by just 0.1% this year (BBC News, 1998a). The question here is why the crisis is hitting
all countries and why not selected countries only? Is this an outcome of a so-called 'globalisation'.

Looking back at the characteristics of globalisation, we can see that these crises suggest that growing interconnectedness and interdependence does not help in producing stability. On the contrary, it creates a greater vulnerability of actors under high-risk conditions (Axford, 1995:95). Could this be due to the transformation of capitalism on a global scale (Lash and Urry, 1987; Axford, 1995:94) and to 'the new global information economy' as describe by Carnoy? (1993; Axford, 1995:94).

The present trend in the globalised economy is a shift towards a more managed trade; for instance the creation of EC, GATT, NAFTA, APEC and IMF. And we must not forget the appeal of different forms of protectionism, such as regulating the 'currency traders' (The Times, 1998a:16), which can be seen as a response to endemic uncertainty and rapid change (Axford, 1995:95).

It has been known for several centuries that globalisation developed on an increasingly rising curve, bringing more and more areas of the world into the world market system. At the Bretton Woods conference in 1944, monetary arrangements were undertaken which would help produce a globalised world order (Golding and Harris, 1997:3). At the end of this meeting, the World Bank and the IMF were founded; two major economic institutions that would be the basis of later arrangements such as GATT and NAFTA. With the end of the war, world trade exploded with a vengeance. National trade barriers were systematically dismantled and eroded, global economic forces penetrated local economies, and a global consumer and media culture traversed the globe (Kellner, 1998:6-7).

No doubt, as we look back in fifty years time, we will be able to see that the economic growth has expanded fivefold, international trade has expanded by roughly twelve times and foreign direct investment has been expanding at two or three times the rate of trade expansion (Kellner 1998:13). However, all this success does not come without challenge.

The principal challenge presented by globalisation is to ensure that its fruits extend to
all countries. Most forecasts predict that economic growth in the developed world will continue to slow, which was acknowledged by Gordon Brown, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer (BBC News, 1998b).

The second challenge which globalisation presents is to allay the fear that the growth it brings is inherently destabilising economically and politically. As mentioned earlier, the Asian crisis, which threatened some of the most formidable economic competitors in the world, amplified these fears. Nevertheless, the cost of being left behind by globalisation is usually much greater than the losses incurred by instability. Good examples are provided by Indonesia and Malaysia, where the leaders are being blamed for the economic crises. Suharto, the Indonesian President, was asked to step down by the people, who accused him of siphoning off state wealth for his cronies and his family. As another example, the Deputy Prime Minister cum finance Minister has been sacked by the Prime Minister who accused him of 'immoral activity'. The majority of Malaysians believe his sacking is due not to immoral activity but to his action in exposing nepotism and corruption among the Prime Minister's family and friends. Though the practice of corruption in third world countries is nothing new, the involvement of TNCs with the FDI is another matter. Apparently, the unethical practice involving TNCs has lead to the setting up of the UN Centre on Transnational Corporations (Golding and Harris, 1997:234).

The third challenge is that of addressing the concern in wealthier nations that international competition will prejudice living standards. There is ample evidence that stagnant wages in the United States and unemployment in Europe have other causes--technological change, poor education, Europe's inflexible labour markets, high taxes and an ageing workforce. The polls increasingly show that the people believe the causes lie in world-wide trade and investment. This undermines the kind of leadership needed to respond to the Asian financial crisis and deal with other global problems (Sutherland, 1998).

As has been repeatedly mentioned, globalisation in economy contributes a great deal to mankind but at the same time, leaves problems complicated by expanded trade and investment, such as environmental degradation, disease, migration, crime and terrorism (ibid.).
2.4.2 Multinational and Transnational Corporations

There is a World of difference between the concept of a multinational corporation, which implies that a corporation may be very 'national' in key aspects of its functioning and governance, and that of a transnational (TNC) or global corporation, which suggests that the company has broken free from or transcended the bounds of nationality. However, TNCs are referred to by some as 'multinational corporations' (Golding and Harris, 1997: 234). Undoubtedly, MNCs or TNCs are very visible and powerful actors in the world economy, although it is only partly true that they can conduct business without regard for the sensibilities of nation-states. There is evidence to support the claims that national factors contribute significantly to corporate success (Carnoy, 1993; Axford, 1995: 97). The United Nations defined TNCs as 'corporations that possess or control the means of production or service outside the country where they are established'.

According to Golding and Harris (1997:234), TNCs are concentrated in the industrialised countries of the North and though they vary in size and influence, share two aspects:

1. Individually, they are decision-making centres, controlling the production process in more than one country and managing investments, production, commercialisation, finance and prices across international boundaries.

2. Collectively, they are the main components of world capital and the most powerful agent in the transnationalisation of production, finance, trade, information and the values of market capitalism.

As mentioned earlier, Wallerstein argued that the global system of transnational practices is largely structured by capitalism. Transnational practices operate on three levels, analytically distinguished as the economic, the political and the cultural-ideological, each dominated by a major institution that heads the drive towards globalisation. Respectively then, the main focus of transnational economic practices is the transnational corporation; of political practices, the transnational capitalist class; and of cultural-ideological practices, the culture of consumerism (Wallerstein, 1990:37).

A mere three decades ago, investment abroad meant that a U.S. corporation
anticipated a foreign market for goods produced domestically. Today, it means factories in many countries, through complex global sourcing, production, and sales networks (Kaplan, 1996).

The concept of a global company differs from the older though still widely used idea of the multinational corporation (MNC) which dominated the pattern of international business activity from the 1950s to the 1970s. MNCs consisted of a dominant parent company and various foreign offsprings, fighting competitors in overseas markets (Axford, 1995:96). By the 1990s runs the argument; the multinational corporation had given way to the phenomenon of the global corporation or transnational corporation (TNC). Firms now locate production wherever the costs are lowest, normally in third world countries, and organise on the basis of overseas transplants or through mergers and acquisitions, but increasingly through more collaborative and equal ventures involving FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) (Axford, 1995:96).

Truly transnational corporations, however, are still few and far between, and the ties that bind even the biggest corporations to particular nation-states remain strong. According to Hu (1992, Axford, 1995:97), only a very few companies, like Shell, Unilever, Nestle, ABB and ICI, can be defined as real transnationals. This is because most large corporations, like Du Pont or General Motors, have less than half of their operations and employees abroad, because 'foreigners' occupy only a very small proportion of senior management positions, and because they are subject to a legal and fiscal nationality which, in the last resort, is more significant than other jurisdictions within whose remit they fall.

'The main focus for many hopes and fears about economic globalisation is the MNC or TNC. For critics of capitalism they are the vehicles by which intolerable and inhuman practices of exploitation are spread across the globe, and for its friends they are the virtuous sources of investment, technology transfer and the upgrading of the labour force. Until recently it was also possible to offer the more moderate critique of TNCs that they had grown so large and powerful that they undermined the legitimate and often democratically established sovereign authority of the nation-state but in the current context of the deligitimation of the state the debate has become polarised' (Waters, 1995: 75-76).
The Growth of TNCs

The growth of TNCs could be associated with global foreign investment, which was at an all time peak in both 1994 and 1995, with a 10 per cent world-wide growth in foreign investment in 1996. Overall, foreign investment growth rates exceeded global GNP growth rates (6.6 per cent per year) as well as increases in the international trade level (4.5 per cent per year). Even the US$349 billion total for foreign direct investment in 1996 does not capture the breadth and depth of economic globalisation.

In the same year, TNCs invested a staggering US$1,400 billion in countries in which they were already represented. This development, the increased presence of TNCs in local economies as a strategy to ensure market control, has been labelled 'globalisation' (Corporate Europe Observatory, 1998).

There is a total of 44,000 TNCs in the world, with 280,000 subsidiaries and an annual turnover of US$7,000 billion. Two-thirds of world trade results from TNC production networks. The world GDP controlled by TNCs has grown from 17 per cent in the mid-60s to 24 per cent in 1984 and almost 33 per cent in 1995 (UNCTAD, 1997).

In a parallel and related process, the largest TNCs are steadily increasing their global market shares. According to UNCTAD’s World Investment Report (1997), the ten largest TNCs now have an annual turnover of more than US$1,000 billion. Fifty-one of the world’s largest economies are in fact TNCs. Continuous mergers and take-overs have created a situation in which almost every sector of the global economy is controlled by a handful of TNCs. For example the merger between Exxon, the largest US oil group, which spent US$80 billion to take-over the second largest oil group, Mobil (BBC News, 1998c). In fact, this take-over surpasses the largest business merger in history between Glaxo Wellcome and SmithKline Beecham in a US$70 billion deal. Hoechst recently revealed a plan for a merger with France’s Rhone-Poulenc, which might surpass the Exxon-Mobil and Glaxo-SmithKline take-overs (BBC News, 1998d).

The European Union, the US and Japan are responsible for 85 percent of all outgoing foreign direct investment. Apart from Korean-based Daewoo, all of the 100 largest
TNCs are based in this ‘wealthy triad’\(^\text{12}\). To date, this triad has also received the bulk of FDI—nearly three quarters in 1996. The new trend is clear: TNCs based in the triad plan to step up their investment abroad and particularly in the Third world. More than half of all TNCs anticipate that the share of their turnover earned abroad will exceed 60 per cent before the year 2000. In 1997 only 28 per cent of the TNCs were so globally oriented. TNCs have already indicated their favourite targets for investment: in 1996, China received 1/3 of all FDI in the developing world and the remaining Asian countries received approximately the same. In Latin America, Brazil led with US$9.5 billion FDI in 1996, followed by Mexico and Argentina. Africa (minus South Africa) received only US$5.3 billion that year, of which the oil producing countries received 70 per cent (Corporate Europe Observatory, 1998).

Although TNCs present themselves as creators of wealth and employment, the figures reveal something different. In fact, one of the main characteristics of a competitive and successful TNC is the ‘shedding’ of jobs, for instance the take-over of Rover by BMW caused 2,500 job losses (BBC News, 1998e) and the merger of the drug companies Zeneca and Astra will result in 6,000 job losses world-wide (The Times, 1998b:27). The experiences of countries, which have removed all barriers to foreign investment by joining free trade agreements are quite different. For example, since Mexico signed the NAFTA, real wages in the country have dropped 45 per cent. Two million people have become unemployed and the percentage of the population considered ‘extremely poor’ has risen from 31 per cent in 1993 to 50 per cent. This contradicts OECD’s claims that economic globalisation in general and increased foreign investment in particular will improve living standards all over the world. (Corporate Europe Observatory, 1998:6).

UNCTAD’s 1997 Trade report concludes that globalisation in its current form is responsible for a dramatic increase in global inequality. In 1965, the average personal income in G-7 countries was 20 times that in the seven poorest countries in the world. In 1995, the gap was 39 times. Polarisation and income inequalities are also growing within countries: the share of income going to the top 20 per cent of the population has increased almost everywhere since the early 1980s. UNCTAD blames the

\(^{12}\) Wealthy Triads refer to the United States, the European countries and Japan.
liberalisation of market forces for these developments, and considers the current situation inevitable until regulations for the economy are put back on the agenda (UNCTAD, 1997).

2.4.3 Global Marketing Strategy

International marketing has been conducted ever since the national border was formed. The rules of survival have changed since the beginning of the 1980s, when Theodore Levitt first coined the phrase ‘global marketing’ (Levitt, 1983:20-49). Even the biggest companies in the biggest home markets cannot survive in their domestic environment alone if they are not in global industries such as cars, banking, consumer electronics, entertainment, pharmaceuticals, publishing, travel services, or washing machines. They all have to be in major markets to survive the shakeouts, which are expected to leave three to five actors per industry by the end of the 1990’s (Main, 1989:70-76).

Global trade has rapidly increased in both volume and value, reaching more than US$4 trillion. Competition is fierce from all corners of the world. Failure at the global level can ignite a backlash that may consume existing brands and business relationships. At the same time, global opportunities have emerged that offer possibilities for growth, profit, and an improvement in world-wide standards of living. Today, firms have to deal with a global marketplace - marketers have no other choice. Firms turn into TNCs. Participation in global marketing has begun to shift from a mere 'option' to an imperative. The world is becoming homogeneous. Distinctions between national markets are fading and for some products will disappear altogether. These factors mean that marketing is now a world-encompassing discipline. To survive, marketers need to understand these global markets that are open to competitors (Czinkota and Ronkainen, 1996:5-7).

Besides survival, there are several factors that we could associate with the expansion of international marketing. According to Czinkota and Ronkainen (1996:244), there are four: market, cost, environmental and competitive factors.

In terms of market, Kenichi Ohmae (1985:22-27) has identified a new group of consumers emerging in the triad of North America, Europe, and the Far East, which
marketers can treat as a single market with the same spending habits, and very similar demographic background. The cost factor can be described in terms of developing and producing the product. Only a global product for a global market can support that much risk. Environmental factors include deregulation and government barriers, which have fallen in recent years, facilitating the globalisation of markets and the activities of marketers within them. Other environmental factors that induce globalisation, like new technology telecommunication, make communication so flexible and convenient, as in teleconferencing, internet and electronic mailing. The last factor described by Czinkota and Ronkainen (1996) is the competitive factor. To remain competitive, the marketer may have to be the first to do something or be able to match or pre-empt competitors' moves. Products are now introduced, upgraded, and distributed at rates unimaginable a decade ago. Without a global network, a marketer may run the risk of seeing carefully researched ideas being taken by other global players.

Global linkages have made possible investment strategies and marketing alternatives that offer tremendous opportunities. Yet these changes and the speed of change can also represent threats to nations and firms. On the policy front, decision-makers have come to realise that it is very difficult to isolate domestic economic activity from global market events. Factors such as currency exchange rates, financial flows and foreign economic actions increasingly render the policy maker powerless to implement a domestic agenda. International interdependence, which has contributed to greater affluence, has also increased national vulnerability (Czinkota & Ronkainen, 1996:18-19).

In order to meet the above factors, the TNCs see advertising as the right tool to deliver their message. With such eminence in ideas and methods, advertising has secured a place for itself in the emergent system of commodity production and distribution, in which, the saying, 'It pays to advertise' became the slogan among the advertisers (Masson and Thorburn 1975:97; Sinclair, 1987:100).
2.5 Concluding Remarks

In spite of the multi various theories of globalisation there is one tenet that theoreticians hold in common: the world is becoming a smaller, more singular place, formed through the integration of economic, societal and socio-cultural processes. This refers to the idea of interconnectedness and interdependence of economic, political and cultural activity, which is thoroughly explained in the theory of globalisation.

This process shows the involvement of human activity on a global scale, the unprecedented flow of capital and labour, technology and skills, ideas and values, which can cross State and national boundaries at high speeds. Speeds only made possible by the contribution of communication technology and excellent transport networks - the development of which the world is currently experiencing. The impact of this process can be seen through the increasing numbers of international agencies (TNAAs and TNCs) and institutions (FIFA, Amnesty International), which conceptually represents the globalisation of the world economy, the increasing global forms of communication, the acceptance of unified global time, the development of global competitions and prizes, the development of standard notions of citizenship, rights and the conception of humankind.

However, some of the outcomes are a direct result of the actions taken cautiously by contributors who have seen the decline in the role of the nation-state due to deregulation and global interdependence; that is, the world organizations or supranational bodies can be seen to be taking over the main role of the nation-state in global politics.

While the notion of globalisation has elaborately explained the virtues of a singular place, it cannot explain the phenomenon of the anti-global, such as local dynamics, cultural diversity, economic inequality, political fragmentation and information imbalance. For example, some third world countries at present are experiencing an economic boom and are enjoying a newly found high standard of living - without a clear autonomy in their economy and political structure. In order to maintain this
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'experience', these countries have to abide by 'world politics' and 'world economic structure', usually dictated by the 'Western agendas'. This clearly proves that the process of globalisation is still very much based on 'inequality' and 'dependence' rather than 'interconnectedness' and 'interdependence'.

As the effects prevail, coupled with the 'experience' running out of steam (economic meltdown), Third World Countries have formed the 'South and South' nations group and EAEC (East Asia Economic Caucus- 'free trade block') - a move to resist total Western domination. With the present economic meltdown, some countries like Malaysia had no choice but to appeal to international organizations for the regulation of world capitalism, and to put a stop to the worldwide spread of deregulation which has created disparities among the poor states. However, in its effort to implement control measures, Malaysia came under severe criticism from the West when it took its currency off the world financial market. Comments like 'taking the country backwards' became the norm. This attempt by Malaysia may be the beginning of a deglobalisation era, something that should be taken seriously for a better future.

The next chapter, will examine the globalised advertising industry and its consequences for culture and consumption and vice versa.
3.1 Introduction

Advertising has long been recognised as an important tool for any TNC/TNA in devising a strategy to promote their consumer products. It is also seen as the key to success for almost any brand that is available in our homes today. However, the very success of advertising in selling products has brought criticism. Some claim that transnational advertising is responsible for the spread of consumer culture, which can be seen as a contributing factor in changing patterns of culture and consumption, particularly in Malaysia.

In this chapter, I examine the impact of global advertising on Malaysian culture and consumption by investigating the development, role and effect\textsuperscript{13} of TNAAs and TNAs and their contribution in the Third World countries, particularly in East Asia. I will also discuss claims of Western ‘cultural imperialism’ acting on the peripheral state and its consumption.

3.2 Transnational Advertisers (TNAs) and Transnational Advertising Agencies (TNAAs)

The increasing presence of multinational corporations (MNCs) or transnational corporations (TNCs) in most places, especially in developing countries, as a result of the growth of capitalism in these regions, has led to a growth of transnational

\textsuperscript{13} 'Contrasting approaches have been noted amongst theorists concerned with the effect of transnationalisation. 'Modernisation' theorists have enthused about the 'propaganda' for 'a whole modernised way of life' offered by commercial media...while theorists close to a 'cultural imperialism' approach have been more concerned with what they think of as 'cultural homogenisation' of the world...and the 'export of consumerism..' (Sinclair, 1987:157).
advertising agencies (TNAAs) for the purpose of serving the transnational advertisers' (TNAs) needs (Anderson, 1984).

Janus (1981; Griffin, Viswanath and Schwartz, 1989:6) agree that '...advertising and the mass media have built a vital, organic link between production and consumption in the global capitalist system, and that as manufacturing has become increasingly multinational advertising agencies have also become transnationalised through networks of foreign subsidiaries and affiliates'. In fact, the phenomena is not surprising, and was described by Bovee (1992) in his 'billiard ball' principle in which, as the TNAs expanded, the advertising agencies would follow. According to the United Nations conference on Trade and Development, the number of transnational corporations in the world's 14 richest countries has more than tripled in the past 25 years, from 7,000 in 1969 to 24,000 in 1994 (New Sunday Times, 1994) and doubled in 1998 (Corporate Europe Observatory, 1998).

Looking back to 1954, the top 30 U.S. advertising agencies earned only five per cent of their total income from overseas. However, thirty years later the amount increased to more than 26 per cent (Sinclair, 1987:102). The growth of the International Advertising Industry is unquestionably one of the largest among the industries in the world (Table 3.1 and Table 3.2). The amount of money spent globally on advertising in print, television, radio, cinemas and outdoor posters reached £169.5 billions in 1995; a 3.8 per cent increase over 1994 (The Star, 1996a). This growth is more obvious when it relates to the advertising growth in developing countries. According to the predictions of Zenith Media Ltd, the media buying arm of Cordiant Plc advertising and marketing group, the Asia-Pacific region will have an increase of 'adspend' to £45.9 billion or 5.1 per cent, 4.7 per cent in 1997 and 3.2 per cent in 1998 (ibid.).
### Table 3.1
Top 50 Global Marketers in 1996

**Figures are in millions of U.S. dollars**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Advertiser</th>
<th>Headquarters</th>
<th>Ad. Spending</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Procter &amp; Gamble</td>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td>5,298.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Unilever</td>
<td>Rotterdam/London</td>
<td>3,284.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nestle SA</td>
<td>Vevey, Switzerland</td>
<td>1,977.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Toyota Motor Corp.</td>
<td>Toyota City, Japan</td>
<td>1,788.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Peugeot-Citroen</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>958.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Volkswagen</td>
<td>Wolfsburg</td>
<td>1,105.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nissan</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>1,412.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Coca-Cola</td>
<td>Atlanta</td>
<td>1,444.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Philip Morris</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>3,091.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>General Motors</td>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>3,146.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ford Motor Co.</td>
<td>Dearborn, Mich.</td>
<td>1,920.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mars Inc.</td>
<td>McLean, Va.</td>
<td>1,183.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Renaults</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>664.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Kao Corp.</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>650.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Fiat</td>
<td>Turin, Italy</td>
<td>607.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ferrero</td>
<td>Perugia, Italy</td>
<td>595.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Henkel Group</td>
<td>Dusseldorf</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Colgate Palmolive</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>881.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>McDonald's Corp.</td>
<td>Oak Brook, Ill.</td>
<td>1,610.7</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Sony Corp.</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>1,184.9</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Honda Motor</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>1,001.4</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>BMW AG</td>
<td>Munich</td>
<td>626.5</td>
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<td>Phillips NV</td>
<td>Eindhoven</td>
<td>742.8</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Mitsubishi Motor</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>597.1</td>
</tr>
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<td>25</td>
<td>L'Oreal</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>965.3</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Kellogg Co.</td>
<td>Battle Creek, MI</td>
<td>1,006.6</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Johnson &amp; Johnson</td>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
<td>1,406.5</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Beiersdorf AG</td>
<td>Hamburg</td>
<td>338.6</td>
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<td>PepsiCo</td>
<td>Purchase, N.Y</td>
<td>748.8</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Seiiseido</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>309.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Daewoo Group</td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>297.5</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>IBM Corp.</td>
<td>Armonk, N.Y</td>
<td>798.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Mazda Motor</td>
<td>Hiroshima</td>
<td>582.1</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>Matsushita</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>282.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>LG Group</td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>243</td>
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<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Joh. A. Benckiser</td>
<td>Ludwigsafen</td>
<td>470.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Danone</td>
<td>Levallois-Perret</td>
<td>294.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Samsung</td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>231.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Volvo AB</td>
<td>Goteborg, Sweden</td>
<td>288.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>CPC International</td>
<td>Englewood, NJ</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Daimler-Benz</td>
<td>Stuttgart, Germany</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Hyundai Group</td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>326.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Gillette Co.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>536.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>B.A.T Industries</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>421.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>SmithKline Beech.</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>598.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Ajinomoto</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>145.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Suzuki</td>
<td>Hamamatsu, Japan</td>
<td>155.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Warner-Lambert</td>
<td>Morris Plain, N.J.</td>
<td>1,226.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Kimberly-Clark</td>
<td>Irving, Texas</td>
<td>304.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Cadbury Schwepp.</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>340.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


14 Rank based on gross income.
According to Mattelart (1989), the expansion of the international advertising industry first started as early as 1899 when J. Walter Thompson set up his first advertising agency in London. The main purpose of the business was not to create a global TNC, but merely a ‘sales bureau’ to ‘urge businessmen of the Old Continent to sell in America and advertise their product there’. The actual breakthrough emerged only in 1927 when General Motors invited J. Walter Thompson to represent them throughout the world. The trend was established and followed by other TNC giants including Eastman-Kodak, Kraft, Kellogg’s, IBM, Ford and many others. In order to cater for the increasing clientele, JWT set up offices in some forty countries including developing cities such as Bombay, Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires in 1929, Rio de Janeiro in 1931; Calcutta in 1935; Mexico in 1943; Santiago de Chile and New Delhi in 1944; Madras and Puerto Rico in 1955; Karachi, Colombo and Manila in 1956; Lima, Porto Alegre and Recife in 1957; Belo Horizonte in 1960; Caracas in 1964, etc. This also includes Malaysia where JWT (J. Walter Thompson, 1996) entered the scene in 1974, after other TNAAs such as Leo Burnett (Leo Burnett, 1996) in 1939, Bozell (Bozell Worldwide 1996) in 1959 and Young and Rubicam (Dentsu Young and Rubicam, 1996) in 1982 etc.

Based on the above historical background of the growth of advertising agencies, Armand Mattelart created a model (1979: Sinclair, 1987:109). The model he described consisted of three phases: ‘imperial’ expansion, ‘nationalisation’ and ‘transnationalisation’.

According to Mattelart, the ‘imperial’ phase refers to the pattern of expansion of the oldest international agency, J. Walter Thompson, as mentioned before. J. Walter Thompson began its operation in 1864, opened a London sales office in 1899 and developed a subsidiary at the request of a U.S. client in 1923. Then, at the request of General Motors, offices were established in every country where the company was operating. A later wave of expansion included Latin America, and more offices in Europe and Asia in the 1950s (Mattelart, 1979: 252-253; Sinclair, 1987:109).

The ‘nationalisation’ phase Mattelart described as the acquisition of a minority
shareholding or partnership in a local, or 'national' agency by a U.S. or foreign based agency. This strategy had the advantage of lowering the foreign profile of the industry and simultaneously gaining access to local market knowledge. An important consideration was the shift of transnational interest beyond the culturally similar regions of Europe and the former dominions of the UK and into the 'Third World', especially Latin America and the Far East (Weinstein 1977:85-86; Sinclair, 1987:111).

The last phase, 'transnationalisation', refers to how certain transnational agencies in the 1980s entered joint ventures as super-transnationals, or formed themselves into massive transnational 'groups' co-ordinated under holding companies. For example, the link-up between Dentsu, Japan’s biggest and the world’s fourth largest advertising organisation, with Leo Burnett, the world’s ninth largest network (Advertising Age, 1998b) (Table 3.2).

Apart from the mergers amongst the giant TNAAs, there has also been a movement within domestic industries towards greater concentration as the transnationals have been buying up medium-sized agencies and related marketing companies (Chase, 1985). In fact, since the start of the Asian financial crisis and the onset of a weaker Yen, the other group, Omnicom, bought 20 per cent of the ninth-ranked Japanese advertising agency I & S Corp. for US$20 million with the intention of transferring the holding to BBDO World-wide. In September 1998, Omnicom--, which owned TBWA Worldwide, announced plans to take an 81 per cent stake for US$250 million in the mid-sized agency, Nippo Inc. In August, Japan’s fourth ranked agency, and long-time BBDO affiliate, Asatsu, announced a merger with sixth-ranked Dai-Ichi Kikaku and said the WPP group would take a 23.4 per cent stake in Asatsu for US$208 million (Advertising Age, 1998c).
### Table 3.2

1997 World’s Top 50 Global Advertising Organisations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Ad. Organisation</th>
<th>Headquarters</th>
<th>Worldwide Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Omnicom Group</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>$4154.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>WPP Group</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>3646.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Interpublic Group</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>3384.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dentsu</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>1987.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Young &amp; Rubicam</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1497.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>True North Comm.</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1211.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Grey Advertising</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Havas Advertising</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>1033.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Leo Burnett</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Hakahudo</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>MacManus Group</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>842.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Saatchi &amp; Saatchi</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Publicis Comm.</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Cordiant Comm.</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>596.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Carlson Marketing</td>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>285.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>TMP World-wide</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>274.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Asatsu</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>263.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Tokyo Agency</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>204.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Daiko Advertising</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>204.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Abbott Mead Vick.</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>187.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Dai-Ichi Kikaku</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>169.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>DYR Partnerships</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>162.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Cheil Comm.</td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>134.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>CKS Group</td>
<td>Cupertino, CA</td>
<td>133.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Gage Marketing</td>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>130.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Tomko Ad.</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>116.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>I &amp; S Corp.</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>116.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Nelson Comm.</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>107.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Wieden &amp; Kennedy</td>
<td>Portland, Ore</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Cyrk World-wide</td>
<td>Gloucester, MA</td>
<td>103.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Bronner Slosberg</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>100.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Asahi Ad.</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>94.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Clemenger/BBDO</td>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td>94.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>DIMAC Direct</td>
<td>Bridgeton, MO</td>
<td>91.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Arnold Comm.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>90.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Man Nen Sha</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>88.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Barry Blau &amp; Part.</td>
<td>Wilton, Conn</td>
<td>85.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Hal Riney</td>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>84.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Frankel &amp; Co.</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>77.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dimark/Harte-Han.</td>
<td>Langhorne, PA</td>
<td>75.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Oricom Co.</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>75.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Daehong Comm.</td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Duailibi, Peti, Zar.</td>
<td>Sao Paulo</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Nikkeisha</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>71.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>W.B Doner &amp; Co.</td>
<td>Southfield, MI</td>
<td>68.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Fallon McElligott</td>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Healthworld Corp.</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>62.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Sogei</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>62.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>M &amp; C Saatchi</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>61.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Testa International</td>
<td>Milan</td>
<td>59.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Advertising Age, 1998b.

The advocates of globalisation in international marketing and advertising often defended their views by pointing to certain perceived advantages (Vardar, 1992). A
single approach for defending international advertising is that economies of scale can be achieved in marketing expenditures. Once achieved, they believe it will give a substantial saving for the company. In other words, the company can then supply better-quality goods to the consumers at a lower price. It will substantially benefit any nation including those in the third world.

Vardar (1992) outlined the reasoning:

1. Technological changes (such as the use of satellites in telecommunications and information technology) are taking place throughout the world. These developments will cause converging consumer needs.

2. The influence of global media, such as the same TV series being shown extensively around the world, satellite TV, the international press and magazines. These also help to homogenise the tastes of world consumers.

3. Media spill among neighbouring countries creates a cumulative, positive effect on consumers if the advertising message is uniform across countries.

4. The positive effects of uniform packaging and the advertising message for image and guarantees standard product quality across countries.

5. The increase in world travel leads to a standardisation of consumer wants: Almost everybody, everywhere wants all the products they have heard about, seen or expected.

However, the benefits received from the growth of the advertising industry did not come without consequences. The impact many see on culture and consumer sovereignty will be described later.

3.2.1 Advertising in the Third World Countries

According to George Thomas Kurian (1987), the Third World is defined ‘as the politically non-aligned and economically developing and less industrialised nations of the world.’ The emergence of the Third World has been one of the most significant phenomena of the post-World War II era. Today, there are 126 Third World countries. In economic terms, the third world is subdivided into at least four groups: Members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC); Advanced Developing Countries (ADCs), otherwise known as Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs); Middle Developing Countries (MDCs); and Less Developed Countries (LDCs). Three of the categories OPEC, ADCs/NICs and MDCs are the main places targeted by the growing global advertising industry due to their growing economies and the increasing size of their middle classes, which make them potential global
products markets.

The earlier literature on the impact of advertising on Third World countries has been reviewed by Anderson (1984). He provides an analysis of the effects of the increasing activity of international advertising especially in the 1970s and early 1980s. His view of the situation in the Third World countries is based on 'dependency theory', focusing on the structures of social relations and social power and the impact of these structures in contributing to underdevelopment. He said;

The impact of the transnational corporations (TNCs) on the needs and aspirations of Third World masses living amidst scarcity and poverty is not always encouraging. The consumption gap between the few rich and the many poor continues. Progress toward reducing the cultural shock, eliminating poverty and other forms of inequality, ensuring citizens full participation in their nations' decision-making process or fostering national self-reliant action has been slow...

(Anderson 1984:25)

It is acknowledged that the impact of globalised advertising on Third World countries is felt from Brazil in South America to Saudi Arabia in the Middle East and to the Far East. However, the Far East region emerged as the 'star' among the economic analysts due to its fast economic growth rate. The economic experts predict that East Asia could grow twice as fast economically as the United States and three times as fast as Europe. And this rapid growth has been accompanied by an increase in advertising expenditure (Business America, 1994:4).

In the next section, the discussion concerns the growth of the advertising industry in the Far East. This region has been chosen for discussion since it has similarities in terms of cultural values and economic status to Malaysia, which is the main focus of this thesis.

The Growth of the Advertising Industry in the Far East

The past few decades, Third World countries, especially in Asia, have experienced the most dynamic economic growth of any region in the world. In 1960, the East Asian economies represented only 4 per cent of the world's gross national product (GNP), but by 1991 had reached some 25 per cent. It is also predicted that by the end of this
century these economies will represent one-third of the total world economy (Business America, 1994:4). Significantly, this rapid economic growth will also involve a dramatic increase in advertising. At present billions of U.S. dollars are spent on mass media advertising in the region, aimed at the growing middle class sector. The continuous increase in TNA activity has resulted in a transformation of consumer behaviour, as the region is converted from traditional to mass-market economy in which advertising plays a central role (Frith, 1996:3).

The phenomenon of the expansion of TNAs and TNAAs is experienced by all the developing countries, especially in East Asia, in Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines, Vietnam, South Korea and Malaysia (details on Malaysia are given in Chapter 4).

For example in 1994, Singapore’s advertising expenditure increased by 18.4 per cent. This astounding increase was actually double the overall economic growth. Some industry sources say that 1994 was the fifth consecutive year in which adspend was £432.9 million, and according to Survey Research Singapore (SRS), this amounted to double the performance of the gross domestic product (A&M, 1995b).

SRS figures also show that retail advertisers continued to lead in product category adspend, growing by 28 per cent and totalling more than £45.4 million. Entertainment followed with £38.3 million and real estate came third, increasing more than 40 per cent for the second consecutive year. With the rapid development of advertising industries, according to Ogilvy & Mather, ‘creativity and brand-building may increase’ as more and more big-name brands set up their regional headquarters in Singapore. In fact, Batey Ads Singapore sees this as the start of a major shift in global advertising with a question mark on where the power in multinational organisations lies. ‘Is it in Europe, the US, or has it been shifted increasingly to Asia?’

Indonesia also experienced some increase in adspend in 1993 and 1994. According to the Indonesia Association of Advertising Agencies (PPPI), the increase in adspend was mostly due to the continuing TV boom, whose revenue grew by 73.2 per cent. Official figures also show foreign investment has grown by seven per cent, tripling
from £5.19 billion in 1993 (A&M, 1995b) to £15.58 billion in 1994. However, according to David Wixley, the executive creative director of Ad Force Advertising, the ‘multinationals have tended to tread more carefully over the past year, due less to lack of financial resources than to a new uncertainty on how to approach the market place.’ (A&M, 1994a).

Since Indonesia is a developing country and is dominated by a Moslem population, international advertising agencies are already experiencing a number of rules and constraints. In order to achieve a breakthrough, Coca-Cola, for example in 1995, introduced its first 100 per cent locally produced campaign by Grafik McCann-Erickson.

Nevertheless, with the solid growth rate of the international advertising industry, the country reports a growth of 65 per cent last year in its support industries such as production houses, computer-generated graphic based companies and communications.

Besides Indonesia, Thailand feels the ‘winds of change’ of the strategy ‘go global by being local’ adopted by most international agencies. The Thai advertising industry enjoyed healthy increases in income in 1995, on top of the 31.3 per cent increase registered in 1994, which amounted to £909 million. The credit was given to the insatiable desire of the burgeoning middle class for material items, from consumer products to new cars and houses. According to the Spaulding & Hawi/DDB Needham World-wide executive director, demand reaches a peak when it comes to a stage where the clients are asking the agencies ‘how much money they need to spend?’ (A&M, 1994a).

The only setbacks faced by the international advertising agencies were losing good people to the brand-management side and coping with the exploding markets of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar. The emergence of consumerism in Indochina especially Vietnam, with Thailand as a service base, is akin to what happened in Germany and Austria in response to the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the break-up of the Soviet Union (Miller, 1994).
Although, its economic growth was not on a par with most Asian countries, the Philippines managed impressively to achieve adspend of £573.18 million. In 1994, Philippines economic growth registered 5.1 per cent, (A&M, 1995b). This achievement was attributed to the leadership of former Philippines President, Fidel Ramos, in hauling the country out of the domestic and political turbulence suffered during the Aquino administration. The advertising industry saw changes in 1993, following the introduction of new technology and the launch of satellite and cable TV, which has provided more sophistication in vision and sound (A&M, 1995b).

After the Vietnamese relaxed their policy in 1994, by lifting embargoes and offering incentives to TNCs, investors have been attracted to the country. This lucrative market, which TNC's had been waiting to enter, witnessed the arrival in force of Coca-Cola along with the agency that services it, McCann-Erickson. Later on Pepsi, Johnson & Johnson, Unilever and Procter & Gamble followed Coca-Cola. From mid-1994, approval was issued for the representative offices of Acorn Research, BBDO, J. Walter Thompson, Lintas, Leo Burnett, McCann-Erickson, Ogilvy & Mather, Prakit/FCB and SRG Vietnam (Marshall, 1994).

As a result of the influx of TNC's into Vietnam, the advertising experts predict more money will be spent on advertising. In 1994, the adspend was estimated at £45 million. In order to cope with the demand the government was put under pressure to introduce a new national commercial television channel (in addition to existing ones) after a commercial radio station had been introduced in 1995. This encouraged the government to licence an array of media and a whole range of new publications launched by local and international groups (Marshall, 1994). Apparently, this is a sign of the collapse of communist doctrine.

Among the third world nations, South Korea is categorised as an ADC or Advanced Developing Country. During the past decade South Korea has performed spectacularly in its economy and its average annual per capita GNP growth rates from 1960 to 1977 were higher than those of the United States. South Korea also out-performed the United States in raising the industrial share of GNP and in the annual growth its exports (Kurian, 1987).
Chapter Three

Global Advertising and its Consequences

However, in 1993 the sluggish economic growth took its toll on Korea’s advertising industry. While inflation came in at 6 per cent for the year, total advertising revenues for 1993 expanded only 11.7 per cent to £2.02 billion (A&M, 1995b). In 1994, advertising industries have performed dramatically better and with heftier ad. budgets, encouraging dramatic improvements to the media and creativity sectors. On the plus side, the country’s advertising is becoming increasingly sophisticated and creative as more international clients enter the market. IBM was the first to break the Korean Broadcasting Commission’s ban on using non-Korean talent in TV commercials. Later, other international clients soon followed suit, and began airing TV commercials without Korean talent (A&M, 1995b).

Korea’s economic recovery in 1994 prompted some aggressive advertising measures, with the industry recording its highest growth rate of the decade. In 1994, the billings totalled £3.37 billion up to 24.8 per cent compared to 1993 (A&M, 1995b). According to predictions by the industrial observer, Korea Advertising Data (KAD), television will see the greatest growth in 1996 while June 1994, saw four regional stations enter the market (ibid.).

3.3 Globalisation and Culture - the consequences

A globalisation process could, in theory, have rendered the world a singular place through a variety of trajectories: through the imperial hegemony of a single nation or power bloc, or the triumph of a trading company, the universal proletariat, a form of religion, or the world-federalist movement. All these are historical possibilities, which could have produced various blends and forms of cultural integration and differentiation. All of them, as well as the current phase of the globalisation process, could also be said to entail the production of global cultures (Featherstone, 1990:6).

3.3.1 Globalisation of Culture - The Process

Transnational manufacturing, marketing and media, as we have seen, have acted as a powerful catalyst in globalising culture or ‘cultural transnationalisation’ (McQuail, 1994:112). The relationship of interdependence and interconnectedness transform the
transnational manufacturing, marketing and media into ‘cultural industries’. The
products they produce from hardware to ‘the newspapers, advertisements, television
programmes, and feature films play a central role in organising images and discourses
through which people make sense of the world’ (Golding and Murdock, 1991:15). At
the same time the contributing factors of today’s technology globalises consumption
and makes it more accessible.

As technology sets the stage for globalisation, taking the spotlight in the debate over
its effects is the question of culture. Although seemingly basic, the question of ‘What
is culture?’ holds important considerations for this debate since it is with reference to
the nature of culture itself that the effect or ‘imperialism’ argument can first be
questioned. The answer may not be as simple as it appears. Even the Oxford
Dictionary of Sociology offers many choices. The true definition of culture most
likely lies in a combination of each of these possibilities: a mixture of the mental,
physical, intellectual and creative aspects of a society. As with any mixture, this view
bases itself in movement - the interaction of these collective parts to create a nebulous
whole called ‘culture’.

In fact, media theorists themselves have raised this very question. Smith (1990:171)
asks, ‘Can we speak of culture in the singular?’ His answer defines culture as ‘a
collective mode of life, a repertoire of beliefs, styles, values and symbols.’ In this
context, he asserts, culture can only be referred to in terms of cultures since this
‘collective mode of life’ necessitates ‘different modes and repertoires in a universe of
modes and repertoires.’ Fiske (1989, McQuail, 1994:94) defines culture as ‘the
constant process of producing meanings of and from our social experience’. And
Carey (1988; McQuail, 1994:95) also defines culture as a process, which refers to a
‘shared attribute of a human group such as physical environment, tools, religions,
customs and practices or way of life’. Here, McQuail makes an excellent point,
where culture itself is a ‘reflection of the complexity of the phenomenon’ due to the
multiple ways in which the word ‘culture’ is used.

Despite acknowledgement of culture as a process, the arguments of the proponents of
cultural imperialism, such as Schiller (1995:193-209), who is examined later, often
include a conceptualisation of culture in the singular, whether it is in the form of an
identifiable national culture that is to be defended or in criticism of an emerging ‘global culture’ that threatens to overtake it. Ironically, both critics and proponents of the cultural imperialism debate deny the probability of a global culture albeit under different auspices.

Meanwhile, Featherstone (1990:1) asks the world ‘Is there a global culture’? According to him if ‘by a global culture, we mean something akin to the culture of the nation-state writ large, the answer is patently a negative one. On this comparison the concept of a global culture fails as it would be impossible to identify an integrated global culture with the formation state.’

Why not the possibility of a global culture? Smith (1990:171-191) gives several arguments for its impossibility. First, unlike imperialist movements of the past, the current idea of a global culture operates well beyond its place of origin in both time and space -- it maintains no true ties to its place of origin and operates in McLuhan’s concept of ‘acoustic space’ and ‘global village’ (Stevenson, 1995:125). Smith (1990) writes, ‘Today’s global culture is context-less, a true melange of disparate components drawn from elsewhere and nowhere, borne upon the modern chariots of global telecommunications systems’. Secondly, a global culture maintains no ties to a common past and therefore, unlike national culture, is basically memoryless. Here, Smith makes the point that there are no ‘world memories’ that would bring cohesiveness to a common culture: those memories that do exist remind humanity more of its differences than its similarities. Thirdly, Smith states that a global culture is ‘essentially calculated and artificial’ with its creation firmly rooted in technology and the transnational systems of telecommunications through which it is disbursed. Detached and neutral, it relies on technology more than humanity for its very existence.

What, then, does create or maintain a culture? Here, Smith outlines three essential ingredients for the cultural mixture: 1) a sense of continuity between succeeding generations, 2) shared memories of specific events and persons that were turning points of collective history and 3) a sense of common destiny. Through these components a construction of ‘identity’ is created among a population that shares ‘common experiences and one or more cultural characteristics such as language,
customs or religion’. Ethnohistory, which Smith defines as myths, values, memories and symbols, plays a large role in the shaping of this sense of identity and generates a cohesiveness that the ‘global culture’ cannot.

Golding (1993:4) believes ‘the gradual creation in the modern era of a drift towards a single, unifying global culture seems irresistible under the combined force of a whole series of developments’. According to him, global culture created a ‘sense of similarity’ and became a common experience among us. But he reminds us that the ‘impression can be misleading’. Here, he outlines the essence of a global culture in four aspects;

1. The decline of nation gives supranational ideologies (capitalism, Marxism, Thirdworldism) to create large cultural resources for people to have freedom in developing their own identity while dislodged from previous identities, in which ‘supranational becomes the cultural association of greatest tenacity’.

2. The emergence of globalisation and the end of the nation-state (in terms of political and economic boundaries) due to inter-dependent society of multinational industries and service economies.

3. Homogenising and dominating images or ‘syndicalisation of experience’. In which global distribution of branded commodities and standardisation of dominant imagery are in all places from McDonald’s, Coca-Cola to CNN.

4. The hegemony of lingua franca in former colonised nations suggests that colonialism proved successful in seeping into ‘the structures of contemporary discourse across the whole population’.

According to Featherstone (1990:6), the current global cultural flows produced are:

1) cultural homogeneity and cultural disorder
2) transnational or ‘third cultures’

When both homogeneity and disorder emerge as cultures once somewhat isolated or limited, they become linked and the interaction produces ‘more complex images of the other as well as generating identity-enforcing reactions’.
Stevenson (1995:180-184) supports this idea in his suggestion that we may all have begun to share a 'second culture', that our 'first cultures will continue to hold out in resistance'. Featherstone (1990) further supports this criticism of the idea of global culture with ideas drawn from Durkheim, who believed that as societies expand, the degree of differentiation within the society itself grows to such a point that the members of that society retain little in common aside from their humanity.

However, according to Robertson (1990; Featherstone, 1990:6), the globalisation process which points to the extension of global cultural interrelatedness, can also be understood as leading to global ecumene.\textsuperscript{15} ‘A process whereby a series of cultural flows produce both: firstly, cultural homogeneity and cultural disorder, in linking together previously isolated pockets of relatively homogeneous culture which in turn produces more complex images of the other as well as generating identity-reinforcing reactions; and also secondly, transnational cultures which can be understood as genuine ‘third cultures’ which are orientated beyond national boundaries.’

Appadurai (1990:296-269) further addresses this new 'non-isomorphic' path of global cultural flow through his conceptualisation of interacting 'disjunctures' or relationships within these flows. He conceives of global cultural flow in five dimensions: ethnoscapes, financescapes, technoscapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes. Ethnoscapes refer to the flow of peoples (immigrants, refugees, and tourists) throughout the globe, as we become increasingly mobile. Technoscapes include the flow of machinery, hardware, through the production processes of TNCs, national corporations and governments. Finanscapes involves the flow of money through currency markets and stock exchanges. Mediascapes consists of the flow of images and information from the various forms of media and growing interactive technologies. Lastly, Ideoscapes are similar to mediascapes in that they are image-oriented. However, they are more often political in nature and deal with the flow of ideology throughout the globe.

In the Appadurai model, this change in flow is due not only to massive interlinking information and technological systems, but also to 'deterritorialisation'. The idea of

\textsuperscript{15} Defined as a 'region of persistent culture interaction and exchange'.

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deterritorialisation is that we are no longer able to live our lives entirely 'locally', as
our cultural experiences are influenced by distant globalising forces through the food,
music, landscapes, images and events from television and communications' (Tomlinson, 1997:118). As Giddens (1990:140) says, globalisation means 'the very
tissue of spatial experience alters, conjoining proximity and distance in ways which have few parallels in prior ages', or in other words, a changing of experience in our
everyday locale as we are influenced by distant globalising forces.

The final point to Appadurai's model lies in the fact that 'both sides of the coin of
global cultural process today are the product of the infinitely varied mutual contest of
sameness and difference on a stage characterised by radical disjunctures between
different sorts of global flows and the uncertain landscapes created in and through
these disjunctures' (Appadurai, 1990:308).

Apparently, the densening web of interconnections of globalisation could be seen not
only to involve the state and economy, but also culture. However, some see the
involvement as part of the idea of 'cultural imperialism', in which it is associated with
the concept of 'Americanisation', 'cultural homogenisation' and 'westernisation', the
idea originally inspired by Herbert Schiller (1976).

### 3.3.2 Cultural Imperialism through Globalisation

Cultural imperialism has been interpreted as cultural domination through the
globalisation process. It has been generalised as domination of the United States over
Europe, the 'West over the Rest', the core over the periphery, capitalism over
everyone. This complex experience of cultural deterritorialisation is directly linked to
the global spread of certain dominant cultural practices, goods, forms and institutions,
which becomes the primary critical concern in this thesis. Tomlinson (1997:122)
describes cultural imperialism as where 'certain dominant cultures threaten to
overwhelm other more vulnerable ones'.

The American Marxist, Herbert I. Schiller (1976), began presenting his ideas of
cultural imperialism in the late 1960's. Building on the general notion of imperialism,
Schiller sees the great expansion of U.S. media and cultural products as part of a
general effort of the U.S. military-industrial complex to subject the world to military
Chapter Three Global Advertising and its Consequences

control, electronic surveillance and a homogenised American commercial culture. Schiller sees the United States as the core of a world capitalist system, which uses media along with other tactics to dominate the peripheral developing regions. Schiller is particularly concerned with the 'commercial' nature of exported media, ranging from international advertising agencies to technology and the values implicit in TV programs. He argues that commercial values almost necessarily accompany the adoption of foreign American or European media technology. Schiller also attacks the notion of 'free flow' (of news, other media content or hardware) as simply a doctrine, which means elimination of the weaker countries in a 'laissez-faire' market.

The ideas have attracted criticism from many scholars including Jeremy Tunstall (1977) who examined the idea in a book entitled: 'The Media Are American'. Essentially, his argument is that modern mass media are 'American' because so many media forms and technologies originated in the United States prior to their eventual diffusion and modification throughout the world. Tunstall points out that Schiller's figures are unreliable and, more important, they concentrate on the high point of American TV exports in the mid-1960's and do not take into account the changes in American influence. Tunstall further added that, Schiller's thesis is also too weak and could be strengthened by recognising the empires and influences of such European nations as Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal and the Netherlands (ibid.:57). The impact of these European countries on other nation's media systems and the international flow of media products have also been well documented (Jeffres, 1986:340). Furthermore, the American and European influence on other nations' media systems has a parallel among communist nations, for example the Soviet Union (Russia) has exported its media system throughout Eastern Europe.

Some see the ideas of cultural imperialism as leftist, in that it centres on transnational capitalism and consumerism rather than just on the expansion of American culture (Tomlinson, 1997:125). As a result, McGuigan (1992:229) called it a 'deeply unfashionable problematic' in the 1990s. But despite all this criticism, some of the broad ideas contained within cultural imperialism remain close to cultural globalisation, and that is why it still deserves to be taken seriously.

Though it is 'not academically fashionable', as Tomlinson said it 'is by no means
universally rejected’ (1997:126) and despite Robertson (1995:38-9), who criticised the cultural imperialism approach, recognises it’s growing importance especially in focusing issues of global-local culture. Perhaps the idea is frequently highlighted in journalistic treatments of globalisation issues\textsuperscript{16} and still remains important in policy debates conducted at the level of the nation-state (Tomlinson, 1997:126). In other words, the process of globalisation makes us understand the dynamic of culture. It makes us aware of the issues on national culture and implants within us a defensiveness against alien influences.

This was exemplified when the Malaysian government imposed a regulation on the production of TV advertisements which amounted to a ‘Made in Malaysia’ policy and banned foreign images in advertisements which include place (sometimes permission was given on special grounds) and actors. The government also imposed a ban on satellite discs in 1988 (lifted in 1995, when ‘Binariang’, a Malaysian telecommunication company launched it’s first satellite into space). In 1997, the Ministry of Information imposed a 30 per cent maximum limit on airtime for the broadcasting of foreign made TV programmes for all TV stations. And recently, the government suggested to MSC (Multimedia Super Corridor) - a centre of computer global networking located in Cybercity in Malaysia - a panel of advisers which includes Bill Gates and Kenichi Ohmae to censor ‘negative elements’ such as pornography and anti-government policy. This caused uneasiness among the advisors as it curbs the freedom of speech of the user. Another example of the government protection is when they banned the film ‘Prince of Egypt’ claiming the movie had shown the face of Moses, because in Islam it is forbidden to show any prophet’s face. This also caused debate among the public since it was considered a restriction of their cultural rights in a country with a multi-racial composition. In fact, the problem of who represents the national culture is one that lies at the heart of the politics of cultural imperialism and protectionism.

3.3.3 The Case in Advertising - Consequences and Process

Supported by their economic strength and global interconnectedness, theoretically,
TNCs have become powerful agents for the incorporation of any nation into an international order, which gives rise to debate by scholars. The debate over the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO)\(^{17}\) has focused on several issues:

1. inadequacy and bias in the coverage of Third World countries by the Western media.
2. one-way flow of information from the West to the Third World,
3. the consequences of this unidirectional flow on the cultures and societies of the Third World. (Griffin, Visvanath and Schwartz, 1989:5).

Ironically, there are only a few scholars who have included advertising in their debate despite the fact that transnational advertising agencies have been accused, along with transnational news agencies, of being the principal agents through which Third World cultures are threatened. Some believe that transnational advertising acts as an agent imposing exogenous ways and alien values on the peoples of the Third World by restructuring consumption habits (Griffin, Visvanath and Schwartz, 1989:5).

One of the more threatening consequences of globalisation is the global media, which includes advertising. Advertising can be seen as a catalyst for the inflation of people's expectations about their future life. If such expectations are not met, people can become frustrated and angry. The globalising media of industrialised countries export a materialistic life style which, when introduced to the countries still riddled with poverty and social inequality, creates an identity crisis and accelerates the rising frustrations of the masses (Jeffres, 1986:349).

Contrasting approaches have been noted amongst theorists concerned with the effects of transnationalisation on that mixed collection of countries we refer to, as the 'Third World'. 'Modernisation' theorists have enthused about the 'propaganda' for 'a whole modernised way of life' offered by commercial media, while theorists closer to a cultural imperialism approach have been more concerned with what they think of as cultural imperialism in response to globalisation issues (Tomlinson, 1997:126).

\(^{17}\) NWICO is "based on recognition of the fundamental global imbalances in communication and information infrastructures, as well as in international flows of news and information. The concept refers to a structuring of the existing worldwide communication and information system to the benefit of the South...Restructuring the international information and communication system...became the subject the subject of bitter contention between the Western industrialised nations (and their media institutions) and the Third World" (see Golding and Harris (1997:222) 'Beyond Cultural Imperialism')
the 'cultural homogenisation' of the world and the 'export of consumerism'. The 'ideological effects' of advertising in this perspective are seen to be instrumental in securing monopoly markets for transnational manufacturers of light consumer goods, as well as implementing 'a mechanism for political mind control' (Sinclair, 1987:157).

The ideological effects according to Sinclair are the concealment of the realities of social inequality; the fragmentation of social groupings such as classes into the competitive individualism of status and the recombination of individuals into the new artificial totalities which form 'markets'. The ideological conceptions in advertising which are said to bring about these effects are the illusions of 'consumer democracy' and of the inevitability and 'naturalness' of the ruling order; the mystique of 'modernity' and technological 'progress'; and the identification of 'development' with the growth of consumer goods industries (Sinclair, 1987:158).

Szescko (1985) argues that erosion of cultures develops when transnational advertising imposes exogenous ways and alien values on the peoples of the Third World by restructuring consumption habits. He sees the extension of advertising across cultures as an inseparable part of the export of consumer culture from the industrialised world to less industrialised nations. This claim is also supported by Salinas and Paldan (1979:87-91; Sinclair, 1987:159) by referring to the experiences in Mexico in which the Maya tribes replace their traditional corn drink with 'Coca-Cola' to be given to their god as an offering.

Sinclair, who formulated his argument based on 'Dependency Theory' suggested why this happened. He claimed that 'secondary' market or 'taste transfer' or 'redefining of needs into demand for transnational consumer products' has been created in dependent societies (Sinclair, 1987:160). This could be seen among the affluent sectors of Malaysian society with the change of eating habit from 'Nasi

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18 'Dependency Theory' describes the failure of third world states to achieve and sustain levels of development resulting from their dependence on the advanced capitalist world. The dependency theory contains the flaw of an overemphasis on economic factors (Marshall, 1998:150).

19 'Taste transfer' referring to a 'newly introduced product' was created in the dependent societies. E.g. 'Coca-Cola' and other 'Cola' drinks, are a 'must' as a cold drink in any function held in Malaysia - social or religious celebration. Previously 'Roses syrup' was the main cold drink served. Coca-Cola is seen as hygienic because it comes in a modern bottle, whereas Roses syrup was normally prepared at
Lemak' (coconut rice) to 'Kellogg's Cornflakes' for breakfast.

This 'effect', for some scholars, could also be produced through 'transferring of ideas' from 'core or centre' nations to periphery nations. The practice of copying Western (particularly American) styles in planning and designing advertisement campaigns are common among the advertising personnel in the periphery nations. For instance, in Malaysia it is a common practice among 'creative' personnel in the advertising agencies to refer to Western advertisements during the development of their own advertisement. Western TV advertisements are regularly used as resources for advertising ideas. Examples of style, layout, copy and illustration are commonly drawn from these advertisements and used as templates for designing local advertisements.

The central questions are, if there is a transfer of professional ideologies to the Third World from the West, by what mechanisms does this occur? How does such transfer affect advertising form and content? To what extent do local structures and cultures transform the ads?

This transfer of creative ideas and practices into non-Western nations fits neatly with Golding's (1979; Griffin, Visvanath and Schwartz, 1989:9) description of the transfer of ideology through media professionalism in Third World countries. Golding defines media professionalism as, '...an ideology that is transferred in parallel to the transfer of technology,' and as a part of the general stream of cultural and technological dependence.

Professionalisation has been, in effect, integration into a dominant global culture of media practices and objectives as developed in the media of the advanced industrialised societies

Golding identifies three mechanisms of transfer:
1. Institutional transfer
2. Education and Training
3. The diffusion of occupational ideologies

home by mixing 'Rose flavouring' with sugar - this now gives a 'cheap' impression.
These can be easily tailored to apply to the evolution of advertising in Malaysia.

_Institutional Transfer:_ By referring to broadcasting, Golding argued that "media institutional forms" in the third world are developed as imitations of Western societies. Katz and Wedell (1977) support this view. The case of advertising is no different. The penetration of agency branches from the West into Third World cities provided models for the accompanying growth of indigenous agencies.

_Education and Training:_ The process of training can be described as formal and informal. For example, on the formal level, in the classroom, in departments of journalism and communications, students are taught about advertising from an American point of view. In Malaysia, most advertising textbooks used are from the United States.

The informal process occurs when the advertising agencies use foreign advertisements as examples and as sources for ideas. While local culture is inevitably taken into consideration to avoid embarrassing gaffes or unintentional insults, Western advertisements become the models into which the local 'angle' is incorporated.

In Malaysia, for example, many of the managers and creative people employed by agencies have received training in the West, in American and British universities and as employees or interns in Western advertising agencies.

_Occupational Ideologies:_ For example, the 'style, philosophy and format' for advertisements in peripheral nations are formatted based on Western Advertising. This is because embedded Western manners and style will represent the idea of 'civilisation' and prestige. In other words, by their co-operation advertising personnel will establish the hegemony of Western practices and form a new consumer culture which transnational corporations will sell. The effect of all this, according to Golding, is that,

\[\ldots\text{broadcasting [read advertising] has acquired a global uniformity of style and content, creating that very universality of standards preached by the \textit{"professionalisers"}, and in turn the audience expectations which reinforce demands for more of the same and thus the security of the market (1979:300).}\]
In addition to the theory on the transfer of ideology, there are not number of plausible reasons which have been suggested as to why we might expect the marginalised of the Third World to be particularly at risk from the influence of advertising. According to Schudson (1984:121-122) these include the vulnerabilities arising from their illiteracy and poverty, their lack of experience with consumer goods, and the absence of legal controls on marketing.

3.3.4 Globalisation and Consumption

It is undeniable that 'global consuming' and 'taste transfer' are not a new phenomena to us, as history has proved. 'Marco Polo' made several trips to China in order to bring noodles and silk to the European market. While colonisation by Spain, Portugal, the Dutch and the British in the Far East was triggered when they first 'tasted' the exotic spices from that region. Apparently today 'global consuming' is based more on the image represented by the commodities.

Women in Iran are found wearing modern western dress underneath their 'hijjab'. Research in the U.K. shows the 'popodum' is among the favourite snacks to be washed down with lager. Successful Hong Kong Chinese have the highest per capita consumption of the top French XO cognacs and in spite of traffic congestion have more than their fair share of Rolls Royces, Porches and Ferraris (Mattelart, 1989:63). In 1989, a Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurant located in Bukit Bintang Road, dubbed as the 'Malaysian Oxford Street', was recognised as No.1 in achieving the world's highest sales, beating other locations including those in the United States.

The current trend is not shocking news to most of us as some say it has already blended into our lifestyles. According to Sherry (1987:446), advertising can be interpreted as a cultural system or pattern of significant symbol clusters that contributes to organising our experience. The symbol clusters are vehicles of thought, emotion, perception, and understanding; and are extrinsic sources of information in terms of which we organise our lives. They are templates for the organisation of psychosocial processes. Furthermore, advertising can be treated as a way of construing the world, in much the same way as religion, science, common sense, art, ideology, or play represent a way of knowing. It can be treated as an equipment for living, a strategy for dealing with situations. As a 'system of symbols synthesised
from among the range of culturally determined ways of knowing, advertising is at once a system of creating meaning and a system of discerning or discovering meaning (ibid.:445).

Today's consuming pattern basically depends more on what the product represents to the consumer or what image the customer prefers to portray rather than what has actually been consumed. The question here is why it happens in such a way? In fact, the trend has been elaborately argued by many theoreticians, as mentioned in an earlier part of this chapter. We saw that the 'consuming pattern' has received a helping hand from the messages created by advertising. The consequences, as we can see, are changes in the indigenous culture.

This argument has some similarity to that in an article entitled 'The rhetoric of democracy', written by historian Daniel Boorstin, who disregards claims by innumerable anthropologists, sociologists and cultural historians

We are perhaps the first people in history to have a centrally organised mass-produced folk culture. Our kind of popular culture is here today and gone tomorrow - or the day after tomorrow... When we turn to our popular culture, what do we find? We find that in our nation of consumption communities and emphasis on Gross National Product (GNP) and growth rates, advertising has become the heart of the folk culture and even its prototype. American advertising shows many characteristics of the folk culture of other societies: repetition, a plain style, hyperbole and tall talk, folk verse, and folk music.... How do the expressions of our peculiar folk culture come to us? They no longer sprout from the earth, from the village, from the farm, or even from the neighbourhood or the city. They come to us primarily from enormous centralised self-consciously 'creative' organisations. They come from advertising agencies, from networks of newspapers, radio and television.

(Daniel Boorstin in The Rhetoric of Democracy, 1979)

The power generated by advertising can also be seen in a study based on the models of food consumption in Mexico. The study shows there is a demand in the country to produce sumptuous foods. Sumptuous foods are consumed preferentially by the rich but at the same time they form a market for the middle and low sectors, and are not necessarily beneficial. In fact, the studies show that the lower classes are sacrificing consumption of the necessary basic foodstuffs. The blame was placed on the four biggest advertisers, of which one was Kellogg's. They claim the increased intake of low nutritive value foods such as desserts and fizzy drinks, was very much due to advertising campaigns accompanied by excellent distribution. A study in Brazil
shows that the world major's exporter of orange juice is ironically the smallest consumer of this product. While in contrast, Brazil is one of the major consumers of Fanta Orange, which contains only small amounts of this juice. And this in a country where a vast section of the population is acknowledged to be suffering a high deficiency of vitamin C (Mattelart, 1989:66-7).

Explicitly, the above process could be seen through Jean Baudrillard's argument on the need for projection of a certain social class, a certain nucleus, throughout the world (Mattelart, 1989:64). His statements are supported by evidence in advertising copy that appeared in Africa. This advertisement by Nestle, uses the concept of modernity:

Nestle wants the baby’s well-being/Bottle-feeding is modern, scientific, hygienic/It is Western, therefore prestigious/rich people use the feeding-bottle, which makes it desirable/Advanced women use feeding-bottles/A feeding-bottle makes a baby strong, healthy, fat, happy and intelligent/A mother who loves her child buys Lactogene.


The degrading of the human mind and manipulation used in the image portrayal above can also be seen through a 'micro' perspective as described by McCracken (1987). According to him, when modern consumers examine advertisements, they are searching for meaning. Here, he refers to consumers who are looking for something they can use in their definition of a new version of self, of the family, of a community. Specifically he asserted:

What they are looking for is small meaning, concepts of what it is to be a man or a woman, concepts of what it is to be middle aged, concepts of what it is to be a parent, concepts of what a child is and what a child is becoming, concepts of what it is to be a member of a community and a country (p.122).

Thus, consumers turn to the meaning of goods portrayed in advertisements as a source of instruction and experimentation in self-definition. If meaning, imputed to the product, moves from the culturally constituted world of the expatriates and the Western oriented elite, then it implies that the advertisements created by TNAAs tend to promote cultural imperialism, a shaping, particularly, of Malaysian life according to Western nations' values and images.
3.4 Concluding Remarks

There is no doubt that the increasing growth of international advertising contributes to the increasing activity of transnational corporations throughout the world. More money is spent on mass media advertising in order to sell products and to increase consumption. The increase in billions of U.S. dollars in advertising expenditure not only goes to the U.S. or Europe, but in no small measure to the Third World countries. Third World countries here refers to the countries that have experienced the greatest economic growth in the world, particularly in East Asia, where two decades ago most of the population lived in poverty. Today, these countries are called NICs (Newly Industrialised Countries) or Dragons, or Tigers, and include South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and many more like China, Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia. The attraction of TNAAs to these countries is in each case the expanding middle class sector, which is seen as most likely to consume Western branded products, regarding them as necessities in the name of modernisation.

The outcome of this can be seen in the changing pattern of culture and consumption, as indicated by Anderson, who expressed concern that advertising promotes the consumption of non-essential products and the destruction of indigenous culture (Anderson, 1984). At the same time advertising gives transnational products the advantage in foreign markets and enables them to drive out local brands which have insufficient capital for high cost advertising. On the destruction of indigenous culture, some believe that transnational corporations are always successful in cracking through the Asian culture (Frith and Frith, 1990). Whatever the outcome the global culture disseminated through global media, advertising or other factors, can be seen in two different ways - tolerance and universalism by everyone, or the creation of counter non-western fundamentalist groups against 'Westoxication' and cultural imperialism.

The next chapter will provide a fundamental background on Malaysian politics, economy and culture in order to track and relate the present trends of consumption there. Consumption of products and services is on the increase in Malaysia, but does this correlate with the global phenomenon?
Chapter Four
Politics, Economy and Culture: The Case of Malaysia

4.1 Introduction

Since the 1980s, the Malaysian economy has been in rapid growth, a process which is complicated by its integration into the global economy. This trend, coupled with the growth in the consumer economy, contributes to the massive expansion in advertising. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the question is how do these factors influence the nature of Malaysian consumption? Does the message included with the product contribute to the changing pattern of Malaysian life? If so, what impact is produced on this multi-racial culture?

In this chapter, the discussion centres around Malaysian economy, politics and culture, which will serve as a contextual background for the thesis. An analysis of the role of economy and politics is, in addition, essential to an effective study of the trend of consumption that might lead to the impact of advertising on the culture.

The chapter examines the past and present status of the Malaysian economy, which includes factors attributable to globalisation. Also examined is the contribution of the economy in shaping the present Malaysian pattern of social status and consumption. The importance of this was suggested by MacKay (1997:4), who stressed the role played by social status in shaping the pattern of consumer product consumption. The second part of this chapter examines the history and the process of Malaysian politics. These are included because they play an important role where policy making is concerned. The last part of the chapter examines the Malaysian culture and its present situation. This serves as an indicator in order to differentiate between Malaysian and Western culture. Finally, are included criticisms of Western influence on Malaysian
culture, made by members of the Malaysian public.

4.2 Brief Background on Malaysia

Malaysia is one of the 'tiger' economies of the developing world. It is strategically located in the heart of Southeast Asia, one of the fastest growing regions in the world. Malaysia aims to reach developed status within the next two decades. Her neighbours, are Thailand in the north, Singapore in the south, Indonesia in the west and in the Far East, the Philippines. Malaysia comprises the Peninsular and the two states of Sabah and Sarawak, which share the island of Borneo with Indonesia and Brunei (Diagram 4.1).

Fifteen years ago, Malaysia was identified as an 'Agrarian State', as its economy was based on the export of agriculture and mineral products. Today, the Malaysian economy is dominated by manufacturing in which most of the industries are technology based. The change of structure of the economy has helped it to grow tremendously. It also boosted the employment sector, helping to reduce unemployment to just two per cent, the lowest in Malaysian history (Department of Statistics, 1997). This has helped improve the standard of living through a strong consumer economy. People now have greater purchasing power which gives them choice in terms of consumption, which in turn has significantly improved their quality of life.

Malaysian society is considered to be multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-cultural. Each community guards its cultural identity and a racial dimension is present in most aspects of Malaysian life. Malaysia's 20,140,000 population comprises three dominant ethnic groups: Malay, Chinese and Indian. Of the total population, 59 per cent are Malay while 31 per cent are Chinese and about 10 per cent Indian.

The major cultural centre and also the capital of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, is the largest city, with a population of more than 1.2 million. About 43 per cent of Malaysians live in suburban areas (Department of Statistics, 1997).
Diagram 4.1
Map of Malaysia

4.3 The Malaysian Economy

How, then, has the Malaysian economy arrived at this point of unparalleled consumer choice? This section examines the economic history of the country and maps the present economic trends.

Malaysia is one of the countries experiencing the fastest economic growth in South East Asia, with a reported average annual growth of over eight per cent during 1988-95. The major contributor to its GDP is the manufacturing sector. It is also rich in natural resources, with extensive deposits of hydrocarbons, natural gas, tin, copper, bauxite, coal and uranium. In agricultural production, Malaysia is the leading exporter of palm oil, a major exporter of tropical hardwoods and a major producer of rubber (Alamgir, 1994:67).

Malaysia owes its economic achievement to several factors after the government
aligned its economic structure towards manufacturing. Transforming the state economy from agriculture into manufacturing entailed a bleak future of price uncertainties in agricultural products. The government discovered that lowered commodity prices, such as those of rubber and tin, were contributing to a pricing system controlled by the West, which has the capacity to hold and flood the stock on the market in order to reduce the price (Bowie, 1991).

The structure of the Malaysian agricultural economy was initially created to serve the interests of the British Empire in the mid 19th and early 20th centuries. All products were exported to Britain in order to meet the demands of the European market. During that period, Britain's economy was in the middle stages of industrialisation (Lim, 1975). It is not surprising, therefore, that the Malaysian economy was made to cater for Britain's need. When Malaysia gained its independence, it inherited British structures that exhibited all the characteristics of a classical colonial economy. After independence in 1957, Malaysia was the world's largest producer of tin and the second largest producer of natural rubber. The country's dominating position in these commodities was the source of the prosperity it enjoyed and its position ahead of most Third World nations (Brown, 1995: 543).

However, this success was not enjoyed for long as at the same time the nation was placed at the mercy of fluctuations in the world market, particularly with respect to tin and rubber. In order to maintain consistency in economic growth, the main aim of successive administrations since independence has been to end this dangerous reliance on two or three major commodities by diversifying the economy in the agricultural sector and by promoting industrialisation in selected areas. The trend towards substantial industrialisation has become particularly marked in the present decade (Brown, 1995: 543).

In the final decades of British rule, steps were taken to expand industry on the basis of what already existed, that is, the processing industries, light engineering and handicraft. However, it was not until the achievement of Independence that truly radical measures to stimulate large-scale industrial development were undertaken. The establishment of the Malaysian Industrial Development Finance Berhad (MIDF), in 1960, was the first significant step in this direction. This was followed in 1965 by
the creation of the Malaysian Industrial Development Authority (MIDA), which has had a great impact on the pace and pattern of industrial development in the country (Gomez, 1996:132-136). The opening of industrial estates, free trade zones and the inception of a whole variety of incentives to attract foreign investment, have followed in its wake. The decades of the 1970s and 1980s witnessed strong and continuous growth in the Malaysian economy.

In order to ensure the consistency of Malaysian economic growth, the government has outlined the future direction of its economic activity. The general path of economic evolution has been mapped out in a series of five-year plans and has, since 1971, been guided by the New Economic Policy (NEP). The NEP was launched with the introduction of the Second Malaysian Plan (1971-75) with an avowed two-prong strategy to reduce and eventually eradicate poverty by raising income levels and increasing employment opportunities, irrespective of race, and by accelerating the process of restructuring of Malaysian society to correct economic imbalance, so as to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function (Gullick, 1981;146-147).

4.3.1 Structural Change and Growth of the Malaysian Economy

The global economic slowdown of the early 1980s, the collapse of the international tin market in 1985 and the slump in oil prices were primarily responsible for a decline in GDP of roughly one per cent during the period. However, Malaysia emerged successfully from recession with a real GDP growth of 5.4 per cent, in 1987. Real GDP grew at about 8.8 per cent in the subsequent four years. The country’s economic expansion has progressed after the 1987 recovery from world recession. In fact, 1991’s GDP of 8.8 per cent was the world’s highest while the 1990’s GDP was Asia’s highest (Business Times, 1992:4-17). Again, in 1992, during another slowdown in the global economy, Malaysia beat the odds and maintained impressive economic growth. Its real GDP was eight per cent in 1992 (Bank Negara Annual Report, 1993).

Table 4.1 shows the accelerated structural change of the Malaysian economy during the past twenty-six years. Manufacturing, which contributed only 16.4 per cent to the GDP of a predominantly agricultural and primary producing country, now accounts for 40 per cent of the total output of the economy. Manufacturing grew by an average
annual rate of 10 per cent during the 1970s and 9.4 per cent over the period 1980-91. The average growth rate of manufacturing was 12 to 13 per cent per annum during 1991-94. On the other hand, agriculture grew by an annual average rate of around 4 to 5 per cent in the 1970s and 1980s (ADB, 1994).

**Table 4.1**  
Sector's Contributions to Malaysia's GDP (%)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Manufacturing</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Mining &amp; quarrying</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: ADB, Key Indicators 1994.

The continuous structural change during the past two decades has transformed Malaysia from a primary producing country to a next-tier newly industrialising economy. This can be seen in its external trade. The percentage of agricultural products in total merchandise exports dropped from nearly 44 per cent in 1980 to about 14 per cent in 1993. On the other hand, manufacturing's share in total merchandise exports rose from 22 per cent to 74 per cent during the same period. Since 1990, manufacturing exports have grown on average by 30 per cent per annum (Ministry of Trade and Industry; 1995:79).

The Malaysian industrialisation process depends largely on imported capital and intermediate products. Together, they account for nearly 80 per cent of Malaysia's imports. The rapid industrialisation and economic growth have been generating import demands, and merchandise imports grew by 36, 30, and 26 per cent in 1989, 1990 and 1991 respectively. In the first seven months of 1994, imports of investment goods rose by 29 per cent and of intermediate goods by 35 per cent. Total merchandise imports grew by 32 per cent in 1994. Table 4.2 presents the composition of Malaysian imports classified according to use.
Table 4.2
Malaysian Imports by Types of Use (% of total)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>1992</th>
<th>1994</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Investment goods</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate goods</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- For manufacturing</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumption goods</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imports for re-exports</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


4.3.2 Foreign Investment in Malaysia

The increasing numbers of TNCs and TNAAs can be seen through the flow of foreign investment in the country. Malaysia’s policy of obtaining foreign investment was effected through a combination of attractive incentive packages and the provision of structural support in the export-processing zones and has been extremely successful in attracting multinationals. According to the World Bank, Malaysia was one of the top five recipients of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the developing world during 1987-91. Strong economic growth, political and macroeconomic stability, availability of trained manpower and good physical infrastructure attracted high levels of much needed foreign investment (Islam and Chowdhury, 1997). Figure 4.1 shows that the inflow of FDI increased rapidly after 1989. In response to government policy changes, FDI rebounded in 1994 after a drop in the previous year. In the first nine months of 1994, the Ministry of Trade and Industry approved 457 projects with foreign investment components of US$9.61 million, compared with 390 projects, worth US$3.23 million, in the corresponding period of 1993. In addition to attractive tax incentives, appreciation of the yen and the merger and acquisition activities of multinational corporations also contributed to the high inflow of foreign capital. However, Malaysia will continue to face competition from other low-wage countries (ADB, 1994).

The US, the EC, Japan, Taiwan and Singapore are the major sources of FDI flowing into Malaysia. In 1990, Taiwan and Japan accounted for 35.8 per cent and 24 per cent of FDI, respectively. Taiwan’s share in FDI in 1994 stood at 24.1 per cent and that of Japan at 20.4 per cent. Among the other major sources of FDI, in 1994, the US
supplied 11.6 per cent, Singapore 9.5 per cent and Hong Kong 8.2 per cent. Manufacturing received the bulk of FDI, with concentration in electronic and electrical activities. Chemicals, coal and petroleum products, mechanical equipment and textiles also attracted substantial FDI (ADB, 1994).

4.3.3 The Present Economic Situation

However, economic prosperity did not last. In late 1997, all the ‘Asian Tiger’ countries began to face an economic meltdown, including Malaysia. At the beginning of the currency crisis, Malaysia’s growth was estimated at eight per cent in real terms for 1998. The full impact of the crisis on the domestic economy was felt in the first half of 1998. The economy has slumped under business pessimism as the corporate sector is being weighed down by credit squeeze and mounting debts. Some economic sectors, such as construction, manufacturing, and services, have been badly hit. The manufacturers expect declining sales, fewer new export sales, growing inventory levels and declining investment. Despite the gloomy scenario now faced by the Malaysian economy, the economic outlook for the coming years still promises a bright future (the government has targeted five per cent in GDP for the coming year) (Utusan Malaysia, 1998). The indications are currently very positive. The business
environment is still active compared to other Asian countries such as Indonesia, the Philippines and South Korea.

On the advertising front, industry has experienced tremendous growth during the last 10 years due to the growing expenditure proportionate to the increase in GNP (Gross National Product) and GDP (Hashim, 1994:2).

In terms of consumption of products and services, there was no overall sharp decline especially in such things as small and medium sized cars, imported food products, mobile telephones and personal computers. According to the E.P.U. (Economic Planning Unit, Department of the Prime Minister) the consumer index report shows there is still a demand for consumer products (E.P.U., 1998). However, things will be different if the economic situation does not change within two years (Berita Harian, 1998). The government has instructed all banks to lower their BLR (basic lending rate) in order to create liquidity in the market and at the same time to help the retail section in Malaysia, especially the housing and consumer products (ibid.). As far as prices of consumer products are concerned they have increased between 10 to 50 per cent, especially for imported goods. The blame for this was placed on the currency exchange rate, that has dropped in value by 40 per cent since September 1997. Obvious impacts of this are the government decision to freeze sponsorship for students studying abroad and the decline in demand for holidays abroad. This decline is caused by the lower exchange rate and the government imposed RM$10,000 cash limit and its equivalent in foreign currency for each traveller.

4.3.4 The Present Trend of Malaysian Consumption
The resilient economy of the last few years, contributed to by the globalised economy described in the earlier part of this chapter, has also resulted in an increasingly competitive retailing environment. The increasing numbers of shopping complexes and mega malls, more sophisticated retailing practices and continuous pressure of marketing activity by both retailers and manufacturers, have opened up an overwhelming range of choices to the average Malaysian shopper, which influences the pattern and amount of consumption. This increased consumption of products and services is also very much related to the increase of the Malaysian per capita, which
has almost doubled in 20 years (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3
Malaysian Per Capita GNP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Malaysian per Capita GNP (US$)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1,827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>1,862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>1,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>1,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1,896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>1,595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>1,814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>1,868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>2,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>2,306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>3,485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>3,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>3,300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kenichi Ohmae, 1995:123

With the rapid rise of industrial capitalism and the growth of the middle class on the one hand, and the related improved standard of living on the other, much greater purchasing power is available. This also contributes to the growth of the Malaysian advertising industry, which will be described in the next chapter.

Complementing the impressive economic growth is the rise in per capita income of Malaysians. Thus, the Malaysian market has become more sophisticated, since consumers have a wider choice in the purchase of goods. However, the 20.1 million Malaysians do not yet add up to a market of 20.1 million and much of the wealth and buying power is concentrated among the 1.5 million people in the capital city of Kuala Lumpur and its vicinity. But it must also be noted that Malaysians living in other market centres, particularly Johor Bahru in the south, are also showing signs of experiencing a higher standard of living. Nevertheless, looking at the proliferation of shopping centres, office buildings and housing projects in Kuala Lumpur and its vicinity, it is safe to say that about 60 per cent of the purchasing power resides there and in the Klang Valley. These areas represent Malaysia's property and growth. However, about 50 per cent of the Malaysian population are still located in the rural areas (Department of Statistics, 1991).

In terms of expenditure patterns, about 60 per cent of urban and up to 80 per cent of
rural household expenditure goes towards basics, such as food, rent, utilities and taxes. All other products are competing for the remaining 40 and 20 per cent of the disposable income respectively. The many new goods available on the Malaysian market are actually targeted at the rising middle-class Malaysians who are high-income earners. These consumers go for luxury goods like video disc recorders, karaoke sets or expensive cars. Furthermore, because of the multiracial nature of the Malaysian market, consumers who are of different individual backgrounds have different needs. With higher purchasing power and standard of living, Malaysian consumers are demanding increased convenience, sophistication and variety. This is accentuated by the migration of younger consumers from the rural areas to the towns and cities. While, compared to Singapore or Hong Kong, the Malaysian culture of strong family ties and traditional values is still intact, many people already feel it necessary to mix western and eastern values (Hashim, 1994:4).

The pattern of consumption is related to the changing pattern in shopping habits. According to ACNielsen Research (1998), this has change tremendously due to the expansion of Western hypermarkets to Malaysia. Previously, shopping for food and groceries was done mainly in sundry provisions shops and wet markets but today shoppers prefer to shop in supermarkets and hypermarkets (Figure 4.2). These consumers are regularly patronising establishments owned mostly by TNCs and originating from the Western countries i.e. Carrefour (France), Makro (Sweden), Giant (U.S.) etc.. The increasing number and accessibility of the more modern shopping outlets like supermarkets and hypermarkets have led to their greater acceptance and use. Shoppers prefer to patronise the outlet that can provide a 'modern' environment which is more hygienic, has fast checkouts, comfortable shopping conditions (air-conditioning), with a variety of choices, local and imported etc. Another reason for the increased number of Malaysians using supermarkets and hypermarkets is that of value and convenience. For example, the variety of choices (local and imported), savings (using coupons cut out of the newspapers), regular reductions in prices on certain products, product displays, ample parking and convenient locations.
The 1990 findings from Survey Research Malaysia provide a clearer picture of Malaysian trends in consumption and lifestyle. They are segmented into seven different demographics and psychographics. The 'Rural Traditionalist' comprises the biggest segment, that is 32 per cent of Malaysian adults. They are Malays living in rural areas who are conservative and traditional in outlook. Their pattern of consuming is basically on essential items just to meet their basic needs. This is also a reflection of their general household income between RM$500 to RM$700 a month.

In contrast, the 'Kampung Trend-setters' who also come from rural areas, are the younger age group and 60 per cent of them are Malays. They comprise 16 per cent of the population, are ambitious, outgoing, brand and fashion conscious but are also family and community oriented. Generally, their households are equipped with television, radio, furniture and telephone. They also generally own a car. Their household income falls in the bracket between RM$700 to RM$2,000 a month. The third segment has been categorised as 'Rebel Hangout', which also comprises 16 per cent of the population, mainly young urban Chinese who have high personal incomes of between RM$3000 to RM$6000. Their occupations are distributed in the private sector such as in advertising, marketing, engineering and the stock market. They are also non-conformist and the least religious and moralistic. Their pattern of consumption mainly comprises imported and branded products - clothing, cars,
superbikes. They also spend money on entertainment and recreational activities such as scuba diving etc.

The next largest group, which accounts for 12 per cent of the market 'the Sleepwalkers', are mainly Chinese females above forty years of age. They are pessimistic in thinking, the least houseproud and the least family and community oriented. Their income generally is in the bracket from RM$1000 to RM$3000 a month and they spend on beauty and clothing products. As for the 'Not Quite There' segment, this comprises about 10 per cent of the market. They are young Malays with good personal income between RM$2000 to RM$5000 a month. However, they lack confidence, are introverted but moralistic. Consumption is mainly in basic needs and they do not spend on branded and lavish products. Most of their income is saved and invested in government sponsored trust funds. The 'Inconspicuous' also comprise about 10 per cent of the population. The majority are urban female Malays who are average income earners. Similar to the 'Not Quite There', they lack confidence, are introverted but moralistic. However, they are highly optimistic. Finally, the five per cent of 'Upper Echelons' are generally urban Malays in the upper income brackets (RM$5000 and above). They perceive themselves as leaders, are socially active, ambitious and confident. However, like most Malays, they are also family-oriented, moralistic and nationalistic. This segment tends to spend its income on house improvements, expensive furniture (Italian), and usually on continental cars (Mercedes Benz, BMW etc.) (Survey Research Malaysia, 1990).

4.3.5 The Emergence of the New Middle Class

In the previous section, we saw how the present economic situation has significantly influenced the pattern of Malaysian consumption. This is because, over the past year, a new government policy has operated, which has influenced the present scenario i.e. the booming economy, privatisation and industrialisation have somehow or other accelerated the growth of the Malaysian middle class. However, discussing the solely effect of the booming economy on the changing pattern in consumption could be misleading or too simplistic, especially in researching the impact of these changes on society, either culturally, politically or economically. Here, I would suggest that researching the impact on culture should include an understanding of the transformation of the social classes. Why is a consideration of social class so
important that it should be included? One of the reasons is that middle-class activities have a close relationship to the capitalist transformation that has been experienced in many countries (Pinches, 1999: 43) including Malaysia. This relationship, as we can see, has brought economic growth, material improvement and at the same time, the trappings of Western affluence (Pinches, 1999:1). As Robison and Goodman (1996: 1-13) pointed out, this process can be seen as catalytic to the transformation of universal culture.

Comprehension of this process will, hopefully, aid the understanding of how Malaysia has so far incorporated the universal values created by globalisation. This argument has been supported by many scholars who have theorised that the burgeoning middle classes and entrepreneurs in Asia, particularly in Malaysia, could be seen as embodying universal interests which will create the liberal stereotypes: more rational, individualistic; democratic, secular, concerned with human rights, the environment and the rule of law (Robison and Goodman, 1996: 2).

The question here is what causes the transformations? In general this could be seen as a result of capitalist industrialisation or capitalist transformation. The middle class has grown quite rapidly in the last fifteen to twenty years. In 1986, 37.2 per cent of workers were in middle class occupations (Kahn, 1996: 50), and it is expected that the 1990 census will show an increase in this figure.

Of course this growth is related to the emergence of new wealth, which can be found in the figures on economic growth described in the earlier section of this chapter. However not all agree, as Kahn (1996) expressed, by stressing that this growth has little to do with the level of human and social development. This view is supported by many political economists, who remind us that high growth rates do not necessarily benefit a country as a whole. Some would argue that the benefits of development could have been unequally distributed. However, this issue is not the main subject in this thesis. What I am concerned here is the increased number in the middle class group and its relationship with consumption that has been contributed to by changing values.

So what does all this tell us about class formation? To see how the economy
Chapter Four

Politics, Economy and Culture: The Case of Malaysia

correlates with class formation, particularly that of the new wealthy middle classes, we need to concern ourselves with the institutional context that has generated this pattern of economic growth. The politico-economic system that has developed in the years since 1970 has been characterised by three inter-related processes: a process of export-oriented industrialisation (EOI), particularly in the manufacture of semiconductor components made possible by high levels of direct foreign investment by transnational corporations; at the same time the state sector has grown rapidly — now one of the largest in the world — dominated by a relatively large number of financial public enterprises (FPEs), non-financial public enterprises (NFPEs) and trusts; and finally, the emergence of a rather unique system of what we might call party capitalism (often referred to in Malaysia by the term ‘money politics) (Kahn, 1996: 52-53). The reality is, that more job opportunities are available in Malaysia today. Unemployment levels had fallen to 3 per cent in 1993 and 2.3 per cent in February 1994. Labour force participation rates have also risen, as proven by the fact that while between 1980 and 1991 population growth averaged around 2.5-2.6 per cent per year, the labour force grew at an average annual rate of 2.8 per cent (World Bank 1993:311). This transformation was generated by a realignment of social forces in the years after independence.

Before we go deeper into the formation of the middle class after the National Economic Policy (NEP) was introduced, it is essential to provide some background on the type of middle-class that existed in Malaysia, by way of comparison. The Malaysian middle-class could be separated into two. The ‘old middle class’, which was created during the colonial era, and the ‘new middle-class’, which has been at the centre of this study. This ‘class’ arose within the structures set in place by the colonial order in managing the colonial economy and polity (Stivens, 1996). The significant social inequalities in Malayan society in the colonial and early independent years, should not be seen as a class division between large rural capitalists (large landowners) and the peasant/rural proletariat. Rather, the significant relations were between a rural ‘middle-class’ fraction heavily involved in mediating between the state, a peasantry differentiated to varying degrees and the reconstituted ‘aristocracy’ of the sultans and rulers. Here the ‘old middle-class’ included the government servants i.e. district officer, forest ranger, school teachers, policeman, small businessman (mainly the Chinese) and an ‘aristocracy’ made up of the
'traditionalised' rulers, descendants of the sultans. This division had existed before independence and many were created in managing the colonial economy and government as mentioned earlier (Shamsul, 1999: 86-106).

The discussion of the new middle-class in Malaysia is focused more on the 'New Malays' comprising the 'Political elite' (Kahn and Loh, 1992:2), corporate elite, entrepreneurs, and the professionals. Apart from these 'New Malays', the discussion also includes the female intelligentsia, who are aware of women's rights as a result of their exploration of global feminism (Stivens, 1998: 89), together with the Chinese business class and professionals.

So who are these new middle-class? The outward signs of the rise of the middle classes in Malaysia, with their accoutrements of housing and cars, have been dramatic. For example large areas of the cities have been turned over to new middle-class housing, the condominium phenomenon has been attracting attention within popular culture and academia, and traffic jams choke all points of entry to the city. For many of the young especially, the large post-modern shopping centres with their globalised patterns of entertainment have become the social centres of their lives, where they hang out (lepak), speak English to each other and incur the wrath of their elders for their inactivity. Many economists see them as the primary consumers of a wide range of services, shopping centres, restaurants, theme parks, new housing estates, domestic tourism destinations, the arts, advertising, the media and journalism.

So what links the emergence of this new middle class to the growth in consumer choice? First is the very nature of the new class. Comprising as it does in highly educated, salaried professionals, technical specialist, managers and administrators, assuming influential positions in the running and servicing of large corporations and state agencies (Burris, 1986, Pinches, 1999:25), it constitutes a large body of luxury product consumers. Second is the massive growth in consumer goods production (Slater, 1997; Pinches, 1999) which furnishes a wide choice of products to these consumers.

Exploring the relationship between these two links takes us into the realms not only of the structural logic of capitalism and the cultural intermediary role within the middle class of the design and dissemination of consumer images (Featherstone, 1991: 43-6),
but also into the politics of identity and status attribution.

The massive growth in luxury consumer goods and the associated development of fashion and marketing of lifestyle have focused heavily on members of the new middle class and their capacity to spend, generating at the same time a plethora of consumer images for the wider population (Featherstone 1991: 108-9; Betz 1992; Pinches 1999: 26).

The luxury consumer goods explosion, together with the associated growth of the fashion industry and of marketing, has resulted, by virtue of spending power, in a lifestyle for the new middle class of which the population in general is an avid observer.

In this scenario, women as consumers have been targeted both as reproducers responsible for home-making (where most private consumption takes place) and as the subjects and objects of desire. The enormous growth in the fashion industry and in cosmetics and accessories reflects the latter approach, while the former is clearly visible in the expansion of the domestic appliances and home decorating markets (Pinches, 1999:26).

Before we could go further in discussing the above trend, it is essential to see the process of the transformation of the new middle class in Malaysia. Question such as ‘What turns them into new middle class people who claim to contribute to the impact on the economic life of contemporary Malaysia?’ will be investigated. This transformation was contributed to by many factors. Perhaps the most important rallying point was the implementation of the New Economic Policy (NEP), which ran from 1970 to 1990. The policy was the brainchild of UMNO after it realised that the Malays’ weakness lay in the economic sector. It was introduced to reduce the wealth gap between the Malays and the Chinese. In fact, the unequal distribution of wealth among the races was among the factors that led to the racial riots of May 13, 1969 (Asiaweek, 2000: 48). Tun Abdul Razak, the Prime Minister at that time, took drastic action to introduce the policy, which many see as unfair – favouring the Malays, eliminating fair competition among races. With the NEP, Malay participation in the economy has increased tremendously and created a middle class as well as the
nouveau riche. Though the policy was criticised by many, especially the Chinese and some international communities, the policy was still carried out. The policy was defended on the grounds that the country would still be in turmoil if Malays continued to live below the poverty line while the Chinese monopolised the capital. This policy has in fact been the legacy of Malay nationalism, a discourse in turn shaped in significant ways by the imperial discourse of Malay privilege. The policy aims to promote growth with the objective of fostering national unity among the various races. It could be seen as helping the Malays to increase their wealth to be on par with other races. After the NEP expired, the government introduced the National Development Policy (for the period 1991-2000). The NDP is built upon the achievements of the NEP in accelerating the process of eradicating poverty and restructuring society so as to correct social economic imbalances. What has been the result of both policies?

These policies have created the Malay elite. In fact, many of its members have become extremely rich and are now active corporate players in the country and globally. Earlier, many of them were sent to study abroad especially the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia. Today, some of them are in the economic-cum-commercial sphere, involving non-manual 'mental production' processes that call for bureaucrats, company executives, technocrats, academics, accountants, computer-chip engineers, information technology specialists and a host of other professions demanding high or specialist education and training. The policy has also produced many entrepreneurs who are involved in the contracting and construction. Thus, the implementation of these policies has successfully created and expanded the Malay middle class (Shamsul, 1999:100). As a result of this, by the early 1990s the Malays were the 'yuppies' of Malaysia. At the same time they found that meeting material and physical needs alone was not enough. They were also emotional needs and self-actualisation in the form of freedom of expression, speech, thought, viewing and writing and self-confidence (Asiaweek, 2000: 48).

The emergence of this new middle-class could thus be seen as a result of the NEP, which characterises the contemporary Malaysian political economy. It has created the global factory regime on the one hand and a hypertrophic public on the other. This influenced the pattern of foreign ownership and the level of state participation in the
economy during the 1970s and early 1980s.

Malaysia became a prime target for foreign industries, particularly the electronic industry, due to the favourable business climate, including tax breaks, liberal treatment of profit repatriation and restrictions on unionisation, particularly in the so-called Free Trade Zones. At the same time the Malaysian government was looking to move from import substituting to an export-oriented path of industrialisation to create employment, particularly for Malays. Between 1970 and 1980, the number of establishments increased 24 times, total employment increased 199 times, wages and salary payments 236 times and sales values 167 times (Narayanan and Rasiah 1989: 4).

The public sector covers a wide variety of activities, including various government departments, the armed forces, etc. But it is more important to note that the greatest growth in Malaysia’s public sector is not the increased size of the government departments, but the tremendous growth in the number, size and scope of public enterprises. This has produced many members of the new middle classes, especially the Malays.

Another factor that contributed to the increase in sizes of the new middle class was the idea of privatisation, which was introduced, in the early 80s. Many government department and activities were privatised, such as the NEB (National Electric Board), now known as TNB, a public listed company, Petronas, Telekom, Proton and many others. As a result of this policy, top-ranking government officials have been able to receive shares in the subsidiaries of the corporation. These ‘overnight’ corporate figures are today’s millionaires. Many of the companies are now public listed companies. Some of this spill over effects has created much other support companies, which are doing the sub contracting for big company such as Proton. This is the first Malaysian car manufacturer, who is the major contributor for the growth of SMIs (Small Manufacturing Industry). Many of these SMIs manufacture some of the components for the cars. The privatisation of Petronas has also created many oil and gas related companies, making oil refineries to pipe and fibre optics cable (Gomez, 1990).
The other types of new middle class people are the political elite. They have a close association with the political parties and some hold high-ranking positions in the parties. They are also the ones that have been given the task of managing the companies owned by the political parties or by some of the members of the cabinet (Kahn, 1996: 67-69).

What, then, is the relevance of the transformation of this new class to social culture. Importantly, this phenomena cannot be brushed away easily, as it could be seen as one of the contributing factors in the changing trend in Malaysian culture.

In this section, I would like to explore this phenomenon. At the same time it may help in understanding the way the audiences responded to the questions posed as described in Chapter Ten.

The growth of the new middle class produced a significant impact on the economic life and culture transformation of contemporary Malaysia. For example, the consumption choices of this middle class have somehow shaped the new urban landscapes of Kuala Lumpur, Johore Baru and Penang. Such landscapes exhibit not only examples of western styling but also, and contrary to the common assertion of western universalism, examples of hybridity of western and local styles. Thus the apparent global fascination with western luxury in popular consumer culture may not be such an all – pervading feature. It would, therefore, be unwise, as some scholars have suggested (Appadurai, 1988; Friedman, 1994; Miller, 1995; Pinches, 1999:29), to assume that the meanings of consumer goods and consumption patterns are transparent and universal. While the products consumed may be identical, they may have a different significance to consumers and audiences. In the case of Malaysia, as suggested by others, this difference of significance may be 'fundamentally rooted in the world of unchanging oriental culture' (Pinches, 1991:1) or in the idea of oriental essentialism.

However, the impact of class transformation is not limited to economic and the politics of understanding consumption. But, what it has already created? Subjects such as gender, class and nation are constantly highlighted in the Malaysian media. Discourse on the Malaysian neo-modern order, the Melayu Baru or new Malay is
often present. The new Malay became prominent in 1993, featuring regularly in media cultural productions about a new, confident group of Malays ‘less misty-eyed about the traditional nationalist values espoused by UMNO (the Malay party within the ruling coalition), and more inclined to an aggressive, business oriented approach to politics’ (Far Eastern Economic Review, 1993:15). The figure of the new Malay striding forward into the fully developed Malaysia, envisaged in Prime Minister Mahathir’s Vision 2020, has been the subject of polemics over the future of Malay culture within modernity. The main dilemma today is posed squarely in terms of the old tradition/modernity couple: some local scholars and commentators have called for the emergence of a new Malay equipped with the necessary skills and fighting spirit to tackle the future (Hashim, 1994: 3).

In 1978, 20 years after independence, the Malaysian social scientist Nordin Selat described the confused middle classes as ‘made in London’ and riven by ethnic non-accommodation (Selat, 1978). But what really stands out in all the present commentary about the future of Malay society is the way that the development of these new classes is seen as a cultural phenomenon, a cultural project (Kahn, 1996). The overt concerns are not with the massive economic growth and rising affluence and consumerism. These are positively gloried in by some political and media rhetoric, although there is some Islamic dissent about the materialism of ‘Westernisation’. However, there is direct concern with ways in which modernity and corporateness are seen to pose a threat to Malay ‘culture’. It is not, however, the culture located in the rural idyll of colonially reconstituted communitarian peasant villages (kampung). Instead, ideas of being Malay have clearly cut loose from the core, expressivist, modern Malay identity associated with the imagined villager living in the imagined kampung. The kampung itself has become many things, including a background prop for advertising and fashion shots. Some see this surface play of signs and images of old and new Malayness as evidence of a post-modernisation of Malay identity (Stivens, 1998: 92).

As for the role of women, their representations feature strongly in many of the cultural productions of affluent middle classness and achievement, especially those concerning consumption. Here, the existence of middle class women cannot be ignored. This is because the female middle class in Malaysia has constantly
increased, though it is extremely difficult to extract figures for women from the available data. It appears that few women are entrepreneurs, although female workforce participation has risen steadily, reported at 44 per cent in 1992 (Ariffin, 1992: 33) and 44 per cent in 1993 (Mid term Review of the Sixth Malaysia Plan 1991-1995: 239). Education has expanded greatly, with large numbers now attending tertiary institutions, which offers increased opportunities for girls and women.

The image portrayal of women is not uniform: there are many and diverse, if not fragmented, images of ‘modern’ and ‘middle-class’ women depicted widely in the media, especially in the proliferating women’s magazines aimed at the middle-class market, and in advertisements (Stivens, 1998:93). For example, there is often an implicit modernist identification of ‘new’ women with the newly arrived affluent order in the celebrations of middle-class female achievement. While the subject between modernity and unacceptable sexuality has been overt in representation of young factory workers, dubbed ‘Minah Karan’ (Ong, 1987). A rash of articles appearing in 1994-95 about the teenage girl indulging in ‘promiscuity’ (boh-sia) is just the latest example of the use of sexualisations in moral panics about the dangers of modernity, especially Western-style modernity (Stivens, 1998: 93).

Here, what I would like to highlight is not the social or ‘public’ political discourse of being a female, but the critical role in producing meaning about ‘modern’ womanhood and its relation to Malay identities. My discussion is not about the haute-bourgeois consumption of the elite and the upper middle classes but the ordinary everyday consumption by the affluent and less affluent middle class women where symbol and meaning were the priorities.

This has had untold effects in shaping modern Malaysia and the emerging middle-class project. For example, the demand for fashionable clothing, cosmetics etc. Has altered the women’s physical attributes, as noted. The desire for posh shopping centres to accommodate fashionable boutiques has also attracted the advertisers and Fashion journalists. They spend fortunes on consumer profile studies, providing us with a series of cultural depictions of the consumer: such schemes include categories like ‘the yuppies’, ‘the not-quite-theres’, ‘the conservatives’ and ‘the traditionalists’ (Hashim, 1994).
Another discourse concerning the emergence of new middle class women focuses on family values. This is often politicised, especially within the Asian family discourse. Ideas of family, home and work are being profoundly reorganised and continuously contested within middle-class daily life (Stivens, 1998: 99). This contestation about 'family' is closely implicated in the production of middle classness and of masculinity and femininity. Middle-class women's class situation in contemporary Malaysian discourse is generally subsumed within that of the household/husband. Analytically, however, this subsumption is embedded in the problematic division between public and private: this assumes that men and women in their 'public' work practices are members of 'classes' but domestic work is somehow outside the economy and polity. Yet the domestic work that women do within the supposed private sphere can be seen as integral to the everyday cultural production and re-production of middle classness. This echoes the arguments of Davidoff and Hall (1987), which showed the links between the domestic and the process, which formed the middle classes in Britain in the nineteenth century. They argue that these processes were thoroughly gendered, focussed on the construction of a domestic ideology and its constant rewordings. Although the Malaysian specificities are critical, especially women's 'double role' in both production and consumption, there are significant structural parallels. The situation of women working outside the home in a globalising neomodern/post-modern order is a key issue in the present-day reworking of the domestic in Malaysia. This claim is supported by findings, in which the levels of the prosperity of the families were often dependent on women's extensive involvement in work outside the home. Some of the issues highlighted due to the changing pattern in traditional activities was about child care problems, the demands of the after school co-curricular activities, parental transporting of children and time-tabling (Stivens, 1998: 100). The after-school activities included music and dance tuition and extra tutoring to improve school performance. These activities are clearly a vital component of the new middle classes' educational and class re-production projects. The pressures of household juggling with increasing female workforce participation arguably have led to some restructured male-female relations. But the availability of servants for the more affluent in Malaysia may well be one of the most important factors deferring or at least deferring renegotiations of male-female relations within households. This underlines the importance of working-class servants in the lives of middle-class
Malaysians. Many people would find the achievement of the requisite upper middle-class lifestyle and standards of domestic management difficult to achieve without the services of maids (Stivens, 1998: 101).

So, what have we learned from the above discourse? First, the idea of the New Economic Policy introduced in 1970 in relation to the idea of globalised society has changed the shape of Malaysian social, economic and political structure. It seems to contribute very much to the rise of the New Malay Middle Class, but at the same time it contributes to the rise of the new middle class as a whole. This changing phenomenon has somehow directly influenced the ways of consumption. Apart from the increased amount modern of accommodation (semi-detached single or two-storey concrete houses of the middle-class estates and condominium), the house content also has changed. Many are furnished with comfortable modern furniture, a selection of modern electrical and electronic devices such as TV, a video player, a rice cooker and some books in some cases, especially in academic households. This could be seen as a reflection of levels of income. In trying to keep up with the latest information on lifestyle and trends they tend to read magazines such as FHM, Vogue etc. Some will go for branded products that are associated with Western names which have rhetoric for quality. While some, especially the corporate elite and political elites prefer to join the country golf club just to place them in a particular social circle. As for dressing, Western clothing is gaining popularity. Apart from Western daily clothing, the demand for a ‘white’ wedding is on increase. The white dress is usually worn at one point during the ceremony; currently, it appears at the dinner, in the middle-class circles at least (Stivens, 1998: 111). Based on this argument, the conclusion seems simplistic and predictable. However, some scholars have argued that the understanding of this new middle class and its consumption is not so straightforward as we might expect. What is important here is the way in which meaning of consumption and consumer items gravitates towards, or is mobilised around, particular social and political relations, becoming the basis of distinction and collective identity construction (Pinches, 1999:29). Perhaps, as others have suggested, what is needed is a cultural analysis of the making of the new rich, with reference to class and international relations. This analysis should be focussed on how power is exercised and contested through symbols and meanings.
In concluding this section, I have argued that the emergence of the new middle-class, especially the Malay, corporate elite, the new entrepreneur and the political elite, is an important way to theorise the interplay between consumer capitalist culture, economy, polity and consumption. The development of elaborate new femininities based on consumer, wife, mother can be seen as critical as it is to the other new middle class groups. This may be interpreted as the expression of tensions and ambivalence about the cost of modernity: issues of family, gender, home and sexuality are central sites for the cultural expression and reworking of ideas of the 'modern' and Malay. At the same time the impact of class transformation is not limited to economics but also involves structural and symbolic transformation. Whereby the new middle-class has emerged not only as a group of people with considerable wealth and corporate or state power, but also as a powerful hegemonic force, variously identified as the heroes of national or regional development, meritorious achievers and high-flying consumers with new thinking and ideology (Pinches, 1999:44). Such issues will be discussed in Chapter Ten in relation to how Malaysians define their role in the changing structure of the Malaysian social classes.

4.4 Malaysian Politics

The documented history of Malaysian politics begins in the year 1400 with the founding of the Malacca sultanate. Malacca was a vigorous trading and cultural centre which influenced the shaping of political institutions and traditional Malay culture through the succeeding centuries. Malacca was captured by the Portuguese in 1511 and subsequently by the Dutch, in 1641. The colonial powers attempted to prevent the rise of another Malay state in the peninsula, which could rival the power of Malacca. By the mid-18th century the modern geopolitical pattern of Malay states had emerged, beyond the influence of the European-fortified trading post of Malacca (Gullick, 1981:11-18).

In an attempt to secure the trade route to China through the Straits of Malacca, the British captured the island of Penang in 1786 and Malacca itself in 1795. Following the establishment of a trading post in Singapore in 1819, the British formed a single
administrative unit, the Straits Settlements, comprising Penang, Malacca and Singapore, in 1826. The Straits Settlements were administered from British India until 1867, when the administration was transferred to the Colonial Office in London (Information Malaysia, 1997:1-3).

Although initially the British did not want to become involved in the Malay states, the rivalry among local rulers following the discovery of major tin deposits in Perak, and other mining activities, slowly drew the Straits Settlements into closer political and economic ties with its hinterland. As the Malay rulers fought among themselves, often using the secret societies of migrant Chinese workers, to control newly found wealth, there was a total collapse of law and order by the late 1860s. The local Chinese and European merchants urged the Straits Settlements to intervene and restore order. In 1873, the British government agreed to intervene, fearing that the chaos would give the rival German colonial power an opportunity to capture the peninsula, thus threatening British commercial interests. Over the period 1874-1888, the British entered into agreements with the Malay rulers of Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang, which required the sultans to accept a British Resident whose advice ‘must be asked and acted upon on all questions others than those touching Malay religion and customs’. The sultans were allowed to keep all their privileges and the splendour of the Malay ceremonial court. This agreement effectively turned the Malay rulers into puppets while the executive powers were in the hands of the British Resident (Gullick, 1981:19-33).

The Federated Malay States (FMS), with four signatory states, was established in 1896 with Kuala Lumpur as its capital. By 1914, the four northern states of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu and the southern state of Johor accepted permanent British advisers. Although these five states remained outside the FMS and became collectively known as the Unfederated Malay States (UMS), the acceptance of permanent British resident advisers effectively allowed British rule to extend throughout the Malay peninsula (Gullick, 1981).

Between 1942 and 1945, the Japanese occupied Malaya and British rule was interrupted. When the Japanese surrendered, the British started to negotiate with the new political force, the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), and the
Malayan rulers formed a unified administration of the Malayan Union, combining the FMS, the UMS, Penang and Malacca (Gullick, 1981). In 1948, the Federation of Malaya was formed. The new constitution of the Federation maintained the sovereignty of the sultans and granted citizenship to the Chinese and Indian settlers (Fisk & Rani, 1982:89-91).

However, the restrictive citizenship requirements for the Chinese and Indians angered non-Malay settlers; in particular the Chinese regarded the Federation as a betrayal of the loyalty they had shown to the British during the Japanese occupation (ibid.). This strengthened the hard-liners in the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM), which launched a guerrilla war against colonial rule. However, the CPM enjoyed little support among the Malays and by the mid-1950s the communist insurgency had died down (Young, Bussink & Hasan, 1980:15).

By then, however, the British had decided to grant self-government to the Federation and worked towards finding a consensus among the various ethnic groups. These negotiations resulted in a compromise whereby the Malays retained the political power and in exchange allowed the Chinese to continue their economic functions with the understanding that, in time, more equality would be achieved among the races in both the economic and political spheres. The new constitution also made provision for a single nationality, with citizenship open to all those in Malaya who qualified either by birth or by fulfilling requirements of residence and language. Independence was proclaimed on August 31, 1957, and the UMNO president, Tunku Abdul Rahman, became the first Prime Minister. The government was formed by a coalition of major ethnically oriented parties: UMNO, the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) (Young, Bussink & Hasan, 1980:16-17).

Political developments in Malaysia are driven primarily by ethnic tensions and compromises. Since independence, Malaysia has been ruled by a government of coalition between UMNO, MCA and MIC - the three major parties representing Malays, Chinese and Indians. The compromise that was hatched between the coalition partners on the eve of independence failed to fulfil the rising expectations of younger generations. The new generation of Malays wanted more and quicker
economic advantages and the non-Malays (in particular the Chinese) were unhappy with their lack of political power. The resentment culminated in a bloody race riot in May, 1969 (Young, Bussink & Hasan, 1980:19). The reassessment of an earlier compromise, following the riot, led to the formulation of the New Economic Policy (NEP), to be implemented over 20 years to 1990. Its primary objectives were eradication of poverty among all races and of the identification of race with economic function. The latter was designed to give the Malays a greater share in economic wealth with the specific target of raising the share of Malays and other indigenous people (bumiputera) to 30 per cent of commercial and industrial capital by 1990. It was also recognised that, for the maintenance of racial harmony, the increase in Malay shares in wealth should not be achieved at the expense of other races (ibid. p:21).

New legislation was also introduced immediately after the 1969 ethnic riots to remove from public discussion such sensitive matters as the powers and status of sultans, Malay special rights, the status of Islam as the official religion, and citizens rights. Under the leadership of the new Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, the ruling UMNO, MCA and MIC coalition was reorganised into the Barisan National (National Front), which included other major opposition parties. This was designed to prevent public discussion of sensitive issues, which was made seditious, but allowed the bargaining for communal interests to take place in a more discreet manner within the government.

As the economic growth rate declined during the early 1980s due to global economic recession, a new element surfaced in Malaysian politics. Intra-racial politics became dominant in the 1980s as coalition partners, especially UMNO and MCA, faced growing discontent among their own supporters. The Malays, Chinese and Indians became disillusioned and blamed their respective parties in the ruling coalition for not doing enough. This resulted in the formation of new opposition parties by disaffected members who had left UMNO or MCA. However, the ruling alliance managed to fend off opposition attacks and gained victory in successive elections (Brown, 1995:549). The resounding victory of BN and its dominant partner UMNO, especially in the opposition heartland in the 1995 election, has strengthened the leadership of Dr Mahathir against the opposition both within and outside his own
party.

The 1980s also witnessed growing tension between the executive government of Dr. Mahathir, who became Prime Minister in 1981, and the traditional Malay rulers. Dr. Mahathir won public support for his attempt to restrict the power and privileges of the sultans, which indicates the weaning off traditional values in a modernising society where public tolerance for the excesses of the feudal ruler declines. A new code of conduct was agreed in July, 1992, with the sultans outlining the parameters of their involvement in both politics and commerce. The constitutional amendments in February, 1993, further curbed the power of the sultans by restricting their personal legal immunity (Brown, 1995: 550).

4.5 Malaysian Cultural Background

Accelerated growth of the economy which provides a platform for a variety of choices in consumption, and the complicated political situation can, some say, make the culture vulnerable to changes in its identity. If this is true, it could be seen as a threat by people known to be protective of their own culture. The truth of this remains to be seen, however.

As has been repeatedly mentioned before, Malaysia is a multiracial society where the indigenous Malays have interacted with the Chinese, Indian and other cultures ever since the spice trade flourished along the prosperous maritime trade route linking China and India thorough south East Asia. Arab traders brought Islam and the majority of Malays are now Muslims. The Chinese and Indians migrated mainly during the colonial period to work in plantations and mines. In Peninsular Malaysia, the Malays constitute about 59 per cent of population, the Chinese 31 per cent and Indians 10 per cent. In Sabah and Sarawak, the Chinese populations comprise about 14 per cent and 29 per cent respectively (Information Malaysia, 1997). Despite a long history of interaction among the Malays, Chinese and Indians, a common culture did not emerge and each group more or less maintained its own distinct ethnic and cultural identity (Brown, 1995:545). This can be seen clearly in terms of language, religion, marriage, lifestyle, diet, socialising and music. However, some groups such
as the Consumer Association, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP) and the ‘ethnic activists’, feel the ethnic identities have been homogenised by Western influence and regard this as threatening to their ethnic identity (Utusan Malaysia, 1997).

Bahasa Malaysia is the national language and is spoken throughout the country. The majority of Malaysians can speak the language whatever their race. The Chinese speak one of a variety of Chinese dialects such as Cantonese, Hakka, Hokkien, Mandarin, or Min. The Indians speak Tamil or Hindi. Many other indigenous languages are also spoken in Sabah and Sarawak. Most Malaysians are bilingual if not multilingual, and English is normally the spoken language in all activities, especially at work, except in remote areas (Information Malaysia, 1997).

The English language has always been an issue for debate by left wingers in the country, such debate being mostly politically motivated. Bodies concerned with Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka have been set up to protect the language and are championing the use of the ‘Malay language’ in all activities including the economy, politics, law and education. Some groups consider the nation-wide use of English to be important to the economic competitiveness of Malaysia. They believe it should be retained as the first language in business and at school because of the demands made by the globalisation of economic affairs. Education experts and policy makers fail to reach a consensus when attempting to formulate the language policy for schools and higher education, as they are divided between the economic necessities and the desire to preserve cultural identity. In any case, language policies change according to which political leaders are calling the tune (Dewan Masyarakat, 1995:23).

As far as religion is concerned, Malaysians have always been taught to respect the beliefs of others. This helps to maintain harmony among the ethnic groups, who are thus sensitive to the needs of the other religions. This is because after independence in 1957, the government made Islam the official religion of Malaysia, which created fear among the other religious groups, even though the constitution guarantees freedom of worship. Ethnic Malays are virtually all Muslim. The Chinese on the peninsula are mostly Buddhist, with some Taoists, Christians, and Confucians. The Indians are generally Hindu and Christian. In the states of Sabah and Sarawak, the proportions are different. In Sabah, about 38 per cent are Muslim, 17 per cent
Christian, with the rest holding indigenous beliefs. In Sarawak, there are more Chinese, 24 per cent are Buddhist and Confucian, 20 per cent Muslim, 16 per cent Christian, and the rest hold indigenous or other beliefs (Department of Statistics, 1997). Like any other citizen in the world, the Malaysian has his/her own traditional beliefs and customs besides those of his/her religion. For example, believing in the power of unseen forces or spirits which direct their daily activities, still holds strong influence for all three ethnic groups and the indigenous peoples in Sabah and Sarawak.

Criticism of Western influence on the three major religions in Malaysia is not a matter of renouncing traditional religion but mainly of the believer’s ‘way of life’ according to his values and morals. Some feel that the young generation and the urban population are becoming too Westernised and submit less to God, which, it is claimed, will lead them to immoral activities such as sex and drugs (Berita Harian, 1996).

As regards the way of life, in Malaysian families, including the Malay, Chinese and Indian, it is quite usual for two or more generations to live in the same house. Such an extended family is central to the Malaysian way of life. Co-operation, loyalty, and unity are important in the family. Older people are respected. However, urban areas have gone through tremendous changes due to modernisation and urbanisation and nuclear families are becoming more common, with members of the extended family often living in the same area or neighbourhood, but not in the same house. More and more couples are choosing to have smaller families. Some marriages are still arranged by the family and even when men choose their own bride, they usually consult the family members. A marriage is believed to join not only two people but also two families and the customs and ceremonies vary according to each religion.

The contentious issues in marriage and family lifestyle do not concern inter-racial marriage as this is widely accepted by most ethnic groups. However, concern is focused on the lifestyles of unmarried couples who are living together. This is not acceptable to the Moslems in the country but is very common among the Chinese, especially in the urban areas. The Selangor Islamic Religious Affair Organisation recently criticised the media for promoting this kind of lifestyle in their imported
Western programs and at the same time allowing it to be subliminally portrayed in advertising (Harian Metro, 1998).

As for food, rice is the staple diet for all ethnic groups. In Malay households the rice is served together with meat, fish and vegetables. Spices are used considerably in Malaysian cuisine. Among the Malays, eating pork and the flesh of predatory animals and birds, rodents, reptiles, worms and the flesh of dead animals or drinking alcoholic beverages are forbidden, as the majority of them are Moslem. This means that the slaughtering of animals for food must be according to Islamic rites. As for the Chinese, the main kinds of cuisine are Cantonese, Hokkien and Szechuan. Indian food is hot and spicy. The Indians normally have rice or bread (chapati and naan) as their staple diet, which they eat with various curries. Hindus do not eat beef, in accordance with their religion. Local fruits are favoured among the Malaysians over foreign fruits except for oranges, which are consumed a lot by the Chinese. Malaysians also enjoy dining out in restaurants or at street food markets. Eating customs vary among ethnic groups. Traditionally, Malays and Indians eat with their hands, whereas the Chinese use chopsticks.

The issues raised concerning Western influence in this sphere are not centred on 'Western cuisine' but on the expansion of the junk food industry from the West, such as McDonald's, Pizza Hut, Coca Cola etc. McDonald's have appeared in all cities and towns in the rural areas. Some believe the facade of the restaurant is affecting the identity of the local town, which could be previously identified with its own cuisine.

Malaysian clothes are characterised by colour and variety. During formal occasions or ceremonies, the Malay men will dress in 'Baju Melayu', consisting of a loose shirt and a pair of long trousers. A sarong is then wrapped around the waist and is left to hang halfway over the trousers. The head-dress consists of a black 'Songkok'. A 'Tanjak' or 'Tengkolok' is used on grander occasions. The women usually wear 'Baju Kurung', consisting of a loose fitting blouse and a sarong or the 'Baju Kebaya', a tight-fitting blouse and a sarong. In contrast, dress is very informal among the Chinese. Currently, a preference for western styles is increasing. A few conservative women, however, still wear the 'Samfoo' - a jacket and trouser combination. Among
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the Indians, traditional wear is still common. The ‘Sari’ is still popular with the women. It is a piece of material six yards long worn draped around the body. A short tight blouse or ‘Coli’ is worn inside. The men prefer western clothes, reserving their dhotis (a short version of the sarong in white) and vests or ‘Kurtas’ (thin white cotton shirt) for wearing to the temple or on festive occasions.

The question of Western influence in dress has always been associated with national identity and religion. However, in reality Western dress is widely accepted in Malaysia for both formal and informal activities. Criticism only arises when the dress is considered obscene according to Malaysian standards. These standards are partly based on the Islamic code of dress; for example, women’s bodies need to be covered decently. Though no written rules exist except for government servants, the rest of the Malaysians have imposed a ruling based on respect for the society in which they live and work.

Socially, Malaysians are generally friendly. When men meet, they usually greet each other with a handshake, but close friends use both hands to grasp the hand of the other. A slight bow or nod of the head is common when greeting an older person. Among Muslim women, they usually ‘salam’ (putting out both hands together while the other party holds the hands also with both of their hands). Women and elderly people seldom shake hands but may offer verbal greetings. For working people, business cards are usually exchanged after an introduction; the ritual is important because business cards give a clear idea of someone’s status and therefore the correct level of courtesy that should be extended to them. The usual greeting to a non-Malay is ‘Selamat Pagi’ (Good Morning). A casual greeting is ‘Halo’ (Hello), or, more common among the mostly Muslim population, ‘Assalarn mualaikum’. Another frequently used phrase is ‘Apa khabar’ (How are you? or What’s new?). To the Malaysian it is polite if someone bows slightly when greeting, leaving, or passing a group of people. This is the equivalent of people saying ‘Excuse me’ in some other country.

Visiting relatives and friends is an important part of Malaysian life, especially when one does not share a house with the extended family. It is common for people to drop by without prior arrangement, but sometimes they telephone in advance. Guests are
often invited home for a meal or socialising. Many business relationships are formed through entertaining. When invited, guests are generally not expected to arrive on time, so it is not uncommon for scheduled events and appointments to start later than expected. Before entering a home, shoes should be removed, and if refreshment is offered, one should accept so as not to give offence (generally a guest might say ‘no’ for the first time when drinks are being offered. However, after that, the host insists and the guest is expected to accept). The guest should receive the drink with both hands. During festival times, Malaysians practise the custom of the ‘open house,’ when homes are open to all who come, (without receiving an invitation) irrespective of class, ethnicity, or status. Malaysia’s high degree of diversity has resulted in the custom of holding open house on special days for those who belong to different ethnic and religious groups. For example, Christians hold open house during Christmas; Chinese during their New Year, Hindus during Divali; and Muslims during Hari Raya Puasa (Eid). This practice of open house has become the norm in Malaysian society.

Like any other country, Malaysia is rich in its own music, whether it is modern or traditional. Malaysia’s music is actually a product of a diverse population of immigrants and indigenous peoples. Outside influences show up mostly in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula in the form of Western, Chinese, or Indian music (Fisk and Rani, 1982:110).

Criticism about Western influence on music is focused primarily on the lyrics. Some claim that Western songs are promoting ‘free sexual relationships’, drugs and homosexuality. Apart from the lyrics, there are complaints about the way the songs are performed. Some accuse Western performers of not instilling a positive image and attitude in their fans. Criticisms were mainly about the performers’ dress, performance on stage and their videos.

4.6 Concluding Remarks

Malaysia has made considerable economic, political and cultural progress. The combination of its complicated political background, which influences policy making so much, its stronger economic base and its cultural variety, makes it an ideal subject for the study of political economy.
Its multi-ethnic background also makes it unique as a training ground for global marketers, especially in devising their marketing strategy and advertising campaigns. Meanwhile, the influence of global phenomena increases the flow of FDI, which helps the country to evolve from an agrarian state into a newly industrialised one within a short period. These phenomena somehow seem to have an impact on the economic and the social life of the country either positively or negatively. The present conditions help contribute to the growth of GDP and further help the country to diversify its economy. This trend will later be seen in helping to boost the consumer economy. This phenomenon creates the desire to consume a variety of products, including those from the West. The massive growth in consumer purchasing power can be seen as the opportunity to use advertising to promote products in an already congested market. So, at the same time, it encourages the growth of the advertising industry. As advertising is also one of the major sources and repositories of cultural values, the question arises as to whether there is an impact on the culture or whether the global factor contributes in changing it. In order to see the linkages with advertising, the next chapter examines the past and present developments of the Malaysian advertising industry and its relationship with the global economy.
Chapter Five

The Changing Structure of Malaysian Advertising

5.1 Introduction

The advertising industry in Malaysia was established over 50 years ago. However, it was not until the early 1980s that the industry began to experience dramatic changes and development (Anderson, 1984). These changes have enabled advertising to play a dynamic role in a transitional period, during which the country has been progressively moving from agrarian state to newly industrialised society. With a strong economic environment and international affiliations as backup, it is expected that the advertising industry in Malaysia will play an even more significant role in the future.

During the last ten years Malaysia has experienced the most dynamic economic growth in Asia if not in the world. Her economy consistently grew at eight per cent from 1989 until 1997. This rapid economic growth has been accompanied by a dramatic increase in advertising. Today, hundreds of millions of U.S. dollars are spent on mass media advertising throughout the country, targeting the rapidly growing middle class section of society. The deliberate build-up of multinational business activity has resulted in a changing pattern of consumer behaviour, as the Malaysian market has moved from corner shop to hypermarket and from traditional to mass-market. Advertising holds a central position in this change of scenario.

This changing pattern has been contributed to by many factors such as improved living standards, Western marketing concepts, deregulated media policy, internationalised trading relations, dynamic cultural values and the growth of sophisticated consumer markets. These factors are also seen as responsible for advertising's central position.
In this chapter, I will discuss the current dynamics of Malaysian advertising, which include issues related to advertisers, advertising agencies, media structure, government regulation and self regulation, cultural values in advertising and consumerism. However, in order to emphasise the relevance of this chapter to the whole thesis, all the discussion of these issues is focused into two main aspects. The first is to understand how advertising has rapidly grown in tandem with the growth of the media on the one hand and with the growth of the economy on the other. The second aspect is to understand how regulation has developed with the objective of protecting Malaysian culture. Before we go further into this discussion, the next section will provide a historical background of the advertising industry in Malaysia, which I feel is essential to a basic understanding of the whole picture.

5.2 The History of Malaysian Advertising

The history of advertising in Malaysia began with the first advertisement that appeared in the country’s first newspaper, the ‘Prince of Wales Island’s Gazette’, which was first published in Penang in 1805. At that time Malaysia was known as Malaya. The print media of newspapers and magazines were first introduced into Singapore, Malacca and Penang when these three places became the main trading centres. Traders from all over the world visited these ports to buy and sell. They utilised the available print media to publicise their products and services to the locals and also to the other traders (Saman, 1980: 9).

On July 15, 1845, the first edition of the ‘Straits Times’ was published in Singapore, at that time part of Malaya. The ‘Straits Times’ was filled with various types of advertisements, from shipping to hotels and household to medicinal products. Other early advertising media included posters, handbills and sandwich boards. During that period, the advertisements were very straightforward, copy-oriented and limited in scope. However, they embodied the basic principle of advertising, that is to sell and to inform (ibid.).

As the country grew, so did the print media. With the development of the print
media, the whole situation changed and advertising progressed accordingly. The earliest evidence of the existence of advertising agents and agencies is when J.R Flynn Anderson offered his 'advertising services' in the 'Straits Times' on January 4, 1919. The earliest advertisement writing services were offered by Siow Choon Leng in the Straits Times on February 8, 1919. During that period, most of the advertisements were prepared by the printers, for example 'Good Printer' servicing Fraser & Neave, a beverage company. By 1934, the total number of printers offering advertising services had increased to seventeen (The Advertiser Association, 1971; Ngu, 1996).

The first true advertising agency that handled advertising-related jobs was the NION Art Studio. It was formed by Lee Yuen Hong sometime in the 1940s. Then, the work entailed mainly the designing and printing of posters, leaflets and banners with messages asking for donations from Malayans to help war victims from China. The only competitor then was KC Dat, which did mainly printing and press work. Lee's work came to a halt during the Japanese occupation between 1941 and 1944. In 1945, Lee resumed his advertising work by writing billboards for a restaurant in Kuala Lumpur using chalk. His job was to advertise the daily attractions of the restaurant. Union Commercial Art was then formed by Lee but the name was later changed to Union Advertising when an Australian was employed as the agency's manager (Ad Asia Memorabilia, 1990).

The development in the advertising industry became evident in the late 1940s, when the Association of Accredited Advertising Agents (4A's) was established in Singapore (1948). Later, this was followed by the formation of the Malaysian Advertiser Association (MAA) in 1952, consisting mainly of transnational corporations (TNCs) such as Shell, Nestle and Lever Brothers (Anderson 1984). These two entities were created to look after the professional interests of the advertisers. Western transnational advertising agencies (TNAAs) increased after the mid-1950s, when more TNAAs were established to service the increasing number of TNCs that had set up their establishments in Singapore. It is a common practice of TNAAs to set up a branch in order to follow their client when they expand overseas (Mattelart, 1989).
When Malaya gained independence from the British in 1957, the advertising industry experienced rapid growth as a result of the government's plan to develop the nation and to attract foreign investors to the manufacturing and industrial activities of the country. The introduction of television in 1963 has spurred the development of the mass media in the country. Marketing activities were carried out, which in turn led to an increase in advertising activities. More agencies were then set up in Kuala Lumpur. The advertisement became more prominent in the available media. Newspapers and magazines were the most popular media among advertisers, followed by the cinema. Radio and Rediffussion also started, using jingles as a popular form of advertising (The Advertiser Association, 1971; Ngu, 1996:241).

During this time, the print media, radio and 'Rediffusion' (cable radio station) were the main advertising media. Later, the agencies in Singapore began opening offices in Kuala Lumpur to service clients on mainland Malaya. Among the early agencies were Cathay, Grant, Master, Benson, Young and a few more (ibid.)

In 1964, multinational advertisers and agencies that set up their bases in Malaysia increased in number due to the introduction of television into the country. Among the top ten agencies were Ogilvy and Mather, Ted Bates, Lintas and McCann-Erickson. When Singapore and Malaysia split to become two separate countries, the agencies that were formerly operating as one entity, worked independently (Hashim, 1994:7).

In the early 1970s, the 4As and 2As Joint Media Committee was formed to deal with the government concerning advertising rules and policies. Its objective was also to verify and recommend on advertising rate increases and other conditions imposed by the media organisations. Following this, in 1977, the Advertising Standards Authority of Malaysia, or ASAM, was launched by the 4As, 2As and media owners. Later, the consumer association formulated the Malaysian Code of Advertising Practice as a regulatory guide for advertisements that appear in the Malaysian media. Before this, the Audit Bureau of Circulations, or ABC, was formed by representatives from advertising agencies, advertisers and media publishers, to secure uniform methods of audit in print media circulations (ibid.).

Today, the advertising industry in Malaysia has come a long way from its small
beginnings. The multinationals and the local agencies are now growing, with a hundred million ringgits in billings. Malaysia's good infrastructure, regional production and post-production facilities, coupled with the emergence of a quite affluent middle-class society, have made Kuala Lumpur one of the key centres of advertising in Asia.

5.2.1 Advertisement Trends - The Ten Year Experience
The main objective of this section is to examine the past and present trend of advertising in Malaysia. Although this study is not primarily historical, I wished to assess the impact on advertising of the economic changes in the consumer market in Malaysia. How far and in what ways have the changes in taste, consumer demand, and popular consumption been reflected (or indeed caused) by shifts in advertising?

To provide a preliminary indication of these shifts I analysed advertisements from the newspapers based on the origin of the product advertised and the type of product, by employing a content analysis on 15,309 samples in three newspapers (Utusan Malaysia, Berita Harian and The Star). Here, 900 editions published over ten years from 1986 to 1995 were selected. Due to the vast volume of samples available from the 10 year period for the three newspapers, it was decided to choose advertisements appearing during one month in each year from 1986 to 1995 for each newspaper. Thus, 15,309 advertisements were coded and analysed from 900 newspaper editions (3 newspapers x 30 days x 10 years). Samples were selected on rotation. For instance, for the year 1986, the newspapers published in January were used and for 1987, February, and so on (see Chapter Six for sampling procedure).

This study has shown that the foreign product advertisement has played a major role in the advertising industry in Malaysia. Based on the samples studied from the period, 71 per cent (10,928) were foreign product advertisements while the remaining 29 per cent (4,381) were Malaysian. Of the foreign product advertisements a total of 42 per cent (6,391) were offering Western products.

While over the ten year period there is little change in the percentage of Western (1986 - 41 per cent, 1995 - 41.1 per cent) and Malaysian (1986 - 32.6 per cent, 1995 - 33.6 per cent) advertising, both have in fact increased in terms of the absolute number of advertisements. This lack of change in the percentage may be accounted
for by their parallel growth rates, maintaining their relative share of the advertising pie. While the expansion of the global economy has meant the increase of investment by multi-nationals in third world countries like Malaysia, it has also encouraged the local economy to flourish, bringing more local brands onto the market, which, of course, have required an increase in local advertising activity.

In general terms, then, Western advertising has dominated the Malaysian scene over the ten year period. Western brands have become familiar to the Malaysian household as the global marketers have seized the opportunity presented by the growth of the global market in general and the strengthening Malaysian economy in particular. This growth and stabilisation of the economy is also indicated by the finding that Malaysian product advertising, while playing a subsidiary role to its western counterpart, has maintained its relative position (see Chapter Four).

Fig 5.1
Advertising Trend from 1986-1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Malaysia</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: All percentages were rounded to one decimal place.
This historical view of western advertising in Malaysia clearly shows its dominant and increasing role in the advertising industry. An important feature of this role has been the continued increase in the volume of advertisements, with the exception of 1987, when the global economy suffered the ‘Black Monday’ stock market collapse, and 1990, when the West and Iraq went to war over Kuwait. Figure 5.1 illustrates the advertising trend from 1986 to 1995.

A study of product categories however reveals some interesting details, which are contrary to the general trend. While the total number of advertisements increased considerably (from 1,358 (8.99%) in 1986 to 2,242 (14.6%) in 1995 – see Table A13), some individual categories did not reflect this. The dichotomy is accounted for by the increased share of the total of advertising enjoyed by certain other categories.

This variation increase in specific product categories may well be due to the emergence of a new middle class in Malaysia, an expanding sector of the population which is characterised by the desire to consume technology, by the desire to acquire the identity which the new products bestow and which provides a growing customer base for the marketers (see Chapter Four – 4.3.5 The Emergence of the New Middle Class). One of the main reasons why the new middle class is important in this discussion is due to the nature of its consuming habit. It is also undeniable that individuals consume goods and services not only for consumption per se or utilitarian motives, but often for hedonic motives (Tse, Belk and Zhou, 1989). The products included in these increasing categories are those of which the consumption is central to this new class’s image representation. Such products carry a ‘meaning’, ‘symbolic properties’ and ‘status involvement’ (related to an individual’s income, gregariousness and purchase frequency) (Midgley, 1983), which are compatible with the new class’s desired status and achievement within society.

In this research twenty-six product categories were used. These categories may be grouped together into ‘areas’ such as leisure, lifestyle, technology, healthy life and feminine consumption, which enable us to identify the nature of the shift in consumerism among Malaysian.

Categories such as electrical appliances, household products, automobiles, clothing,
fast food, cosmetics, etc. are seen as important yardsticks in examining the possible shifts in consumption. This is because such products are seen as important symbols for status, and are commonly used by many social science researchers in studying class, especially in the third world countries (Bin Zhoa, 1997). For example, an automobile can be the reflection of independence and social status, whereas electrical products such as washing machines, hi-fi stereos, televisions (the bigger the better) are used as symbols of status and modernisation. Grooming/cosmetic products could be seen as important indicators for growing interest in 'Image Management' (Venkatesh and Swamy, 1994:193-223). At the same, the emerging role of feminism and its influence can be examined in a traditional society such as Malaysia. Computers and telecommunications are essential in order to investigate the trend in technology awareness and modernisation. Holidays and airlines (some airline advertisements promote holiday packages) are commonly used to represent 'leisure' and business travel.

However, before I could go into details of the above mentioned areas (lifestyle, leisure, technology, health and feminism) it is also important to examine all the categories in general. Here, I would like to consider the products, which have increased and decreased in terms of the percentage proportion over the ten year period. Product advertisements such as banking, fast food, department stores, clothing, sport related products, telecommunication, electrical appliances, soft drinks, cosmetics, computers, toys, holidays, airlines and education have all shown increases. Some show a substantial increase and some slight. Products that decreased in terms of their percentage proportion were food, petroleum related products, household products, alcohol products, agriculture, government and publication (refer Table A13). The reasons for these trends will be discussed next.

I have identified electrical products, household products, automobiles, clothing, fast food and telecommunications as in the 'lifestyles' area. For electrical products, the results show a slight decrease in terms of percentage (1986 the percentage is 14.7 per cent, decreasing to 12.1 per cent in 1990 and increasing to 14.5 per cent in 1995 (refer Fig. 5.2). This decrease is not a reflection of a reduction in electrical appliances consuming by the Malaysian consumer. In actual fact it is an increase if we look at the number of the advertisements published for those years. For example, in 1986 the
number of electrical advertisement was 200 and in 1990 decreased to 158, which could be accounted for by caution on the part of advertisers due to the global economic slowdown. However in 1995, the number of advertisements leaps to 326, due to the rapid growth of the Malaysian economy, which enhanced the emergence of new middle class (refer Table A13). We can say that this shift may be due to the growing number of consumers who want products related to modernity and convenience as domestic problem solvers. Electrical appliances can be divided into two types, ‘white goods’ and ‘brown goods’. ‘White goods; such as refrigerators and washing machines are now considered as a necessity but were previously regarded as luxury items. Here, ‘necessity’ refers to a product that helps the consumer to do basic household chores such as washing, cleaning etc. and at the same time provides the consumer with more recreational time. ‘Brown products’ such as televisions, Hi-fi etc. were also in high demand, for use during this increased recreational time.

The same scenario applies with household products. These products, such as detergent with advanced formula, anti-bacterial hand washes, fabric conditioners and toilet cleaner, gained popularity among consumers, replacing the ordinary toiletries. In 1986, the advertisements for household products are 3.8 per cent, decreasing to 3.1 per cent in 1990 and to 2.9 per cent in 1995 (refer Fig. 5.2). This was due to the increasing domination by other product categories, which reduced the share of the household product categories as a whole. In the actual fact, the absolute number of advertisements shows a slight increase compared to the previous years (in 1986 – 52; in 1990 – 40; in 1995 – 65) (refer Table A13). While this increase is not considered to be major, it nevertheless illustrates the shift of consumer choices. The increased demand for such products could be related to the quality of life that is pursued or preferred by most middle class people.

Automobile advertisements showed an increase from 6.9 per cent in 1986 to 10.6 per cent in 1990, and then decreased to 6.2 per cent in 1995 (refer Fig. 5.2). Thus automobile advertising underwent similar shifts to those described earlier. In actual fact, the number of advertisements for automobiles increased throughout (in 1986 – 94; in 1990 – 138; in 1995 – 140) (refer Table A13).

Another indicator that is important in determining lifestyle is ‘clothing’, since clothes
have an expressive function (Turner, 1980). No doubt, for the anthropologist, clothing is important for realising self-identity and representing the ambiguity expressed in a changing society (Drazin, 1994:57-88). The percentage of clothing advertisements in 1986 is 4.1 decreasing to 2.9 per cent in 1990 and increasing again to 4.5 per cent in 1995 (refer Fig. 5.2). This finding clearly shows the increased demand for fashionable clothing, especially from the West (Levi’s, Guess, Osh Kosh, Bally – identified through observation during content analysis exercised). This is also reflected in Malaysian brands using western names, such as Padini, Bonia Uomo (to associate with Italian clothing), Durban, East India (to associate with a British name). This suggests that the Malaysian consumer tends to prefer anything of western origin, believing that Western products are of better quality and up to date style (see Chapter 10 – An Audience Research).

In telecommunications; the number of advertisements shows an increase throughout with 2.7 per cent in 1986 to 7.4 per cent in 1990 and continuously increase to 7.9 per cent in 1995 (refer Fig. 5.2). A significant proportion of this increase, I suggest, may be due to a high demand for cellular or mobile telephones among the Malaysian consumers. At the same time, the mobile phone is a symbol status, a sign of success, modernisation and geographical as well as social mobility. It also a reflection of the desire to consume technology, which will be described later.
Leisure can also be examined through some of the product categories, such as holidays and airlines. Here, holidays means advertisements that promotes holidays and travelling packages. Through observation during the content analysis, I discovered that, most of the advertisements were promoting overseas locations, mainly the United States (Disney World, Niagara Fall, New York), the United Kingdom (mainly London), Europe (Paris, Rome, Switzerland), Japan and Hong Kong. This is because holidays abroad are a symbol of luxury in Malaysian society. On the other hand this is also evidence of the growth of middle class consumption patterns.

The findings show a ‘roller coaster ride’ effect in the overall percentages, dropping from 3.8 per cent in 1986 to 2.7 per cent in 1990. However, in 1995 the percentage has increased to 3.8 per cent (refer Fig. 5.3). One of the reasons I suggest, is the influence of the economy. For example, the drop from 1986 to 1987 correlates with the economic slowdown. Overall, however, there is evidence of increasing consumer demand with a total increase in the number of advertisements (refer Table A13).

Airline advertisements, which are closely related to holidays, show a sharp increase. In 1986, the percentages was 0.9, followed by an increased to 1.7 per cent in 1990 and to 2.4 per cent in 1995. However, airlines also cater for the business traveller and this increase may in part be influenced by increased economic activity.

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### Table: The Shift of Advertising in Lifestyle Goods (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Electrical Appliances</th>
<th>Household Products</th>
<th>Automobiles</th>
<th>Clothing</th>
<th>Fast Food</th>
<th>Telecommunications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Fig. 5.2**
The Shift of Advertising in Lifestyle Goods (%)
The next area is technology, including telecommunications and computers. Although already considered in ‘lifestyle’, telecommunication is also related to ‘technology’. Here, I would like to stress that, most of the telecommunication advertisements were promoting mobile phones and their service providers. Non-hardwire phones were introduced and popularised in 1988. The company was awarded the licence by the government was ‘Celcom’. Since then, many Malaysians especially in the urban areas have used mobile phones. At one time such a phone was considered as a symbol of successful entrepreneur and of the rich, but with the awarding of more licences, the cost of these phones has fallen sharply and their use has spread to other socio-economic groups. In 1986, the overall percentage of advertisements was 2.7 per cent, in 1990 was 7.4 per cent and this increased to 7.9 per cent in 1995 (Fig. 5.4). In other words, the shift (increase) in the telecommunication advertisements indicates an increase in consumer demand and also reflects the popularity among Malaysians of being associated with technology.

Another category relevant to this area is that of the computer. Over the studied period, the findings clearly indicate that more computer related products were being advertised, including PC’s, modems, printers and scanners. In 1986, the percentage of computer related advertisements was 4.3 per cent, in 1990 it increased to 7.1 per cent and in 1995 it increased sharply to 10.3 per cent (refer Fig. 5.4). This evidence is not surprising, as the computer has played an increasingly important role in the daily
activities of the Malaysian consumer. At the same time the 1990s are witnessing a boom in computer technology such as the Internet, e-commerce and electronic mailing. In terms of comparison between both products, the demand for computers has outstripped that for telecommunications.

**Fig 5.4**
The Advertising Shift in Technology Goods (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Telecommunication</th>
<th>Computer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contrast, some products experienced a sharp fall in the number of press advertisements. The shift in cigarette advertising has shows a drop in percentage over the period of ten years. In 1986, the percentage was 6.4 per cent increasing in 1990 to 9.6 per cent. However, this increase did not last long as in 1995 it dropped to 3.9 per cent (refer Fig 5.5). This shift may reflect the changing strategy of advertisers in an effort to improve their image in the context of a growing resentment expressed by the Malaysian public against the harmful effects of smoking.
Another example, which has a close relationship with the increased middle class and with feminism, is the ‘cosmetic’ product category. The shift of advertising in cosmetics shows a ‘roller coaster’ increase. In 1986, the percentage was 1.5 per cent and in 1990 increased to 3.5 per cent. However, in 1995 it decreased to 2.7 per cent (refer Fig. 5.6). Here, I would suggest that the reason for the decrease between 1990 and 1995 (note: in terms of numbers it shows an increase) was the increasing percentage of other product advertisements. At the same time, most of the popular cosmetic brands (Avon, Revlon, Maybelline, L’oreal) had already established themselves in the market, and at this particular period most of the advertisements just acted as reminders. Also, the newspaper is not an effective medium for reaching the cosmetic target market compared to other media such as magazines (women’s and lifestyle magazines).

This trend may be interpreted as reflecting the increasing importance of the female as consumer. It seems that more women are concerned with their looks and presentation in their society. Another way of saying this is that it reflects the growing prominence of women in public roles as distinct from their domestic roles. At the same time more Malaysian women would like to disassociate themselves from their traditional image (housewife, children raiser, men dependent) by having their own career. This has helped them to improve their own purchasing power, independence and manoeuvrability in creating their desired image. The question here it is true? Or is this what the finding try to show us? For a thought, how about a group of feminist who are
against cosmetic? Is this interpretation strictly accurate; however? It does not, for example, account for the attitudes of those Malaysian women who, under the banner feminism, eschews the use of cosmetics. This group is motivated by the idea that cosmetics are a tool for enhancing male domination by encouraging women to change their appearance according to male criteria. This group may also number amongst the more career-oriented of Malaysian women, but is very obviously not included amongst the targets of advertisers.

As for Banks, the advertisements show an increase, for example in 1986, the percentage was 5.6 per cent, in 1990 it increased to 9.5 per cent, but in 1995 it shows a decrease to 7.9 per cent (refer Table A13). Many of the advertisements shown in the press were related to ‘saving’ (fixed deposit) and house mortgages.

The agriculture category also exhibits interesting features. Agriculture advertisements are defined as advertisements that promote products such as fertilisers and weed control. Their target market is mainly the small scale Malay farmer. The findings indicate a drastic drop in the percentage and number (refer Table A13 -1986 – 6.4 per cent, 1990 – 3.4 per cent and 1995 – 2.0 per cent). The reason for this may be a reduction in consumer demand since small scale farming especially in ‘rubber’, is no longer feasible and is no longer a popular activity among the people. Much of the young male workforce has moved to the cities to work in the factories.

The next category to be highlighted is that of the ‘government advertisements’. These
relate to the promotion of the ‘ASB’ (government trust fund), the EPF (Employee Provident Fund), the Save Water campaign, the Save Electricity campaign and the ‘Buy Malaysian Products’ campaign. The findings show that government advertisements also decreased in the press advertising (refer Table A13 - 1986-5.5 per cent, 1990-4.3 per cent and 1995 reduced to 2.1 per cent). This shift could also be related to the campaign that the government was promoting at the time. Particularly when it introduce the ‘ASB’ in 1990, a campaign to save electricity due to the power shortage in 1992 and the ‘Buy Malaysian products’ campaign commenced in 1995.

Education advertising commonly promotes the private colleges that offer a British qualification such as ICSA, ACCA, O level, A-level etc. Toward the end of the studied period more colleges were offering a twinning program with universities in the United States and the United Kingdom. Due to the demand for such courses, we can see that more advertisements were published in the press. In 1986, the percentage was 4.3 per cent, in 1990 it decreased to 2.9 per cent, but in 1995 it increased to 5.2 per cent (refer Table A13).

The final category worth examining here is that of alcohol related products. Alcohol advertisements mainly concerned beer, alcoholic pop drinks and stout. The evidence from the findings has shows a decrease in alcoholic beverages advertising in the press. This outcome could be due to the process of Islamisation in the 1990s introduced by the former Deputy Prime Minister. In 1986, the percentage of advertisements was 4.4 reducing to 0.9 per cent in 1990; and in 1995 (refer Table A13).

Overall, the findings show the numbers of press advertisements in most of the product categories were increasing over the ten-year period (Table A13 - 1986 – 1,358 to 1995 – 2,242). This is not surprising, given the context of the rapid growth of the economy, globalisation and the creation of the new middle class group. In terms of the extent of increase, most products did not show any drastic ‘changes in taste’ of ‘consumer demand’ except in the telecommunications and computer categories. The increased number of these two products in Malaysia could be translated into several ways, first it is related to a more general world trend and second it being seen as the indication of a shift towards a more western consumer pattern. Mobile phones were introduced and marketed globally in the late 1980s. Why the increase in
technological product such as mobile phones? According to Robison and Goodman (1998) mobile phones seen as an icon of modernisation and westernisation among the Asians. In other word it is not a surprising trend, on why a drastic increase on mobile phone publicity in Malaysia. At the same time this could be interpreted, Malaysian consumer are moving towards a more western consumer pattern, becoming more independence and seek for more mobility. As for computers, the drastic increase due to the global phenomena, whereby in almost sector industries or areas are promoting of computer usage. Historically, computers gained popularity when the ‘Windows’ programmes were introduced to replace the traditional operating system ‘Dos’, together with the Internet, e-commerce, e-mailing etc and cheaper PC’s in the 1990s.

However, not all products exhibit a growth in advertising, as is illustrated by cigarettes and alcoholic products. This does not mean that such products are less in demand but rather that there has been a shift in media choices. Attacks by the anti-tobacco lobby on the newspaper advertising of tobacco products has prompted a move to billboard and ‘promo’ advertising.

5.3 The Present Situation

The advertising industry in Malaysia has experienced formidable growth through the development policies which the government has followed during the last 30 years - advertising expenditure tends to grow proportionately with the increase in GNP and GDP. In the more advanced countries like Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan and the United States, advertising constitutes 1.1 per cent of GNP, while in Malaysia, the advertising allocation is about 0.8 per cent (Hashim, 1994).

For the past fifteen years, advertising expenditure in recorded media has increased seven times. This phenomenal rise is mainly attributable to the buoyant economy that Malaysia has enjoyed over the last eight years (Table 5.1). With increased income and almost full employment, more Malaysian consumers are now spending their money on many new products. This new development could be seen as a contributing factor to the changing lifestyles of the middle-class Malaysian consumers who now enjoy better disposable incomes and a better standard of living.
Chapter Five

The rapid increase in advertising expenditure shows that while Malaysia was affected by the world economic recession in 1985 and early 1986, its economy was very little affected by the Gulf War in 1990, unlike most other developed nations. For example, in 1992, total advertising expenditure in the mass media reached a record-breaking RM$1,128 million (US$434 million) (Survey Research Malaysia, 1993), an increase of 38 per cent over the 1990 expenditure of RM$817 million (US$314 million) (Survey Research Malaysia, 1991). It increased by 28 per cent to RM$1,441 million (US$554 million) in 1993 (Survey Research Malaysia, 1994) and in 1994, to RM$1,674 million (US$644 million), an increase of 16 percent (The Star, 1995a:8).

Table 5.1
Advertising Expenditure in Malaysia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>US$ Million</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>US$ Million</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>84.75</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>101.62</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>130.9</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>150.37</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>156.8</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>690.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>143.25</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>153.4</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>490 (Jan-June)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>190.12</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>415.4 (Jan-Sept.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>241.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


However, recession hit the Malaysian economy in late 1997 and the expenditure dropped to US$415.4 million in 1998 (January-September) compared to the first half of 1997 when the expenditure was US$490 million. This is not a surprising phenomenon as the advertisers have become much more cautious in spending their money on advertising as a result of recession (Table 5.1).

5.3.1 The Development of Transnational Advertising

The advertisements that dominated the advertising scene in the Malaysian media were attributable to the TNAs. They have been and still are the biggest advertising spenders in the country. In 1998, the 10 largest advertisers in Malaysia were all
The dominating role of TNCs in Malaysian advertising can also be seen in TV advertising. In 1998, eight out of the ten highest spenders in TV advertising were TNCs from Western countries, with the exception of Carlsberg which is not allowed to advertise on television because all alcohol products (beer, lager, liquor etc.) are banned by the government in all broadcast media (Table 5.3). The only local companies on the list are the privatised state monopoly, Telekom Malaysia, and the privately owned telecommunication company, Celcom. This domination of TNCs has not changed during the last three decades. Anderson (1984) reported that in the 1970s, 95 per cent of all television advertising revenues in Malaysia were from the TNCs. In 1998, of the US$133 million spent on TV advertising, the TNCs made up 90 per cent (Adweek Asia, 1999a). Among the biggest TNC advertisers in Malaysia, either overall or on television, are the three transnational cigarette corporations. Advertising by the cigarette companies consistently tops the categories in terms of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advertiser</th>
<th>US$ (million)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BAT Industries</td>
<td>25,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nestle</td>
<td>14,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RJ Reynolds</td>
<td>9,254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procter &amp; Gamble</td>
<td>8,182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTC</td>
<td>6,388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telekom Malaysia</td>
<td>5,716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colgate Palmolive</td>
<td>5,136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlsberg Marketing</td>
<td>5,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unilever</td>
<td>4,701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KFC Holdings</td>
<td>4,391</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: AC Nielsen Malaysia 1999

The only Malaysian company that made the list is Telekom Malaysia. Three of them are transnational tobacco corporations, B.A.T Industries, RJ Reynolds and Malaysian Tobacco. These TNCs carry brands such as Benson & Hedges, Marlboro, Peter Stuyvescent, Salem etc.. The other five are global consumer goods corporations that have become household names in Malaysia and elsewhere. The brands that they represent include KitKat, Colgate Toothpaste, Carlsberg, Pampers, Kentucky Fried Chicken.
brand, product and company. This evidence has also been supported by Kim and Frith (1993) who found that in 1990, nine out of the top 10 advertisers in the country were TNCs, seven of which promote cigarette brands. The ADEX Report in 1992 (Survey Research Malaysia, 1992), gave six of the top 10 advertisers by brand in the country as tobacco brands. They accounted for 73 per cent (US$21.6 million) of the top 10 brands’ total advertising expenditure or 19 per cent of the total advertising expenditure in 1992 in Malaysia.

In 1994, the transnational tobacco corporations made up nearly half (46 per cent) of the total advertising expenditure of the top 10 advertisers (Ngu, 1996:245). The 1998 figures for the major advertisers show that the pattern has remained unaltered, the transnational tobacco corporations still dominating with 31 per cent (US$41,323 million - BAT, RJ Reynolds, MTC) of the total expenditure (Table 5.2).

Table 5.3
Top Ten Advertisers on Malaysian Television, 1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advertiser</th>
<th>USSmillion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. BAT</td>
<td>20,667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Nestlé</td>
<td>10,934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. RJ Reynolds</td>
<td>7,479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Procter &amp; Gamble</td>
<td>7,244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. MTC</td>
<td>5,249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Telekom Malaysia</td>
<td>3,532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Colgate Palmolive</td>
<td>3,636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Unilever</td>
<td>3,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. KFC Holdings</td>
<td>3,422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Celcom</td>
<td>2,824</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: AC Nielsen Malaysia 1999

5.3.2 TNAAs and Local Advertising Agencies

All major advertising agencies are known to be dominated by the TNAs. For example, Young & Rubicam handle Colgate brands and McCann-Erickson handles the Coca-Cola accounts in Malaysia and at the same time, worldwide - as a consequence of international alignment strategy. Because the TNAs can afford big advertising budgets, this invariably contributes to the dominance of the TNAAs in the Malaysian advertising industry. This is a main reason for local advertising agencies remaining small in comparison to the TNAAs (Figure 5.7).
In Malaysia there are more than 200 advertising agencies in operation, approximately 30 per cent of which are full-service agencies. Of this percentage, there are close to twenty multinational, sometimes called international agencies. The rest are either 100 per cent locally owned or are affiliated with multinational agencies, with a major stake held by the local agencies. Of the 200 agencies, the TNAAs monopolise the top ten rankings, which are shown in Table 5.4.

In the 1970s, six or seven TNAAs controlled 85 per cent of the total advertising expenditure in Malaysia (Anderson, 1984). However, this situation has changed a little. For example, the TNAAs commanded RM$800 million, or 80 per cent of the total advertising billings in Malaysia in 1991. The top 10 advertising agencies in Malaysia in 1992 were all TNAAs and they controlled 70 per cent of the total advertising expenditure (Hashim, 1994:23). It is found that the foreign TNAAs commanded a combined billing of US$413.5 million in 1994, which represents nearly two-thirds of the total advertising expenditure in the country. The other third belongs to a myriad of small local agencies (Ngu 1996:246).
Table 5.4
Top Ten Advertising Agencies in Malaysia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advertising Agency</th>
<th>Volume (Billing) US$ million</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bates Malaysia</td>
<td>114,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Dentsu, Young &amp; Rubicam</td>
<td>52,012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ogilvy &amp; Mather</td>
<td>51,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. McCann-Erickson</td>
<td>49,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Leo Burnett</td>
<td>48,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. J. Walter Thompson</td>
<td>33,328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ammirati Puris Lintas</td>
<td>31,808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Naga DDB</td>
<td>31,808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Batey Ads</td>
<td>24,479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Saatchi &amp; Saatchi</td>
<td>29,352</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Advertising Age, (1998d)

In spite of the government regulations requiring that Malaysian investors have a 51 per cent stake in the ownership of TNAA’s, and that they also staff them, most of the TNAA’s in the top ten are actually owned and run by expatriates (Kim & Frith 1993:45-53).

5.4 The Role of Advertising in the Malaysian Media

Since 1995, the broadcasting sector has enjoyed a new experience. Today, Malaysian television viewers have almost 800 per cent more to watch and in 300 per cent more ways than they have ever had before (Adweek Asia, 1999b). A new terrestrial channel, Metrovision, launched in July, 1995, boosted terrestrial TV from three to four channels. Later, in November, 1995, five cable channels joined the four terrestrials with the official launch of Malaysia’s first multi-channel pay-TV service, Mega TV. The big ‘explosion’ that shook the country was ASTRO, the first satellite-delivered channels of Malaysia’s first satellite, Measat-1, that carries with it a large amount of national pride. ASTRO was launched in late 1996, and now offers 36 television and radio channels together with other telecommunication services (Nasir, 1995:3). Only recently, in 1998, one more commercial TV station was added to the mass media scene, the ‘ntv7’ TV station.

The history of Malaysian television began when the government launched TV1 on
September 16, 1963, followed by another government owned channel, TV2, on November 17, 1969 (RTM, 1982). Today, the majority of the media in Malaysia are either directly owned by the government, such as Radio & Television Malaysia (RTM) and all but two of the radio stations in the country, or are indirectly owned by the political parties in power through their corporations. Even though changing conditions in the country have caused the government to relent somewhat on strict laws and regulations pertaining to ownership and freedom of the mass media, the government still keeps a tight rein over media through numerous legislative measures.

The first private TV station was launched in 1984, after STMB (Sistem Televisyen Malaysia Berhad) was awarded the licence to operate in September, 1983. The decision to have a third TV station (TV3) was taken to meet the increasing needs of the growing metropolis surrounding Kuala Lumpur, the capital city.

The benefit of having such a number of TV stations in a country of 21 million people is the advertising revenue. TV had a 32.4 per cent (US$193.1 million) share of total adspend of US$609 million in 1994 and US$245.2 million share of US$750.15 million in 1995 (The Star, 1996c). Adspend by the year 2000 is predicted to hit US$780 million, with US$295.5 million spent on TV, according to industry forecasts (A&M, 1995a).

Apart from television, other media have seen an increase in their advertising revenue. In 1998, the dominant advertising media were newspapers (58 per cent) and television (32 per cent), together accounting for 90 per cent. Magazine advertising accounted for another five per cent and radio three per cent, while the other media such as point-of-sale, cinema and video accounted for the other two per cent (Table 5.5).

The ownership of the major privately owned media is heavily concentrated. A few media conglomerates own the most widely circulated print media. For example, the New Straits Times Group publications are nationally circulated daily newspapers including the New Straits Times, Malay Mail, Business Times, Shin Min Daily News, Berita Harian and Harian Metro. The group also publishes leading magazines such as Malaysian Business, Malaysian Digest, Jelita and Her World. In addition, it indirectly owns a stake in TV3 through the parent company. The newspaper is the most widely
distributed and used medium, and hence, accounts for the bulk of the total advertising revenue (54 per cent) in 1994. In 1995, there were 37 daily newspapers in Malaysia, in the major languages of Malay, English, Chinese (Mandarin) and Tamil. In addition, there are numerous magazines published in Malaysia, the most popular ones being women's and entertainment magazines. They captured up to six per cent of the total advertising revenue in 1994 (Survey Research Malaysia, 1995).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>US$million</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Newspaper</td>
<td>241.4 (58%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Television</td>
<td>132.7 (32%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Magazine</td>
<td>20.7 (5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Radio</td>
<td>12.7 (3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Other</td>
<td>5 (2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: AC Nielsen Adex, Jan-Sept. (1997)

This broad multimedia scenario gives more choice to the advertising industry in reaching its target markets. This has, at the same time, played an important role in the country's modernisation and industrialisation. The growth of the Malaysian advertising industry could be seen as running hand in hand with the vision of the government to reach industrialised country status by the year 2020.

Most of the media owners benefited with the sudden surge in advertising spending. The Star, the English-language newspaper that dominates the print market, was already saturated with advertising. The Sun newspaper was relaunched as a daily in August, 1994, (previously appearing only five times weekly) and took full advantage of the advertising surge. Meanwhile, the established broadsheet dailies, like Utusan Malaysia and Berita Harian, still dominate the Malay-language segment (Adweek Asia, 1999b).

5.5 The Regulation and Self-Control of Advertising

In their effort to develop and modernise the country, the Malaysian Government has pursued Western-style development policies. This means that the government is more tolerant especially in disseminating information, and especially in the broadcasting
The change of policy dates from when the first private TV station was given permission to operate. However, this drastic change was only apparent at the beginning of 1994, when more private TV station licences were issued and the ban on satellite dishes was lifted. However, the government realised that it had to take a cautious stance towards Western influence, which includes advertising and the media, since, if left unregulated, it might harm Malaysian culture and lifestyle. In fact, Western influence on Malaysian advertising has been an issue since it was raised by the government in 1971. The then Minister of Special Functions and Information, the Honourable Ghazali Shafie, lamented that:

> We note in our newspapers, magazines, radio and on television that the images created have very often little relation to our environment or what we hope to achieve in our society. There is... a certain degree of mindless aping of bourgeois values and styles of the West. I have noticed that certain products are associated through the mass media in this country with lifestyles of the middle and upper classes of the West, and this is being continuously presented to the Malaysian minds as something to model ourselves by. (Anderson, 1984:219)

The Malaysian Government then took steps by setting up regulations for all advertisements broadcast over radio and television. Through the Ministry of Information, the regulations were spelled out in the Advertising Code for Television and Radio. This advertising code has since been revised to keep pace with the current situation and is accepted as guidelines for advertisers in producing all advertisements. The Ministry has been given the power to ensure that all advertisements project Malaysian identity and culture, especially those broadcast by the Ministry-owned radio and television stations, RTM. Today, even with privatised TV and radio stations, cable and satellite TV and radio channels, the Ministry is still the main controller and the Advertising Code has become the standard document of reference in producing advertisements for all media.

In Malaysia, advertising practices are subject to several ethical controls. These controls exist at three levels, first, the government level; second, the advertising industry level and finally, the consumer level, which is represented by Consumer Associations. They act as a ‘watchdog’ for the consumers and are considered to be the strongest critics of advertising in Malaysia.
Chapter Five  The Changing Structure of Malaysian Advertising

Under the existing controls and constraints, any advertisements found to be offensive, deceptive or unsuitable to the Malaysian public, are withdrawn. However, some might slip through because ‘offensive’ or ‘decent’ are very subjective concepts, far more difficult to deal with than legally defined limits.

What is more, since Islam is the national religion in Malaysia, the public is generally very sensitive to any advertisements that might offend the culture or religion. That is why the government banned all products considered forbidden by Islam from being advertised on television and radio although there are no restrictions in the other media. Such products include those made from or related to pigs and alcohol.

5.5.1 Protecting Malaysian Identity and Culture

The Advertising Code for Television and Radio was based on several objectives. One of those objectives is to promote and protect Malaysian culture and identity. The objectives state;

Advertisements must project Malaysian culture, identity, reflect the multiracial character of the population and advocate the philosophy of Rukun Negara.²⁰

What, then, is this Malaysian culture and identity which the State declared it wants to protect? The government did not give any definition in the Code. This presents problems to the advertising practitioner wishing to promote his business. As stated previously, the definition of identity and national culture is problematical. In the case of Malaysia the task is further complicated by historical, multi-ethnic and multi-religious factors.

Both government and advertisers appear to regard the terms ‘culture’ and ‘national

²⁰ Malaysian Ideology or Rukun Negara was introduced after the 13 May, 1969, incident. The adoption of these five principles as pillars of the national philosophy and outlook represents an attempt to base national unity on certain concepts which are universal and acceptable to all citizens, regardless of ethnic origin or religious affiliation. The declaration of the five Principles is formulated as follows: OUR NATION, MALAYSIA is dedicated; TO ACHIEVING a greater unity for all her peoples; TO MAINTAINING a democratic way of life; TO CREATING a just society in which the wealth of the nation shall be equitably distributed; TO ENSURE a liberal approach to her rich and diverse cultural traditions; and TO BUILDING a progressive society which shall be orientated to modern science and technology. The five principles are 1. Belief in God 2. Loyalty to King and Country 3. The Supremacy of the Constitution 4. The Rule of Law 5. Mutual Respect and Good Social Behaviour.
identity' as self-evident. Such lack of definition leaves the advertising and broadcast industries, the government and consumer groups to make their own interpretations. The only common factor is an attitude of 'Western culture as enemy, Malaysian culture as victim'.

In this section, I will attempt to examine Malaysian identity and values and how they relate to the regulations which are aimed at protecting them.

Generally speaking, we can say that Malaysian culture, as promoted by the State, is based on three major ethnic backgrounds and heavily influenced by a variety of religious beliefs. It has a close relationship to 'Malay ideology, power and politics'. Malaysian politics has been controlled by the Malay since the country gained independence. It is, therefore, no coincidence that many of the policies have been based on Malay 'ideology and belief'. The 'ideology' has been clearly outlined in 'Rukun Negara' which is based on the five principles of Belief in God, Loyalty to the King, Upholding the Constitution, the Rule of Law and Good Behaviour and Morality. Malay 'belief' refers to the Islamic practices which are observed in most economic and social activities. Historically, the Malay is known to be protective of his culture and heritage (Maaruf, 1984:112-113) which is instilled in the young through proverbs. For example, 'Biar mati anak, jangan mati adat', ('Let our children die but not our culture') and 'Pantang sekali durhaka pada Raja' ('Never ever betray the King'), which dates back to the feudal period.

Many studies have been conducted on 'Malaysian culture'. One of these was by Clifford Geertz (1960), and focuses on the identity of Malaysian cultural heritage;

a. Etiquette-feeling (politeness) -
   i) the proper form for the proper rank, involving a show of respect especially towards one's elders or superior;
   ii) indirectness as opposed to bluntness;
   iii) dissimulation (concealment of one's real feeling, for example, of negative feelings towards another, especially towards a guest; concealment of one's wishes in reference to one's opposite);
   iv) avoidance of act suggesting disorder or lack of self-control (with order
taken to mean formality of bearing, restraint of expression and bodily self
discipline).

b. Ethical or Moral integrity.

c. Kindness/Good Deeds (considerate, unselfish, unspoilt, giving).

d. Acceptance (brings peace through the acceptance of the inevitable with grace).

e. Sincerity (brings peace through lack of attachment to the external world).

The identity discovered by Geertz is no doubt an accurate reflection of most Malays
in the country during the studied period. However, as time has passed the country has
progressed economically and socially, and more cultural values have emerged. Some
of them could be seen to bring positive benefit and some not.

Due to this, the government has outlined the idealistic Malaysian identity to be
observed by Malaysians, in which the values and identity are consistent with the
national ideology, ‘Rukun Negara’. The purpose of this ‘identity’ is to promote
policies such as ‘New Development Policy’\(^{21}\) and ‘Vision 2020’\(^{22}\). The latest updated
version of the Advertising Code for Television and Radio (Ministry of Information,
1990) conceptually incorporated this vision, which accounts for the ‘desirable’ and
‘undesirable’ identity and values of the government’s guidelines (Table 5.6).

---

\(^{21}\) The objectives of the New Development Policy:
- a. Eradication of hard core poverty while at the same time reducing relative poverty.
- b. Meaningful participation of Malay in the modern sector of economy.
- c. Rely more on the private sector to be involved in restructuring objective by creating greater
  opportunities for its growth.
- d. Focus on human resource development as a fundamental requirement for achieving the objectives of
  growth and distribution (Information Malaysia, 1997:392).

\(^{22}\) The objectives of Vision 2020:
- a. Establishing a united Malaysian nation made up of one Malaysian race.
- b. Creating a psychologically liberated, secure and developed Malaysian society.
- c. Fostering and developing a mature democratic society.
- d. Establishing a fully moral and ethical society.
- e. Establishing a scientific and progressive society.
- f. Establishing a fully caring society.
- g. Ensuring an economically just society.
- h. Establishing a prosperous society with an economy that is fully competitive, dynamic, robust and
  resilient (Wing, 1995:40-41).
Table 5.6
Malaysian Values and Identity

| Malaysian Values and Identity | Undesirable Values and Identity |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------
| National interest            | Ethnic interest                 |
| Moderation                   | Extremism                       |
| Tolerance                    | Intolerance                     |
| Mutual Respect               | Prejudice                       |
| National pride/Loyalty       | Loyalty to other Nation         |
| Hardwork                     | Idleness                        |
| Perseverance                 | Defeatism                       |
| Thrift                       | Extravagance                    |
| Discipline                   | Disorderly                      |
| Delayed gratification        | Instant Gratification           |
| Enterprising                 | Non-activity                    |
| Co-operation                 | Self sufficiency                |
| Excellence                   | Mediocrity                      |
| Environmental degradation    | Environmental Protection        |
| Respect (deference)          | Impertinence/Discourteous/Curt |
| Indirection                  | Bluntness                       |
| Dissimulation                | Brutal Honesty                  |
| Ordered/Self Control         | Unruly                          |
| Ethical/Moral                | Unethical                       |
| Kindness/Good Deeds          | Selfish/Inconsiderate           |
| Patience                     | Impatience/Rashness             |
| Acceptance                   | Complaining                     |
| Sincerity                    | Ulterior Motive                 |

Source: Department of Prime Minister (1984: 27-29).

The table created by the state represents the Malaysian multi-ethnic identity, which is to act as a base to build a unified, just and progressive society. Malaysians are required to champion national interest rather than the interest of any individual ethnic group. At the same time they are to give priority to practices that are commonly accepted for group integration, such as greater tolerance, moderation, and greater understanding of the sensitivities of various religious and ethnic groups, as the government sees extremism in any form as a threat to the livelihood and security of future generations.

These descriptions of identity and value were also created for an economic reason. The inculcation of positive attitudes and work ethic contributes to raising productivity levels and accelerating economic growth. Such values as perseverance and hard work will be helpful in raising capital investment and improving skills and expertise in
managing the nation’s wealth. While thrift, discipline, striving for excellence, a more rational and scientific approach to overcoming problems and delayed gratification to encourage savings and investment, will also assist in raising productivity. Individual enterprise and self-reliance are also desirable attitudes which need to be inculcated to discourage the population from relying indefinitely on the government for subsidies and protection.

Apart from unifying the nation-state and economy, a balance between the material and spiritual aspects of development is also sought. Many aspects of the Islamic value system that are not in conflict with the value systems of other faiths were used. Thus, values and identity found in Islam, especially those which emphasise the acceleration of economic development, receptiveness and readiness to utilise advancement in knowledge, especially scientific knowledge, and the tolerance of diversity in religious practices, will have to be harnessed for the good of the nation.

A concern for the quality of the environment is also sought as part of the system of values among all Malaysians. In seeking progress, the quality of the environment must not be allowed to deteriorate. Malaysians therefore must be concerned with the cleanliness and beauty of their surroundings whether in factory shop-floors, offices or places of public recreation.

5.5.2 The Advertising Code As Moral Authority

Many of the ideas involved in the formulation of the Malaysian identity as described above have been used to formulate the objectives of the Advertising Code, given below.

a. Advertisements must be legal, decent, honest, sensible, truthful and in line with national policies.
b. Advertisements must help promote and develop local industries and services.
c. Advertisements must project the Malaysian culture, identity, reflect the multi-racial character of the population and advocate ‘Rukun Negara’.
d. Advertisements must project a better quality of life for all Malaysians, inject civic mindedness and desired behavioural attitudes in life, such as queuing up when boarding a bus etc. and keeping public places clean.
e. Advertisements must not project and promote an excessively aspirational lifestyle.

(Ministry of Information, 1990).
The Advertising Code was formulated by the Ministry of Information, as the main government organisation with the power to regulate and control the advertising industry in Malaysia. It also serves as the ‘moral authority’ on identity and the protection of culture. The code provides guidelines for all advertising agencies and advertisers in producing their advertisements, particularly on television and radio.

Advertisements which depict ways of life that are against or totally different from the ways of life followed by Malaysian society are disallowed. In other words, advertisements that project Western lifestyles are not allowed. Generally, all advertisements are required to adopt the principle of ‘Rukun Negara’, which is mentioned in the code (Ministry of Information, 1990).

The influences of negative foreign cultural values are another main factor that encourages the government to take control of the advertising industry. Therefore, the Advertising Code is also designed to safeguard advertising and the consumers against such influences. This is clearly stated in the Code, which prohibits the ‘adaptation or projection of foreign culture, which is not acceptable to a cross section of the major communities of Malaysian society either in the form of words, slogans, clothing, activity or behaviour’. For example, some specific elements of foreign culture that are contrary to Malaysian values and are prohibited by the Advertising Code include disco scenes, clothing imprinted with words or symbols conveying undesirable messages or impressions, scenes of an amorous, intimate or suggestive nature and kissing between adults.

In addition, any advertisements that portray the icons of Western culture, such as jeans, were prohibited, particularly on television and radio. However, in recent years, advertisements of denim jeans, except blue jeans, have been allowed by the government, provided they were presented as clean and neat. Blue denim jeans have been associated with the hippie culture of the past and are therefore banned by the government. It was only in 1994 that the government finally lifted the ban on blue denim jeans advertisements (Ministry of Information, 1994).

The Ministry of Information has also included ‘cultural sensitivity’ in the Advertising
Chapter Five  The Changing Structure of Malaysian Advertising

The Advertising Code. The Code says that all advertisements must promote unity within society. It prohibits any scene that ‘contains statements or suggestions which may offend the religious, racial, political or sentimental susceptibilities of any section of the community’ (Ministry of Information, 1990:6). For example, items like pork and any pork products, liquor and alcoholic beverages that are forbidden in Islam and offensive to Muslims, are not permitted. This is deemed to be vital in achieving racial and national harmony in a multiracial country such as Malaysia.

The other guidelines in the code specify details that require all advertisements to be ‘legal, decent, honest and truthful’. In addition, provocative scenes that show naked or scantily clad models are not allowed. Women’s costumes must not be ‘too revealing or suggestive’ (Ministry of Information, 1990:7). These rules primarily conform to the Islamic value covering the aurat (private parts of body) for women and to Islam’s prohibition of using women as sex symbols. There are also sections of the code that protect children and women against exploitation, the use of professionals in the advertisement, such as doctors, lawyers etc., medicines and pesticides. Further, all advertisements for medicines, pesticides and their related products are required to gain approval from the Ministry of Health. In general, the Advertising Code includes specific regulations concerning technical requirements of the production of broadcast advertisements and general principles relating to the specific content of advertisements, such as issues of good taste and subliminal advertising.

As the advertising industry grows, so do new technology and knowledge in producing the advertisements. There are certain areas in the Advertising Code that are vague and that produce many complaints from the advertisers and the public. In response, the Ministry of Information has made some changes to the existing advertising code. They include forbidding certain advertisements such as those that highlight western values and project and promote aspirations of lifestyles (such as lavish and extravagant lifestyles), as well as advertisements on sanitary towels.

In 1982, the government banned cigarette advertisements on television and radio. However, the new code did not ban the advertising of non-tobacco products like belts, camping gear, perfumes, shirts and holidays that carry cigarette brand names and
logos. In fact, cigarette logo advertisers account for more than 30 per cent of the total advertising expenditure since tobacco advertisements were banned. Presently, there is an increasing number of young Malaysians who smoke. Therefore, the government is now seriously considering a total direct and indirect ban on cigarette advertising in all media (Salam, 1992: 6).

The Advertising Code also requires advertisements to promote ‘social responsibility’ by ‘injecting civic mindedness and desired behavioural attitudes in life,’ such as keeping public places clean. Another requirement is that besides the commercial messages, all advertisements ‘must convey a second message such as messages calculated to bring about discipline (positive driving ethic, queuing for buses), cleanliness (maintain cleanliness at home and at work), healthy living (involvement in sporting activities) or industrious attitudes (sense of entrepreneurship).’

5.5.3 Public Complaints
Numerous complaints are made by the public and by market competitors. The complaints vary, and are normally associated with religious offence (usually against Islam) sexual offence and deception. The complaints are mostly made about TV and newspaper advertisements but occasionally about those on radio. In 1998, there were 68 complaints forwarded to the three bodies, the Ministry of Information, ASAM and FOMCA (Federation of Malaysia Consumer Association) (4A News, 1999). Some complaints from past years are given below;

1. Religious Sensitivities - a Seiko watch advertisement is one example of the many that have been withdrawn because of religious sensitivities. ‘Man Invented Time, Seiko Perfected It’ is the theme that ran in a world-wide campaign in 1986. An Islamic scholar complained that the commercial should be withdrawn as the theme was against religious belief because God, not Man, invented time. After receiving the complaint, the Ministry of Information complied. They informed the agency concerned to change the advertisement’s theme. After a lengthy discussion between the agency and its client, the theme was changed to ‘Man Invented Timekeeping, Seiko Perfected It’ which was accepted (Frith, 1987:100-104).
Another example was the complaint against Kentucky Fried Chicken, or KFC. In the advertisement in question the authenticity of ‘halal’ chicken was questioned. The company was told that it could not advertise its product on Malaysian television until the accusation was removed. ‘Halal’ refers to the Muslim dietary restrictions whereby chicken and other food animals must be slaughtered in an Islamic way. Later, after all the necessary actions had been taken, KFC was allowed to advertise its products on television.

Another advertisement that was withdrawn was the Sony TV advertisement. Sony made a claim that man originated from the apes in agreement with the Darwinian Theory. This caused anger amongst the Moslems, who believe that human beings come from Adam and Eve. The advertisement was immediately withdrawn (4A News, 1995).

2. Sexual Offence - Advertising practitioners also have to contend with the social and cultural sensitivities of Malaysians. For example, an ‘Aristocrat’ mattress advertisement had a connotative headline and suggestive visuals showing a seductive lady sitting on the mattress. The headline said, ‘I’ve slept with them all. But only Aristocrat is worthy of my body’. After a complaint from the public, the advertisement was withdrawn from all media. Another advertisement that was withdrawn was a radio advertisement for an Ericsson cellular telephone (The Star, 1992:8). In the advertisement, a lady with a sexy voice telephoned a man who was alone in an apartment. In the conversation, the lady appeared to be offering herself to the man. This advertisement was claimed to be offensive because it contained sexual connotations and was, therefore, contravening the advertising code.

3. Deception - Complaints of deception usually concern claims made about some of the products. For example, a press advertisement for Dumex Full Cream Milk Powder stated that it was ‘reinforced with Taurine’ and that Taurine ‘is a proven catalyst for intellectual development’ and ‘Taurine which is very good for my brains so I can grow up smart’. The complainant said that there was no hard evidence to support such a claim. The complaint was upheld as the scientific articles submitted by the agency and the advertiser did not conclusively prove the claims and the authority requested that the advertisement be withdrawn (4A News, 1997).
Similar objections were made about Dumex I-Plus TV advertisements, which stated the product makes children ‘Fitter and more intelligent/smarter’. This complaint was not upheld, the committee deciding that the advertisement did not contravene the Code of Advertising Practice. However, the committee advised the agency to replace the words ‘intelligent’ and ‘smarter’ to ‘brighter’ (ibid.).

5.6 The Production of Television Advertisements

An advertiser who wishes to broadcast a television or radio advertisement on any Malaysian network must follow the regulations set by the Malaysian Ministry of Information. They must first submit the script and the storyboard for approval to the Advertising Division of the Ministry of Information at RTM (Radio Television Malaysia). Once the Advertising Division has reviewed these, they will be returned to the advertiser or the advertising agency concerned. If any comment or change is required to the script or storyboard, the client and the advertising agency must agree and conform and resubmit the script and storyboard before they can receive a ‘Station Approval’ from RTM. Only then can the agency move to the production stage (Fig. 5.8). All advertisements to be broadcast in Malaysia must follow certain requirements made by the Ministry of Information, that have an impact on the production process. For example, the advertisement must be shot in Malaysia, the footage and music must be produced locally and actors used in the advertisement must be Malaysian. This means that all the people involved in the production of the advertisement must be Malaysians, including actors and actresses, technical people, voices or music. However, hiring foreign experts to produce local advertisements is allowed provided that no Malaysian could perform the job. These are known as Made-In-Malaysia (MIM) requirements.

The MIM requirements have been imposed by the Ministry since early 1979 and are an effort to reduce the use of elements of foreign culture in Malaysian advertising. All advertisements destined for television and radio must be locally produced. This constraint includes locations and personnel, including writers, art directors, composers and actors. The MIM Certificate issued by the Censorship Board at
FINAS (Filem Negara) has to be submitted before the advertisement can be broadcast. The MIM requirements also help and protect the local production houses.

Concerning the location, however, there are certain cases where the Ministry will allow shots outside Malaysia. This occurs only under special circumstances, with prior approval given by the Ministry and it must not exceed more than 20 per cent of the whole advertisement footage. For example, a television advertisement for Salem High Country featured a snow-covered mountain top filmed in a foreign country. The Ministry approved this footage because there are no snow covered mountains in Malaysia, but only 20 per cent of the advertisement could contain this foreign-shot footage (Frith, 1987:100-104).

The advertiser must also conform to regulations appertaining to language used in advertisements. For example, if the advertiser wants to broadcast his advertisement on the government-run TV1, the advertisement must be produced in the Malay language. It has been estimated that almost two-thirds of all television advertisements are now produced in Malay. Whereas TV2, also government-run, accepts advertisements in other languages, usually English and Chinese, but requires that they carry 'supers' in the Malay language.

The situation is different with TV3, ASTRO and other private networks, which accept advertisements in any language. If the language used in the commercial has to be English, then it must be 'Malaysian English' and not 'British or American English' (Ministry of Information, 1994).

In addition, all television advertisements must end with a 'super title' that explains the benefits of the product in the Malay language. Once the advertisement has been shot, copies of the checkprints and the soundtrack must be submitted to the Filem Negara Censorship Board (FINAS). The checkprints must be accompanied with a MIM declaration form. After being reviewed by the Censorship Board, a Censor's Certificate will be issued for the particular checkprint that has been approved. Prior to that the advertiser must pay a fee for this certificate based on the length of the

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23 Supers are titles, slogans, taglines or signatures that appear at the beginning or in the last frame of the TV advertisement.
commercial and the amount of time the advertisement will run in the media. The checkprint with the approval and the Censor’s Certificate will then be sent to RTM for final approval. It is important to note that even at this stage the Ministry has the right to reject or re-edit any advertising material without prior reference to the advertisers or their agency.
Fig. 5.8
Television Advertisement Approval Process

1. Ad agency conceives TV commercial for client
2. Ad agency submits scripts and storyboard to Ministry of Information at RTM
   - RTM reviews scripts and storyboard
   - RTM recommends changes to be done
   - Agency modifies script and storyboard
3. RTM issues a Station Approval
4. Approved script and storyboard produced by agency
   - Checkprint submitted to Censorship Board at Filem Negara must be accompanied by a Made-in-Malaysia (MIM) Declaration Form
   - Checkprint approved by Filem Negara
   - Checkprint rejected
     - Changes requested
     - Agency makes changes
5. Censor’s Certificate issued by Filem Negara
   - Fees paid by agency
6. Commercial submitted to RTM for final approval and distribution
   - TV1
   - TV2
   - TV3
   - Others

Source: Ministry of Information, 1997
5.7 ASAM: The Advertising Standards Authority of Malaysia

The 'Advertising Code' set by the government does not constitute the only guidelines created to regulate and control the advertising industry. Another body, ASAM or Advertising Standard Authority of Malaysia, was formed in 1974, comprising representatives from the advertising agencies, advertisers and Malaysian newspaper and magazine publishers. Established by the Association of Accredited Advertising Agencies (4A's), the Malaysian Advertisers Association (MAA) and the Malaysian Newspaper Publishers' Association (MNPA), it acts as a voluntary self-regulatory body to oversee and to investigate complaints lodged regarding all advertisements.

In 1977, ASAM launched an advertising code, known as the Malaysian Code of Advertising Practice (MCAP), which serves as a self-regulation guideline for the industry. At that time, MCAP was also contributed to by the consumer associations. However, in 1978, representatives from the Federation of Malaysian Consumer Associations, or FOMCA, withdrew its membership due to disagreements over the term 'offending advertisement'. Nevertheless, the MCAP is a comprehensive document which, among other things, states that the 'advertiser should not exploit consumers' lack of knowledge and expertise', 'advertisements shall not unfairly attack or discredit other products, advertisers or advertisements directly or by implication' (ASAM, 1977).

MACP stated that:

Advertisements must project the Malaysian culture and identity; reflect the multi-racial character of the population and advocate the philosophy of 'Rukun Negara' (the national ideology) which reads as follows: Belief in God; Loyalty to the King and country; Upholding the Constitution; Rule of Law; Good behaviour and morality.

(ASAM, 1977:1)

ASAM works closely with government departments. Their committee meets monthly to deal with complaints on advertisements that contravene the code. ASAM receives complaints mostly from within the industry, consumer movements and the public. After a complaint is filed, ASAM will attempt to rectify the situation. If after an investigation the complaints are found to be valid, they will ask the advertiser and the
agency to modify the advertisement. When a compromise cannot be reached, the advertiser is then asked to withdraw the advertisement from the media. It is said that out of an average of about fifty complaints received every year, only 10 to 15 per cent of the advertisements are withdrawn while some are either amended or allowed to appear in the media due to unsubstantiated complaints.

An example of an advertisement withdrawn after receiving an instruction from ASAM was a print advertisement for the Dunlop all natural latex mattress. The print advertisements featured a picture of Dunlopillo and a competitor’s brand with a headline claiming ‘it is a better buy’. This advertisement was found to have breached Section 6(1) of the Advertising code: ‘advertisements shall not unfairly attack or discredit other products, advertisers or advertisements directly or by implication.’

5.8 The Consumer Groups

In Malaysia, the consumer movement started with the formation of the Selangor Consumer Association in 1965. It was established to protect consumer’s rights. A few years later, the Consumer Association of Penang (CAP) was formed with the same purpose, followed by other state associations.

In 1971, the Federation of Malaysian Consumer Associations, or FOMCA was established, sponsored by the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Consumer Affairs, consisting of separate state associations. Presently, the only state association which is not affiliated to FOMCA is CAP, which is the most active in registering complaints against advertising.

The consumer movement is particularly concerned about several areas in advertising. One of these, which receives a lot of criticism from the consumer movements, is the portrayal of women. Women in advertisements have been portrayed particularly as unintelligent and passive and have been used to project a sexual image. They have been shown wearing sexy clothes, which is against Malaysian culture.

Another area which the consumer movements are very concerned about is the
exploitation of children in advertisements. Children were reported to have been used to increase sales and to persuade parents to buy certain products (Consumer Association of Penang, 1991). This was proven a few years ago when an advertisement for snack foods (‘Dendang Chocolate’, using a similar concept to that of ‘Kinder Surprise’) offered a gift or a premium to attract children and was withdrawn from television due to pressure from the CAP.

Malaysian consumers also pay attention to truthfulness in advertisements and always criticise the advertisers over this issue. Consumer associations claim that, despite agreement by advertisers that advertisements should be responsible, they continue to mislead. For example, detergent advertisements that promise to get housewives’ clothes ‘whiter than new’ have received severe criticisms. The consumer movement claims that such advertising misleads the consumer because it does not qualify what is meant by ‘whiter than new’ (Berita Pengguna, 1995). Such vague comparisons purposely mislead consumers.

The Consumer Association of Penang agreed with FOMCA that most advertisements, besides misleading the consumers, are exploitative and untruthful. To them, the advertisements use tactics involving subtle messages that the consumer is not aware of, such as:

1. Exaggeration of the qualities of the advertised product;
2. Attaching glamour and prestige to the product;
3. Using attractive female models to appeal to male consumers and vice versa;
4. Creating an artificial need for the advertised product by exploiting consumers’ emotions and insecurities.

(Consumer Association of Penang, 1991)

Advertisers are not the only party that receive criticisms from the consumer movements. They also consider that the government’s role in enforcing advertising rules and regulations set by the Ministry of Information is not taken seriously. For instance, they argue that although tobacco and alcohol advertisements are not permitted on television, advertisements using their brandnames and logos to sponsor events such as football, prestigious items and leisure holidays, are rampant in the Malaysian media.
Generally, FOMCA and CAP are the two consumer associations that are most active in consumer issues and outspoken about the advertising industry. For example, in 1982, CAP organised an anti-smoking campaign and opposed cigarette advertising and promotions in Malaysia. Due to this pressure, the government banned direct advertising and promotion on television and radio. In 1993, under similar pressure, but this time from the tobacco industry, the government once again changed the laws regulating cigarette advertising so that indirect cigarette brand name advertising is allowed (Ministry of Information, 1994).

As a self-regulating body, ASAM also suffered criticism from the consumer associations. They say that ASAM is inefficient in taking action. They claim that many advertisements do not follow the Advertising Code and ASAM have done little about it. The movements also charge ASAM with acting in defense of advertisers as it represents the people from the industry itself. Today, we can say that the consumer movements in Malaysia are very active and effective in monitoring fraudulent advertisements.

5.9 Concluding Remarks

The increase of globalised activities in the advertising industry makes the public aware of the necessity for strong regulation and control. This creates a debate between the industry and the consumer groups. Advertising practitioners feel that creativity is restricted by the stringent Malaysian regulations. On the other hand, the consumer movements feel that there is still a lack of control, as the regulations are not properly implemented.

According to the people in the industry, there is enough control over advertising to monitor any misleading, offensive or unsuitable message to the Malaysian public. They claim that the Ministry of Information’s advertising code and ASAM’s own Code of Advertising Practice are sufficient for the industry to conform. However, like any regulation or code, there are loopholes which lead to confusion and manipulation by advertising practitioners. It is these loopholes which explain the occasional ‘inaccuracies’ found in Malaysian advertisements today.
There is more freedom for advertisers in Malaysia to advertise in the available media than in other ‘ASEAN’ (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) countries. In Thailand, for example, advertisements on television are allowed only at certain times. Whereas in Indonesia, television advertisements have only been allowed since 1989, after privatisation of the TV stations.

Maybe because of this, the advertising industry in Malaysia seems to be growing faster than other ‘ASEAN’ countries like Thailand or Indonesia. Malaysia’s advertising codes and regulations might become a useful model for other countries concerned about protecting their native culture and values. On the whole, the government has been quite successful in making advertising practice comply with the needs of the country.

In general, most of the advertising practitioners in Malaysia seem to understand their commitment to society. They also agree that a truthful message in advertisements is important for their businesses to survive. Many self-regulation mechanisms are considered before completing the advertising work, due to the multiracial sensitivities and religious practices in Malaysia. Despite all the controls and constraints, creativity in advertisements still excels, which is proved as more and more Malaysian advertisements win international awards. A clear indication that regulations imposed on Malaysian advertising does not necessarily inhibit the creativity of the industry.

We have seen that the Malaysian advertising industry has grown over the years, globalisation contributing to its present multi-million dollar turnover. This in a nation-state acutely sensitive to any influence on its identity and culture. Many sectors of society (including government, advertiser and consumer associations) have publicly involved themselves with this concern. There is a general attitude which sees Western influence as harmful and Malaysian culture as a victim. This view is politicised, as is evident in government enforced regulation and in advertising self-regulation. However, there appears to be no clear idea of what Malaysian culture or identity actually are and, therefore, there is uncertainty as to what should be promoted and what should be protected. The regulations provide only blurred guidelines on this issue, while the parties involved stress that they are protecting Malaysian culture. It
could be that they wish to demonstrate their fulfilment of social responsibility. Whatever their motives, they are related to economics, power and ideology.
Chapter Six Methodology

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a methodological outline of the research. The data was obtained by content analysis, semiology, audience research and in-depth interviews with advertising practitioners, the government, media and opinion leaders.

The chapter begins with a discussion on the definition of ‘Western Advertising’ adopted in this research and then moves to a discussion of methods used, explaining why particular methods were chosen. This includes their advantages and disadvantages. This is followed by a discussion of the sampling plan and the method of data gathering.

6.2 The Definition of Western Advertising

For the purposes of this thesis, all the advertisements that appeared on Malaysian television within a specified time period were examined. While constructing the research framework, I encountered several difficulties in obtaining the right sample with the appropriate terminology. This is because there are two types of sample which could be used to study the impact of Western advertising. The first type could be classified as ‘TNAA Advertisements’ and second as ‘Western Product Advertisements’. In order to ensure success in studying the phenomenon of the impact of Western advertising on Malaysian culture without leaving any possible loopholes, both types of sample were used.

In an attempt to define ‘Western Advertising’, the criteria proposed by Anderson (1984:75) for achieving advertising autonomy in Periphery nations seem to serve as
useful guidelines. Below are two major criteria which the TNAs and TNAAs must meet in order to qualify as autonomous:

a. A majority of the ownership is in the hands of the citizens of the Western nations.
b. The administrative and creative decision-making processes are in the hands of the managers, who are citizens of the Western nations.

Thus, in keeping with these general guidelines, advertisements are considered as TNAA produced if they are created by:

a. A branch of the parent agency which is located in a Western country. The overseas office is a local office or subsidiary of the parent organisation. The branch may have been started from scratch or it may have been an existing agency that the parent organisation took over.
b. An affiliate, in which the parent agency in a Western country has substantial, but not one hundred percent, control. The parent agency in the Western country might have majority or minority interest in a ‘joint venture’ with indigenous interests. In any case, advertisements from this type of ‘mixed’ agency are classified as ‘locally-produced’ since there is a high probability that the administrative and the creative decision making processes may not be totally in the hands of managers who are citizens of the Western country.

6.3 The Research Methodologies

As mentioned in the first chapter, the aim of this thesis is to examine and to explore how TV Advertisements of Western Products play a part in shaping Malaysian social life and cultural values. This is approached by examining the contents of advertisements and their impact on the society in Malaysia. The methods used in this examination were content analysis, semiology and exploratory interviews (Bryman and Burgess, 1994), which were found to best fulfil the objectives.

Content analysis and semiology each offer a unique approach. The former is systematic and concerned with the manifest content of messages and can be expressed
quantitatively. The latter is interpretative, examining the construction of meaning at different levels within a communicative act. More details of the semiological approach are given in the next section.

In order to investigate the role of government and the advertising industry in the impact on Malaysian culture two types of interviews were used. 'Group interviews' were employed for the audience research and 'personal/in-depth' interviews were conducted with the advertising practitioners.

6.3.1 Content Analysis
Krippendorf (1980:21) defined content analysis as a 'research technique for making replicable and valid references from data to their context'. Also, 'content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication' (Berelson 1952:15; Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1990:218), and more specifically suitable for the study of advertising messages (Leiss, Kline and Jhally 1990:198).

Objective description implies that there should be an acceptable level of agreement among different analysts on how to interpret the material in question. This means that different researchers working with the same data should arrive independently at the same descriptive classifications. It refers not only to the interpretation but also to the control of observations. Content analysis is also systematic, where the same set of criteria should be applied to all data under examination to give a consistent interpretation. Another advantage of content analysis in studying the effect of media is that the descriptive categories employed can also be tied to specific quantitative procedures, which permit a degree of precision in measurement (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1990:219).

The requirement of objectivity stipulates that only those symbols and combinations of symbols actually appearing in the message be recorded. In other words, during the coding stage of research, the stage at which specified words, themes and the like are located in the text and placed into categories, only those items which actually appear in the document should be recorded. (Holsti 1969; Leiss, Kline and Jhally 1990: 219).
Finally, the advantage of using content analysis to study advertisements is its ability to supply objective answers to research questions, for instance, 'What are the cultural contents of TV advertising in Malaysia?' In this context, the term 'objective' implies no more than satisfactory intercoder reliability. In addition, it also permits the treatment of qualitative data in quantitative terms, thus helping to ground the analysis of images and words in something more than individual and impressionistic interpretation.

The disadvantage of adopting content analysis is that one can say nothing about the audience's interpretation of the message since the analysis has no theory of signification (Sumner 1979:69). According to him, content analysis does not pose questions about the meaning of items within a message because the repetitions it detects have no understandable context: 'The absence of a theory of signs, signification and significance render content analysis absurd because its key concept is left unsupported and that concept gives it no knowledge of its avowed object, the content!' (ibid.).

In view of this, I adopt the semiological approach to support the evidence from the content analysis and to clarify details that content analysis leaves untouched.

6.3.2 Semiology
Serniology was first introduced by Ferdinand De Saussure, who described it as 'the science of signs' (Manning and Swan, 1994:466). As Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1990) said, 'Serniology' can be used to study many kinds of social phenomena, including advertising, in which most of the meaning is made from signs (it could be from simple text, visual, movement etc.). Today, many researchers include semiology in the study of advertising content in addition to content analysis. One of the best semiological analyses was conducted by Judith Williamson (1978) in her book 'Decoding Advertisements' which examined the sign and representation of images in print advertisements.

The advantage of using semiology in studying content and meaning in advertisements is that it can do a better job on a single advertisement because it is explicitly concerned with the 'movement' of meaning within the text and between the text and
the outside world (Manning and Swan, 1994:466). In other words, semiology can encourage a reconsideration of the relationship between advertising and reality. Semiology also has the ability to uncover assumptions underlying the interpretative codes buried in advertisements. For example, advertising generally works by appeal to 'referent systems', it generates meaning through a process of connotation as well as denotation. Every message contains two levels of meaning: what it says explicitly on the surface and what it says implicitly beneath (Tanaka, 1994). This cannot be revealed by 'content analysis' alone (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1990:198-214).

However, semiology is heavily dependent upon the skill of the individual analyst. As a result, in this type of study there is little opportunity to establish consistency or reliability. Also, since the semiological approach stresses individual readings of messages, it does not lend itself to quantification of results; it is impossible to base an overall sense of constructed meanings on the examination of a large number of messages (ibid.).

In summary, then, both content analysis and semiology have their unique advantages and disadvantages. However, the combination of both approaches serves to overcome problems, the former dealing with those of reliability and sample size, the latter with identification of underlying meaning. It is on this basis that I have incorporated both methods.

6.3.3 Interviews
'Exploratory interviews' were conducted within the individual and group interviews for 'Audience Research'. To fulfil this purpose, two different types of respondents were chosen. The first type were individuals from the advertising fraternity and the second type were families and households. The main purpose of having two different types of respondents is to compare views and seek evidence on the impact of cultural values of Western product advertising on Malaysian audiences. The reason I adopted exploratory interviews was to develop ideas and to understand how ordinary people think and feel about the topics of concern to the research (Oppenheim, 1992:67).

As noted earlier, one of my research objectives is 'to provide a preliminary analysis of the impact of imported advertising on family lifestyles and values in Malaysia'. This
project is also designed to look at the audience’s opinion and level of acceptance of Western culture. The discussion will begin with their interpretation of the messages disseminated through the TV Advertisements, followed by the discussion focused on Western culture and its influence on lifestyles and attitudes amongst the respondents.

Interviews were used to establish audience opinion because, according to Fontana and Frey (1994:361) ‘interviewing is a paramount part of sociology, because interviewing is interaction and sociology is the study of interaction’. In other words, interviewing is one of the most common and most powerful ways we use to try to understand human beings (Fontana & Frey, 1994:361). What is more, interviewing has a wide variety of norms and multiplicity of usage. The most common type of interviewing is individual face-to-face or face-to-face group interviewing and telephone surveys (Hakim, 1988). There are also three basic types of interviews; structured, semi-structured and unstructured.

In the structured interviews, standard questions are put in a predetermined order, which permits relatively little freedom to the interviewer. In an unstructured interview the questions are broad, allowing considerable freedom to the interviewer to determine additional questions and to change the order to obtain maximum information. The semi-structured form is a combination of the two previous types.

In my research, structured and semi-structured questions were included in the questionnaires given to both types of respondents. The structured questions were created to gather factual information such as on the institutions, while semi-structured ones were used to gather the respondents’ views on a particular subject.

a. Personal Interviews
As mentioned earlier, I have adopted personal and group interviews in my research. The individual or personal interview generally involves the interviewer in visiting the respondent at his or her home or place of work. The advantage of this technique is that it is the most flexible means of obtaining information since the face-to-face situation lends itself easily to questioning in greater depth. Furthermore, the interviewer can gain additional information by observation during the interview without adding more questions. What is more, the interviewer can develop a rapport
with the respondent and may be able to elicit replies to sensitive questions that would remain unanswered with other approaches.

The single largest drawback to the personal interview technique is cost. The transportation and labour costs involved generally make this the most expensive of all data collection methods. Another disadvantage is that it is difficult to interview the right person at the right time. For this research most of them hold senior positions in their organisations and therefore have tight daily schedules. To overcome this obstacle, official letters were sent early and followed up by telephone calls. The only substantial difficulty occurred over the interviews with personnel from the Ministry and the government’s TV stations. However, I overcame the problem with persistence and strict adherence to the above procedure.

b. Group Interviews

Advertisers and market researchers normally adopt the group interview as it helps to understand the consumer’s attitudes and behaviour. As audience research is always being associated with marketing research, the group interview is frequently used. It is not surprising, therefore, that the group interview is very popular especially to those who are interested in gathering more information about the audiences.

The group interview involved a systematic question being asked to several individuals simultaneously in a formal or informal setting. The ‘focus group’ technique made it possible to gather consumer opinions on product characteristics, advertising themes, and preferences where they related to the nature of my study (Fontana & Frey, 1994:364). It is essentially a qualitative data gathering technique that allows the interviewer to direct the interaction in a very structured or unstructured manner, depending on his/her purpose.

Group interviews actually involve a process of interviewing two or more people simultaneously, with an interviewer leading the respondents in a relatively free discussion about the topic under consideration. The group interview can also be used independently to collect purely quantitative/qualitative data or in conjunction with other data collection methods (Wimmer and Dominick 1983:100) such as content analysis, which can also strengthen the reliability of data collection.
One of my reasons for using the group interview in conducting audience research was not to replace the individual interview, but to give another level of data gathering or another perspective on the research problem, which would not have been available through individual interviews alone (Fontana & Frey, 1994;364).

The interviews I conducted were all recorded on tapes. According to Oppenheim (1992), it is essential for the exploratory interviews to be recorded on tapes, as in this way the interview can be analysed in detail. Another benefit is that the interview tapes will produce a rich store of attitudinal and perceptual expressions, on which questions and attitude items can be based (ibid.).

6.4 Research Outline and Data Collection

My initial fieldwork was conducted between June 15 and August 29, 1996, in Malaysia. During this two month period, I managed to collect a substantial amount of material from the newspapers. For thirty days, I also recorded TV advertisements from three different TV stations during the prime time - 7pm to 10pm.

June 15 to September 15, 1997, was my second fieldwork period. During that time, I conducted 15 interviews with various advertising practitioners and decision-makers (see Appendix 1) in addition to 50 public audience (households) interviews (see Appendix 3).

6.4.1 The Content Analysis Study

This section shows how data were collected, coded, and analysed from newspaper and TV advertisements in Malaysia. In terms of coding instrument (TV advertisement), the unit of analysis was based on each complete television advertisement. Any duplicate advertisements were excluded from the sample in order to eliminate any redundancies, which may have skewed the results (Resnik and Stern, 1977; Cheng and Schweitzer, 1996).

Newspaper Advertisement

Newspaper advertisements were included in this study to provide a historical
background for the trend of Western advertising in Malaysia. The samples were gathered from three major national newspapers for the 10 years from 1986-1995. These newspapers, Berita Harian, Utusan Malaysia and The Star, were selected according to circulation performance in 1995.

Due to the sheer mass of samples available from the 10 year period for the three newspapers, it was decided to select only those advertisements appearing during one month in each year for each newspaper. Thus, 15,309 advertisements were coded and analysed from 900 newspaper editions (3 newspapers x 30 days x 10 years).

The samples were systematically selected. For example, for the year 1986, newspapers published in January were used and 1987, February and so on. However, the process did not always run smoothly. For some months the pre-determined samples were apparently missing (missing microfilms) or incomplete (less than 30 days were recorded) and it was thus necessary to select the following month.

As the objective of including newspapers was ‘to provide the historical background’ and not the content, only two categories were selected; ‘product origin’ and ‘product category’. Here, the product origin was determined from ownership and the country where the headquarters were based. This compilation of ownership and headquarters was obtained from sources such as the manufacturer, advertising agency, periodicals and from the packaging.

It is appropriate to explain here why ten years of television advertising was not utilised in establishing a historical background. In fact no television station or archive in Malaysia has ever recorded daily broadcasting for a long period (except for specific programmes) or maintained any record of advertisements broadcast for the past year. In addition, newspapers are considered as representative for historical purposes as they remain the major medium for the advertiser.

Television Advertisements
All TV advertisement samples were gathered from the output of three TV stations, TV1 (government owned), TV2 (government owned) and TV3 (privately owned). The three channels were selected for their capability to broadcast nation-wide. The
samples were recorded during the prime time (7pm-10pm) for a period from 1 July to 30 July, 1996. Fifteen days were selected on a random basis. The samples in this content analysis came from various advertising categories. The number of hours study was 3 hours x 15 days x 3 channels = 135 hours.

Within that period, a total of 1,977 advertisements were collected and from that total, 307 different advertisements were identified. This is due to the same TV advertisements being repeatedly shown. Therefore in this study, a total of 307 different advertisements were used and have been analysed.

The findings of this content analysis were classified into three categories, which are examined in Chapter Eight. The categories were:
1. The general contents of TV advertisements in Malaysia
2. The cultural Westernisation in TV advertisements in Malaysia.
3. The dominant cultural values manifested in the TV advertisements in Malaysia.

For the purpose of coding and tabulation, the cultural indicator was set in order to determine and measure the content of television advertising in Malaysia. This cultural indicator was converted into the coding book for analysing the content of the TV advertisements. It was adopted also as a yardstick for my next method, the ‘semiology approach’. Below are the categories and the cultural indicator used in analysing the content of advertisements and the description of coding techniques;

1. **Product Category**: What product category does the advertised commodity fall into? For example ‘Volvo’ will be categorised as automobiles.
2. **Brand Name**: What is the brand name of the advertised merchandise? For example, Marlboro, Salem, Nespray etc.
3. **Origin**: Which country did the product originate from? If this could not be identified the second option was ‘Where is the product manufacturer’s headquarters?’ For example, U.S., U.K., Europe, Malaysia etc.
4. **Gender**: Identification based on the first actor/actress that appears on the screen in the advertisement.
5. **Age Group**: Identification based on the first actor/actress to appear on the screen.
6. **Relationship**: The relationship portrayal for the main actor/actress. For example a TV advertisement shows a woman with her dirty washing. Then the advertisement continues by showing a boy coming home with mud on his clothes. Here, I categorised the woman as a ‘mother’ because the child can be assumed to be hers.

7. **Occupation**: Coding in these categories refers to the main actor/actress in the TV advertisement. For example, the advertisement opens with a man rock climbing who is, therefore a ‘climber’.

8. **Background**: This category is to identify whether the background is Western or Malaysian. For example the Salem advertisement promotes a holiday destination in Salem, United States. Here, the advertisement is supposed to depict a background or location in the US. But as researcher, I know the location used was actually somewhere in the mountains in Malaysia. However, the background would be coded as ‘Western location’.

9. **Technique**: This refers to the filming technique, for instance ‘real life’, animation and computer graphic/SFX.

10. **Time**: This category is to locate the scene in ‘time’ - Past, present or future?

11. **Location**: ‘Location’ refers to where the action took place. For example, a woman is shown preparing breakfast in the dining room, the location can be identified as ‘home’.

12. **Clothing**: Identification based on the impression of the first actor/actress who appears on the screen. For example, a young lady shown walking in a busy street in the morning, wearing a blouse and trousers with jacket will be identified as ‘Western dress’.

13. **Eating Style**: Identification was based on the utensil/method used during eating. For example, spoon and fork, chopsticks or finger.

14. **Music**: Identification was based on the background music in the advertisement or the music used for the jingle. For example, the Louis Armstrong song ‘It’s a Wonderful World’ will be coded as ‘pop’.

15. **Value**: (see below and Table 6.1)

### Samples and Procedures for Analysing Values

The coding design in this analysis was largely based on Cheng and Schweitzer’s (1996) framework, which was originally built on Pollay’s (1983) typology of the cultural values manifest in advertising, and many others on cultural values (Bond,

A pre-test of about 10% of the usable advertisements (7 from Malaysian product advertisements and 18 from Western product advertisements) in the database was conducted to test the applicability of Cheng and Schweitzer’s (1996) framework. As a result of this pre-test, ‘competition’, ‘nurturance’, ‘popularity’, ‘safety’, ‘sex’, ‘work’ and ‘youth’ in the former coding scheme were eliminated while ‘love’ was added to the current framework. Thus, the coding scheme for the current analysis consists of 26 cultural values. Together with a coding sheet, a codebook with operationalisation for each of the 26 cultural values was prepared. All these 26 cultural values were then divided into two groups that are utilitarian and symbolic.
Table 6.1 Operationalisation of Cultural Values Examined in the Advertisements in Malaysia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Operationalisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adventure</td>
<td>This value suggests boldness, daring, bravery, courage, or thrill. Skydiving, mountain climbing are typical examples.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty</td>
<td>This value suggests that the use of a product will enhance the loveliness, attractiveness, elegance, or good look of an individual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivism</td>
<td>The emphasis here is on the individual in relation to others typically in the reference group. Individuals are depicted as integral parts of the group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convenience</td>
<td>A product is suggested to be handy and easy to use.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtesy</td>
<td>Politeness and friendship toward the consumer are shown through the use of polished and affable language in the advertisement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>The inexpensive, affordable, and cost-saving nature of a product is emphasised in the advertisement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness</td>
<td>A product is suggested to be powerful and capable of achieving certain ends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enjoyment</td>
<td>This value suggests that a product will make its user wild with joy. Typical examples include the capital fun that soda drinkers demonstrate in some advertisements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>The emphasis here is on family life and family members. The commercial stresses family scenes: getting married, companionship of siblings, kinship, being at home, and suggests that a certain product is good for the whole family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>This value recommends that the use of a product will enhance or improve the vitality, soundness, strength, and robustness of the body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individualism</td>
<td>The emphasis here is on the self-sufficiency and self-reliance of an individual or on the individual as being distinct and unlike others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure</td>
<td>This value suggests that the use of a product will bring one comfort or relaxation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magic</td>
<td>The emphasis here is on the miraculous effect and nature of a product.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modernity</td>
<td>The notion of being new, contemporary, up-to-date, and ahead of time is emphasised in the advertisement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naturalness</td>
<td>This value suggests spiritual harmony between man and nature by making references to the elements, animals, vegetables, or minerals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neatness</td>
<td>The notions of being clean and tidy are stressed in the advertisement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriotism</td>
<td>The love of and the loyalties to one's own nation inherent in the nature or in the use of a product are suggested here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>The emphasis here is on the excellence and the durability of a product, which is usually claimed to be a winner of medals or certificates awarded by a government department for its high grade or are demonstrated by the product's excellent performance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for the Elderly</td>
<td>The advertisement displays a respect for older people by using a model of old age or asking for the opinions, recommendations, and advice of the elders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love</td>
<td>It displays love, caring and affection between a lover, parents and children, and friends. The feelings of being caressed and being loved emerge in the advertisements and could easily touch the audience's emotion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Status</td>
<td>The use of a product is claimed to be able to elevate the position or rank of the user in the eyes of others. The feelings of prestige, trend setting, and pride in the use of a product is conveyed. The promotion of a company manager's status or fame by quoting his words or showing his picture in the advertisement is also included.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>Here, the advanced and sophisticated technical skills to engineer and manufacture a particular product are emphasised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td>The experiences of the past, customs, and conventions are respected. The qualities of being historic, time-honoured, and legendary are venerated, i.e., 'With eighty years of manufacturing experience'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniqueness</td>
<td>The unrivalled, incomparable, and unparalleled nature of a product is emphasised, i.e., 'We're the only one that offers you the product.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td>This value conveys the idea that being affluent, prosperous, and rich should be encouraged and suggests that a certain product or service will make the user well off.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisdom</td>
<td>This value shows respect for knowledge, education, intelligence, expertise, or experience.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Adapted from Pollay (1983)  
† Adapted from Mueller (1987, 1992)  
‡ Adapted from Cheng and Schweitzer (1996)  
§ Adapted from Rokeach (1979)
By utilitarian values, I refer to those emphasising product features or qualities, such as ‘convenience,’ ‘economy,’ and ‘effectiveness’. Those suggesting human emotions such as ‘enjoyment’, ‘individualism’, and ‘social status’ are under symbolic values. Many of these values can be regarded as typical of either Eastern or Western cultures. (Lin, 1993; Mueller, 1987, 1992; Cheng and Schweitzer, 1996).

During the coding procedure, I only identified the most dominant value in each advertisement, which was decided mainly by the overall first impression or the key elements of the advertisement’s ‘gestalt’ - the end result or total message possibly received by audiences (Cheng and Schweitzer, 1996). The dominant values were manifest from the visuals depicted such as the setting or the models in the advertisements, accompanied by audio messages, background music, or captions. All the coding focused on the cultural values manifest in a given advertisement rather than the qualities that flowed out of the advertised product itself.

In order to ensure the categorisation was reliable and consistent during interpretation of the message in the advertisement, the coding procedures were tested during the pre-testing stage with the other independent coders. This was also done to maximise the degree of agreement with other people who watched the advertisement. During the pre-test, some sloppily defined categories were discovered and later were improved to give precise category definitions.

6.4.2 The Semiological Analysis

As for the samples for semiology, ten TV advertisements were used. The selection of these samples is based on the top 10 ‘values’ (Table 6.14) used in the advertisements and not the top 10 advertisements (Table 6.8) broadcast. The main reason for avoiding the latter was to prevent analysis of too many ‘cigarette’ product related advertisements that might use the same concept and target audience. Next are the cultural indicator and image analysing guidelines for qualitative examination of TV advertisements.
The Cultural Indicators and Image Analysing Guidelines

Two approaches were used in order to examine the meaning and influence of the advertisement. First, in examining the meaning of the content of television advertisements in Malaysia, I created the 'cultural indicators' and second, 'guidelines for analysing images and identities' in order to investigate the influence from the West and from Malaysia in the advertisement.

In order to analyse or interpret the meaning created through these 'cultural indicators', I adopted some of the guidelines created by Fowles (1996:171-174). The main reason for these guidelines was to ensure that I could maintain my consistency with other coders (if any) in interpreting the meaning and sign in the advertisement.

The indicators that I identified, such as role of gender (Lindsey, 1990), role of age, relationship/family, occupation/social class, location, clothing, eating habit, music and values have also been used in the content analysis. Meanwhile the guidelines to interpret the meaning and sign were as follows:

1. What product category does the advertisement fall into?
2. What is the aesthetic value in the composition? Why the advertisement is structured as it is?
3. Identify the technique of the advertisement filming. Why a particular shot (long, medium or close up or the particular focus (sharp or not sharp)?
4. In the imagery, what is being pushed into the foreground, and what is placed in the background? Why?
5. What commodity is actually being sold? Look for the symbolic appeal (Moore, 1982).
6. What can be inferred about the states of mind of humans in the advertisement? What might the relationship be between this attitude and members of the intended audience?
7. Establish a locale for the scene. Situate the symbolic appeal in space. Where does this happen? Does this locale have any significance for the intended audience? Is it past, present or future? (Massey, 1995).
8. Is there a story in the television commercial, and how might the audience interpret it?
9. Is the symbolic appeal in this advertisement idealising anything, and if so what is it?
10. What might this advertisement be implying about the nature of the relationships between people? Who dominates?
11. What is the self-identity in the advertisement? For example, women still need men but do not need them to be always in charge (Lindsey, 1990).
12. Is the advertisement conveying anything about social status or class?
13. What kinds of cultural belief are promoted in this advertisement? For example the message could be ‘women need not be dependent on men’.
14. Advertising is seen as the instigator of a ‘commodification’, in which purchasable commodities are equated with noncommercial human needs and capabilities and made to substitute them (Fowles, 1996:174). Here, examination will focus on what kind of commodification the advertisement tried to promote with the brand and to see if the advertisement is attempting to commodify a particular area of human experience. For example, ‘Carte de Noir Coffee’ could be seen as trying to substitute instant coffee by romance. The advertisement shows a man and a woman who are destined to meet because of the aroma of the coffee. In other words if you drink ‘Carte de Noir coffee’, it will create chances for romance.

As I have mentioned earlier, I also created guidelines to analyse images and identity to show Western and Malaysian influences (Table 6.2) in the advertisement. The guidelines are to help reduce the ambiguity of ‘What is Western’ and ‘What is Malaysian’ among researchers during the analysing procedure. It is hoped that by doing this, some of the common difficulties faced by researchers, especially in identifying cultural elements, could be reduced and eliminated.
### Table 6.2
Guidelines for Analysing Images and Identity in Advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension of Images</th>
<th>Malaysian-traditional</th>
<th>Malaysian with Western influences</th>
<th>Western with Malaysian ‘flavour’</th>
<th>Western</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Clothing: a. Cut</td>
<td>kurung kebaya, Malay pants and tunic</td>
<td>mixture of 'exotic' and 'subdued' with more emphasis on the 'exotic'</td>
<td>mixture of 'subdued' and 'exotic' with more emphasis on the 'subdued'</td>
<td>Skirt, blouse, dress, gown, pants, shirts, jacket, neck-tie, tuxedo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Colour</td>
<td>typically ‘exotic’ - yellow, white, green blue, black, red</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>typically ‘subdued’- yellow, white, green blue, black, red other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Style</td>
<td>Baju kurung traditional, baju kebaya pendek and panjang</td>
<td>Baju Kurung modern, Kebaya pendek &amp; panjang with Western influence. Batik Shirt</td>
<td>Western style, casual or formal with Malaysian influence</td>
<td>basic style, casual or formal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Pattern on clothes</td>
<td>bamboo shoot, flower and plant motif (local); Geometric</td>
<td>modern flower and plants. Modern geometric with traditional flavour (e.g. as in batik design)</td>
<td></td>
<td>flowers and plants, animals. Geometric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Fabric</td>
<td>gold or silver threaded songket, cotton</td>
<td>synthetics, shiny silk</td>
<td></td>
<td>linen, cotton, wool, lace, synthetics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Food Consumption a. Location: In-home</td>
<td>mat on floor</td>
<td>table</td>
<td>Fast food restaurants in a Malaysian setting.</td>
<td>sit-down, stand-up (buffets, cocktails), picnic barbecues, fast food restaurants in a Western setting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of home</td>
<td>feasting, roadside stalls</td>
<td>picnic at beach, picnic near waterfalls, restaurants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Alone Vs With other: Alone</td>
<td>not likely</td>
<td>likely among young workers (as in eating packed foods alone)</td>
<td>Likely among teenagers, e.g. eating in fast food restaurants alone.</td>
<td>likely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With others</td>
<td>with nuclear and extended family, with friends and acquaintances at feasting.</td>
<td>with nuclear family, with friends and acquaintances at gatherings</td>
<td>With nuclear family, with friends at lunch or dinner.</td>
<td>with nuclear family and guest, with business associates at lunch or dinner parties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Segregation of sexes during food consumption</td>
<td>Most likely (females rank lower in the social hierarchy, religion forbids free male/female interaction)</td>
<td>likely (in career settings, less traditional families)</td>
<td>not likely</td>
<td>Unlikely (absence of sex discrimination in many areas of life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Type of Cooking: main course</td>
<td>chilli-coconut and spice based (e.g. wet and dry curries)</td>
<td>fried chicken with Malaysian flavour</td>
<td></td>
<td>potato and meat (e.g. steak and mashed potatoes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side-dishes</td>
<td>cooked and raw vegetables, marinated food (e.g. tempoyak, budu, belacan, cencalok)</td>
<td>salads with Malaysian dressing (e.g. peanut paste)</td>
<td>salads with Western dressing</td>
<td>cooked and raw vegetables.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desserts</td>
<td>rice-based sweets and cakes (e.g. putu kacang, wajik, dodol)</td>
<td>milk jelly, fruit jelly, locally grown fresh fruits (e.g. bananas, watermelon, papaw)</td>
<td>durian flavoured ice cream, western grown fresh fruits (e.g. grapes, apples, oranges)</td>
<td>Milk-maize, Quaker oats margarine based desserts, e.g. milk puddings, custard, ice-cream.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Six Methodology</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>3. Houseform:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Architecture:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other buildings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rural, suburban</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Artform:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Visual arts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rural, suburban</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Material Culture:</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure pursuits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>straw weaving, copper tooling, needlework and knitting, cross stitch, crochet, tatting, flower arrangements</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Landscape/Scenario:</td>
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<tr>
<td>local rural</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Events:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Religious holidays</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eid, Chinese New Year, Devali, Moslem calendar</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. National holidays</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Day, Labour Day</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Birthdays</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not celebrated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Anniversaries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not celebrated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Weddings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feasting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Engagements</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>engagement ceremony</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>g. Folk celebrations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>circumcision ceremony, kenduri selamat</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. People:</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan Malaysian e.g. Malay, Chinese, Indian, Dayak, Kadazan</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Verbal/Non Verbal Symbols:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>symbols*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| cakes, pies) |
| Luxury brick and concrete homes and apartments (e.g. condominiums) |
| Western-style architecture e.g. French Embassy, American Embassy |
| scenes and portraits, abstract, still life (association with artist is important) |
| symphonies, ballets, operas, waltz |
| rock concerts, jazz, rock and roll, rap |
| abstract, still life (Malaysian themes using Western technology) |
| joget modern, cha-cha |
| hockey, rugby, soccer, baseball, tennis, swimming |
| golfing, formula one, horse racing, speedboat, water, skiing, yachting, snorkelling, wind-surfing, hang-gliding, mountain-biking |
| local urban and suburban |
| urban |
| foreign rural and urban (e.g. snow capped mountain) |
| Christmas, Easter, Thanksgiving |
| celebrated among children |
| celebrated privately |
| dinner at hotels |
| party or dinner |
| party at home or out of home |
| party or casual announcements |
| Guy Fawkes, Halloween, Valentine's Day |
| Eurasian with Asian features e.g. local population of Portuguese descent. |
| Eurasian with Caucasian features |
| Caucasian |
Chapter Six

Methodology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language, phrases, idioms, verbal expressions, intonation</th>
<th>e.g. traditional names</th>
<th>Malaysian sounding names, accent</th>
<th>Western sounding names, Western accent</th>
<th>Western names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greetings</td>
<td>Assalamu’alikum</td>
<td>Apa Khabar?</td>
<td>Hi, Hello</td>
<td>How do you do?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non Verbal greeting</td>
<td>Two people (same sex) clapping both hands</td>
<td>Shake hand</td>
<td>Shake hands and could follow by hugging</td>
<td>Hugging, kissing, 'high five or give me five'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kissing the hand while clapping with both hands.


6.4.3 Interviews

The interview method I mentioned earlier was the 'Exploratory interview', which included in-depth and group interviews (Oppenheim, 1992:65). The interviews were conducted with two different categories of respondents. The first category was the decision-makers, with whom personal interviews were conducted. The second category were families, interviewed in groups.

Personal Interviews with Advertising Practitioners and Decision Makers

The decision-makers interviewed represented five different types of organisations. They were the Advertising Agencies, the Advertisers, Media, the Government and the Consumer Association. Fifteen respondents were interviewed (see Appendix 1). All the interviews were conducted face to face and lasted between 1 to 2 hours.

The questions used were structured and semi-structured, in order to explore the respondents reasoning when making decisions. Structured questions were used to gather factual information on the establishment whereas the semi-structured ones were to provide greater breadth due to their qualitative nature (see Appendix 2).

Hence, in order to accomplish my research purposes, I formulated four objectives that guided my interviews with the decision-makers. The four objectives were:

1. To explore the insight of the regulators and the advertising practitioners during the process of developing advertising strategies.
2. To investigate the process of regulation by the government, advertising industry and consumer associations.
3. To investigate the process of producing the advertisement.
4. To examine the advertising producer's sensitiveness to and comprehension of culture.

Sampling Procedure
The steps involved in constructing the personal interviews were as follows:

a. Identify a sample. In this stage I decided on the number of respondents that I was going to interview. After considering some of the limitations, I decided to interview 15 respondents. They were selected from various organisations such as the Advertising Agencies, Advertisers, Media, Ministry of Information and Consumer Association. In order to make sure that all my samples are represented, I decided to use 'Advertising Expenditure' as my yardstick in choosing respondents from advertising agencies and advertisers. In other words, the agency that managed to achieve the highest billing would be selected, whereas for the advertisers the criterion would be the highest spending on advertising. However, if, due to unforeseen circumstances, the selected agencies or advertisers were not interviewed, the next highest would be chosen and so on. Meanwhile, for the media, three representatives were interviewed. They were from TV1, TV2 and TV3 (STMB). The other two respondents were from the Ministry of Information and a Consumer Association. The interview conducted normally took more than an hour to complete.

b. Prepare the questionnaire. Structured and semi-structured questions were used. As my samples were from different organisations, most of the questions would be on the structure of the organisation, for example, size of clientele, their billings, the shareholders, and the origin. Questions related to their marketing philosophy, sensitiveness to local culture, centralised or decentralised decision making, and their responsibilities toward local people would also be posed. After the questionnaires were completed, a pre-test was conducted to ensure the smoothness of the interviewing process. As a result of the pre-test, some questions were eliminated and some expanded.

c. Tabulate the data. After the interviews were completed, all the questionnaires and tapes were brought back to Loughborough University to be transcribed and analysed.
Group Interviews - Audience Research

Audience interviews were conducted with families at home. The interview, which included discussion, was guided by semi-structured questions (see Appendix 4). The reason for these semi-structured questions was to eliminate any inconsistency on the subject during the discussion. All respondents received similar questions allowing them flexibility in expressing their views on whatever they felt to be important.

The 'group interviews' using an open-ended approach was assigned as the main component in conducting audience research. However, in order to make the research representative, factors such as population distribution (urban and rural distribution), marital status, ethnic background, and income were used in identifying the samples.

Before proceeding with the audience research sample procedure it is necessary to clarify a few of the steps required. First, I created the objectives for conducting the audience research. As mentioned, the audience research was intended to fulfil my fourth objective in this thesis, that is 'to provide a preliminary analysis of the imported impact of advertising on family lifestyles and values in Malaysia' (see Chapter One). Hence, the research objectives were formulated as follows:

1. To evolve concepts and messages from a predetermined list of the most frequent Western Product TV Advertisements (identified from earlier quantitative analysis) among target audiences. Subsequently to examine the overall perception on imported cultural values.
2. To examine its influence on audiences' social life and lifestyle.

Sampling Procedure

'One goal of scientific research is to describe the nature of a population, that is, a group or class of subjects, variables, concepts, or phenomena' (Wimmer & Dominick, 1983:57). 'However the chance of investigating an entire population is remote, if not non-existent, due to time and resource constraints. The usual procedure in these instances is to select a sample from a population. A sample is a subset or subsegment of the population that is taken to be representative of the population. A sample that is not representative of the population, regardless of its size, is inadequate for testing
purposes: the results cannot be generalised' (ibid.:58). In other words, getting the sample right in the first place is a basic pre-requisite to ensuring the success of research.

In my sampling procedure, I decided to use a non-probability sample rather than a probability sample due to several factors such as 'cost vs. value', 'time constraints', 'purpose of study', and 'amount of error allowed'. In the non-probability sample I chose the 'quota sample method', where subjects are selected in order to meet a predetermined or known percentage (ibid.:59).

Quota sampling was used to ensure the target samples were representative, as it is the best option available after considering the limitations. In the quota sampling procedure, the samples are selected based on the percentage of several demographic categories. The category used was based on ethnic population (Table 6.3), urban and rural distribution (Table 6.4), income (Table 6.5) and marital status (Table 6.6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic</th>
<th>Breakdown of population</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malay/Bumiputera</td>
<td>12,138,100 (59%)</td>
<td>30 (60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>5,347,800 (26%)</td>
<td>13 (26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>1,551,400 (7%)</td>
<td>4 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1,527,600 (7%)</td>
<td>3 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20,564,900 (100%)</td>
<td>50 groups</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Statistics, "Vital Statistics Malaysia" 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic</th>
<th>Urban (51% of total population)</th>
<th>Rural (49% of total population)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malay/Bumiputera</td>
<td>16 groups</td>
<td>14 groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>7 groups</td>
<td>6 groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>2 groups</td>
<td>2 groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2 groups</td>
<td>1 group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27 groups</td>
<td>22 groups</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Vital Statistics Malaysia, Department of Statistics 1996
'Ethnic population' was chosen as the main aspect in identifying the sample. This was to ensure all the races were represented. ‘Urban and rural population distribution’ was another aspect used to select the right samples, which helped to avoid issues on representativeness and reliability. ‘Income’ helped to categorise the samples according to social class, whereas ‘marital status’ would ensure the effective streamlining of the samples.

For the audience research, the sample groups, which consisted of 50 families, were identified through the chosen category (see Appendix 3).

Table 6.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Grp</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Never Married</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malay/</td>
<td>3,678,366 (50%)</td>
<td>3,258,100 (45%)</td>
<td>299,128 (4%)</td>
<td>77,576 (1%)</td>
<td>7,305,170 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bumiputera</td>
<td>15 groups</td>
<td>13 groups</td>
<td>1 group</td>
<td>1 group</td>
<td>30 groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Samples</td>
<td>1,865,511 (50%)</td>
<td>1,663,876 (44%)</td>
<td>161,706 (4%)</td>
<td>16,319 (1%)</td>
<td>3,707,412 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 groups</td>
<td>5 groups</td>
<td>1 group</td>
<td>1 group</td>
<td>13 groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Samples</td>
<td>499,383 (49%)</td>
<td>458,589 (45%)</td>
<td>50,073 (5%)</td>
<td>5,513 (1%)</td>
<td>1,013,558 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 groups</td>
<td>2 groups</td>
<td>1 group</td>
<td>1 group</td>
<td>4 groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>199,475 (50%)</td>
<td>173,197 (44%)</td>
<td>19,775 (5%)</td>
<td>3,899 (1%)</td>
<td>396,346 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 groups</td>
<td>1 group</td>
<td>1 group</td>
<td>3 groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6,242,735 (50%)</td>
<td>5,554,562 (44%)</td>
<td>520,682 (4%)</td>
<td>103,307 (2%)</td>
<td>12,422,486 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26 groups</td>
<td>21 groups</td>
<td>2 groups</td>
<td>1 group</td>
<td>50 groups</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Stage One
This is where I identified the location for the interview. After analysing the Malaysian geographical and socio-economic background, I decided to choose five out of thirteen states in the Federation of Malaysia. The states chosen were the Federal Territory - Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, Kedah, Kelantan and Perlis. Kuala Lumpur and Selangor are the most urbanised states where the majority of sophisticated industries such as electronics and automobiles are located. The populations also enjoy the highest standard of living with the highest household income and purchasing power in the country. Kedah, Kelantan and Perlis were selected on their rural and economic bases since most of their economic activities are based on small scale agriculture. Perlis and Kelantan are identified as the poorest states with the most remote areas; 52% of households in Perlis earn less than RM$500 (US$150) and Kelantan 56% a month (Survey Research Malaysia, 1995). Moreover, Kelantan is the only state ruled by the opposition Islamic Party that implements the strict 'Islamic Syariah Law'.

b. Stage Two
In this stage, I identified the sample based on categories mentioned earlier. As the respondents are only 50 families, I decided to use 'quota sampling' which permits the study of a particular characteristic and segment. The purpose of using quota sampling is to ensure that a sample is drawn from a homogeneous subset of the population, homogeneity helping to reduce sampling error (Wimmer & Dominick, 1983:65).

c. Stage Three
At this stage, I arranged an interview with the head or member of the household after the basic categories of selection had been fulfilled. Evening was chosen as a suitable time to conduct the interview as the whole family/household would be at home after returning from work or school.
Table 6.7
Number of People in Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Size (Number of people)</th>
<th>Number of Private Households</th>
<th>Number of Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>122,912</td>
<td>122,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>177,647</td>
<td>355,294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>239,918</td>
<td>719,754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>314,974</td>
<td>1,259,896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>309,527</td>
<td>1,547,635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>233,525</td>
<td>1,401,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>149,212</td>
<td>1,044,484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>80,926</td>
<td>647,408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>46,161</td>
<td>415,449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>26,927</td>
<td>269,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>15,344</td>
<td>168,784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>9,310</td>
<td>111,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>5,460</td>
<td>70,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>3,377</td>
<td>47,278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2,169</td>
<td>32,535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>25,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 and over</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>25,250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Process

For the group interview, I expected at least two members of the family/household to be present, though Malaysian lifestyles mean that more than two people is the norm (Table 6.7).

a. The TV Advertisement Sessions

The group interview and discussion was based on the top 30 TV advertisements that had been identified through my previous ‘content analysis’. The TV advertisements selected were based on the highest frequency of western products broadcast in July, 1996. The advertisements selected are given below:
Table 6.8
Most Frequent TV Advertisement Broadcast in July 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Product</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Benson &amp; Hedges - Live (cigarettes)</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Peter Stuyvescent - Holiday (Cig.)</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Marlboro Adventure (Cigarettes)</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Salem Holiday (Cigarettes)</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Benson &amp; Hedges - Bistro (Cigarettes)</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. McDonal (Fast food)</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. BP</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Court - Fauziah</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Salem - Everest</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Dutch Lady Milk</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Dutch Lady -123 (Milk)</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Organic - (Shampoo)</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. KFC - Wing</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Mastercard</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Pantene</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Axion</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. A&amp;W</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. AIA Insurance</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Lipton</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Lux</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Tudor</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Horlicks</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Hazlene Snow</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Caltex</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Scotch Brite</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Reebok - (Shoes)</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Wrigley</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Panadol</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. KFC - Kid Fun Club</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Shell Lubrication</td>
<td>Anglo Dutch</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Firstly, I introduced myself and explained to the respondents the reason for the interview. Then I showed them all the TV advertisements selected. All this occurred in the family home in order to simulate the actual environment in which they usually watched television programmes. In addition, the respondents would be more relaxed and in control in expressing their views. Following the viewing of the TV advertisements, several questions and topics were put to the family.

Based on the feedback I received, I divided the findings into two sections:

1. Cultural Values
2. Background and Contact - Audience Responsiveness to Advertisements
6.5 Concluding Remarks

In achieving the objectives of my research, several methods were used - content analysis, semiology and interview. The content analysis was adopted to examine the pattern of cultural contents in TV advertisements and newspapers to provide historical background on the trend of Western advertising. These were divided into three separate areas. The first area was the overall representation of social life and lifestyle portrayed in TV advertisements, which included Malaysian and Western based product advertisements. The second area was the representation and identities (origin) of cultural constructions in the TV advertisements, which also included product advertisements from both places. The third area was to explore the 'cultural values' that were disseminated through the television advertisements. To achieve the purpose, the tools used for measurement and coding design were adopted from work done by Rokeach (1979) and Cheng and Schweitzer, (1996) with some minor alterations.

The second method, semiology, was used to study the underlying message that content analysis is not capable of exposing and to support the evidence discovered through content analysis.

The third method was interview, of which two types were employed - personal interview and group interview. Personal interview assisted the investigation of production and regulation of the TV advertisements, whereas group interview was used to study the cultural impact on the Malaysian audience. These approaches were essential to supplement content analysis in retrieving the required information and in establishing its reliability.
Chapter Seven
Regulating and Producing the Advertisement

7.1 Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to investigate the involvement of advertising regulation and the making of TV advertisements in cultural Westernisation in Malaysia. However, before we can go further, it is important to examine the role of globalisation within the present structure of the advertising industry in Malaysia. At the same time, the notion of 'culture' is also investigated among the respondents. The idea is to provide the background to the possible influence of cultural Westernisation in Malaysia.

With all this in view, this chapter is divided into four parts of equal importance, 'The Organisational Structure of the Advertising Industry in Malaysia', 'Producing the Advertisement', 'Cultural Westernisation in Advertising' and 'Advertising Control and Constraints'.

'The Organisational Structure of the Advertising Industry in Malaysia' investigates the involvement of globalisation in the industry. The focus is on the influence of globalisation in the changing structure of the international advertising agencies and multi-national corporations. 'Producing the Advertisement', is concerned with the process of 'decision making' and the 'decision maker'. The investigation is intended to explore the process of decision making and to identify the individual role as a 'gatekeeper'. The agency's policies are also examined to help reveal the method of decision making. 'Cultural Westernisation in Advertising' will focus on the fundamental background in understanding how the cultural aspect has been incorporated into the advertisement. Finally 'Advertising Controls and Constraints'
will examine the role of government and the advertising industry in regulating the production of the advertisement. This section will examine the government perspective in handling these issues in addition to its role as watchdog in monitoring the advertisement and its reaction to audience complaints. Also included is the self-regulation by the advertising agencies and broadcasters.

All these dimensions, as mentioned earlier, are equally important, and will provide the essential evidence for understanding the process of cultural Westernisation through advertising in Malaysia. These findings were gathered from interviews conducted with the advertising practitioners; including seven respondents from the advertising agencies\(^4\), three from the advertisers\(^5\), one from the government\(^6\) (Malaysian Ministry of Information), three from the media (TV\(^7\) station) and one from FOMCA. All respondents from the advertising agencies hold the post of Chief Executive Officer/Managing Director for the TNAAs. Three respondents from the Advertisers are Group Product Managers for the TNAs. From the Ministry of Information is the Head of Department. Three respondents are TV Programme Controllers from TV Stations and the President of the Consumer Association.

All the above respondents have been identified as having the capacity to mould and influence the advertisement production process. Here, I would like to stress that they are the dominant figures in controlling the flow of information that might lead to the promotion of Cultural Westernisation in Malaysia.

\(^4\) The respondents are from Bozell Worldwide, Bates Worldwide, Ogilvy & Mather, Dentsu Young & Rubicam, BBDO, Grey International, and McCann-Erickson
\(^5\) Colgate Palmolive, Citibank and Campbell’s
\(^6\) Commercial Department in Ministry of Information
\(^7\) The objective of the Ministry of Information Malaysia is to disseminate accurate and quality information on government philosophy, policies, programmes and activities to the people in line with national objectives. The Ministry also strives to promote local arts and culture besides helping to develop a truly Malaysian Society in line with the objectives of Rukun Negara (National Ideology) and Vision 2020. All information and broadcasting activities especially those carried out through the mass media are aimed at disseminating accurate information on policies, strategies and development programmes in the country.
7.2 The Organisational Structure of the Advertising Industry in Malaysia

Globalisation has been credited with playing an important role in changing the structure of the Malaysian Advertising Industry. In earlier chapters (Chapters Two, Three, Four and Five), I have described the significant role of globalisation in shaping the industry. One aspect of this is the shaping of the industry through change of ownership by merger or purchase of agencies by TNAAs and TNCs.

This chapter reveals that the concept of globalisation is common among the advertising practitioners in the TNAAs. Concepts of globalisation were commonly used in the marketing and advertising activity, especially with respect to global brand names. Today, the process of globalisation is seen as one of the ingredients in ensuring the success of the competitive advertising industry. Many advertising practitioners consider the evolution of global brand names, global policies and global actors (TNAs and TNAAs) as instrumental in the growth of the advertising industry. The effect of this can be seen in the dynamism in policy making, management strategy and transfer of ideology.

7.2.1 The Structure of Ownership

One of the major impacts of globalisation in the advertising industry, as repeatedly mentioned, is the increasing activity in industry ownership. The prevailing trend is of many agencies continually changing hands, and changing name. This includes Bates Worldwide, formerly known as Ted Bates (Bates Worldwide, 1996), Bozell which was formerly Grant, Kenyon and Eckhart (Bozell Worldwide, 1996) etc. This change of name is, however, insignificant compared to the growing domination by a single corporation which owns a number of TNAAs. This monopolising activity it is claimed, causes complexity in policy and management strategy of the agencies. The autonomy and freedom of the agency is jeopardised, affecting the flow of ideas and strategies for new business opportunities (e.g. difficulty in attracting a client who may already be committed to a sister agency). There is also evidence of the importance of the location of headquarters of the agency. Below are some of the remarks from TNAAs on the trends described;

TV1, TV2 and TV3
15 years ago, this agency was called Ted Bates, but due to a change in ownership, today we are called Bates Worldwide. Today, the company is based in New York though our holding company is in London. The reason why New York has been maintained is to keep our present clients there. 50 percent of our billing is contributed by American clients. Maintaining American ownership [identity] is important to us... Our holding company, Cordiant plc, also owns Saatchi & Saatchi. In the industry we are seen as rivals, and yet we are still owned by one person.... The problem is we can’t pitch for Saatchi & Saatchi clients unless we receive the authorisation from HQ. However, this could be different by the end of the year [1997] when there will be a merger with another company. Bates is going to be listed in New York and Saatchi & Saatchi is going to be listed in London. So we will no longer be part of the same group. We’ll be separated...I think it will do us good.

Bates Worldwide, Malaysia

Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia, is another global agency that faces the same phenomena as Bates Worldwide, Malaysia.

We are a global company. We have branches in almost every country in the world. We need to spread out, as most of our clients are already in these locations. They need us to handle their account...if we don’t, other agencies might grab them. And we might loose them in the long run.... We are owned by a group call WPP that is a British based company. They are owners of a number of marketing companies, which include J Walter Thompson (JWT). Both agencies (O & M and JWT) are based in the US.

Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia

Another agency is BBDO Malaysia.

BBDO Malaysia could be considered as ‘New Kids on the block’. We are quite new, we came here in 1985...We are basically part of the BBDO network which means our head office is BBDO New York. BBDO, is owned by Omnicom Group Plc. Omnicom Group Plc is the second largest marketing and communication company in the world, it owns another agency DDB, as well as TBWA.

BBDO, Malaysia

The evidence above, indicates that British companies are controlling some of the world’s largest TNAAs and the majority of the top ten TNAAs in Malaysia. Interestingly, though owned by British firms, the TNAA’s operation base is maintained in the United States. Maintaining the headquarters where the company was first established could be seen as preserving the identity of the TNAAs and maintaining loyalty to existing clients. The next section shows the present trend in handling clients/accounts.

7.2.2 Clients/Accounts - The Present Trend

It has been said many times that the domination of TNAAs in the advertising industry
of Malaysia is due to their capacity in controlling most of the global brands on the Malaysian market. This could be seen as an unfair practice, in which the local based agencies have not been given opportunities to prove their capability. This situation is also partly due to the decisions or pre-arrangements that have taken place at the international level. For example, Coca-Cola has engaged McCann-Erickson to handle their account worldwide, as have Unilever with Lintas. This means that the success of the TNAAs in Malaysia is inextricably linked to global decisions made by the parent company with the TNAs. As stated below:

The success of our agency is based on the accounts that we handle - this is where our revenue comes from. We are No.1 in Malaysia, because we are handling most of global brands you can get on the market. They maintain their loyalty to us because of our quality and our links internationally. Our major accounts are with BAT, which carries brands such as Benson & Hedges and Lucky Strike, HSBC, Eveready Energizer, Dutch Lady, Visa International, Volvo etc…. The majority of our accounts were secured by the worldwide alignment and some were secured locally. The global brand has provided us with a platform and portfolio to secure big local accounts such as Time Telecommunication, Sime Darby, Renong etc.

Bates Worldwide, Malaysia

Ogilvy & Mather and Grey International are in the same situation.

Our business is 50 percent multinational and 50 percent local. This involves a variety of multinationals, Nestle from Switzerland, Pepsi from US, Unilever from UK and Holland. Some of the accounts that we handle were the results of world wide alignments, such as Kodak and IBM, while the rest were decided on a regional basis and by our own pitching, like Guinness.

Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia

All the international clients that we handle, were signed up through international alignment...the local one...of course it was secured locally by our team. Our major clients are Procter and Gamble. The decision to allow Grey International to handle this account was made at global level... 6 years ago.... If P & G decided to let another agency handle the account in the US, the effect...well, we would lose this account in Malaysia. We are not worried... P & G is happy with our performance.... However, you have to realise P&G has many global brand names from Pampers to Rejoice Shampoo. None of the multinationals will let all their products be handled by a single agency. We are fortunate to handle most of the P&G brand names.

Grey, Malaysia

The above findings show ‘worldwide product alignment’ plays an important role in ensuring the success of the agency in Malaysia. Many of the global brand name accounts were obtained through this alignment, though some were obtained through local pitching. This global product alignment has guaranteed the TNAAs anchor clients that serve as a platform for growth and which are also used to pitch for clients
that have not yet been signed up through global alignment.

7.3 Producing The Advertisement

Several aspects have been identified which play a role in shaping the final advertisements. These are, 'the process of decision making/the decision maker', 'culture' and 'regulation and constraints'. In this section, I will present the findings based on the process of decision making and in the following section those based on culture.

7.3.1 The Process of Decision Making

Decisions are taken either at headquarters, at the regional level or at the agency level. Some decision making is decentralised depending upon the nature of the question and its importance. Some multinational companies delegate specific areas of decision-making to regional and local offices, while some agencies enjoy autonomy in this sphere. However, such autonomy may be prescribed. For example, anything related to agency structure and policy may be reserved for decision by regional or main headquarters, as we see below;

Decision making is decentralised and probably a little bit more laissez-faire. My boss is the Regional Director, based in Singapore. He looks after South Asia including India, China, Indonesia etc. His boss is the President, based in Hong Kong. So, we have little contact with our base in New York and London, and things are left up to the Regional Management...however in this agency each will depend on the area of responsibility. For example, the media decision is made by the key media people. Then, of course, we have business units and each business unit is run by a group account director. Those senior group account directors will make decisions for the group clients... If the decision to be made involves the global strategy, it has to be referred to New York....This also applies to our business philosophy, which has been standardised worldwide...

Bates Worldwide, Malaysia

Our agency has a regional structure. We have the regional head office in Hong Kong. We also have a unit in Hong Kong that is called the Regional Management Supervising Unit. And they will take geographic responsibility for brands to assure that there are co-ordination across borders in Asia. However not all decisions are made by them. I admit some decisions are centralised and some are decentralised. However, our decision making is basically collective. The decision is made by the management committee that has its own speciality. Each has specific areas of responsibility. As in the tradition of advertising agency business we have creative, media, account and servicing, production and finance. The head of each department acts with me in the management committee, deciding on the direction the company will take. In terms of our
philosophy, it is the President...and not me or by our agency here.
Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia

The decision making in advertising not only involves the advertising agency but also the advertiser. As TNAs, these advertisers have to take instruction from their own headquarters; from advertising budget to advertising planning, everything has to be reported to their headquarters.

Our advertising budget is decided by our H.Q. Then from the amount given we divide it between all our products. The agencies must then present proposed expenditure before they are allowed to plan for the year.
Colgate-Palmolive, Malaysia

This is also true for Campbell’s Malaysia, as stated by it’s Group Product Manager.

Most of our TV advertisements are foreign in concept, as instructed by our headquarters. All we do is to show the existing advertisement done by our outlets in other countries to our advertising agency here and get them to produce it locally.
Campbell’s, Malaysia

We can state, therefore, that in a global company, whether TNAA or TNA, the decision making is mainly done by the headquarters, which controls not only the advertisement to be produced but also the advertising expenditure as a whole.

However, there are also international agencies which are given authority to make their own decisions. One of them is Bozell Worldwide,

For major decisions we have a sort of policy. But on a day to day basis, I am trying to train or empower our front line to take charge. Most of the decisions are being made by this management. There has been very little interference from the headquarters.
Bozell Worldwide, Malaysia

Decision making by the TNAAAs in producing the advertisement can be seen on two levels. Decisions concerning policy and the agency philosophy always have to go back to headquarters. Decisions in devising the campaign to cater for Malaysian advertisements are commonly made by the local management. The main reason for such a strategy is the up to date knowledge that the local management possesses. It will have accurate information for the marketing strategy because of familiarity with local needs and taste.
7.3.2 The Role of the Expatriate in Advertising Production

The expatriate plays a significant role in conceptualising the advertising campaign. Evidence for this lies in the fact that many TNAAs employ Western expatriates to lead their major department in the advertising agencies, particularly the Client Servicing and Creative Departments. Bates Worldwide is one of the TNAAs where all departments are led by Western expatriates. The reasons given for this are mostly based on claims about the shortage of talented Malaysians in the required areas and transfer of expertise. This is confirmed by the following statement:

Yes. There are six of us. All heads of department. Managing Director of USP Direct, Client and Servicing Director of ‘One For One’. Regional Account, Director for BAT. He is based here but he spends most of his time travelling around the region. The Director of Client and Servicing of the advertising agency and Managing Director of the Creative Retail Group..... While for Malaysians, most of them are very good. We just don't have enough of them. Locally the people are very talented. Good thinkers and good workers, but it is difficult to find enough of them....

Bates Worldwide, Malaysia

Ogilvy & Mather share a similar opinion on why expatriates are given the task of leading most of the departments in the agency. The other reason given is the transfer of expertise to the locals (Ideology Transfer).

Basically, I think it is the same as in any other industry, we are looking at technology transfer. And we have hired somebody who has a good deal of experience in the international and Asian market to come in and transfer his knowledge to the next generation of managers, which will be Malaysian...Concerning local talent...not enough of it, to be quite frank. The quality is very good but the quantity is small. And the reason is that...advertising is still a new industry in many respects. The educational infrastructure for advertising has not been established locally very well. And also with Malaysia being dynamic and growing, people have so many choices. Advertising is not the industry to get rich quick. They like to go to the stock market.

Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia

This opinion is not shared by all TNAAs, CEOs and Managing Directors. Interestingly, TNAAs that are headed by Malaysians, such as BBDO, DY&R and Grey, have the opposite opinion. Most of them blame the shortage of Malaysian talent and some accused other TNAAs of trying to poach their experienced staff;

BBDO do not have any expatriates. I believe opportunity should be given to
local talent where it is qualified to take the job. It has been my interest and that of the agency to provide this opportunity to Malaysians. I think that there is quite a lot of local talent in Malaysia. If you asked me the same question 20 years ago, my answer would have been very different. But today they is a lot. At the moment there are no shortages. One of our responsibilities is to train local talent and to expose it to the international situation. What disappoints me is the culture of some agencies, which I will not name, of trying to steal our staff.

BBDO, Malaysia

The opinion is supported by Grey and DY&R, Malaysia. They believe that:

... the agency without expatriates can be as good and creative as the agency with expatriates. In fact we have many talented staff who have proved themselves locally and internationally. For your information, two of our personnel were sent to Hong Kong and Jakarta to head one of the creative teams there. These I think show Malaysian talents are internationally recognised. ... concerning expatriates we have four of them; the Media Head, Executive Creative Director and PR Consultant. We have them because we are an international company that serves international clients. It is part of our strategy to show our clients and prospective clients that we are a well connected agency.

Grey, Malaysia

When we were first established in 1985, most of the group heads were expatriates. However the situation has changed...maybe it happened when I became the MD. New York gives me the green light to choose my team. If you remember Shafri, he was in our team. He is one of our prodigies... the best...in fact, recognised by Young Rubicam, New York, he won several of Clio Awards. Now he is in Bates..... one of the shareholders. Back to what I was saying earlier, I have confidence with the local talent....100 percent confidence. I don't think we going to have any shortage if we continue giving opportunities and training. I think we have done a lot.... We provide training to your students (practical training)... I think you have to agree...

DY&R, Malaysia

7.3.3 Creating the Advertising Campaign

Another aspect that it is important to look at, is how the advertisement is designed and the process of creating the campaign. There are several aspects that need to be considered, for instance, ‘is the concept/theme used in the campaign an adaptation from a global concept?’, ‘is the idea created locally?’, ‘how much of the global concept is used?’ and ‘if there are some changes, what kind of changes are they?’. The findings show that global and local ideas are mixed together in some of the advertisements. There is also evidence in some cases where 100 percent of ideas were formulated locally and some where adaptations from Western advertisements were used. Some agencies see the importance of localising some parts of the global concept. The need arises due to stringent guidelines imposed by the government, especially for TV Advertisements. This leads to the process of ‘glocalisation’ or ‘global concept with local idea’ in product advertising strategy. This is illustrated by
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Bates Worldwide:

We have some different and unusual circumstances. The key brand that we handle here is the Marlboro. We actually do the creative development for the world from here. But in terms of theme we are bound by the global concept, like 'Marlboro Man'. So we totally believe in globalisation because we are creating it. In terms of other regional clients, like Hong Kong Bank, we bind into the regional campaign that is done in Hong Kong but we also adapt locally or we create locally, because there is room for us to create for the local market. Each market is different. They have a different mentality, culture and stages of development.... Yes, I believe in globalisation where it is relevant, whereas I believe in adaptation or local creativity when it is relevant.

Bates Worldwide, Malaysia

DY&R and Ogilvy & Mather concur with this approach,

Most of our products are tied to the global concept, in terms of the strategy. For example Colgate Total, if you go to US, you can see it was an adaptation ..similar tune (music and jingle). However, the execution is sometimes changed. I mean a different location, different faces and voice overs... if we think it is essential to change in order to accommodate local taste..by all means then we change it..

DY&R, Malaysia

Yes, globalisation is part of our strategy. In fact for some advertisements the same global creative concept is used...but not an exact copy. There is a slight differentiation here. And that between concept and execution. There is no doubt that the core idea for an advertisement for instance can be applied across borders. However we must take into account the local circumstances and differences to really relate it to the local audiences in the market.

Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia

This is a common scenario among the TNAs. It is clearly stated by the Head of the Marketing Department, Citibank, Malaysia:

Most of our advertisements are based on global concepts. This concept acts as the umbrella in whatever advertisement we will be producing later. But there are certain things that might not be appropriate to the local situation, for example the use of money in the advertisement. As you know, there are certain rules and regulations in using our currency in advertisements. Therefore, we have to get our advertising agency to use the same concept but to introduce different angles and execution.

Citibank, Malaysia

The agencies are flexible in creating the advertising campaign. Flexible in that they can change their advertising approach in order to reach the Malaysian audiences. Their willingness to adopt a local element in their advertising campaign is indicated by Ogilvy & Mather.

Absolutely, we will change if the need arises. I deal with it everyday.
Otherwise why have the local creative department? What are they going to do? It’s the knowledge of the consumer in Malaysia that we have to bring for our client, to say this is why the concept will work better here than any other concept... I think we need the cultural aspect of Malaysia, an empathy, an understanding of the state of the development of the country, an understanding of the differences in terms of the values and attitudes that the Malaysians have. Not only from the West but indeed from places like Hong Kong or even Singapore.

Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia

Some observe that creating the right theme for a mega brand is complicated because it involves the culture on which the product has been targeted; to ensure the success of the campaign, the local cultures need to be considered;

....this is a big issue. While we want to do the global campaign, at the same time this campaign must take on the local flavour. It has to capture mindset, point of view. The Asian consumer is Western in terms of his orientation, aspirational values and outlook. But is intrinsically Asian in terms of inner values and belief. So this is a dilemma for Western marketers. How do you capture this? It is a challenge for a multinational company like DY&R.

DY&R, Malaysia

7.3.4 Creativity in Advertisements

Within any international advertising agency the creative department will be the nerve centre for the production of ideas and concepts in the making of advertisements. After a brainstorming session with the client and especially after studying the client’s marketing strategy, the creative department will come up with a strategy for the advertising campaign.

The creative department is the thinking machine of the agency, where advertising ideas are conceptualised and executed. It acts as a balance between the client’s need for effectiveness in advertising and the agency’s need for excellence in creative work. The creative ideas derived will appear in those media selected by personnel in the media department; for instance, television advertisements, newspaper or magazine advertisements, billboards. The personnel of this department are known as the creative team. Regardless of its size, the creative team in the agency comprises copywriters, art directors, artists and visualisers who work under the supervision of a creative director. The large and medium-sized agencies will have more personnel in the creative department, including an associate creative director.

According to Bozell, the Malaysian audience today no longer believes what they see
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on TV is the truth. What they see normally will be associated with their surroundings. In other words, the agency needs to be clever enough to devise a good creative strategy in order to rationalise the messages to the Malaysian audiences. He said:

We have to realise that the consumers are not stupid. Today there are more educated Malaysians. In fact the customer’s buying pattern always relates to their surroundings and experience. If the advertisement shows similar elements within the customer’s experience, this will trigger them to purchase the product... Malaysian consumers also always go for the value and the product benefit. They will not always believe everything in the advertisement. They tend to compare with other brands. For the agency, it is our job to help them in leading to the right product. It is not a simple task. Many aspects need to be taken into consideration. This is where product research will be helpful. All of our ads were helped by market research. We only create and give what the audiences want... So far we have done quite well... Our client Boh Tea and Sunkist have been with us more than 20 years.

Bozell Worldwide, Malaysia

A similar opinion is expressed by Bates, as he sees associating real life or audiences’ experience in the advertisement will bring truth and sincerity in the audience’s mind. They embed a lot of real life elements or slices of life in their TV advertisements.

A lot! A series of ads that we did for Hong Kong Bank and Telekom are very real life. For example, in Hong Kong Bank, the idea is, all parents want their children to be successful in their career and be rich. Most parents want their children to be a doctor, engineer, architect etc. But in reality success or wealth are not restricted to one type of occupation. It is how good you are at your job... In the ads we show you can be a tailor, and yet you can be successful and rich. This clearly shows a real life scenario, that people can relate to and understand.

Bozell Worldwide, Malaysia

DY&R also believe in using real life situations in their advertisements as they believe this will be the best way of bringing the audience to the product:

A lot of our work will become more Malaysian in its portrayal of real life.

DY&R, Malaysia

O&M also see the importance of using real life approaches with a little humour in their advertisements.

The creative technique is to show real life and we find with a number products, typically in the food category, that this is something that the consumer will take on board. However, on other occasions we’ll take liberties, perhaps be a little bit larger than life, humorous, disarming and on other occasions we’ll take the
However, Grey highlights the need to provide more options and use different approaches. It is not necessary to use real life experience (slice of life) to ensure success in the campaign. According to Grey, flexibility is important.

It depends on the products. Kent Horizon - its irrelevant, it takes the mind beyond the normal, mocking youth lifestyles. If you have watched the commercial, the whole idea is not realistic.... Some might see it as crazy.... it does not make any sense. Sometimes applying craziness gives you the edge... it doesn't have to prove anything to the audience....sometimes that's what they want.

Grey, Malaysia

7.4 Cultural Westernisation in Advertising

The main purpose of including culture during the interviews with the professionals was to obtain information on their perspectives and opinions on Western culturalisation of the country. As revealed earlier, most agencies embed the concept they receive from headquarters, though some localise it in order to cater for local taste. The first question I asked about culture was ‘What do you think of the foreign culture?’. The main purpose of this question was to discover their awareness of and concern about the matter.

7.4.1 Perception of Western Culture

This section examines the respondents perception of the notion of Western Culture in their daily activity. Some accept the existence of Western culture in their working environment, some see it as an ongoing process and some see Western or Malaysian culture is insignificant, since they need each other.

I think it is inevitable. The West is finding inspiration from the East. Just as in certain things we are being influenced by the West. You cannot put any barrier on this.

Bozell Worldwide, Malaysia

Some do not deny the existence of Western influence in Malaysian culture and refer to influence contributed by the Western expatriates working in the agency.
Yes, there must be influence in terms of foreign advertising because the advertising industry was run by expatriates for the earlier part of its life here in Malaysia. I think fewer and fewer expatriates are running the advertising industry here. That is good and as the industry secures itself, you'll see more local creative work developing. For example, the Petronas ads being done by Leo Burnett are extremely local.

Bates Worldwide, Malaysia

Some admitted difficulties in differentiating between both cultures as they have already integrated in society. In any case, they say, Western culture should be accepted as part of life.

It is difficult to differentiate between both cultures. Both cultures have already blended together. Malaysia is a modern society... most of the activities are already Westernised. We conceptualise our advertisements based on what the client wants. If we think the product is better off with high-tech imagery, then we will use it. Here, as you can see we are still dealing in western culture. We can't change it... it is already part of our daily activity.

DY&R, Malaysia

Bates and DY&R expressed the idea that Western culture in advertising needs to be regarded positively and accepted as part of life, while McCann-Erickson emphasised that culture should be seen as universal.

I think it is a very positive thing. And to be quite frank, seeing the Deputy Prime Minister's statement that the influx of foreign influence can be a positive thing provided it is taken within the context of Malaysian values and attitudes and in the context of a contribution to developing the nation. Well, as a foreigner I think it is a very positive thing for Malaysia to adapt to outside influences - positive outside influences.

Bates Worldwide, Malaysia

I see some local culture as universal culture. So I'm not sure what the difference is between the local and foreign cultures. I see it as the universal culture.

McCann-Erickson, Malaysia

Ogilvy & Mather expressed the need for the government and Malaysian audience to be more flexible in receiving new values and yet still maintaining their existing culture.

I think that sometimes maybe they are a little bit wary of foreign influences. However, I think that more and more they're learning to say, 'Yes, okay we're in the global economy. We are opening up to the world. We have to accept that we will have things that are alien to us but we just have to make sure that they are within the values of the Malaysian community.

Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia
The findings show some respondents accept any cultural change positively, while some have difficulty in finding the dividing line between cultures. It is not surprising some of the cultural element has already integrated and some suggest that Malaysians should receive the cultural impact openly and positively in order to develop and be modernised.

I think it has created an impact. But to me at the end of the day, we are Malaysians. As mature citizens contributing towards an affluent society we should know what to adopt for ourselves from the Western culture and what to be kept from our own. We have to grow. We have to develop...

McCann-Erickson, Malaysia

All the interviewees from the advertising agencies were aware of the existence of western values in their TV advertisements. However, they suggested the issues should not be exaggerated as they believe Malaysian audiences are mature enough not to be adversely affected by the new cultural overflow. They suggested that the Malaysian audience should accept the 'unstoppable information flow' by adapting the good values and by filtering out the negative ones.

Opinions of the advertisers (TNAs) have some similarities with those of the TNAAs. Some stressed that global culture should be accepted as universal culture. They agreed their products have an influence on the changing structure of consumer lifestyles. To them the products have brought a new dimension in lifestyle, which they see as dynamic, especially in improving the quality of life. They believe that the mega brand or global product should be received positively. However, they denied that their product does any harm to the indigenous culture. To them, culture is continuously changing regardless of the impact of their product.

Colgate Palmolive has been in Malaysia since before the country got independence. I do not see our product does any harm to local culture. But for sure it improves the quality of the people's life. Our products such as Colgate toothpaste and other dental care have been improved over time...we have invested in R&D. Consumers need to clean their teeth everyday,... to us just cleaning is not enough. The most important aspect is what we add to our toothpaste. Apart from cleaning, it protects the teeth from cavities, it feeds the teeth so they grow healthier. So does this do any harm to local culture? I don't think so... The only changes that I can see is the changing of lifestyle for a better standard of living.... However, since you ask me... the message that is conveyed in the advertisement is to help the audience to know about our product. We are not simply creating things that do not exist in our life. In our recent ad, we show how the family could benefit from our product. We explain how the teeth
The FOMCA associate culture with religious belief. Culture in Malaysia is very much influenced by Islam. However, they emphasised that all the cultural values in Islam are shared by other beliefs. In other words, all these cultural values are universally accepted regardless of the individual's religion. On the question of Western culture the interviewee suggested consumers should have an open mind when receiving this influence.

It is very hard to say because there are Malaysian values and universal values. Malaysia is an Islamic country, about 60% are Muslim, so basically the values are controlled by the Muslim culture. The religions teach the follower. The other 40% are from other religions. That has an impact even though the base culture seems to be the Malay Muslim culture. Actually when we study the religions there are a lot of universal values. For example tolerance, helping each other, caring etc. Western culture is always seen as negative but that is wrong because there are positive values in it too. We, as the consumer, should look at the universal values. It's a global market. We want to educate the consumer to be more open and also to be able to deal with the worst effects that are also frightening the Western people.

According to the above statement, FOMCA maintains an open mind that could be considered as a moderate stance compared to the resentment raised in the media. However, when it comes to 'Cultural Imperialism' we see a different opinion.

Yes, I've heard of the cultural imperialism.... very much so. In fact FOMCA is very concerned about this, especially in advertising. We in FOMCA have managed to ensure two ads will be withdrawn, in fact three, one is being modified because it is kind to cultural imperialism. Let me be more specific; for example in the Kellogg advertisement that shows 'roti canai' (the Malaysian favourite food) the child asks his father, 'Why do you only eat this? So I feel that is an insult to our favourite food. And of course food is part of culture. We feel that is bad because if you want to sell the product, you cannot compare it with something that has been there for a long time by saying yours is better.

Here, he is suggesting that the customer should adopt an open mind in accepting or receiving the Western culture but should go against it when the advertiser tries to create a false niche in the market by manipulating reality. He gives an example:

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29 Roti Canai is a Malaysian bread which is normally served for breakfast. It is like 'Naan' but more
Let's take cigarettes. Of course they are a dangerous product. The advertising is dangerous because it propagates the lavish and very luxuriant lifestyle. Even in the advanced or develop or rich countries they don't do that. It's just a small elite. But it makes out that the whole of the West is like that.

FOMCA

According to the TV2 programmer, the government TV station has its own rules and regulations on the content shown on the television. All TV stations have to abide by the regulations imposed on them. One of their major duties is not to promote Western culture that might go against Malaysian values.

As a TV programmer, I have the guidelines listed by my station, which it is my responsibility to follow. All the programmes shown in this station have been endorsed by the Censorship Board and so has the advertisement which the advertiser needs to have an approval certificate from Filem Negara. As for live TV programmes, it is my duty to ensure no negative influences are included. One of the objectives of this TV station is to promote the Malaysian identity, some elements regarded as negative Western influence are censored.

TV2

She also explains the culture differentiation which she defines below:

Western culture...is long hair, men wearing earrings, torn jeans etc. Local culture.... Malaysian is made up of three main cultures. I would say our culture is very different from the West. We are more polite. Our dress form. We are more decent.

TV2

The TV3 Programmer has different views when asked about Western culture in advertisements. To him western cultures are different according to how they are perceived. Some might say certain values are western but others might say the opposite.

The most important thing is not whether certain values are Western or not, but how you see it. Not all Western cultures are bad and not all our cultures are good either. It is up to the people to see and accept it...

TV3

When asked about how TV3 helps to control Western cultural influence, he added:

Well, you see even though we are a private TV station, when it comes to advertisements, we still have to follow the guidelines set by the Ministry. In fact all advertisements to be broadcast here must also go through approval by them and the Censorship Board. In this case, we really do not control it....

TV3
7.4.2 Perception of Local Culture in Advertisements

As well as exploring advertising practitioners' understanding of Western culture, it will be useful to find out more about their perception of Malaysian culture. Among the first opinions expressed concerning this subject was Bozell’s.

I think it is fantastic. It's one of the richest in the region. It has been an inspiration. In fact many of our ads. have incorporated Malaysian culture. The audience loves it, the research has shown that the audience feel easy with the advertisements. They feel they are part of them. The audience loves to be touched emotionally.

Bozell Worldwide, Malaysia

Bates, too, believe the element of local culture in the advertisement is very marketable.

Yes. We have already done it in the Hong Kong Bank ads.
Bates Worldwide, Malaysia

A similar opinion is given by DY&R:

Yes, it is marketable and unique. Interesting melting pot.
DY&R, Malaysia

Ogilvy & Mather also responded positively on the potential and the uniqueness of Malaysian culture portrayed in the commercial:

Having worked in a market like the UK and then spent another eight years in Hong Kong. And being exposed in Hong Kong to the variety of cultures, there's no culture like the Malaysian culture. It is the most intriguing. It is in many ways the most complex. It is because of the variety of different influences that are present in this country.

Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia

Like the rest of the interviewees he agreed that the Malaysian culture adopted in the advertisement is marketable and suggested it should be use more extensively.

Absolutely! It is, but it's not happening often enough at the moment. I think that we're seeing it happen out of two agencies like Leo Burnett and Petronas work. They are really tapping into the local culture. I think there is a lot of work O&M are doing for Nestle, which is also tapping into local culture, values and attitudes.

Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia
McCann-Erickson also show support for using local culture in their advertisements.

We have three colourful cultures in the country. If it fits with the product... why not? Yes I will use it... But again we have to be very careful with the term local culture. Local culture is actually being honest, local richness. We have a strong sense of humour.

McCann-Erickson, Malaysia

7.4.3 Do we have to protect the local culture?

After exploring 'What is Western?' and 'What is local culture?' with the advertising practitioners, the investigation would be incomplete without probing their 'concern in defending the culture' while they are producing the advertisements.

According to Bozell, they do not protect the local culture but they do promote it in their advertisement. And they believe in the potential of local culture in selling their clients' products.

We don't protect the culture, we promote it. We have done a lot in our advertisement. Malaysian culture is always part of our strategy. Our advertisement aims at the Malaysian consumer, so it will be wise to adopt our own culture rather than complicating our advertising strategy.

Bozell Worldwide, Malaysia

Bates said the issue of protecting Malaysian culture does not exist at all. According to them we are just over-reacting on the subject.

I think we get too paranoid about the protection.
Bates Worldwide, Malaysia

DY&R think the advertising agencies have to respect the local culture in selling their ideas without taking any offensive action that might hurt the feelings of the Malaysian audience.

Our local culture must be given respect however, I wouldn't call this protection. But we have to be sensitive in our approach.

DY&R, Malaysia

However, Ogilvy & Mather make a very clear statement on the protection of the Malaysian culture - they believe it must not just be protected but treasured.
I think, yes. Not just protective but to treasure it, to make sure that it isn’t diluted, that it is not spoiled but it can take on board other influences and develop. I think it has to be acknowledged and treasured.

Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia

A similar opinion was given by Grey but at the same time they do not reject Western culture.

I think we shouldn’t lose our culture as it keeps Malaysia unique from any other developed country. I think we should retain our culture. However there are good things about the western culture that I do not deny we should adopt. And we should know where our limit is. Maintaining your culture that has worked for many generations and adopting some good from the West, that is to the benefit of all of us.

Grey, Malaysia

FOMCA also expressed their concern on the importance of preserving the local culture. The Association believes the advertising industry should share the burden in preserving Malaysian culture. The industry, says the Association, serves as the frontier for the audience to meet new information and learn. If inappropriate information is disseminated, the impact on the audience will be detrimental. However, the Association stresses they are not against positive values that have already been accepted as universal values. What they are against is the promotion of lavish and extravagant lifestyles which give rise to unnecessary spending by the consumer.

I think if we can still protect and preserve our culture that should be given priority. But I think, in today’s information flow, it is almost impossible. Advertisements are promoting an unnecessary lifestyle and values, I am not totally against it because some of the values are already universal. But what I am against is when they promote more spending....and for a product they don’t even need.... The consumer is normally not aware of such things but responds unconsciously...

FOMCA

In this section, we have seen there are a number of conflicting opinions on protecting Malaysian culture. Here, I would like to stress the conflict of opinion due to the nature of culture itself. Culture is a complicated subject for most of us to understand. Such understanding has commonly been associated with our experience and background, so it is hardly surprising there is a difference of opinion. However, the findings show a recognition by most of the respondents of the importance of Malaysian culture to advertising.
Chapter Seven  
Regulating and Producing the Advertisement

7.4.4 The Question of Cultural Westernisation

Cultural Westernisation has been one of the main topics studied in this thesis. Some have argued that Western influence in advertising has played a significant role in the changing structure of Malaysian culture. This section will investigate the involvement of Western influence in creating the advertisement. This question was posed directly to each of the respondents.

During the interview Bozell acknowledges the reality of the process of Cultural Westernisation acting in the advertising industry.

> There's no denying that. Actually, it is a question of which is the better choice. As I said earlier we do promote local culture and realise its importance. But sometimes it is beyond our capacity to separate it. Our focus is to promote our client’s product... that is our main aim and that is what we are being paid for. If the product USP (unique selling point) works better with Malaysian culture like 'Wayang Kulit' (shadow play) we will use it, if not we will use other resources.
> Bozell Worldwide, Malaysia

Concerning themes and values, he said:

> There is no one theme. Eight years ago we launched the BOH campaign -- 'Boh ada Ummph (Boh got Ummph)'. That campaign has touched the core of the client's heart and mind. But there is no single specific theme. Different ads have different approaches. There's no formula for this.
> Bozell Worldwide, Malaysia

Ogilvy & Mather also acknowledge the incorporation of Western values in formulating creative ideas for advertisements during recent years. However, they believe it does no harm to the Malaysian audiences. This statement was based on research conducted by the agency, which showed that Malaysian culture still remains intact though it is continuously being exposed to Western values.

> It would be wrong to deny that there are no Western influences. However, we have shown through research that we did among 18 to 25 year-olds, that while having the western influences, the Malaysian values remained intact and values such as family, values such as community, values such as respect are not being affected. Western influences are more materialistic by nature and they have tended to come into the culture but the basic value system is not being spoiled.
> Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia

Concerning themes and values used in their advertisements, it all depends on the type
of products and audiences.

It depends because each brand has a unique relationship with its consumer. And that is the relationship that we try to bring out and we are trying to get people to aspire to it. So it can vary from brand by brand. But there are commonalities in terms of the amount of the irreverent that we would show on the spot. The sensitivity that we show on the spot will vary much from the west where people are content to be a lot more aggressive and challenging in advertising.

Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia

Grey explains the agency works with an open mind and without restriction or limitation in developing their creative ideas. Some of the advertisements created are based on advertisements produced overseas. Grey's policy is to use all ideas they can get to create an impact in their advertisement. This approach is clearly seen in most of their recent advertisements.

Our policy in creating advertisements is simple. You can’t produce a good ad if you work under too much limitation. The way we work first is with brainstorming. Anybody can give their opinion... Sometimes it does not make sense to you but it makes sense to the audience... We also receive some help from other Grey branches. Sometimes we will use their samples, but the end result will be different and better. In the recent ad, the ideas are an irrelevant way of living, having fun, a bit of western influence. It works better for certain products like Kent (cigarette product)

Grey, Malaysia

7.5 Advertising Controls and Constraints

As mentioned in Chapter Two, advertising practice in Malaysia is subject to several ethical controls. These controls exist at the governmental level, the advertising industry level and the consumer level. At the government level, there are laws meant to protect Malaysian culture and safeguard consumers against deceptive, misleading advertisements. At the industry level, there is the Advertising Standards Authority of Malaysia, or ASAM, comprising representatives from the advertising agencies, advertisers and media owners. ASAM has its own code of advertising practice. Besides this, some media owners take it upon themselves to introduce safeguards by

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1. Advertisements must be legal, decent, honest, sensible, truthful and in line with National policies.
2. Advertisements must help promote and develop local industries and services.
3. Advertisements must project the Malaysian culture, identity, reflect the multi-racial character of the population and advocate the philosophy of 'Rukun Negara'.
4. Advertisements must project a better quality of life for all Malaysians, inject civic mindedness and desired behavioural attitudes in life, such as queuing up when boarding a bus (Advertising Code for Television and Radio, Ministry of Information, 1990).
refusing advertisements they consider unsuitable. At consumer level are the consumer associations. These consumer groups are the strongest critics of advertising in Malaysia and they do a good job as the industry's watchdog (Hashim, 1994).

7.5.1 Government Perspectives

The Malaysian Advertising Code for Television and Radio was created in the early 1970's and revised in 1990. The main objective of this code is to regulate the content of TV advertisements in order meet the country's objectives. Though the advertising regulations have already been there for quite sometime, the government has not yet made the regulations into law as the consumer associations demand. Currently, it is only an internal ruling for the department that has the prerogative in approving advertisements before they can be aired on TV and Radio. The regulations are normally distributed to all advertising agencies and its suppliers, such as production houses (that actually produce the TV advertisement).

The principles of the whole government policy are widely known by most people directly or indirectly involved in the industry. That is, the Ministry's responsibility is to safeguard the Malaysian audience from any negative element that it feels will be a threat. Though the negative element has never been defined clearly, it is connected to Western values. According to the Head of the Advertising Department, Ministry of Information:

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All advertisements have to comply with the government policy. This includes protecting our culture and helping the local film industry to grow. We would also like to discipline the advertiser so they comply with our request.

Ministry of Information
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The government is aware of the need to control the influence of western culture which is being disseminated through the media, since the indigenous culture is known to be prone to changes in its values. In order to meet such a demand, the government has produced the guideline objectives that the advertisers must embrace.

The protection of cultural identity has always figured in nationalist discourse. During the interviews, the Ministry representative underlined this very emphatically, referring to the utmost efforts expended in maintaining the 'Malaysian Identity', especially
with reference to its preservation for future generations.

The government realise we cannot stop the flow of information, as you know the country has grown tremendously recently. We need to devise a way of slowing down the diminishing of Malaysian identity at any cost. First step, all commercials must obtain ‘Made in Malaysia’ (MIM) certificates from ‘Filem Nasional’ (Finas).

Ministry of Information

The foreign element has always been an issue for the Malaysian media. A sentiment of hatred arising from having been colonised always lingers in the Malaysian mind. Nationalism therefore always has an advantage in the political scenario and there is no opposition to the government’s imposition of restrictions to curb the flow of foreign elements into the country.

Strong emphasis on the speciality of the country of origin of an imported product is not allowed. Any reference made should only state the name of the foreign country. Words should not be used to suggest superior quality or promise of a greater benefit. All scenes or shots must be done in Malaysia. If foreign footage is deemed necessary only 20% of the total commercial footage is allowed and prior approval from this Ministry must be obtained. However, foreign footage for advertisements on tourism to Asian countries can be approved up to 100%. Processing of advertisements must be done in Malaysia. Satisfactory evidence of non-availability of such services must be produced before approval can be given to obtain such services overseas. Music and other sounds must be done in Malaysia.

Ministry of Information

When asked about the kind of values that need to be incorporated in the commercial, the respondent commented,

We should try as hard as possible to maintain the Malaysian identity by showing integration among various races, such as in community activity like in the ‘Shelltox’ commercial. You can see the Malays, Chinese and Indians working together in harmony. This is what we want to achieve. If the country is in harmony it will help stability.

Ministry of Information

The ‘Pan-Asian’ issue has been a sensitive one in the public domain since 1988. There have been numerous complaints against the government ruling, which is

31 The ‘Pan-Asians’ are the products of mixed marriages between Asians and Caucasians and are renowned for their fine features and tall stature. Since they are both attractive and difficult to categorise ethnically, they are well sought after by advertising agencies. The government ruling of 1988 stated that all actors in TV advertisements should be easily identified as to ethnic background.
32 All TV models with Pan-Asian faces were banned by the government from appearing in the TV Advertisements.
Chapter Seven Regulating and Producing the Advertisement

regarded as something of a blunder. The so-called ‘Pan-Asians’ complain of being made to feel like ‘foreigners’ or non-citizens. After nine years the government relaxed its ruling though there has been no formal lifting of the ban. The current government stand on this issue is illustrated by the Ministry respondent:

We the government only restrict the main actor. The main actor has to have the Malaysian look. Pan-Asians can only be accepted for the supporting roles. The Malaysian look has to be black hair and black eyes. While Pan-Asians have blonde hair, brown, blue and grey eyes that do not reflect the majority. However, we are not that rigid, the government is only trying to stop misinformation...the idea that... the rich are the Pan-Asians.

Ministry of Information

The ‘Made in Malaysia’ issue is not directly under the department’s jurisdiction, but it is it’s responsibility to check whether this requirement has been met.

However...MIM is Finas’ responsibility, it is not our job. Our job is to ensure the content of the advertisement meets our Advertising Code of Practice. But in good faith we help Finas to check whether the commercial already has the certificate. So far none to my knowledge have submitted their commercials without the certificate. Since you ask me, MIM is to protect and at the same time to develop our film industry. If we allow the foreign director to work here how will our film directors survive? If we allow them to shoot at foreign locations, for example in the US or Paris, our audiences, especially the children, might think the Eiffel Tower is right in their backyard. Or the 'makeik makeik' (middle aged housewife) will be dreaming of going on holiday to those places. And yet they should visit Penang, Tioman or maybe Kuala Lumpur itself. This will help our tourism. In terms of actors, why do we need to have Westerners in our ads? First, it will stop our models from acting and secondly the audience might think they are the majority and yet when the audience goes outside they will see yellow, black and brown skin. We don’t have anything against them, but our policy is to portray reality.

Ministry of Information

The role of 4A’s is protect the interest of their members (the advertising agencies) and to conduct self-regulation of their advertising practices. The government appears to be satisfied with their present relationship with the 4 A’s, as indicated below.

Yes, we have a good relationship and we always and regularly maintain a dialogue with them. We need to have a close relationship with them because they could help us to monitor some of the advertisements...with their complaints. But sometimes, it effects us running this department. If too many complaints are received it effects our credibility because we are the body that gives the final approval for an ad. to be broadcast. Normally they complain about inaccurate information on the product. If their complaint has a solid foundation, our job is to withdraw the ad. from being broadcast.

Ministry of Information
During the interview, the Ministry spokesperson also highlighted the difficulties in doing the job. Especially when dealing with a product that has a strong connection with the government interest, such as the tobacco industry. Most of the difficulties involve pleasing the consumer association, the product competitor and the government itself at one and the same time. The tobacco industry for instance, involves deep government interest especially in protecting small-scale farmers whose income relies on tobacco farming. At the same time, the transnational tobacco corporations provide huge revenues in taxes and advertising. In fact this advertiser spends huge sums of money to sponsor big events, which the government simply can’t afford to do. The ruling on tobacco advertising has been changed twice; first, it was banned from appearing in the broadcast media (TV and Radio) and second, changes were made when the government saw a drastic loss in advertising revenue. In 1985, the government allowed this advertiser to publicise their trademark, including brand names and colour, on the television as long the TV advertisement promoted other products apart from cigarettes.

Most complaints are related to cigarette advertisements. We received a lot of complaints from the competitors and public, particularly from FOMCA. Complaints from the competitor normally concern the non-existence product. Last year, someone complained about the 'Mild Seven' advertisement. They say the ads were supposed to sell fishing equipment. But the ads did not show where the public could buy the product. I admit this was our mistake, someone in this department did not do her job and we overlooked it. Another ad is the Salem Holiday, the ad is supposed to promote a travel agency and yet there is no agency by that name, it goes under a different name. Another example is Benson & Hedges Bistro, the ad promotes a small coffee shop somewhere in KL. Personally I ask you, is it realistic for this advertisement to appear almost everyday just to promote a coffee shop? They spend more than RM$2 million for this campaign. This complaint we received from the consumer group. Frankly speaking I can’t do anything, my boss (referring to the Minister of Information) already said ‘no problem’.. So I have to follow his instructions. ...Political connection? I think the accusations are baseless. At the same time the ad didn’t do anything wrong - they followed all the guidelines except they wanted to spend money on the small shop, it is their choice. Whatever their motive...

Ministry of Information

An overall perspective from the interview with the Ministry of Information suggests the government concern for the need to fulfil responsibilities outlined in their Advertising Code for Television and Radio and the obligation to uphold the Malaysian Philosophy or Rukun Negara. The Government shows its firm stand in protecting citizens by imposing some stringent rules on the advertising agencies. At
the same time, the regulator faces difficulties in pleasing many people including the public, the industry and the government. The regulator is seen to be flexible in imposing some rulings, especially if they have to do with national and government interests. On certain occasions there is evidence that regulators display weaknesses in imposing the advertising code.

The inconsistency in imposing the rules has produced complaints from the consumer association and the advertising agencies. The next section concerns the findings from the interview conducted with the consumer association (FOMCA).

7.5.2 Consumer Association Perspectives

The Federation of Malaysian Consumer Associations has played an important role as the watchdog of advertisement regulation. The Federation also serves as the channel of communication for the public to express their dissatisfaction with the advertisements broadcast on television. Complaints by the association not only concern government efficiency in imposing the rulings but also act as check and balance for the advertising industry. In this section, we see some of the satisfaction and dissatisfaction of FOMCA with the government’s role as regulators;

... the government so far has played a satisfactory role in protecting the national interest and the public. They have their own system in imposing the ruling.... They have created the MIM ruling which I think has done good to the industry...sometimes I appreciate they do take seriously all of our complaints. However, if you scrutinised it carefully, the government has practised many double standards... Sometimes I can see they are so stringent in certain advertisements... for us that is good. Good for the consumers. In their code they did mention the ad needs to portray a healthy life, but why they allow cigarette ads to be shown on the TV..... Yes! I know the commercials do not sell cigarettes but that is all on paper. I don’t think the ads are aimed to sell just shirts, they are actually trying to sell cigarettes. If they are sincere why do they need to use the same name and logo, but as you see the government was so defensive when this thing was highlighted. They are protecting their own interest. It is not surprising that they close one eye and practice double standards and let the ad be televised..... I think they can do better than this.

FOMCA

FOMCA also criticise the role of the ‘Advertising Standards Authority, Malaysia (ASAM) for being a toothless tiger.

They are a toothless tiger. ASAM has no authority. They cannot do anything. So they could just put on a moral front with the members and I have also found
that they have the tendency to protect their own kind. They can do better than
that. Why can’t they set their own organisation to monitor rather than wait until
someone complains? That’s not a progressive attitude. They need to be
aggressive in monitoring their own code, though we have two codes, the ASAM
Code and the Ministry of Information code.

FOMCA

The Malaysian audiences have two codes to protect their interest. Yet the present
Advertising Code by the government and the industry is still insufficient. FOMCA
recommended to the government that this code needed to be converted into an
‘Advertising Act’;

I think advertising does have an impact on the society, so they must monitor the
ads to ensure that the codes are being followed. We have proposed to the
Ministry the idea of an Advertising Act.

FOMCA

7.5.3 Perspectives of the TNAAs and TNAs

In this section, the discussion is divided into two areas; firstly the industry’s opinion
of the government Advertising Code For Television and Radio, and secondly the role
of 4As/ASAM in their self-regulatory practice. The perspectives of government
regulation and self-regulation have received mixed responses from the industry.
Some felt the present guidelines were sufficient and most supported the ruling on
MIM. Overall, most of them were happy with the government’s role in monitoring
TV advertisements. However, criticisms received by the government concerned
government inconsistency and blurred guidelines. As for ASAM, there were also
mixed opinions. However, generally many feel the 4As have fulfilled their task in
monitoring the behaviour of their members.

The interviews show Bates Malaysia are happy with the present guidelines and the
MIM rules. They think the ruling is fair to the industry.

I think the rules are sensible enough. In fact they are ensuring that we do not
portray anything in a bad way. As for the ‘Made in Malaysia’ rules, it is for us
to help to develop the local industries. And we have got a good relationship
with them. We do not encounter any problems at all.

Bates Worldwide, Malaysia

They also supported the government intention in trying to ensure the portrayal of
Malaysia in the advertisements.
They are careful to ensure that we are portraying Malaysian life. There is nothing wrong with that.

Bates Worldwide, Malaysia

The agency also expressed their satisfaction with government consistency in imposing the ruling.

This point of view is also shared by Ogilvy & Mather which supports the government action in its efforts to protect the local culture. They did not consider that the government ruling ‘Made-in-Malaysia’ would produce a setback to the advertising industry. They believe the government knows what is good for its citizens and it is the duty of the ministry to carry out the necessary action. However, they also expressed some dissatisfaction concerning government ‘lack of cognition’ in the industry and inconsistency in enforcing guidelines, which they suggest, could be improved:

Well, as you are aware, we have quite strong guidelines including the Made in Malaysia ruling. The Ministry, I have to say, is acting in the defence and protection of the consumer in the market place. And that's something that we have to respect. Their interpretation of protection sometimes can be out of line with what we would regard as the protection of the consumer. But they are trying to act in the best interests of the local culture....

Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia

Below are some of his suggestions and examples of inconsistency;

I wish that they would find out more about our business. I wish that they would spend more time with us, spend more time with the Advertising Association of Malaysia, try to understand what we are trying to achieve. What we are trying to achieve is in the interests of the country as a whole. Selling products means more jobs, means more people employed, means high living standards and all of those kinds of things. Sometimes I think that the ministries think that we are here for some other reasons. We are here for no other reason than just to sell our client’s products. And selling products is good for Malaysia. Though, they have written guidelines within which they refer and act. The interpretation of those guidelines can change according to which personality you are actually dealing with within the Ministry....there are problems in areas where they feel the advertisement contains any foreign footage. There are problems in the area where the theme of horror is being used. Themes that they perceive to be violence. Themes that they believe to be overly sexual. Using language that may be in the vernacular of the consumer but in their opinion is unsuitable for broadcasting.

Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia

The question of the need for additional guidelines was put forward, the respondent replying that the existing guidelines are already sufficient;
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I think that we've got more than enough restrictions.
Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia

Returning to the role and the contribution of the Ministry of Information, Dentsu, Young and Rubicam acknowledge the Minister's farsighted vision in designing some of the regulations.

When Datuk Rahmat imposed the Made In Malaysia regulation, all of us were very angry with him. Today, I am very thankful to him because TV Film Production in Malaysia is now one of the best in the region. As a result of banning the foreign directors, local directors have become top class in production.

DY&R, Malaysia

Overall, there is satisfaction with the job done by the government but with reservations concerning cigarette advertisements.

Most of the regulatory issues are well managed. What is not being controlled is our cigarette advertising. At present, the Malaysian government must realise that you cannot ban cigarettes and have cigarette advertising.

DY&R, Malaysia

Concerning the government policy on foreign influence there is satisfaction with the present situation. The government is considered to be more flexible now than in previous years:

The Ministry has gotten its stand over the years. Datuk Mohammed Rahmat is a little tolerant now.

DY&R, Malaysia

In terms of consistency, there was agreement with some agencies that the government was inconsistent in some of its actions.

No, they are not.
DY&R, Malaysia

Bozell and McCann-Erickson also highlighted the inconsistency, which sometimes occurs during the process of approval, due to the vague guidelines. This causes problems for the agency, especially in creating advertisements. According to them

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33 Datuk Mohamad Rahmat is the former Minister of Information of Malaysia (sacked by Prime
the problem that they encounter especially is the interpretation of the advertisement's message. The messages seem to meet the guidelines according to agency perspectives, but when the advertisement goes to the Ministry it is interpreted differently. They suggest to the government that the guidelines need to be more specific.

On many occasions, I discovered they are not consistent. The reason is because some of the guidelines are not clear. For example, the guidelines say it is not allowed to use school children in the ad, and we abide by the ruling but why do they allow other products to show them. When we complained they said the school children do not wear government standard uniforms... they have a different colour...

Bozell Worldwide, Malaysia

As of right now it is difficult because we don’t really know what the guidelines are. You just have to send the script to be approved and after you have finished making the commercial you have to get another approval. Sometimes you get the approval and sometimes you don’t. When it is not approved, you’re not quite sure what the reason is.

McCann-Erickson, Malaysia

BBDO feel the MIM ruling needs to be removed if the advertising industry is to develop further.

One thing that we should be aware of is that Malaysia is positioning itself as a regional Hub for communication - in terms of Multimedia Super Corridor, Binariang, Measat satellite etc. But realistically until legislation like the Made in Malaysia legislation is removed, Malaysia won’t achieve that. I think that in certain other industries the development has been so rapid. In advertising we’re not seeing that. We’re not seeing Malaysia, inclusive of governmental and private sectors, getting together to promote this industry.

BBDO, Malaysia

The interviews show some dissatisfaction with the government advertising guidelines. The main dissatisfaction is the discrepancies in making decisions. Some accused the government of being biased in favour of certain parties. Some of them, in fact, felt the guidelines are too rigid and affect their creativity in producing the advertisement. However, they did not deny the importance of having guidelines, especially for protecting the audiences from deception and negative values.

Apart from the guidelines by the Ministry of Information, 4A’s, too, have similar responsibilities through ASAM, with its own Advertising Code of Ethics. Bozell

Minister in March 1999).
were happy with the role of 4As in getting recognition from the government and ASAM in monitoring their members. During the interviews, Bozell\textsuperscript{34} also acknowledged the contribution of the association by praising the current President:

The 4A's in the last term of the current President have made tangible progress in two particular areas; gaining recognition from the government and other relevant bodies to say that the association and the advertising people are very responsible. Work with the government. We can and will regulate ourselves. When I was in the council, all complaints were efficiently monitored. Any complaint will be forwarded to the respective agency. We will also forward the complaint to the Ministry. So far all complaints have been treated fairly...I think everybody is happy... After all we are professional...

Bozell Worldwide, Malaysia

Ogilvy & Mather\textsuperscript{35} agreed with Bozell, that 4As play a positive role in the development of the industry. However, the association could be more efficient if the government and the association could have a regular dialogue. The aims of this dialogue would be to help the government understand the current problems faced by the industry.

I have to speak as a member of council of the 4A's. I think for the last two years, we have played a very positive role in the development of the industry. I wish that we could have a stronger dialogue with the government. That is not just from the multinational point of view. You know that 4A's are made up of the local agencies and there is only one expatriate that sits on the 4A's council. But we don't have the dialogue with the government. The government does not really engage in the dialogue and that is a shame.

Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia

In terms of the function of ASAM, Ogilvy & Mather feel that the body is still not a strong self-regulatory body.

The advertising watchdog is ASAM, which is basically the joint committee from the 2As (Advertiser Association), media owner and 4As. It is in no way what it is in the UK where they are a very strong self-regulatory body, we wouldn't need the restriction to be applied by the Ministry of Information.

Ogilvy & Mather, Malaysia

However, not all respondents shared the same opinion with Bozell and Ogilvy & Mather on the role of the 4As. DY&R accused the 4As of not being an effective body and of not being respected.

\textsuperscript{34} The respondent from Bozell was former Vice Chairman of 4As.
\textsuperscript{35} The respondent is one of 4As council member.
It's like a toothless tiger. It has no value. People do not respect it. What the President says is not taken seriously. I do not think it is effective.

DY&R, Malaysia

7.6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has explored four major dimensions, 'The Organisational Structure of the Advertising Industry in Malaysia', 'Producing the Advertisements', 'Cultural Westernisation' and 'Advertising Control and Constraints'. These four dimensions will help in the investigation of the process of regulating and producing advertisements in Malaysia.

The findings on 'Organisational Structure of the Advertising Industry in Malaysia' show globalisation indeed plays a significant role in the TNAA's changing structure. The merger and buying out are common practices in the global advertising industry, where many TNAAs have been changing hands between investors. The findings also provide evidence of the increasing numbers of TNAAs owned by a large single conglomerate. These phenomena have influenced the daily running of the agencies, their policies and their strategies. 'Worldwide product alignment' is seen as a contributing factor to the success of TNAAs located in Malaysia.

The process of decision making is also seen to have an effect on the production of advertisements. The findings show there are two levels of process in decision-making. First, the decision made directly from the main headquarters and from the regional headquarters. Secondly, there is evidence that some agencies are being given the right to make their own decisions dependent upon their size and importance. If the decision affects the running process of the agency and the product globally, the decision is made by the headquarters, and if it deals with the product to marketed in Malaysia, the decision sometimes is given to the local agency.

Another contributing factor that influences the production of advertisements is the personnel involved in the job. Most TNAAs employ expatriates in their agencies, but there is evidence of a reduction of their involvement over the years. The common reason given for employing expatriates is the shortage of Malaysian talent and the
transfer of knowledge and expertise. Most agencies have shown their recognition of Malaysian personnel; many of the agencies are in a transition process in order to hand over the leading roles to Malaysians. These trends are already bearing fruit, with four of the seven respondents (CEO and Managing Directors) being Malaysian. Many TNAAs have employed Malaysians to head the important departments particularly the ‘Client Servicing Department’ and ‘Creative Department’. However, due to the shortage of Malaysian talent this action is restricted. Some of the agencies provide international training to some of their staff.

In terms of producing the actual campaign or advertisement, global and local ideas are being incorporated. Some of the Western ideas have been localised in order to meet local requirements. This adjustment is not due to sensitivity to the local culture, but to suit the needs and tastes of the targeted Malaysian market. The kind of adjustments commonly made concerned the ‘execution’, for example the location, actors etc. of the advertisement. This process has been contributed to by the government ‘MIM’ policy. Occasionally, there are advertisements for the regional market that have been 100 per cent locally conceptualised, for example the Marlboro advertisement. During the process of advertisement making, some agencies have received help from their counterparts abroad in incorporating ideas into the campaign.

With respect to regulation, this chapter demonstrates that the Ministry of Information plays a significant role in protecting the national interest, which has to be in line with National policy. There is no evidence that the government or state are losing or reducing their role in enforcing the regulations. However, on certain occasions the state ‘bends the rules’ for the sake of economic interest, by giving way on ‘controversial products’ (cigarettes) allowing them to be aired indirectly or in different forms.

For the control of advertising the government has created the Advertising Code for Television and Radio and the MIM policy. All advertisers who want to broadcast either on a government TV station or a privately owned station are required to go through this process. However, the regulating bodies encounter some difficulties in fulfilling their functions due to conflicting interests. Some inconsistencies in imposing the ruling have been reported, which the government has accepted as oversights.
Many parties have criticised the government, including the TNAAs and the consumer associations, on the grounds of double standards. However, overall the agencies and consumer associations have acknowledged the contribution and the efficiency of the government in performing their task. On the role of 4As and ASAM, most of the members acknowledge their contribution in gaining recognition from the government and also in performing self-regulation among their members. However, some members have said the performance could be improved and suggest the association should be more bold in voicing its opinion.

Finally, the existence of Western influence has been accepted in the Malaysian advertising industry. This influence is manifested in several ways. The structure of the advertising industry is determined through Western ideology and mechanisms. The tactical and conceptual approach in running the agencies has been based on a Western institution perspective. The product promoted in the TV advertisement has close connotations with the concept of modernisation, which apparently can be related to Westernisation. The production of the advertisements is based on Western ideas and education and is masterminded by Western expatriates. However, this influence is being resisted by the government’s ‘Advertising Code’, the aim of which is to combat the detrimental effects of cultural Westernisation.
Chapter Eight

Cultural Representation in Television Advertisements

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine a wide range of representations of social life in Malaysian TV advertisements. It will also assess such advertising as a source of Western influence amongst Malaysians. Cultural constructions can take place in most social activities, and can address us in the practices of everyday life even while calling on our subjective sense of self and our fantasies. This chapter also stresses the process of image construction during the promotion of products for audience consumption.

While dealing with these issues, the chapter narrows its focus onto the influence of Western countries on national origin and on image representation in Malaysian advertisements. In this chapter the three main areas of examination are;

1. The general contents of TV advertisements in Malaysia
2. The cultural Westernisation in TV advertisements in Malaysia.
3. The dominant cultural values manifested in the TV advertisements in Malaysia.

The chapter is divided into two parts; the first part will provide a general description of the background of the samples. This includes the number of samples according to TV station, product category and origin. The second part will be based on the cultural indicators that have been set earlier, which includes ‘Character Representation in the Advertisement’ (gender and age), ‘Group Character Representation’ (relationship and occupation/activity), ‘Production and Image Framing’ (setting, location, filming technique and time setting) and ‘The Representation of Lifestyles and Values’.
Chapter Eight

Cultural Representation in Television Advertisements

included in this section is a comparison between Western product advertisements and Malaysian product advertisements.

Here, I would like to stress that the discussion focuses on Western product advertisements as a whole and not separated according to the 'nationality of product origin' (US, UK etc.). The reason I decided to combine product advertisements from the United States, the United Kingdom and other European countries is that they do not show major differences in cultural values. The portrayal of gender in western advertisements, for example, is as follows. For male, the United States 59%, United Kingdom 59%, Europe 55%. For female, the United States 41%, the United Kingdom 45% and Europe 45%. All but one of the variables studied exhibited such consistency. The exception was the portrayal of 'child' in the Age Group Category, with Europe 30%, the United States 10% and the United Kingdom 13%. With this single exception, then, advertising from the various western countries exhibits sufficient common features to be regarded as one entity for the purpose of this study.

In this chapter, some of the discussions include a comparison of 'product category' and the 'cultural variables'. The reason for including 'product category' in the discussion is to ensure 'no stone is left unturned'. For example, if the results show no differences between two origins, is this really so? I think the best place to look at this is the 'product category' because it can be used to interpret the pattern of consumption. And consumption could be used to interpret the changing pattern of lifestyle. If apart from that there is a major difference between the West and Malaysia, the other question might arise as to 'why?' In order to answer this, 'product types' would vary most significantly with some of the independent factors such as gender, age group, social relationship, background etc. This is because many of the goods and services studied originate from the West and they are, of course, central to Malaysian lifestyle. If the study is asking how Western and Malaysian products are advertised, we need also to ask how Western Malaysian lifestyle is presented in this. In other words the product type is important. My primary question in this thesis is Western versus Malaysian, and the 'product category' can be seen to act as the reflection of Western and Malaysian cultures.
8.2 Samples and Procedures

Advertisements that appeared on three major Malaysian television networks (RTM1, RTM2, and TV3) were selected for this study and taped during July, 1996. All advertisements in the sample were taped during prime time viewing between 7.00 p.m. and 10.00 p.m. However, due to mass samples only 15 days (selection based on odd number 1st, 3rd and so forth) from each TV station were used, where 135 hours of air time were collected and analysed (15 days x 3 hours x 3 TV stations). After eliminating any duplicate advertisements and public service announcements, a total of 307 different advertisements were considered from a total of 1,977. From that total, 91 advertisements are United States product advertisements, 38 are United Kingdom product advertisements, 48 are European product advertisements and 66 are Malaysian product advertisements. This gives a total of 243 advertisements. The remaining 64 advertisements are from Japan and other countries (for details of sample identification and categorisation please refer to Chapter Six) and are categorised as 'other'.

8.3 General Background of the Advertisements

8.3.1 Frequency of Television Advertisements from the Television Stations

As indicated earlier, 307 advertisements broadcast in 1996 were analysed. All television advertisements were selected from three major TV stations; they were TV1, TV2 and TV3.

Among the three, only TV3, inaugurated in 1984, is privately owned. The findings reflect the popularity of this TV station. When it was first launched, TV3 (STMB) promoted its image by incorporating 'Your entertainment channel' as its slogan, which helped to make the station a market leader. A year after it was launched, the other two government owned channels, TV1 and TV2, suffered drastic falls in their advertising revenues.

As yet, neither of these channels has managed to overtake TV3 in terms of advertising revenue, despite having invested enormous sums of money in buying popular
programmes and uplifting their image. Figure 8.1 shows that TV3 still maintains its leadership as the favourite TV station of advertisers.

Figure 8.1 also indicates that there are slight differences in terms of advertisement frequency among the three TV stations. TV3\(^{36}\) (N=754)) has a slightly higher advertisement frequency than TV1 (N=652) and TV2 (N=571). This success reflects its status as a private TV station, which has more freedom and choice in its programming strategy.

8.3.2 Product Category in Advertisements

In order to describe the pattern of product frequency, I have placed the products into twenty-five different categories, adapted from Nielsen SRG (Advertising & Marketing, 1995b). The findings (Table 8.1) show the ‘Foods’ category was the main product category advertised during the studied period (22%). This was followed by household products (15%) and cigarettes (14.7%).

\(^{36}\)TV3 had a better share of the market in terms of urban viewers, which are known for their affluence and greater purchasing power. TV3 is popular among the urban viewers because of its variety of programs. Due to this, no doubt, the advertisers choose TV3 as their main carrier.
Table 8.1

Number of Advertisements According to Product Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Overall Broadcast Advertisement</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>No. of Different Advertisement</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foods</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households Prod.</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarettes Related</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department Store</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical Prod.</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmetic</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast Food</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telecom</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computers</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petroleum</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holidays</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Softdrinks</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auto</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toys</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports Products</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couriers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airlines</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of the number of different advertisements, foods (29.3%) and household (20.2%) product categories also provide the most 'different advertisements'. Cigarette related product advertisements contributed only 17 'different advertisements' (5.5%). Cigarettes were advertised 291 (14.7%) times in terms of 'overall broadcast advertisement'. The findings show that cigarette advertisements were the most repeated advertisements shown during the period. Theoretically, cigarette type advertisements could produce a strong impact on product recognition and awareness among the audiences.

8.3.3 Origin
The advertisements were classified into six categories according to the country they originated from; the USA, the United Kingdom, Europe, Japan, Malaysia and others which are not distinguishable and therefore do not fall within any of the other five
categories. The breakdown of the advertisements (Table 8.2) shows the USA (30.8%) dominating the advertising scene in Malaysia, followed by Malaysia (19.2%), the United Kingdom (16.9%) and Europe (15.1%). Japan (10.5%) was in fifth place. This could be due to having less ‘product brand name’ in their stable, which is mainly focused on electrical and electronic goods and automobiles. As for the United States and the United Kingdom, their products were well diversified, including insurance, cigarettes, cars, fast food and household products.

In terms of the different advertisements broadcast, the USA (29.6%) again has the highest number, followed by Malaysia (21.5%).

Finally, the survey reveals that Western product advertisements (United States, United Kingdom and European States) dominate with more than half of the ‘overall number of advertisements’ (62.8%) and the ‘number of different advertisements’ (57.6%) (Table 8.2).

In relation to the main focus of this thesis (the impact of Western advertising), the next section will concentrate the discussion on the advertisements from the Western countries and Malaysia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product of Origin</th>
<th>No. of Ads.</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>No. of Diff. Ads.</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>29.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European States</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>21.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.4 Character Representation in the Advertisement

8.4.1 Gender Representation
The findings show (Table 8.3) males (50.8%) as the major gender portrayed in the advertisements, compared to females (33.2%), while the rest were unidentified characters, cartoons or had no actors at all. The findings confirm male actors were the
dominant characters in the advertising scenes, and preferred to females by the
advertisers. Concerning origin, Western advertisements show 49.15% male and
37.2% female, while Malaysian product advertisements show 59% male and 25.7%
female (Table 8.3). Both origins therefore tend to use more males than females.
Malaysian product advertisements tend to use males more than the Western
advertisements. This could indicate that ‘man’ is still seen as the dominant, leading
figure in Malaysian culture.

This male dominance was not exhibited in all ‘type of product’ categories. In
‘household products’, it was the female who enjoyed domination (58.1% female
against 25.8% male) and in ‘cosmetics’ (73.7% female against 21.1% male) (see
Appendix 7, Table A2). This may well be explained by the advertisers’ targeting of
women specifically in these categories.

| Table 8.3 |
| Gender Representation According to Origin |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Malaysia</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>87 (49.15%)</td>
<td>39 (39%)</td>
<td>30 (46.8%)</td>
<td>156 (50.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>66 (37.28%)</td>
<td>17 (25.7%)</td>
<td>19 (29.6%)</td>
<td>102 (33.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Actors</td>
<td>20 (11.29%)</td>
<td>10 (15.15%)</td>
<td>12 (18.75%)</td>
<td>42 (13.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>4 (2.25%)</td>
<td>0 (1.51%)</td>
<td>3 (4.68%)</td>
<td>7 (2.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>177 (100%)</td>
<td>66 (100%)</td>
<td>64 (100%)</td>
<td>307 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $x^2 (df=6, N=307)=8.58 \ p<.198$

8.4.2 Age Representation

Age was also used to study the character of representation in the advertisements. In
order to study the differences, I regrouped the categories under more general headings
so that the differences could be easily seen and understood. These four categories are
'child', 'teenager', 'adult' and 'senior citizen'. 'Child' refers to children up to 12
years old, 'teenager' refers to age 13 to 18 years, 'adults' applies to age 19 years to 55
years and 'senior citizen' from age 56 years and above.

Identifying the age group in the advertisements could be complicated, especially in
identifying the accurate age of the character. In order to minimise this complication, I
used the physical character (anatomy and clothing) and behaviour as a yardstick in identifying the age group. Fortunately, the problem did not seem to occur, as the advertisers tend to show the character's age group in 'bold' in the advertisement. In other words, the advertisers prefer to make the characters easily recognisable to the targeted audiences.

From my analysis, I found that all countries used more 'adults' (59.3%) in their advertisements than other groups (Table 8.4). This result was expected because adults were the most targeted group among the advertisers. This reflects their purchasing power compared to other groups, but also is because the majority of the products advertised were targeted to them (Asian Advertising & Marketing, 1995a).

Comparing Western and Malaysian product advertisements, the findings did not show major differences in terms of 'adult' representation. The use of 'adults' in the advertisements was almost the same. Malaysian adult portrayal was 62.12%, while the Western product advertisements portrayed 57.06% (Table 8.4).

The results also showed no significant difference for the use of 'child' between the West (12.99%) and Malaysia (13.63%). However, the West (13.55%) tends to portray more teenagers than the Malaysian (1.51%) product advertisement (Table 8.4).

While 'adult' was the dominant character in the age group category, there was some variation in product categories such as cigarette (82.4%), bank (71.4%) and automobiles (100%), but it was the child in 'fast-food' (42.9%) and in 'toys' (66.7%), where adult occurred only 28.6% and 0% respectively (see Appendix 7 - Table A3). Such exceptions are hardly surprising since products from McDonald's, KFC and Toys r Us are most likely targeted at children, the major and, in some cases, the only consumers.
Chapter Eight  
Cultural Representation in Television Advertisements

### Table 8.4
Advertisements by Age Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Malaysia</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infant</td>
<td>3 (1.69%)</td>
<td>1 (1.51%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 (1.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>23 (12.99%)</td>
<td>9 (13.63%)</td>
<td>5 (7.81%)</td>
<td>37 (12.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teenager</td>
<td>24 (13.55%)</td>
<td>1 (1.51%)</td>
<td>3 (4.68%)</td>
<td>28 (9.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>101 (57.06%)</td>
<td>41 (62.12%)</td>
<td>40 (62.5%)</td>
<td>182 (59.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior</td>
<td>2 (1.12%)</td>
<td>4 (6.06%)</td>
<td>1 (1.56%)</td>
<td>7 (2.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>24 (13.55%)</td>
<td>10 (15.15%)</td>
<td>15 (23.43%)</td>
<td>49 (16.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>177 (100%)</td>
<td>66 (100%)</td>
<td>64 (100%)</td>
<td>307 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $x^2$ (df=10, N=307) = 20.24 p<.027

8.5 Group Character Representation

#### 8.5.1 Social Relationship

In ‘Social Relationship’ (Table 8.5), I have divided the samples into ten categories. The findings show that the advertisers tend to portray ‘friend’ (33.5%) as their major representation in their advertisements. The second most portrayed category is ‘mother/wife’ (19.73%), followed by ‘son/brother’ (14.47%) and ‘father/husband’ (12.5%). From this finding we can generalise; the advertisers place a priority on ‘friendship’ in promoting their products, compared to mother/wife, father/husband, son/brother and daughter/sister. However, if all these categories (‘father/husband’, ‘mother/wife’, ‘son/brother’ and ‘daughter/sister’) were grouped together it will show ‘family relationship’ (49.98%) was the main image represented in the advertisements.
### Table 8.5
Relationship Representation in the Advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Malaysia</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Son/Brother</td>
<td>15 (16.3%)</td>
<td>4 (11.76%)</td>
<td>3 (11.53%)</td>
<td>22 (14.47%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter/Sister</td>
<td>3 (3.26%)</td>
<td>2 (7.69%)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3 (3.28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father/Husband</td>
<td>8 (8.69%)</td>
<td>5 (14.70%)</td>
<td>6 (23.07%)</td>
<td>19 (12.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother/Wife</td>
<td>20 (21.73%)</td>
<td>5 (14.70%)</td>
<td>5 (19.23%)</td>
<td>30 (19.73%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aunt</td>
<td>8 (8.69%)</td>
<td>6 (23.07%)</td>
<td>19 (12.5%)</td>
<td>39 (25.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>3 (3.26%)</td>
<td>1 (2.94%)</td>
<td>2 (7.69%)</td>
<td>6 (3.92%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyfriend</td>
<td>3 (3.26%)</td>
<td>1 (2.94%)</td>
<td>3 (11.53%)</td>
<td>7 (4.60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girlfriend</td>
<td>5 (5.43%)</td>
<td>1 (2.94%)</td>
<td>3 (11.53%)</td>
<td>5 (3.28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>33 (35.86%)</td>
<td>12 (35.29%)</td>
<td>6 (23.07%)</td>
<td>51 (33.55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Mate</td>
<td>5 (5.43%)</td>
<td>3 (8.83%)</td>
<td>1 (3.84%)</td>
<td>9 (5.92%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>N=92 (100%)</td>
<td>N=34 (100%)</td>
<td>N=26 (100%)</td>
<td>N=152 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $x^2$ (df=20, N=307)=31.26 p<.05. The other 155 samples, has been categorised as 'none' (no actor and no sign of relationship been indicated)

In terms of comparison between the West (35.86%) and Malaysia (35.29%) the findings showed no major differences in ‘friend’ (Table 8.5). Other categories like son/brother, mother/wife and father/husband also show minimal differences in percentage terms.

‘Friends’ were mostly portrayed in relation to products that promote lifestyles in advertisements, such as cigarette-related products (64.7%) (see Appendix 7 - Table A4), as exemplified by Salem, Benson & Hedges or Mild Seven. Portraying friendship may well be seen by the advertisers as the best way to avoid public displeasure over these products related to the family environment.

#### 8.5.2 Representation of Character Activity

‘Character activity’ could be defined as the combination of ‘occupation’, ‘activity’ and ‘image’ represented in the advertisements. This definition is vital for the purpose of this research in order to avoid any misinterpretation while analysing the data. The
yardstick used in identifying 'occupation' in advertisements was the type of clothes worn. While 'activity' was identified by looking at the type of activity of the character involved, for example a 'driver driving a car'. Where his occupation could not be identified the character was described as a 'motorist'. 'Image' could describe the social activities the character is involved in. For example a young well-dressed adult, with an expensive lifestyle and from a background of up market society has been identified as a 'yuppie' unless his occupation was clearly shown.

'Character activity' was divided into twenty-four categories. The findings (Table 8.6) show 'housewife' (22.65%) dominated the character activity in advertisements presented to Malaysian audiences, followed by 'sport' (14.91%), 'model' (9.39%), 'yuppie' (7.73%) and 'musician/singer' (7.18%).

The higher portrayal of 'housewife' is not a surprising finding, because this representation was commonly used in promoting household products (25.8%) and food (15.6%) (see Appendix 7 -Table A5). Coincidentally, in the earlier part of this chapter, this research has also discovered that the food and household product categories were the most broadcast categories during the studied period.

Another favourite activity representation was that of 'sportsman/woman' involved in sporting activities. Sporting activity is commonly associated with a healthy and active life. However, interestingly, most of this portrayal was involved in 'cigarette' related products (35.3%) (see Appendix 7 - Table A5), such as Benson & Hedges, Marlboro and Perillys. Here, the advertiser has tried to divert the attention from the bad effects of smoking (see a qualitative description in the next chapter). The next most popular activity represented is 'model'. Here, the model is mostly associated with 'cosmetic' products. All of them are beautiful with a Pan-Asian appearance in order to promote 'promises' such as to become beautiful. The next favourite representation was 'yuppie' (young, urban and professional). In this category, it is difficult to identify the type of occupation. However, 'yuppie' is portrayed as young, wealthy, modern (dress, socialising), healthy and full of life. This character is commonly accompanied by beautiful women, wears expensive clothes, and drives expensive cars in exotic places. This category also was commonly associated with cigarette related products (35.3%), clothing (18.2%) and cosmetics (15.8%) (see Appendix 7 - Table A5).
The findings also show that Western (23.85%) and Malaysian (26.31%) product advertisements used more 'housewife' than any other category, the percentage in each case showing little difference. With the rest of the categories, Western advertisements tend to use sportsman (17.43%), model (12.84%) and yuppie (9.17%), while Malaysian advertisements tend to use banker (13.15%) and sportsman/woman (10.52%) in promoting products (Table 8.6).

Table 8.6
Character Activity Representation in the Advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Malaysia</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor/Actress</td>
<td>1 (0.91%)</td>
<td>2 (5.88%)</td>
<td>3 (1.65%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Hostess</td>
<td>1 (0.91%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banker/Business</td>
<td>4 (3.66%)</td>
<td>5 (13.15%)</td>
<td>9 (4.97%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadcaster</td>
<td>1 (0.91%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer</td>
<td>2 (1.83%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>1 (0.91%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorist</td>
<td>1 (0.91%)</td>
<td>1 (2.94%)</td>
<td>2 (1.10%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>4 (3.66%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 (2.20%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory/Casual</td>
<td>2 (1.83%)</td>
<td>2 (5.26%)</td>
<td>1 (2.94%)</td>
<td>5 (2.76%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>2 (1.83%)</td>
<td>1 (2.63%)</td>
<td>1 (2.94%)</td>
<td>4 (2.20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>26 (23.85%)</td>
<td>10 (26.31%)</td>
<td>5 (14.7%)</td>
<td>41 (22.65%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martial Artist</td>
<td>2 (1.83%)</td>
<td>2 (5.26%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 (2.20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magician</td>
<td>1 (0.91%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (0.55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model</td>
<td>14 (12.84%)</td>
<td>2 (5.26%)</td>
<td>1 (2.94%)</td>
<td>17 (9.39%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orator</td>
<td>1 (0.91%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (0.55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Worker</td>
<td>6 (5.50%)</td>
<td>3 (7.89%)</td>
<td>2 (5.88%)</td>
<td>11 (6.07%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petrol Attendant</td>
<td>1 (0.91%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (0.55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesman</td>
<td>1 (0.91%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (0.55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocer</td>
<td>2 (1.83%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (1.10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musician</td>
<td>4 (3.66%)</td>
<td>3 (7.89%)</td>
<td>6 (17.64%)</td>
<td>13 (7.18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sportsman/wom.</td>
<td>19 (17.43%)</td>
<td>4 (10.52%)</td>
<td>4 (11.76%)</td>
<td>27 (14.91%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>3 (2.75%)</td>
<td>2 (5.26%)</td>
<td>4 (11.76%)</td>
<td>9 (4.97%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuppie</td>
<td>10 (9.17%)</td>
<td>1 (2.63%)</td>
<td>3 (8.82%)</td>
<td>14 (7.73%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1 (0.91%)</td>
<td>2 (5.26%)</td>
<td>4 (11.76%)</td>
<td>7 (3.86%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>N=109 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>N=38 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>N=34 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>N=181 (100%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $x^2$ (df=48, N=307)=56.48, p<.18. The other 126 samples were coded as none and unidentified/cannot code.

The overall findings did not show much evidence to differentiate the West from Malaysia. The portrayals of activity in Malaysian advertisements basically are almost the same as in the Western advertisements. The only difference that could be highlighted was in terms of 'yuppie' portrayal, with high use by Western advertisements compared to Malaysian. However, in terms of percentage, there was no major difference.
8.6 Production and Image Framing

8.6.1 Background Setting

In this topic, I examine the background used in the Western and Malaysian advertisements. Here, location is an important element in creating imaginary perceptions among the audience and influencing their thoughts about the products.

The findings show that the majority of the advertisements comply with the MIM (Made in Malaysia) policy in using Malaysia as the filming location. These results were not surprising as this aspect was already regulated by the Malaysian government (Refer Chapter Four and Chapter Seven). Analysis (Table 8.7) shows that 88.7% of the advertisements used Malaysia as their location, while 7.25% of advertisements used Western locations.

In terms of making a comparison between Western product advertisements (88.43%) and Malaysian product advertisements (92.72%), both obviously used Malaysia as their background (Table 8.7). However, in terms of using Western locations, Western advertisements tend to do this more than Malaysian advertisements. In general, this finding is determined by the nature of the product advertised. For example, a product from the West associated with holidays seems to use foreign locations in advertisements (35.2%) (see Appendix 7 - Table A6), such as the Marlboro adventures (see Chapter Nine) which are filmed in the Grand Canyon, USA. Other product categories which appear to use foreign locations are ‘automobiles’ (37.5%), such as the Audi advertisement, which shows a man driving his Audi through European countryside, and ‘couriers’ (50%), such the advertisement showing someone receiving a package through Federal Express in the United States (see Appendix 7 - Table A6).
Table 8.7
Background in the Advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Western Location</th>
<th>Malaysia</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Location</td>
<td>13 (8.84%)</td>
<td>1 (1.81%)</td>
<td>4 (2.17%)</td>
<td>18 (7.25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>130 (88.43%)</td>
<td>51 (92.72%)</td>
<td>39 (84.78%)</td>
<td>220 (88.70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>4 (2.72%)</td>
<td>3 (5.45%)</td>
<td>3 (6.52%)</td>
<td>10 (4.03%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>N=147 (100%)</td>
<td>N=55 (100%)</td>
<td>N=46 (100%)</td>
<td>N=248 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $X^2$ (df=8, N=307) = 14.83; p<.062. The other 59 samples did not show clear background/location in the advertisements.

8.6.2 Locale in the Advertisements

In this section, 'locale' is defined as the location used in the background of the advertisement. There are 28 major locations identified in the study. They are Hotel, Safari/Jungle, Petrol Station, Cinema, Golf Course, Kindergarten, Street, Multi Location, Sport Complex, Desert, Wedding, Village, University, Studio, Shopping Mall, Seas, Seaside, Restaurant, Park, Office, Mountain, Public Transport, Home, Hospital, Airborne, Estate/Farm, City and Community Hall. However, among the 28 locations, 'home' (31.57%) was the most common, followed by 'studio' (21.05%). The next most common locations were 'office' (6.01%), 'city' (4.51%), 'park' (4.51%) and 'sports complex' (4.51%) (Table 8.8).

In investigating Western (32.9%) and Malaysian (30.76%) advertisements, the findings also show that 'home' was portrayed more than other categories, both places preferring to use a 'home' setting in their advertisements (Table 8.8).

The choice of 'home' as the favourite location is not surprising, as it was portrayed in most 'food' (37.2%) and 'household' (52.6%) product category advertisements (see Appendix 7 - Table A7). Employing a home background in these categories may be seen as most appropriate to the nature of the product.

Apart from home, the advertisers also used 'studio' as a location in their advertisements. Here, 'studio' refers to locations which were clearly inside studios but at the same time it represents a place that could not have been clearly identified, as in certain advertisements. In this category Western advertisements used 'studio' (19.87%) as the second most common setting after home (Table 8.8). The Malaysian advertisements also tended to use 'studio' after 'home'. This tendency from both
places could be due to several reasons. Using ‘studio’ has its own advantage. For example, this ‘location’ offers some degree of control of the surroundings factor, such as cost and weather, that help the advertiser to reduce advertisement production costs and ensure the deadline is met without worrying about the weather conditions.

### Table 8.8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Malaysia</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community Hall</td>
<td>2 (1.24%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (0.75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>8 (4.96%)</td>
<td>2 (3.84%)</td>
<td>2 (3.77%)</td>
<td>12 (4.51%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estate/Farm</td>
<td>2 (1.24%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1.88%)</td>
<td>3 (1.12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airborne</td>
<td>1 (0.62%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (0.37%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>1 (0.62%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (0.37%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>52 (32.29%)</td>
<td>16 (30.76%)</td>
<td>16 (30.18%)</td>
<td>84 (31.57%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Transport</td>
<td>1 (1.92%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1.88%)</td>
<td>2 (0.75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain</td>
<td>2 (1.24%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1.88%)</td>
<td>3 (1.12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office</td>
<td>9 (5.59%)</td>
<td>5 (9.61%)</td>
<td>2 (3.77%)</td>
<td>16 (6.01%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park</td>
<td>7 (4.34%)</td>
<td>5 (9.51%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 (4.51%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>8 (4.98%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1.92%)</td>
<td>9 (3.38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seaside</td>
<td>4 (2.48%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1.88%)</td>
<td>5 (1.87%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seas</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (5.76%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (1.12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping Mall</td>
<td>5 (3.10%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1.88%)</td>
<td>7 (2.63%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studio</td>
<td>32 (19.87%)</td>
<td>8 (15.38%)</td>
<td>16 (30.18%)</td>
<td>56 (21.05%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (0.37%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>1 (0.62%)</td>
<td>3 (5.76%)</td>
<td>1 (1.88%)</td>
<td>5 (1.87%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wedding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (3.77%)</td>
<td>3 (1.12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desert</td>
<td>1 (0.62%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (3.77%)</td>
<td>3 (1.12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport Complex</td>
<td>11 (6.83%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1.88%)</td>
<td>12 (4.51%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street</td>
<td>6 (3.72%)</td>
<td>3 (5.76%)</td>
<td>2 (3.77%)</td>
<td>11 (4.13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>1 (0.62%)</td>
<td>1 (1.92%)</td>
<td>1 (1.88%)</td>
<td>3 (1.12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golf Course</td>
<td>1 (0.62%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (0.37%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinema</td>
<td>2 (1.24%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (3.77%)</td>
<td>4 (1.50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petrol Station</td>
<td>2 (1.24%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (0.75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safari/Jungle</td>
<td>2 (1.24%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1.88%)</td>
<td>3 (1.12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>1 (0.62%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1.92%)</td>
<td>2 (0.75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>161 (100%)</td>
<td>52 (100%)</td>
<td>53 (100%)</td>
<td>266 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: \( x^2 (df=52, N=266)= 67.61, p <.071 \) The others samples were others, unidentified and none.

### 8.6.3 Filming Technique in the Advertisements

In this section, filming techniques used in the TV advertisements were examined. Although filming the advertisement involves numerous shooting techniques, in this study only the basic techniques of filming have been examined. This is considered to be sufficient for this research. These techniques were ‘real life’, ‘animation’ and ‘computer animation/graphic’. The ‘real life’ technique involves the use of humans and animals to represent certain characters in delivering the messages. However, if a cartoon character has been included the whole commercial will be considered as
'animation'. The same decision also applied to commercials using animals that adopt computer animation as in the film 'Babe'. In this case, the whole advertisement will be coded as 'animation'.

The main purpose in including these categories in studying cultural Westernisation in Malaysia, is to examine the relationship of Western advertisements in promoting reality and technology (technology could also be seen to be associated with modernisation) in the advertisement.

Based on the 307 samples studied, 'real life' (83.06%) was used most in the advertisements and was followed by computer graphics (17.72%) and animation (5.21%). In the other words, the findings show that the majority of the advertisements favour 'real life' to represent their products (Table 8.9).

The majority of Western and Malaysian advertisements obviously applied 'real life' in their advertisement production. In terms of percentage, Western advertisements (88.13%) tended to use more of this category than Malaysian (71.21%), while Malaysian (24.24%) tend to use more 'computer graphics' than the West (6.21%). This result is not surprising, as major Malaysian advertisers such as Telekom and Celcom (both telecommunication companies) are closely associated with technology.

While the findings indicate the dominance of 'real life', there was evidence of a relatively high use of 'computer graphic' in certain product categories, such as 'department store (57.1%) and 'telecommunications' (42.9%) (see Appendix 7 - Table A8). In the former example, the high evidence may be explained by the computer graphics in generating the numbers and other characters appropriate to sales advertising. In the latter, computer graphics are a convenient and efficient way of highlighting the technological elements of the product.
Table 8.9
Filming Techniques in the Advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Malaysia</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Real Life</td>
<td>156 (88.13%)</td>
<td>47 (71.21%)</td>
<td>52 (81.25%)</td>
<td>255 (83.06%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animation</td>
<td>10 (5.64%)</td>
<td>3 (4.54%)</td>
<td>3 (4.68%)</td>
<td>16 (5.21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comput. Graphic</td>
<td>11 (6.21%)</td>
<td>16 (24.24%)</td>
<td>9 (14.06%)</td>
<td>36 (17.72%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>177 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>66 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>64 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>307 (100%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $x^2 (df=4, N=307)=15.54, p<.003$

8.6.4 Time Setting in the Advertisements

'Time Setting' identifies the 'time period' used in the advertisement. Several categories were identified to represent time setting, such as 'past', 'present' and 'future'. 'Past' represents the previous glory or to glorify history, 'present' represents the 'current state' and 'reality', while 'future' signifies 'modernity' and 'promise'.

The findings (Table 8.10) indicate the majority of the advertisements appeared to represent 'present' (95.43%) followed by the 'past' (2.28%) and then the 'future' (2.28%). Both areas (Western - 96.04% and Malaysia - 93.93%) preferred to put their advertisements in the 'present' time setting to represent their products.

Table 8.10
Time Setting in the Advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Malaysia</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>4 (2.25%)</td>
<td>1 (1.51%)</td>
<td>2 (3.12%)</td>
<td>7 (2.28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>170 (96.04%)</td>
<td>62 (93.93%)</td>
<td>61 (95.31%)</td>
<td>293 (95.43%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>3 (1.69%)</td>
<td>3 (4.54%)</td>
<td>1 (1.56%)</td>
<td>7 (2.28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>177 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>66 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>64 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>307 (100%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $x^2 (df=4, N=307)=2.28, p<.682$

Though 'present' was portrayed in all product categories, there were other time settings used. For instance, 'future' was used in the 'computer graphics category (40%) (see Appendix 7 - Table A9) probably due to the nature of the product. As an emanation of technology; computer commonly suggests the idea of future.

8.6.5 Music and Origin

In this section, I analysed the 'music' influence in order to determine the images and locality of the advertisements. Music is capable of creating 'sense of place' among the audience (Negus K., 1997:76). It is known to have a strong influence and to create particular moods and imaginary settings for advertisements. For the purpose of
this study, several types of music were identified and some were eliminated after a pre-test.

The music was placed into several categories in which two dominant segments were identified, Non-Malaysian music and Malaysian music. Non-Malaysian music was described as a mixed music from various countries but mostly influenced by Western countries. Malaysian music is a traditional music that has a recorded history since the 14th century. It has also continuously changed over time. Some has been modified and improved in order to cater for the younger generation. The dynamics of Malaysian music have also constantly changed or been modified by the missionaries who brought Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity to the country. Colonialism also played an important role in Malaysian music and even today we can see the influence of Portuguese music in the State of Malacca (Information Malaysia, 1986).

For the purpose of this study, I classified the music in the advertisements into several categories. There were ‘classical’, ‘country’, ‘jazz’, ‘pop’, ‘rap’, ‘reggae’, ‘rock’, ‘opera’ and ‘traditional/folk’. ‘Classical’ music could be identified from the composer, such as Beethoven, and Mozart, while ‘country’ music could be identified by the singer, like Kenny Rogers.

Pop and rock music have a variety of influences from American and British singers which are well liked by most Malaysians. ‘Reggae’ originated from Jamaica and was popularised after Bob Marley who had been accepted in the Western countries. Today, most of the music that has been produced and recorded in Western countries has been sung by Westerners like UB40, a group based in Ireland.

The findings (Table 8.11) indicate there is some mixed use of music in the advertisements and that none of the categories has overwhelming dominance. Though ‘Rock’ (24.62%) (most rock music used in the advertisements was ‘soft rock’) and ‘Pop’ (24.25%) were the majority, the result did not show a significant difference. These categories were followed by ‘Jazz’ (20.52%). Jazz in the advertisements was commonly represented by commercial jazz which incorporates softer and lighter melodies (such as Kenny G, Spyro Gyra etc.) than ‘Big Band’ music (originated from...
New Orleans and uses a lot of percussion and string - for example ‘Double Bass’). The findings also show that traditional/folk (10.07%) music was commonly used in the TV advertisements.

In comparison, Western advertisements used more rock (29.93%), jazz (24.8%) and pop (21.65%), while Malaysian advertisements used more traditional/folk (29.82%) music. However, the other categories were well represented (Pop - 21.05%, and Rock - 21.05%) (Table 8.11).

In general, then, Malaysian advertisements tend to use local music as much as music from the West without exhibiting any particular dominance. The relationship between type of music and product advertised may also be generalised. It appears from the findings that many of the Malaysian products advertised are of a traditional nature, such as food and medicine, and such advertisements use traditional music as the best way to reach their market. On the other hand, the Western product advertisements give a low priority to such music.

**Table 8.11**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Music in the Advertisements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jazz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reggae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional/Folks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $\chi^2$ (df=20, N=307)=63.51, p<.00001. Other 39 samples were coded as none (no music/jingle in the advertisement).

In product category terms, rock music was used in 52.9% of cigarette advertisements, showing a significant difference from other categories. Pop music, on the other hand, exhibited no such demarcation. For example in ‘food’ (28.9%), in ‘fast food’ (28.6%), in ‘household’ (24.2%) (see Appendix 7 - Table A10). The high use of rock music is associated with popular culture, particularly among young people (teenagers and young adults) who may be seen as the major target markets, which would account for this feature.
8.7 The Representation of Lifestyles and Values

In order to examine lifestyles and values represented in the advertisements, three indicators were identified; type of clothing, eating style and values. Such subjects present problems due to subjectivity and researchers disagree as to interpretation and quantification. In order to maintain reliability and consistency the coding instruction previously created was followed to the letter. For example, only types of dress and eating style, which are quantifiable, were considered. The question of values is also problematical since, as some rightly argue, an advertisement may contain a number of them. This was overcome by selecting only the most dominant value embodied in the advertisement. Identification of the values was left to the researcher’s prerogative and was based on ‘values definition’ and ‘coding design’ (Chapter Six and Table 6.1) created earlier. However, more comprehensive interpretation will be discussed in Chapter Nine, in which a qualitative approach is adopted.

8.7.1 Origin and Type of Dress

The findings (Table 8.12) show the majority of the characters portrayed in the advertisements wear ‘shirt/trousers/tie’ (24.4%) and ‘lady’s dress’ (21.6%) rather than portraying them in the national costumes such as, ‘Malay Shirt’ (2.4%), ‘Baju Kurung (7.2%)’ and ‘Cheong Sam’ (1.2%). This clearly indicates that generally advertisers prefer the shirt/trousers/tie and lady’s dress type of clothing which is typical of Western countries.

However, this could not be interpreted as the advertisers promoting ‘Western clothing’ because, ‘shirt/trousers/tie’ and ‘lady’s dress’ have been part of Malaysian clothing for a long time. Western dresses are widely accepted by most Malaysian women and are worn in the office or at home, especially by the non-Malays and the urban population.

In comparison, both Western (23.48%) and Malaysian (26.41%) advertisements, favoured ‘shirt/trousers/tie’ among the male characters. As for lady’s dress, Western product advertisements used more (30.20%) than Malaysian product advertisements (3.77%). The female characters shown in Malaysian product advertisements mainly
wore ‘Baju Kurung’ in 16.98% of Malaysian and only 4.02% of Western advertisements (Table 8.12).

The use of ‘shirt/trousers/tie’, was not surprising as most of these portrayals were seen in all product categories except ‘Baju Melayu’. The analysis shows most of this portrayal was associated with banks (42.9%), food (20%), petroleum (75%) (see Appendix 7 - Table A11). ‘Shirt, Trousers and Tie’ were preferred to ‘Baju Melayu’ (a male national costume) by advertisements of both origins because this type of clothing is a typical attire among Malaysians during work, at home and during recreational activity. It is therefore quite understandable for the advertisers to portray the clothing used for daily life by Malaysian men in order to reach their target market. The ‘Malay shirt’, on the other hand, is more suitable during special functions, such as weddings and religious festivals. It is quite rare to find a Malaysian male wearing ‘Baju Melayu’ for everyday wear except on Fridays or during prayer. Friday is the day when most Malay males wear particular attire to perform prayer.

Dresses, were mostly used in food (20%), household (32.3%) and cosmetic (32.3%) (see Appendix 7 - Table A11). The portrayal of Western dress in these product categories could be correlated with the ‘lifestyle’ brought by the product. Products such as processed food, like ‘Kraft Cheddar Cheese’, ‘Jacob Oatmeal’, ‘Kellogg’ are Western food/diet. This type of food often has been portrayed as part of a modern way of life which incorporates a healthy eating concept. It is not surprising, therefore, to see Western dress in such advertisements, representing a modern way of life, sophisticated lifestyle etc.

Attire that is obviously of Western influence like ‘three piece suit’ (1.2%), ‘tuxedo’ (4.4%) and ‘two piece suit’ (6%) show small percentages of portrayal in the advertisements. This may suggest that the Western product advertisements do not tend to portray Western attire to the Malaysian audience. However, the findings also show that Malaysian advertisements (9.43%) tend to portray more men wearing the ‘two piece suit’ than their Western counterparts (3.35%) (Table 8.12). This evidence could suggest that advertisers would like to promote Malaysian products through Western imagery. This suggestion is supported by many audiences, who perceive Western products to be of superior quality to Malaysian products (see Chapter Ten).
### Type of Clothing Portrayed in the Advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Clothing</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Malaysia</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Three Piece Suit</td>
<td>2 (1.34%)</td>
<td>1 (1.88%)</td>
<td>4 (8.33%)</td>
<td>3 (1.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuxedo</td>
<td>6 (4.02%)</td>
<td>1 (1.88%)</td>
<td>11 (4.4%)</td>
<td>1 (0.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Piece Suit</td>
<td>5 (3.35%)</td>
<td>5 (9.43%)</td>
<td>15 (6.6%)</td>
<td>11 (4.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirt/Pant/Tie</td>
<td>35 (23.48%)</td>
<td>14 (26.41%)</td>
<td>61 (24.4%)</td>
<td>15 (6.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay Shirt</td>
<td>2 (1.34%)</td>
<td>4 (7.54%)</td>
<td>6 (2.4%)</td>
<td>4 (1.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies Dress</td>
<td>45 (30.20%)</td>
<td>7 (14.58%)</td>
<td>54 (21.6%)</td>
<td>7 (2.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leotard</td>
<td>1 (0.67%)</td>
<td>2 (4.16%)</td>
<td>3 (1.2%)</td>
<td>1 (0.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheong Sam</td>
<td>2 (1.34%)</td>
<td>1 (1.88%)</td>
<td>3 (1.2%)</td>
<td>2 (0.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baju Kurung</td>
<td>6 (4.02%)</td>
<td>9 (16.98%)</td>
<td>18 (7.2%)</td>
<td>17 (6.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport Attire</td>
<td>16 (10.73%)</td>
<td>1 (1.88%)</td>
<td>19 (7.6%)</td>
<td>18 (7.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeans/T-Shirt</td>
<td>11 (7.38%)</td>
<td>6 (11.32%)</td>
<td>20 (8%)</td>
<td>17 (6.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shorts/T-Shirt</td>
<td>17 (11.40%)</td>
<td>6 (11.32%)</td>
<td>30 (12%)</td>
<td>23 (9.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1 (0.67%)</td>
<td>3 (5.66%)</td>
<td>7 (2.8%)</td>
<td>3 (1.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>149 (100%)</td>
<td>53 (100%)</td>
<td>48 (100%)</td>
<td>250 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $x^2$ (df=26, N=307)=57.9, p<.0003 The others 57 samples have been coded as 'none' (no actor, showing only face, animals etc.

### Eating Style and Origin

In this topic, 'eating style' was considered in order to explore the Westernisation of lifestyle among Malaysian audiences through TV advertisements. The two categories considered were using 'spoon, knife and fork' and 'finger and hand', the former indicating Western influence and the latter Malaysian influence. Despite 'spoon, knife and fork' being widely used by most Malaysians, particularly urbanites (rich and educated audience), this occurs normally while eating in the restaurant or during a formal function. In fact 'hand and finger' is used during private occasions such as having meals at home with the family. This eating habit could also indicate that the urbanites (rich and educated) want to protect and maintain their status identity. However, for most average Malaysians, especially the Malays and Indians, 'hand and finger' were often used on most occasions including lunch and dinner either at home or in the restaurant. They prefer to use 'hand and finger' especially when eating their staple food, like rice, while for other types of food like noodles they will use spoon and fork or chopsticks because of their convenience.

This result, however, was based on a small number of advertisements compared to the other categories. This was because there were only 35 advertisements that showed eating. The products involved fall into the fast food, food and household categories.

Regardless of the number of advertisements, the findings (Table 8.13) show that a
majority including the eating scene used 'finger and hand' (67.57%). Using 'spoon/knife/fork' contributed only 28.57%.

Comparing Western (60.7%) and Malaysian advertisements (100%), both portrayed the Malaysian style of eating (Table 8.13).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Malaysia</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spoon/Knife/Fork</td>
<td>10 (35.71%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 (28.57%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chopsticks</td>
<td>1 (3.57%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (2.85%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>17 (60.7%)</td>
<td>6 (100%)</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>24 (68.57%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58 (100%)</td>
<td>6 (100%)</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>35 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $x^2$ (df=6, N=307)=13.27, $p<.038$ The others 272 advertisements did not show an eating scene.

8.7.3 Cultural Values Portrayed in the Advertisements

The study of cultural values portrayed in advertising content gained great momentum from standardisation or specification of international advertising messages in different countries around the world (Mueller, 1987, 1992; Cheng and Schweitzer, 1996:27). The cultural values reflected in advertising content shown in the countries such as Brazil, India, Japan, Philippines and the United Kingdom have been investigated for quite sometime. Apparently, most of these studies compared advertising from those countries with advertising from Western countries, especially the United States (ibid.:28) while none, as yet, have compared 'product origin advertisements' published in Malaysia.

According to Cheng and Schweitzer (1996) 'cultural values' can be defined as 'the governing ideas and guiding principles for thought and action' in a given society, in which cultural values conveyed through advertising messages could be regarded as powerful forces shaping consumers' motivations, lifestyles, and product choices.

On the other hand, 'cultural values' are also important to the organised and integrated nature of culture. Cultural value has also been defined in a sociological perspective as 'a wide held belief or sentiment that some activities, relationship, feelings, or goals are important to the community's identity or well-being'. In a psychological vein, Milton Rokeach defines values as centrally held and enduring beliefs that guide
actions and judgement across specific situations and beyond immediate goals to more ultimate end-states of existence (Loudon & Bitta, 1993:88). In this context, Rokeach created the Rokeach Value Survey (RVS), consisting of two sets of values—eighteen instrumental values and eighteen terminal values (Rokeach, 1979).

Meanwhile, researchers at the University of Michigan have created an alternative value-measurement scale and procedure. Their List of Values (LOV) is an improved version of RVS, which could establish important relationships between values and consumption and relate more closely to the values of life's major roles such as marriage, parenting, work, leisure, and daily consumption. Today, many researches in this area use either method as a foundation for 'research design' testing before they embark on their own value-measurement, as shown in Cheng and Schweitzer (1996).

As mentioned earlier, 26 cultural values were studied. However, in this section, discussion was focused on the ten main values portrayed in the advertisement broadcast in Malaysia, which were 'family' (15.0%), 'enjoyment' (12.1%), 'health' (10.4%), 'beauty' (6.8%), 'effectiveness' (5.9%), 'technology' (5.9%), 'adventure' (5.2%), 'social status' (4.2%), 'economy', 'neatness', 'love', 'wisdom' (3.6%) respectively, 'convenience' (3.3%) and 'modernity' (2.3%) (Refer to Table 8.14).

The finding is not surprising as Malaysians are known to treasure 'family' values in their social life and the government consistently promotes these values. At the same time, many Malaysians still uphold the 'eastern' way of life that venerates 'close-knit family' and 'respect'. These values are also strongly encouraged by religions such as 'Islam' and the 'Confucians,' which represent the majority of the Malays and Chinese. In relation to advertising, stressing the importance of the 'family' value could be the safest and most effective way of promoting a product without creating any sensitive issues that might hurt the feelings of Malaysian audiences.

This research shows that both Western (16.94%) and Malaysian (15.15%) advertisements tend to use this value in promoting their product in preference to other values.
In most of the advertisements the theme generally stressed in the relationship among the family members is 'respect'. Also included in the story line are harmony, and a loving and caring atmosphere, that create awareness on the part of the audience of how important it is to practice these values in the family. Most of the advertisements show the relationship between father and son as extremely close, and mother and daughter as caring and loving, while relationships between husband and wife are showered with love and tenderness.

'Enjoyment' is the second most used value (12.1%) by advertisers in Malaysian TV advertisements. The results also show that Malaysian product advertisements preferred to use the 'enjoyment' value more (21.21%) than the Western product advertisements (9.03%) (Table 8.14).

Here, 'Enjoyment' could be regarded as creating a pleasant and happy environment in the advertisement, suggesting the product that appears can make the audience happy.

'Health' was also widely used as a theme in the advertisements (10.4%). Western product advertisers utilised the (9.03%) 'health' value more than the Malaysian product advertisers (4.54%). Having health portrayed as a theme in the advertisement suggests it may be derived by responding to that advertisement and buying the product. In other words, the value is used to suggest that use of the product will enhance or improve the vitality, soundness, strength, and robustness of the body.

'Beauty' was also widely used (6.8%) in the advertisements, which mostly concerned cosmetic products. In promoting 'beauty' in the advertisement, the advertisers are more likely to use a beautiful model to represent their product. Looking at both product origins, Western product advertisements (8.47%) used more of this value than Malaysian product advertisements (3.03%). Here 'beauty' as a value includes the face, skin and hair. The value suggests that the use of a product will enhance the loveliness, attractiveness, elegance, or good looks of an individual.

'Effectiveness' (5.9%) was widely incorporated in the advertisements. Western product advertisements had a higher percentage (9.03%) of use of this value than Malaysian product advertisements (1.51%). The findings (Table 8.14) revealed that...
'effectiveness' was generously used for the household product category, such as detergents.

'Technology' was the sixth favourite value (5.9%) used in the advertisements. A comparison between the product origins revealed that Malaysian product advertisements used more (6.06%) of the 'technology' value than the Western product advertisements (1.19%) (Table 8.14). The study also shows that the value was widely used by the 'telecommunication' product category when a Malaysian company makes the product.

'Adventure' (5.2%) portrayal in the advertisements suggests ruggedness, boldness, daring, bravery, courage or thrill (Table 8.14). Western product advertisements used 6.77% of this value as opposed to the 3.03% of Malaysian product advertisements. The research reveals that it was widely used in 'cigarette' product related advertisements. Among the activities shown in the television advertisements were mountain climbing, sky diving and motor cross. The characters in the advertisements were shown as energetic and powerful even though the advertisements seem to be deceptive and misleading as smoking is bad for our health.

'Social Status' (4.2%) was also among the top ten in most used values. In comparing the product origin, Western product advertisements used more (6.21%) of this value than the Malaysian product advertisements (3.03%) (Table 8.14). 'Social Status' has a strong role among Malaysians, where it acts as a 'barometer' in deciding the class group of the individual. It motivates Malaysians to strive harder in order to improve their standard of living. The excellent economic growth the country is experiencing inspires Malaysians to strive for recognition as members of higher social classes.

The value 'wisdom' was used in 3.6% of the advertisements. Comparatively, Malaysian product advertisements (4.54%) tend to use slightly more of this value than the Western product advertisements (3.38%) (Table 8.14).

Here, 'Wisdom' could be defined as a value that shows respect for knowledge, education, intelligence, expertise, or experience. 'Wisdom' could also compensate for inadequacy in knowledge felt by the audience before they make a purchase. Thus, by
including ‘wisdom’ in the advertising theme, the confidence of the potential customer in making their decision could be enhanced.

‘Economy’ (3.6%) in the advertisements is to highlight the inexpensive, affordable, and cost saving nature of a product. Most ‘Economy’ themes were used when the product or a particular brand was known to be expensive. The need to use ‘economy’ in marketing a product is due to the various types of customer which exist. Some are brand conscious and do not care about the price and some are bargain hunters. The findings show that Malaysian product advertisers were more keen (7.57%) to use ‘economy’ as their selling point than the Western product advertisers (2.82%) (Table 8.14). One of the reasons is that Malaysian products have to reduce their price in order to compete with well-established Western brands in order to stay competitive in the market. Western brands are more demanded by Malaysian audiences, who believe the products with an international background are superior in quality and technology (Refer Chapter Ten - An Audience Research)

‘Neatness’ was also widely used in the studied advertisements (3.6%), in which 5.64% were used in Western product advertisements and none by Malaysian product advertisements. ‘Neatness’ in the advertisements was to emphasise being clean and tidy. Various products were identified as focusing on ‘neatness’, such as products from the ‘cosmetic’ and ‘households’ categories.

The research revealed 3.6% of the advertisements used ‘love’. With Western at 3.95% and Malaysian at 3.03% there was no significance in the findings (Table 8.14). ‘Love’ in the advertisement could be the feeling of lust, affection or caring. And it could be love between a couple, husband and wife, parent and children, relatives and friends. One individual is shown to love and care for the other. The theme normally could create the feeling of being loved, or loving among the audiences. It could also create a happy atmosphere in the advertisement.

Only 3.3% of the advertisements embedded the value ‘convenience’. This was used more by Malaysian product advertisements (6.06%) than their Western counterparts (2.82%). ‘Convenience’ portrayal in the advertisement signifies the product was handy, easy to use and easily accessible to the customer. For example, the ‘Federal
Express' advertisement highlighted the convenience of using their services with their 'door to door', slogan.

The analysis has shown that advertisements of both origins tend to use 'family'. However, there are still some differences between the West and Malaysia. The findings show that Western product advertisements adopt more cultural values such as health and beauty, while Malaysian product advertisements use enjoyment, technology and economy. There are several reasons for the differences. One of these concerns the nature of the product and another the target market. For example, many products that positioned their brand as 'healthy' were from the West, such as Kellogg's Frosties, Dumex 1 Plus, Hi-Cal, Sustagen, Milo etc. (food category - 31.3%). This was also the case with 'beauty', which was mostly incorporated in cosmetic products such as L'Oreal and Avon (64.7%) (see Appendix 7 - Table A12).

### Table 8.14

Cultural Values Portrayed in the Advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Value</th>
<th>Western Countries</th>
<th>Malaysia</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adventure</td>
<td>12 (6.77%)</td>
<td>2 (3.03%)</td>
<td>2 (3.12%)</td>
<td>16 (5.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty</td>
<td>15 (8.47%)</td>
<td>2 (3.03%)</td>
<td>4 (6.25%)</td>
<td>21 (6.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivism</td>
<td>1 (0.56%)</td>
<td>1 (1.51%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (0.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convenience</td>
<td>5 (2.82%)</td>
<td>4 (6.06%)</td>
<td>1 (1.56%)</td>
<td>10 (3.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtesy</td>
<td>7 (3.95%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 (2.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>5 (2.82%)</td>
<td>5 (7.57%)</td>
<td>1 (1.56%)</td>
<td>11 (3.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness</td>
<td>16 (9.03%)</td>
<td>1 (1.51%)</td>
<td>1 (1.56%)</td>
<td>18 (5.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enjoyment</td>
<td>16 (9.03%)</td>
<td>14 (21.21%)</td>
<td>7 (10.93%)</td>
<td>37 (12.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>30 (16.94%)</td>
<td>10 (15.15%)</td>
<td>6 (9.37%)</td>
<td>46 (15.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>16 (9.03%)</td>
<td>3 (4.54%)</td>
<td>13 (20.31%)</td>
<td>32 (10.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individualism</td>
<td>1 (0.56%)</td>
<td>2 (3.12%)</td>
<td>3 (1.0%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure</td>
<td>2 (1.12%)</td>
<td>1 (1.51%)</td>
<td>2 (3.12%)</td>
<td>5 (1.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magic</td>
<td>2 (1.12%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (0.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modernity</td>
<td>3 (1.19%)</td>
<td>4 (6.06%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 (2.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>2 (1.12%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1.56%)</td>
<td>3 (1.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neatness</td>
<td>10 (5.64%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1.56%)</td>
<td>11 (3.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriotism</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1.51%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (0.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>3 (1.19%)</td>
<td>4 (6.25%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 (2.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (3.03%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (0.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love</td>
<td>7 (3.95%)</td>
<td>2 (3.03%)</td>
<td>2 (3.12%)</td>
<td>11 (3.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Status</td>
<td>11 (6.21%)</td>
<td>2 (3.03%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>13 (4.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>3 (1.19%)</td>
<td>4 (6.06%)</td>
<td>11 (17.18%)</td>
<td>18 (5.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td>3 (1.19%)</td>
<td>1 (1.51%)</td>
<td>2 (3.12%)</td>
<td>6 (2.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniqueness</td>
<td>1 (0.56%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1.56%)</td>
<td>2 (0.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 (6.06%)</td>
<td>1 (1.56%)</td>
<td>5 (1.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisdom</td>
<td>6 (3.38%)</td>
<td>3 (4.54%)</td>
<td>2 (3.12%)</td>
<td>11 (3.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>177 (100%)</td>
<td>66 (100%)</td>
<td>64 (100%)</td>
<td>307 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $Χ^2$ (df=50, N=307)=112.7, p<.000.
* Percentage for each origin may not total 100 percent because of rounding.
Chapter Eight Cultural Representation in Television Advertisements

8.8 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has attempted to explore the general trends of cultural content and representation in the Malaysian TV advertisements. In doing that, I have divided my analysis into four different parts (Character Representation in the Advertisement, Group Character Representation, Production and Image Framing and The Representation of Lifestyles and Values). The findings generally substantiate a mixed culture is employed in getting the messages across to the audience. For instance, most advertisements promote images of affluence and modernisation, which have often been associated with a Western way of life. However, normally this modern lifestyle has been adapted to suit the Malaysian way of life. In other words, the setting has been localised or traditionalised before it reaches the audiences.

Regarding gender portrayal, the advertisements still predominantly portray male actors (Western and Malaysian). Male actors were portrayed in most product categories except ‘household products’, such as washing detergent. Females were mostly portrayed doing household chores like cooking, cleaning and feeding the children. These results correlate with findings in the ‘occupation’ segment in which the majority of the advertisements portrayed ‘housewife’ as their major character. This is not surprising as many Malaysians still regard the man as leader and head of the household. In most advertisements, male actors portrayed man as a leader, masculine, rugged and tough.

The advertisements (Western and Malaysian) also portrayed the majority of the actors as ‘adult’. Malaysian advertising, it could be interpreted, basically upholds a strong priority for adults, but children are often portrayed with products that cater for them. Teenagers were often associated with an active lifestyle and brand consciousness. On the other hand, senior citizens were often associated with a negative portrayal, such as illness and loneliness. The results of ‘adults’ domination could also be associated with their buying power and capability, as adults could be described as the main purchasing power group.

As to how advertisements have been produced, the advertisers (Western and Malaysian) prefer to use the conventional approach, which will be more easily
received by the audience. In other words, the advertiser did not use any controversial or drastic change, which might go against Malaysian culture and norms. The advertisements mostly associated their presentation with 'current state' and 'reality', the advertiser preferring to project his product in the 'present time'. This is to promote an audience attitude of believing the product to be a part of their lives.

The advertisement in Malaysia also tends to promote values like 'Family Life', 'Enjoyment' and 'Health' with its products. Malaysians are known to have close knit families that at the same time would like to have enjoyment and appreciate a healthy and comfortable life. This relates to their Eastern values (contributed to by their religious beliefs) and also to past experience of 'hardship' before the economic boom. The dynamism of the Malaysian economy in the 80s and 90s has improved most Malaysians' standard of living, so making them more selective in their social activities and consumption. In addition, the media helps to provide them with significant information on health, which makes them more conscious and sensitive. The advertisers have taken advantage of this situation to include appropriate values in the advertisements.

Overall, the findings on cultural representation show there is a combination of Western and Malaysian elements in the advertisements. There is no clear evidence that the Western product advertisements purposely set out to Westernise the representation and identity of the Malaysian audience. Production and image framing in both Malaysian and Western advertisements show the majority portrayed a Malaysian setting. This could be influenced by regulation imposed by the Malaysian government; the advertisements were produced according to the guidelines and without any intention of subverting them.

The result from cross-tabulation of 'product category' with 'cultural representation', however, did show some small differences with cross tabulation between 'origin' and 'cultural representation'. Study of the 'gender' category did show that 'male' domination did not appear in all categories. 'Females' were dominant in advertisements in the 'household product' category. In the 'age group category', 'child' dominated some product categories such as 'fast-food' and 'toys'. The findings on 'filming techniques' showed 'real life' was the main technique used,
though not in product categories such as 'department store' and 'telecommunication'.

In 'time setting', the results show 'present' was portrayed mostly, though not in the 'computer' product category. 'Product type', then, did play an important role in deciding cultural and social life portrayed in the advertisements. These differences could be interpreted through the nature of the product and the target market, as the main objective of advertising is to create the appropriate message and reach the right target market in order to sell the products or services. To the advertiser, it is more important to sell the product than to be concerned about Western or Malaysian cultural portrayal in advertisements.

In general, the findings show that Western product advertisements have a minimal impact on the Malaysian lifestyle, showing no major disruption of Malaysian norms and culture. The notion of 'cultural representation' through globalisation in the advertisements is not obviously contradicted in terms of cultural values. Most of the cultural values used have been generally accepted as global norms. In other words, we can say that these cultural values are accepted by Malaysians, just as they are in the Western World.
Chapter Nine

Meaning, Sign and Representation - A Qualitative Analysis

9.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the meaning of cultural elements represented in the television advertisements shown in Malaysia, using the 'semiological' method (see Chapter Six). As mentioned earlier, the reason for using this method is that it facilitates the study of the signs and representation in the advertisements' messages, which content analysis does not reveal. At the same time it helps to support the evidence that is discovered through content analysis.

The advertisements examined in this chapter are deciphered according to the guidelines described in Chapter Six (Table 6.2). The ten samples were selected according to the top ten values derived from advertisements broadcast during the studied period. These values are family, enjoyment, health, beauty, effectiveness, technology, adventure, social status, wisdom and love.

9.2 The Analysis

The analysis of the advertisements is based on the guidelines created by Fowles (1996:171-174) and others and modified in order to suit the objectives of this thesis. Guidelines to differentiate the Malaysian and Western influences were also created in an attempt to remove 'grey' areas that create difficulties in distinguishing between Western and Malaysian values. 'Grey' areas occurred when a sense of hybridity was discovered in certain advertisements where the advertiser actually used the dichotomy between Malaysian and Western values to create something.
9.2.1 Case One - Brand’s Chicken Essence Advertisement

The first advertisement that has been selected is for Brand’s Chicken Essence. (Diag. 9.1). It is classified as ‘food’. The product name is Brand’s Traditional Essence of Chicken, a supplement for promoting a healthy body and mind. This product originated in the United Kingdom and the advertisement was created by Lintas, Malaysia, one of the international advertising agencies in Malaysia with headquarters in the United Kingdom.

The analysis of the advertisement reveals that various techniques of filming have been adopted, including medium shot, close up shot and the ‘image softens’ technique. This is to provide an in-depth and emotional environment in the advertisement. The time setting in the advertisement is ‘present time’. The main value used is ‘family’, incorporating ‘love’. This could been seen clearly through the story of the advertisement, as described below.

The main story line concerns a young student who is going abroad to further his studies in Western countries. The United States and the United Kingdom are two countries where most Malaysian students choose to do this. Another thing that represents Western countries is that the main actor wear jumpers/sweaters which show that he is in a cold climate.

The advertisement starts with an airport scene. Identification is based on physical elements commonly present at the airport and by sound effects that simulate the airport environment, such as announcements and the sound of aircraft engines.

In terms of character involvement, three generations of the extended family are represented. The grandmother was the first to say farewell, followed by the father. This arrangement of allowing the elderly (the grandmother) to have the privilege of going first is to show respect to elders. The representation of the advertisement also emphasised a close knit family bond. Many family members were present to send off this student, such as his uncle and cousin. Everyone shows happiness and pride in the achievement of the young student. This achievement has been taken as an achievement for the whole family, including the extended family.
The other sign or symbolic appeal in the advertisement is 'love', which here represents love from the family. The product is depicted as a 'gift of love'. From the advertisement we understand that by consuming the product the student will enhance his intelligence, which will make his studies easier. The concept of 'tradition' is also highlighted on the packaging and by the announcer telling us that the product has been 'used for generations'. The notion of the 'traditional' could be interpreted as 'trust'. In other words, the product has been trusted for many generations, and consumed by our ancestors. In addition, the advertisement stresses that this practice is part of the 'traditional culture'. Finally, the product is part of the family tradition, and will lead to the success of its user.

**Identifying Western and Malaysian Influences**

In general, the advertisement incorporated two types of influence or hybrid of the Western and Malaysian/Traditional cultures. The Western elements can be seen in several areas. First, the advertisement clearly shows a family sending one of its young members to study in one of the Universities in the West. The audience might interpret that it is necessary to go to the West in order to gain knowledge.

Secondly, the 'father' is obviously wearing typical Western clothing - a 'neck tie'. This representation can also suggest that the father is an executive in a firm or has his own business. It may thus be interpreted that the family comes from the middle class. Another message that may be interpreted is that the father is a busy man who will be back in the office after saying farewell to his son.

A further sign of Western influence is the gift. The gift has been wrapped nicely and looks 'formal'. Such wrapping is normally associated with Christmas, birthdays and weddings. Here, the overall scene was a little unreal since gifts are not usually given at the airport when one is about to depart. In other words, the advertiser knows this should not happen in reality, where normally the gift will have already been packed in the luggage. However, the advertiser wants to add elements of love and surprise by showing that inside the wrapping is a precious gift to help him to success in his studies. The later scene shows the student smiling as he drinks the Brand’s Chicken Essence, representing his appreciation of the 'gift of love' from his family.
Malaysian influences are also evident in the advertisement. This takes us back to the main theme of the advertisement, which is having a close knit family relationship, represented by the extended family coming to the airport, some of which might have taken leave from their work to show their love, support and pride for this young student. Another element shows the grand mother wearing the typical Malaysian Chinese costume called 'Sam Foo'. This represents the older generation still observing strong traditional values even in this modern world.

In general, the advertisement has clearly blended two types of cultural influence. The audience will interpret the whole scenario as a reflection and representation of their actual social life, even with certain unrealistic images such as holding a wrapped gift minutes before departure.
Diagram 9.1

Product: Brand’s Chicken Essence
Origin: United Kingdom
Agency: Lintas Worldwide
Date 2/7/96 (TV2)

Scene 1: Location - Airport lobby. MS grandmother talking to her Grandson, watched by other members of his family.

Scene 2: He receives a gift from his father.

Scene 3: Brand label superimposed. Gift being unwrapped.

Scene 4: ECU on Brand’s being opened.

Scene 5: He is about to drink his Brand’s.

Scene 6: CU on Brand’s. Ann: ‘Brand’s used for generation’
9.2.2 Case Two - Salem Holidays (Cigarette Related Product) Advertisement

The Salem Holidays advertisement promotes holiday packages by travel and tour agencies in Malaysia (Diag. 9.2). However, the brand name is shared by one of the famous cigarette brands in Malaysia - Salem. In fact, RJ Reynold owns both products. This happens because cigarette advertisements are banned on Malaysian television, so the manufacturer has to come up with an alternative way to advertise his brand name. Due to this, the advertisement has been categorised as ‘cigarette’.

In the advertisement, the main value portrayed is ‘enjoyment’ and the product benefit is ‘freshness’. The product originates in the United States and the advertisement was created by Lintas, Malaysia. The filming technique used was long shot in most of the scenes, which provides ‘depth of field’. This has the advantage of giving a wider perspective to the whole story. Furthermore, it is suitable for emphasising the scenery. The time setting in the advertisement is ‘present time’, to represent ‘reality’.

The story line of this advertisement is about a group of young males and females, presumably in their early to mid 20s, having a good time and enjoying the scenery shown in the advertisement. There is no clear indication of the nature of their occupation. However, by studying the life style and the signs from their body language, they can be categorised as an upper middle class group. For example, the car that they are driving is categorised as a four wheel-drive soft-top (cabriolet), which is rarely seen on Malaysian roads. This kind of vehicle could easily be priced around $200,000 Ringgit Malaysian (£35,000) brand new. The group of young people I have categorised as ‘yuppies’ are shown enjoying their holiday in a cold climate location, presumably in the West. This is represented by the pine trees typically found in the West. One of the locations shown is a foggy environment that can be considered as a reflection of the cold climate countries. The clothing they are wearing varies from Jeans and polo-shirt to designer casual clothing, which represent a modern, Western orientated lifestyle.

Body language in the advertisement signifies the feeling of ‘freedom’. For example, one of the scenes shows a young woman standing at the back of an open top vehicle clearly expressing her freedom in the wilderness environment. In the fourth frame, a
group of young friends are strolling in the countryside and a young woman with open arms is enjoying the scenery. And once again, at the end of the advertisement a scene shows a man with open arms looking upward to the sky, showing appreciation of nature and emphasising freedom and freshness.

Another sign that can be interpreted is the feeling of 'freshness' that reflects 'coolness' in the surroundings. The highlighting of this sign is not surprising because it could easily be associated with 'Salem Cigarettes'. The main selling point of 'Salem' cigarettes is the 'menthol' content in the product. Menthol in the cigarette gives a 'cool' taste to the smokers. In other words, the positioning of this holiday advertisement as 'fresh' is to represent the actual product that is the Salem Menthol Cigarette.

Character relationship in the advertisement is signified as 'friendship'. The characters could be friends from the same office or former classmates from school or college.

Identifying Western and Malaysian Influences

This advertisement obviously portrays Western lifestyle. In one of the scenes, it shows a man and woman having a good time enjoying their holiday. This activity is closely associated with a Western lifestyle. In Malaysia, this type of portrayal is not encouraged because of the Islamic value that limits socialising between men and women. However, though it is not encouraged, this type of relationship is common among people who live in the urban areas.

The advertisement also shows a group of young people enjoying a good quality of life, consuming modernity (riding in an expensive car). Another representation of Western influence is the clothing. One of the women characters is shown wearing jeans, a reflection of Western identity. Most of the colours of their clothing were subdued and off white, a reflection of luxury and 'class'. The only Malaysian influence that can be retrieved from the advertisement is that of ethnic identity. The character in the advertisement portrays the multi-ethnic, especially the Malay and Chinese.
Finally, I would like to emphasise that the audiences who watch the advertisement might have difficulty in differentiating the advertisement as either 'holiday travel' or cigarettes. This is contributed to by the similar brand name, 'logo type' and colour types (green and white). This advertisement also did not make much effort to inform the audience that it is for holidays and not cigarettes. The location is unclear. Obviously the audience does not know which location is promoted apart from Salem, Washington, USA. The question which might be raised here is why the Salem in Washington and not the Salem in Massachusetts, that is more known to people? Or why not other places that are already established as tourist centres that will provide a lucrative return to the agency?

At the end of the advertisement, the audience was also not informed where they can get the holiday information, except in the 'super', which highlights 'Salem Holidays'. Theoretically, under the principles of advertising this did not achieve the basic requirement as a good advertisement - unclear product promoted, unclear on the advertiser's identity, unclear on where to obtain the product. The only obvious success the advertisement achieves is the high incidence of the word 'Salem'. The other element that is being highlighted is the 'lifestyles' of young people, which promote 'enjoyment' and 'freedom'. Finally, the main objective of this advertisement remains intriguing and questionable, as there is no clear indication of what they are actually advertising.
Diagram 9.2

Product: Salem (RJ Reynolds)
Origin: United States
Agency: Lintas Worldwide
Date: 1/7/96 (TV1)

Scene 1: Superimposed Brand logotype on countryside background

Scene 2: A group of young people enjoying the countryside riding on a four wheel drive vehicle.

Scene 3: A couple playing with soap bubble.

Scene 4: The group strolling in the countryside.

Scene 5: LS on a couple enjoying the mountain fresh air.

Scene 6: Super on the brandname.
9.2.3 Case Three - Dumex 1 Plus Advertisement

Dumex I Plus is categorised as ‘food’ in the content analysis conducted earlier (Diag. 9.3). The main value promoted in the advertisement is ‘health’. Healthy portrayal could be seen through the lifestyle of the characters ‘while’ or ‘if’ they consumed the advertised product. This advertisement directly recommended that the use of the product would enhance or improve the vitality, soundness, strength and robustness of the body. The product is being promoted is a powdered milk for young children aged one to five. It is a Danish product and the advertisement was created by Bozell, one of the international advertising agencies in Malaysia.

Filming techniques included a mix of computer animation and real life, medium shot and close-up on the product. Such techniques were used to emphasise the story and to create more impact on the audience. The time setting adopted in the advertisement is ‘present time’.

The story line of the advertisement emphasises all the growing needs for children aged one to five. This age group needs adequate vitamins and minerals in order to be healthy. The advertisement tries to change the common belief of most parents that bubbly and chubbier children are all healthy. The product positioning is that it will help make the children grow healthier and not fatter. The advertisement claims that the product contains all the essential needs for young children aged one to five to grow healthier.

The advertisement begins with computer animation of fat cells that might build up in the child’s body if fed the wrong food. Here, the advertisement claims that once the fat occupies the body, it will remain forever. In the advertisement, the children are shown playing with numbers. The symbol can be interpreted in several ways. First it shows the product is meant for children aged one to five. Secondly, the children will be good in mathematics by consuming Dumex 1-Plus. The advertisement also shows a child holding a pair of dumb-bells, which signify ‘exercising’ and ‘strength’. Only the healthy one has strength to lift up the dumb-bells. The strength here also represents mental strength.
Identifying Western and Malaysian Influences

In all aspects, from the start to the end, this advertisement incorporated Western influences. The room setting mostly portrayed Western furnishing. As for clothing, one of the children is wearing a leotard, common attire for weight lifters. Another interesting element that has close associations with Western influence is a scene showing the children wearing shoes indoors. Wearing shoes in the house is uncommon among most Malaysians, as it is regarded as rude, unhygienic and against Malaysian culture.
Diagram 9.3

Product: Dumex 1-Plus
Origin: Denmark
Agency: Bozell
Date: 1/7/96 (TV1)

Scene 1: CU on 'fat cells'
Scene 2: Toddlers playing with numbers.

Scene 3: CU on Dumex milk container.
Scene 4: Toddler enjoying playing with dumbbells.

Scene 5: CU on 'dumbbell' with 'full of vitamins and minerals' embossed on it.
Scene 6: Toddler lifting the Dumex container.
Ann: 'Grow healthier ..Not fatter'
9.2.4 Case Four - L'Oreal Lipstick Advertisement

The L'Oreal advertisement is categorised under 'cosmetic', as the product advertised is L'Oreal lipstick (Diag. 9.4). The main value portrayed in this advertisement is 'beauty'. The advertiser of this product is French and the agency that created it is McCann-Erickson, Malaysia, an international agency based in the United States. In terms of filming techniques, medium shot and close up were widely used as they give more impact in bringing out the 'beauty' provided by the product. The time setting indicated in the advertisement is 'present time'.

The story line of this advertisement is about a young, beautiful woman waiting for her husband to come home. While waiting, she has prepared herself to make sure she will look beautiful when her husband arrives. She then puts on red L'Oreal lipstick. And her face glows to signify that she is happy with her 'beautiful' look. The location setting indicated that the entire scene happens in a 'house'. However, the environment of the house did not simulate a real house, as the background is a plain/blank setting. The only indicator is that the room has a couch and a picture of her husband and her child. The room also has flowers. The environment is set as if it were in a 'dream'. These symbols signify that all women dream of and fantasise about being beautiful, having a husband and a child (representing a happy family) - an idealistic situation desired by most women.

In one scene, the woman is shown sitting down on the couch, waiting for her husband. The couch represents 'romance' and 'sex' and this scene could be interpreted as the woman waiting for romance with her husband. The woman shows to the audience the picture of her husband and son, signifying her love for them. At the end of the commercial her husband comes home with a bouquet of flowers. The gift of flowers signifies 'love' and 'appreciation'.

The advertisement implies that maintaining beauty and appearance is vital in order to have a happy husband and wife relationship. Beauty also will ensure the husband will always return home to the wife. The advertisement also tries to show all women can be beautiful and have a happy family showered with love. What they need to do in order to achieve that is to buy the L'Oreal product.
In terms of social class portrayal, it is clear that the lifestyle depicted is upper middle class. This is inferred from the furniture shown in the advertisement and the quality of the clothing the character wears.

**Identifying Western and Malaysian Influences**

The advertisement generally portrays Western elements in the construction of the messages. First, the woman did not wear the ‘mini-telekung’ or mini-veil which are typical head-dress among Malay woman. Next, the settee is of typical Western design (typical Malaysian settees are made of wood and rattan). Another obvious indicator of Western influence is that she is wearing shoes while sitting on the settee.

However, the portrayal of the woman staying at home is consistent with cultural beliefs among the Malays, where the woman has always been perceived as a housewife looking after the house, doing the cooking and taking care of the children, while the man is the bread winner.

In general, the whole concept is about having a modern lifestyle. Modern lifestyle refers to Western lifestyle while retaining the common Malaysian cultural beliefs. In other words, this advertisement tries to portray that Malaysian women can consume modernity and at the same time maintain their traditional beliefs.
Diagram 9.4

Product: L’oreal
Origin: France
Agency: McCann-Erickson
Date: 2/7/96 (TV3)

Scene 1: CU on a smiling woman

Scene 2: The woman sitting on a couch.

Scene 3: Putting lipstick on her lips

Scene 4: Proudly showing her husband and son portrait.

Scene 5: Her husband presents her with a bouquet of flowers.

Scene 6: Happily receiving her gift.
9.2.5 Case Five - Fab Total Advertisement

The Fab Total advertisement is categorised as a ‘household’ product advertisement (Diag. 9.5). Fab Total is a brand name for a detergent meant for washing clothes. The product is produced by Colgate-Palmolive, Malaysia, which has its parent company in the United States. This advertisement was created by Dentsu, Young & Rubicam, Malaysia, which is also based in the United States. The film technique used in this advertisement varies from medium shot, close-up shot and computer animation according to the scenario of the story. The time setting was portrayed as present time.

The whole story line of this advertisement is about two friends. One of them visits the other. When the latter opens her door, they are shocked to find both of them wearing the same clothes - ‘baju kurung’. However, one of them notices that the other woman’s dress is faded. As a friend, the fat lady (in real life a famous Malay comedienne in Malaysia) recommends her friend to use Fab Total Detergent. According to her, Fab Total helps retain the colours of the textile although the dress has been washed repeatedly. Here, the audiences are shown a demonstration, by computer animation, of how effective Fab Total is in removing stubborn stains while retaining the colours.

The story continues with another scene showing a different day, where the women bump into each other near the Fab Total shelf in the supermarket. Once again they are wearing a similar dress. But this time, both dresses have bright colours. When asked if she had bought a new dress, the woman replies that it is not a new dress, but Fab Total, while picking-up a pack from the shelf. Both of them laugh. This signifies that Fab Total is an effective detergent that removes dirt without harming the colours.

Apart from the effectiveness highlighted by the advertisement, ‘friendship’ plays an important role in promoting the product. The element ‘friendship’ could help to create trust in the product especially after being recommended by a trusted friend. The element of friendship can be seen when the fat lady shows her concern for her friend’s faded dress by telling her the secret of having a bright dress and by recommending her friend to use Fab Total.
The advertisement may also be considered as an 'endorsement' of the product by someone famous, such as the celebrity acting in it (The leading character in the advertisement is Yusni Jaafar a famous comedienne and actress in Malaysia).

In terms of location, most of the activities take place at home and in the supermarket. Home could be interpreted as a personal location. Using a supermarket and not a 'corner shop' (where many Malaysians get their household products - refer Fig. 4.2) signifies a modern lifestyle or a modern way of shopping. At the end the advertisement shows an endorsement by the 'Malaysian Textile Manufacturers Association'. This is to assure the audience that the product is recommended by the experts and the consumers are in some way 'guaranteed' of the product's claims.

Identifying Western and Malaysian Influences
The advertisement includes both Western and Malaysian influences. Western influences are portrayed with the action taking place in a modern home, with Western furnishing. The washing machine being used in the advertisement can also be indicative of this. Using a supermarket represents a Western shopping style, since normally Malay women do their shopping at the grocers and shopping in supermarkets is still uncommon among most Malaysians, especially Malays. This is due to the fact that most supermarkets are located in the urban areas.

Malaysian influences are clearly shown through the dress, as both women are wearing typical Malay dress (baju kurung with bright, floral colour design). The leading character is also portrayed as a stereotype of the Malay housewife who talks a lot and loves to help others. The advantage of knowing something gives a feeling of pride, especially when others are willing to follow the advice given. These types of character are very typical among Malay women.
Diagram 9.5

Product: Fab (Colgate Palmolive)
Origin: United States
Agency: Dentsu, Young & Rubicam
Date: 8/7/96 (TV1)

Scene 1: Two friends comparing their dress that happens to be made from the same material.

Scene 2: A fat lady proudly showing her detergent.

Scene 3: CU on how the detergent works.

Scene 4: Showing her loyalty by buying the same brand. Sign of satisfaction.

Scene 5: The detergent endorsed by the textile association.

Scene 6: Super on Fab.
9.2.6 Case Six - BP MOGAS 118 Advertisement

The advertisement is promoting a new 'unleaded fuel' call BP Mogas 118, and uses 'technology' as the theme (Diag. 9.6). The advertiser, British Petroleum, is based in the United Kingdom. However, the company has since merged with Mobil, a petroleum company based in the United States. The advertisement was created by Needham, Malaysia, with headquarters in the United States. The techniques mostly used in the advertisement were mixed, from long shot to medium shot and close-up. The advertisement also incorporated many special effects, especially computer animation. In terms of time setting, the whole concept was mixed between the 'future' and 'present time'.

The story line in this advertisement is the introduction of a fuel of the future invented by BP. All BP consumers are considered fortunate to experience the new fuel of the future. The advertisement stresses a BP petrol station could serve not only for an ordinary car, but also for a 'future car'. The advertisement shows a futuristic car coming down from the sky for refuelling at a BP station. One of the scenes shows that the petrol assistant was stunned by this visit. The whole concept of the advertisement is about an unidentified vehicle, which the audience might interpret as coming from another planet. In one of the scenes, the BP petrol station has been identified as a station that could provide fuel. After filling up, the car is seen to leave by vertical lift-off.

Here, the intended message to the audience is that BP Mogas 118 is the most advanced product on the market. The advertisement claims that the petrol can give more power to the engine and at the same time make the engine clean. The symbol of a hi-tech car signifies technology, and the request for BP petrol represents the idea that petrol by BP is more hi-tech and advanced than other brands. That was the reason why the futuristic car came to the BP station. The cultural belief created by the advertisement is that the motorist who wants to experience new technology (technological change) for the future, needs to use BP petrol. The advertisement stresses that only BP can provide the technology.
Generally, the message that the advertisement delivers is that BP have the technology to produce petrol of the future. A future product could be perceived as being of a better standard and quality than the present product.

Identifying Western and Malaysian Influences

In this advertisement it is difficult to differentiate the different influences. The only aspect that can obviously be retrieved from the advertisement is the sign of modernisation. All elements in the advertisement showed modernisation in transportation technology. First the petrol, which the advertiser claims, is the most advanced on the market. Advanced refers to the technology that produces the petrol, giving power to the car, a cleaner engine and also a cleaner environment (a value promoted in Western countries). Another sign of modernisation is the ‘petrol station’, which has a modern look, a sophisticated petrol pump and the use of a sophisticated gadget during credit card transactions. During the search for the right petrol station, the futuristic car uses a viewfinder employed by pilots in jet fighters. The concept of ‘futuristic car’ is a similar technique to that used in the science fiction movie ‘Back to the Future’, which could be regarded as a Western influence.

The only Malaysian value that could be identified is the ‘politeness’ shown by the pump attendant. His body gesture shows he is bowing slightly when receiving the credit card. This is a sign of respect, a typical way for the Malaysian to show his gratitude.
Diagram 9.6

Product: British Petroleum
Origin: United Kingdom
Agency: Needham
Date: 1/7/96 (TV1)

Scene 1: LS of BP petrol station. View from a car.
Scene 2: The island targeted by a viewfinder.
Scene 3: Filling up with petrol.
Scene 4: Futuristic car taking off vertically from the station.
Scene 5: Super on BP new petrol formula
Scene 6: Product brand name
9.2.7 Case Seven - Marlboro Adventure Team Advertisement

The Marlboro Adventure Team advertisement is promoting adventure experiences in the United States (Diag. 9.7). The main objective of this advertising is to invite all physically fit Malaysian males to participate and join the team. Here, the participants will be short-listed after taking a test. The activities mentioned in the advertisement include rock climbing, horse riding, motor crossing (4-wheel drive and motor bike) and white water canoeing. The advertiser is Marlboro, based in the United States, and the advertisement was created by Bates Malaysia, Malaysia, with headquarters in New York, the United States.

As in the Salem Holidays advertisement, this Marlboro Adventure Team advertisement carries a cigarette brand name (Marlboro). Therefore, it is also placed in the cigarette product category. In terms of film techniques, the advertisement uses many types of shot, such as close-up, medium-shot, long shot, panning, dolly in/out etc. One of the reasons for using a number of shots in 30 seconds of advertisement is the nature of the advertisement itself - a fast moving action advertisement (more than 20 frames were used). The time setting for the audience is identified as 'present time'.

The story line of the advertisement concerns groups of men involved in a variety of gruelling sporting activities such as rock climbing, motor cross and white water canoeing. At the end of the commercial, all activities were successfully accomplished. The message stressed in the advertisement was 'adventure, 'esprit de corps' (teamwork) and 'determination'. One of the frames shows a young man rock climbing. The gruelling experience could be seen by his facial expression. However, he manages to reach the top - the message signifying determination and willingness. To this was added the element of self-control and leadership in the white water rafting.

In general, this advertisement portrayed 'adventure' and 'determination' as the main values. This is represented by the adventurous activity and the characters, who were portrayed as very macho and full of spirit. The advertiser wanted the audience to relate similar values to the cigarette. The qualities of being macho, strong and adventurous are what Marlboro smokers believe they possess. The locations used in
the advertisement could be identified as somewhere in Nevada or Arizona in the United States. This identification was based on similar landscape and topography shown in an advertisement which mentioned the name of the location.

The characters involved in the advertisement were of multi-ethnic origin, and Malay and Chinese were clearly identified. Some of the characters were portrayed as very fit with a muscular build. These symbols represent a healthy life, fitness, strength and the endurance to succeed.

Identifying Western and Malaysian Influences
The advertisement shows a mix of influences. Most of the attributes or values shown are universally accepted, such as 'teamwork', and 'determination'. The location was in the West (United States). However, the most obvious Western influence could be seen in the type of activities involved, such as rock climbing and white water canoeing. These activities are still new to most Malaysians but are gaining popularity, with jungle trekking as a growing physical outdoor activity. The attire used (headband, sporty sunglasses) and equipment (motor-cross motorcycle, horses) was also a reflection of Westernisation/modernisation.

As a whole, the advertisement was seen to promote physical activities to Malaysians. However, the whole idea can be seen to divert the perception of the audience from the effects of cigarette smoking. Using fitness and a healthy life in the advertisement, which at the same time shares its name with the world famous cigarette 'Marlboro', could be seen as an attempt to develop acceptance of the cigarette and rejection of the bad effects of smoking.
Diagram 9.7

Product: Marlboro (Philip Morris)
Origin: United States
Agency: Bates Malaysia
Date: 1/7/96 (TV1)

Scene 1: Scene open with desert, rocky landscape.
Scene 2: CU on man doing rock climbing.
Scene 3: Cowboy riding a horse in the middle of the desert.
Scene 4: Scene of a man riding a motorcycle
Scene 5: A group of men doing white water canoeing.
Scene 6: A group of men standing on top of a rock peak. Super of the brand name appears.
9.2.8 Case Eight - Citibank MasterCard Advertisement

The advertisement shows Citibank, one of the biggest banks in the United States, promoting a 'MasterCard' credit card (Diag. 9.8). The obvious theme that the advertiser tries to associate in the advertisement is 'social class'. This advertisement was created by J. Walter Thompson Worldwide, Malaysia, one of the international advertising agencies in Malaysia that is based in the United States. The producer uses various filming techniques, which include medium shot, close up and dolly in/out to create an atmosphere of exclusiveness in the setting, supported by background music. The time setting is present time, with indications that the whole process is happening in the morning.

The whole concept or the story of the advertisement is about a very rich man beginning his day by having breakfast and reading a 'financial newspaper', which could be the Wall Street Journal or the Business Times. The identification of the newspaper is based on the 'orange' colour of the newsprint. In Malaysia, daily newsprint is white in colour, and financial newspapers are 'orange'. The story continues as we can see the rich man being served by a butler, who carefully carries a silver tray with food and orange juice. After serving his master, he is seen to tidy-up the room. In doing this, he accidentally drops his master's wallet and a MasterCard drops to the floor. He picks up the card and before he puts it back, he looks at the card and smiles. He replaces the wallet and leaves.

In the advertisement, MasterCard credit card is portrayed as an exclusive card, used by the rich. The first instance of exclusivity in the advertisement is given when a butler enters the room. He is entering in a proper manner, wearing a long coat (common portrayal of a butler), walking with an erect upper body (showing the manner has been well practised), with a towel on his arm. This is a portrayal of serving not only a rich man but also an aristocrat who is a respected and conservative figure. The rich man is seen wearing red satin pyjamas, signifying elegance, quality and expense. The conservative attitude is portrayed by his body language when the butler drops the wallet. He looks at his butler very seriously, without smiling. The

37 Dolly in or out a technique to zoom in or out, the subject without moving the camera.
design of the man’s spectacles also suggests conservativeness - they are an old fashioned type often worn by older people.

The location of this advertisement is a room, presumably in the aristocrat's home. The room is furnished with expensive and exclusive items. The design of the room also stresses exclusiveness, with a big window (uncommon for ordinary Malaysian homes) and full length curtains. Meanwhile, the aristocrat is seen reading his newspaper on his balcony, which is another sign of exclusiveness, because it is uncommon for ordinary Malaysians to have their breakfast in that kind of setting.

Here, the advertisement tries to commodify that MasterCard credit card is a card tailored for an aristocrat. So, if the viewer owns the card, he could be seen as an aristocrat. On the other hand, it could be interpreted that if the card user does not own the Citibank MasterCard, he is not yet successful and rich.

**Identifying Western and Malaysian Influences**

Most of the elements shown in the advertisement have a strong Western influence. The first sign of this is the use of a butler. The English type of butler is uncommon among the Malaysian aristocracy and tycoons. The common type of butler seen in Malaysia normally wears a white uniform with ‘songkok’ (Malaysian traditional hat) or ‘Baju Melayu’ (the national costume). However, because the advertiser wants to stress the exclusivity of the card, using an English style butler is seen as appropriate since this type of butler is commonly seen in ‘movies’ by Malaysians, especially movies about the lifestyle of the English upper class.

The room setting also has a Western influence. For example the luxury bed sheet and comforters (Malaysians do not use comforters unless the room is air-conditioned, since the country has such a hot climate).

A silver tray for breakfast with orange juice obviously signifies a Western element whereas ‘Teh Tarik’ (Malaysian’s favourite tea) with ‘Nasi Lemak’ (coconut rice) or ‘Roti Canai’ (Malaysian Naan) signify the typical Malaysian breakfast.
In general, I would like to stress that this advertisement portrayed a Western lifestyle not only in the characters, behaviour, clothing, food and setting, but the whole story itself is not Malaysian.
Product: Citibank Mastercard
Origin: United States
Agency: JW Thompson
Date: 8/7/96 (TV2)

Scene 1: A butler entering a room with a breakfast.

Scene 2: The master reading a newspaper.

Scene 3: The master looking at his butler seriously.

Scene 4: The butler replacing the fallen card in his master’s wallet.

Scene 4: CU on the Master Card.

Scene 5: Super on the credit card.
9.2.9 Case Nine - Horlicks (SmithKline Beecham) Advertisement

In the Horlicks advertisement the main theme portrayed is the 'wisdom' of the mother in choosing the product for her family (Diag. 9.9). Wisdom in the advertisement could be defined as a value to show respect for knowledge, education, intelligence, expertise and experience. 'Wisdom' also compensates for the feeling of inadequacy of knowledge on the part of the audience before they make a purchase. By including wisdom in the advertising, the confidence of the potential customer in making their decision could be enhanced.

Horlicks is a beverage and it is in the food category. The product originates from the United Kingdom and is manufactured by SmithKline Beecham. The advertisement was produced by Grey International, Malaysia. The film techniques applied in the advertisement were close-up and medium-shot. The various types of technique are used in order to enhance some of the scenes. For example, the scene where the mother explains the origin of Horlicks and its goodness brings the imagination of the children to a barley field. The time setting used in the advertisement is identified as the present time.

The whole concept of the advertisement concerns a mother who would like to provide the best for her family. The advertisement shows the mother using her experience and knowledge in serving the best drink for her children. The mother is portrayed as a 'wise' housewife who knows about the nutrient content in Horlicks. As a smart person, she shares her knowledge about the goodness of barley and malt. She is seen explaining to her children, who listen diligently to her. During this a 'superimposed' picture of the barley field where Horlicks comes from, was shown. Later, the advertisement shows the children and their mother being taken to a barley field. This scene is to reinforce the audience belief that the product genuinely comes fresh from the barley fields. The advertisement informs the audience that foods that come from natural resources are full of nutrients and vitamins. In other words, what the audience will get is a fresh and natural product.

The advertisement shows 'family' value when it emphasises a happy environment in the house. The children are shown as happy, healthy and active. Later, the husband
comes into the kitchen with a smiling face to watch his children's behaviour. After all the amusement, the family is seen drinking Horlicks together. It seems that the husband agrees with his wife's decision about the choice of drink. This scene signifies that Horlicks is the choice of drink for audiences who care about and love their family. In other words, drinking Horlicks will help to make a happy, healthy family. The advertisement ends with a tagline that says, 'Mother's Smart Choice'.

Identifying Western and Malaysian Influences

The advertisement obviously incorporates Western and Malaysian elements. The Western influence can be seen in terms of the kitchen furnishings. The kitchen is equipped with modern ergonomically designed kitchen cabinets. This scene could be seen as promoting a modern lifestyle in the Malaysian home, while the drink is positioned as a healthy drink, with its the nutrient value emphasised. This could be a new lifestyle approach, to persuade Malaysian customers to seek food that will benefit them. Interest in the details of food content, especially the benefit, is a common attitude among Westerners. As for Malaysians generally, many of them do not take notice or take seriously what they get from their food. In other words, the idea that is promoted in the advertisement is a Western way of life. Another Western influence is seen in the housewife's clothing (she is wearing blouse and skirt).

Malaysian influence can be seen in the characters, which are clearly Chinese. The product is, therefore, being promoted on the Chinese market.

The whole notion of this advertisement is about promoting a healthy drink for the family. Only wise mothers know what is good and what is bad for the family diet. To make the right choice, the person needs to have wisdom. Only knowledge and experience can help. So, the Horlicks advertisement has already provided the knowledge and experience to the audience in order to make that right choice.
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Diagram 9.9

Product: Horlicks (SmithKline Beecham)
Origin: United Kingdom
Agency: Grey International
Date: 14/7/96 (TV3)

Scene 1: A mum explaining the goodness of wheat and barley to her children.

Scene 2: Field of barley

Scene 3: The children attentively listening to their mother’s explanation.

Scene 4: The children playing hide and seek with their father, who came in the kitchen later.

Scene 5: The whole family enjoying Horlicks.

Scene 6: CU on the product with a background of wheat and barley.
Chapter Nine  
Meaning, Sign and Representation - A Qualitative Analysis

9.2.10 Case Ten - Nespray (Nestle) Advertisement

Nespray is a brand name for a milk powder and I categorised this advertisement under food (Diag. 9.10). The advertiser is Nestle, based in Switzerland. The advertisement was created by McCann-Erickson, Malaysia. Types of shot applied in the advertisement vary from medium shot to close up. The location was identified as home, while the time setting was established as present time.

The main story line of this advertisement is about the 'love' shown by a father to his son. Here, the advertisement shows a young child playing on a keyboard. While the son is concentrating on practising his skill, the father is bringing him a glass of milk. The message in the advertisement is delivered through a jingle as no conversation takes place. The lyric of the jingle says the boy is his only son, and the father is always proud of him and he will always be 'a star in his eyes'. His parents brought him up with love and caring and gave him only the best. According to him, Nestle milk is the best milk, and that is why his parents feed him on Nestle milk.

In one of the scenes the father is seen helping his son to practice his skill playing on the instruments. Here, the element of caring and tenderness is emphasised in the advertisement. The whole theme is set in an emotional atmosphere and this could emphasise the love of a father for his son. The advertisement also successfully creates a happy and emotional atmosphere for the audience.

The advertisement portrays a middle-class lifestyle. For example, it is still uncommon for many Malaysian children to own a piano or electronic keyboard, because these instruments are expensive for most ordinary Malaysians. Only rich parents, probably living in an urban area, would buy this type of musical instrument for their children. Also, music involving piano or violin is commonly taught in the United Kingdom but is still not part of the Malaysian national curriculum. Music classes are categorised as extra-curricular, which is an option for the children. However, if they opted for these classes the common instrument would be the 'recorder'.

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Identifying Western and Malaysian Influences

In the advertisement, the audience can see that both types of influence were used. The most significant Western influence is the portrayal of musical instruments. As mentioned earlier, the use of this instrument in Malaysian homes is exceptionally rare except for the middle class and above.

The other evidence of Western influence is the room furnishing. In the advertisement most of the furnishings were of Western/modern design. For example, a blind is used instead of a cloth curtain, which is common in most Malaysian homes. The other Western element is the clothing the child is wearing, an 'overall', which is quite uncommon for an ordinary Malaysian child. Malaysian influence, on the other hand, can be identified through the type of clothing the father wears - Baju Melayu (Malay Shirt) a national costume. Thus the characters involved in the advertisement can be considered as a Malay family.

The main aim of this advertisement is to promote milk consumption among Malaysians. Milk powder is the most common type of milk available in Malaysia as the fresh or pasteurised milk commonly available in the West is very difficult to obtain. The product is positioned as a symbol of love and caring for the children. In other words, if the viewer loves his family, he/she will provide the children with Nespray milk.

The other message that can be interpreted is the portrayal of an ideal modern family lifestyle - full of love and health conscious.
Diagram 9.10

Product: Nespray (Nestle)
Origin: Switzerland
Agency: McCann-Erickson
Date: 2/7/96 (TV3)

Scene 1: MS of a boy playing with his electronic keyboard in a modern setting.

Scene 2: We can see his father coming towards him carrying a glass of milk.

Scene 3: Cut to a shot of a product.. Nespray.

Scene 4: Back to the father and son shot. The father feels proud of his son's talent.

Scene 5: Both of them happily smiling at each other.

Scene 6: End with a product shot with a tagline.. 'World’s favourite milk'.
9.3 Concluding Remarks

Many of the ten advertisements have incorporated influences from both the West and from Malaysia. However, Western influence was seen as the most dominating in terms of lifestyle. Here, I would like to generalise that Western influences generally are associated with modernisation in lifestyle. Lifestyle here refers to several elements that surround the character in the advertisement, physically, attitudes and values. The physical can be seen in the clothing, home furnishing etc. Some of the clothing has strong Western influence, for example 'long coat' (worn by a butler), bath robe etc. Attitudes that incorporate a symbol of Western influence can be seen in the practice of wearing shoes in the house. This Western behavioural influence may create resentment among Malaysians, especially the Malay, as wearing shoes in the house in Malaysia is rude.

In terms of home furnishing, many scenes show modern design. For example 'the couch' in the L'Oreal advertisement. This seat could also represent 'romance' or 'sex'.

Concerning values, most advertisements could be associated with the most common values observed in the Western world. For example, health consciousness and friendship between the sexes. However, many of the values have already become universal values and many have accepted them as part of their culture. Resentment might only arise when the values shown could bring a negative effect such as a social problem. For example, having a free relationship with a member of the opposite sex. Many fear that without proper control or monitoring a problem such as unmarried pregnancy or drug practice might occur or increase.

Most of the Malaysian influence could be associated with a clear identification of ethnicity in the advertisement - A Malay, a Chinese and so forth. There was evidence of efforts by some advertisers to promote the national costumes such as 'Baju Melayu' and 'Baju Kurung'.

Another type of Malaysian influence is the incorporation of values such as respect for elders, politeness, co-operation and friendship.
The findings using the semiological approach show there is evidence of mixing of influences from the West and Malaysia. However, there are some advertisements that are predominantly Western, such as Citibank MasterCard. In this, it seems that signifying the upper social class can only be accepted if the advertisement has incorporated the lifestyle of the English aristocrat. However, a portrayal of the upper social class could just as easily be based on Malaysian royalty, especially as they are the most respected class in Malaysia.

Hidden behind the more obvious symbols of western culture like clothing and furniture is the idea that 'Western' may be equated to progress, to the modern and the desirable. The traditional in the advertisements may, on the other hand, represent either 'old fashioned' and 'backward' or 'valuable', 'vulnerable' and 'worth preserving'. Advertisers are hinting, perhaps, at the idea of incorporating the best of the old with the best of the new. The Brand Chicken Essence advertisement exemplifies this, with a young man setting off for a western education fortified by a traditional product. There is in this more an idea of assimilation of some western aspects by the traditional culture rather than adoption of one at the expense of the other.

Many of the advertisements analysed exhibit this hybrid nature of modern western and traditional Malaysian values. The findings suggest that advertisers are using a dichotomous situation to create something that the audience may infer as Western. The portrayal is, in fact, an entirely Malaysian construction based on Western imagery.
Chapter Ten

The Impact of Western Advertising: An Audience Study

10.1 Introduction

Massive growth in economy and industrialisation is changing the social class structure in Malaysia. As described in the earlier chapters of this thesis, particularly in Chapter Four, this transformation has given rise to a diversity of scholarly opinion over the construction of understanding of culture and values. Some of the arguments are related to consumption choices and image constructions. Some scholars suggest that these phenomena indicate a new middle class comprising rampant consumers of luxury goods, caught up in the global whirl of changing fashions and dominated by lifestyle images of the affluent west. Others see a middle class displaying the behavioural codes of a middle class 'lifestyle' while at the same time adhering to the values, social orientations and distinctions that distinguish their group from other components of society (Young, 1999:56). Such diversity of opinion necessitates a more open understanding of class and, in particular, one that is sensitive to the question of social and cultural identity. This requires the examination not only of productive or economic relations, and overt political behaviour, but also of how each of these is connected to status relations, differences in lifestyle, consumption codes and practices, interpersonal conduct, ethnic affiliations, moral dispositions and social imagery (Pinches, 1999:7). The question here is to what extent have the various elements mentioned changed with regard to advertisements?

In this chapter my aim is to explore the cultural values of the Malaysian audiences, together with the impact upon those values of western influence from television advertisements. However, examining this phenomenon through what the audiences see in the advertisement could be inaccurate without viewing the process of identity construction and social differentiation made by them. At the same time I would like to examine some of the opinions on the link between the transformation of middle class consumption choices and their ideas on culture and values in relation to Chapter Four.
To this end, a study was conducted of fifty households selected by ‘quota sample’ from various demographic backgrounds (described in Chapter Six). The number of people per household ranged from two to six.

The chapter is in two parts; Section A is entitled ‘Cultural Values’ and looks at the audiences’ opinions of cultural values and of the changing pattern of their lifestyles. Section B is entitled ‘Background and Contact - Audience Responsiveness to Advertisements’. It concerns audience interpretation of advertisements and includes the analysis of their impact (The findings of this section are based upon feedback from the viewing of 30 advertisements by selected interviewees). Section B is divided into three sub-topics - 1. ‘Cultural Values and Criticism’ 2. ‘Audience Views on Advertised Products’ 3. ‘Role of TV Advertisements in Influencing Audience Social Life’.

‘Cultural Values and Criticism’ analyses audience understanding of the Advertisements. ‘Audience Views of the Advertised Product’ examines how the audience feels about the product itself. It will also examine the audiences’ perception of the products’ origins and use and include an analysis of the audiences’ preferences for the products and their patterns of consumption. Finally, the ‘Role of TV Advertisements in Influencing Audience Social Life’ will examine the general impact of TV advertisements on the audiences.
SECTION A
Cultural Values

In this section, I examine the audiences' opinions on cultural values and on their changing pattern of lifestyle. The discussion is divided into two sub-topics in order to clarify what is a complex phenomenon. These two sub-topics are 'Audience Views on Changing Social Life' and 'Audience Definition of Culture'. The idea of seeking opinion on 'the audiences' changing social life' is to investigate its relationship to the country's developing economy and media, with the related increase in consumer products and services. As described in Chapters Two to Five, it has been argued that these phenomena directly and indirectly affect the Malaysian way of life. The second part of this section, 'Audience Definition of Culture', explores what the audiences understand as culture, either Western or Malaysian, or both. This is important since there has been considerable concern in Malaysia, from government, media, consumer associations and the general public, over the impact on society of westernisation. The question here is do Malaysians have a clear idea of their own culture? And if so, how do they differentiate that from their perception of the Western 'invader'? Or is this a case of thoughtlessly jumping on the bandwagon?

I. Audience Views on Changing Social Life

In 'Audience Views on Changing Social Life', the discussion will focus on the opinion of the present pattern of changing lifestyles and consumption, thinking and attitudes, family values, economy and technology. These subjects were selected since they were the topics most discussed by audiences during the interviews.

Lifestyles and Consumption

The interviews began with the questions 'Do you feel the way of life is changing in Malaysia and, if so, in what way?' The responses to these questions indicated that most of the respondents, regardless of background, were aware of changes to their lifestyle and pattern of consumption. Opinions on this were surprisingly similar across the income spectrum, with Malay and Chinese, and in rural as well as urban areas. There was agreement that the changes were occurring in attitudes, in values and in consumption regardless of their background. Why, then, is the same idea
shared, in spite of the widely-held belief that differences in lifestyle have a close relationship to income differentials? Does such shared opinion apply to all the subjects discussed in this chapter or is it only applicable to this particular topic? The answer is indeed yes, as will be explained later.

The initial question posed (changes in lifestyle and consumption) was of a more general and conceptual nature. The finding clearly indicates that changes have been felt not only by the new rich (as claimed by many scholars) but also by the less affluent in the rural areas. For example, Household 1, which is Malay, urban and enjoys a high income, felt that Malaysian teenagers are most vulnerable to Western influence.

Yes, especially the young people like teenagers, they tend to be influenced by western culture....like the dress and songs....the popular culture (Household 1).

Another audience, who live in the rural area of Perlis, in the north of Malaysia, felt the changes could be seen in physical conduct, the decline in family values and in failing marriages (the increase in the divorce rate is a subject often discussed in the Malaysian media of late).

Yes, like physical conduct, in the way people carry themselves, social outlook, family values, the institution of marriage (Household 7).

An urban Chinese respondent of average income also reported the changes but claimed she was not personally affected.

The lifestyle, the way they dress, the way they talk, the way they present themselves; the individualism etc. However, it doesn’t really affect me, actually (Household 25).

One person, an engineer living in Kuala Lumpur, claimed that many Malaysians have changed in their character because of their changing patterns of socialisation, thinking and lifestyle. Here, changing patterns of socialisation refers to how the young people enjoy their life, for example more ‘clubbing’ activity among them and asking for more freedom from parents than was the case when the respondent was young.

.... In many ways, especially socially, the way of thinking and lifestyle. Especially the way the teenagers socialise, the way they think and the way they behave in a society (Household 5).
Another Malay respondent, from a middle-class background, shared her husband’s opinion that Malaysian culture has already changed, that true Malaysian identity has disappeared in a mixture of Eastern and Western influences. These changes could be seen in the process of how the new culture is being constructed, particularly through improvements in income and through information received through the media.

Malaysian culture is already mixed with Western culture. So, it no longer has its own identity. For example, in terms of dress, behaviour and attitude. Information that we receive has also changed. The world is now becoming more advanced (Household 13).

Another respondent, a government officer with the Department of Agriculture in Kedah (northern state of Malaysia), was more specific, claiming that ‘cultural change’ among Malaysians is due to the ‘obsessive’ attitude of keeping up with modern trends, especially in clothing. He also claimed that people had become more opportunist and competitive. Here, ‘opportunist’ means many people have become greedy, especially in securing wealth regardless of whether it be by ethical methods or not. The respondent cites examples from the village where he had formerly lived.

The culture is changing in so many ways. People are becoming aggressive, the way people dress is changing, and the pattern of thinking - people used to be very slow but now you have to think fast. If you are late you will lose the opportunity. Recently, when the ‘district office’ offered new land for agriculture, many people were fighting to get the form, though I know some of them already owned land given by the government. But because of their greediness they forget about other poor people who still don’t own any land. These people don’t care, what they care about is their ‘stomach’. (Household 14).

Another respondent referred specifically to the rapidly changing pattern in food consumption. A married factory manager blamed the influence of the media and travel for the transformations.

In lifestyle, for example, ‘nasi lemak’ was the main Malaysian breakfast meal five years ago but now they go for cereal or other American or foreign based food that they never ever thought about then. Also there has been a lot of influence in the rural areas because of the exposure they get from the media and other sources. And we have to understand that for a lot of Malaysians who have been overseas, this has become a normal thing. They bring back a lot of influences (Household 20).

The following, a single Chinese and working as a Producer, associates the changing pattern of lifestyle and consumption with greater purchasing power.
The ways people spend their money and the way they dress. The changes are more toward material things, like lifestyle and dress because purchasing power is greater now...... (Household 31).

Another urban single Chinese, working as an Accounts Director, also feels the changes in social life are due to more people having more money. He bases his observation on the increase in luxury cars on the road and on easier accessibility of western goods. This may well be interpreted as evidence of higher incomes earned by Malaysian due to an improved economy. The class, which is currently benefiting from these changes prefers to differentiate its lifestyle from that of those less fortunate. These new rich are expressing their achievement through the purchase of luxury products.

People have a lot of money now. You see a lot more Mercedes and a lot more Western products coming into the market. It reflects that the advertisers know there are lots of prospects here (Household 28).

Others stressed the increased numbers of Malaysians with a higher level of education, contributing to an increase in purchasing power and consumer demand.

Consumers’ needs have changed in the last ten or twenty years due to higher levels of education and higher incomes, with increased opportunity for earning. People’s tastes have changed and they no longer go only for Malaysian food, they also like international foods. Attitudes have changed and now people can help each other more (Household 29 - Urban, Chinese Lecturer).

Many respondents claimed that people have become more materialistic. The rise in the number of people seeking luxury items in the portrayal of their achievements in life gives rise to such impressions. The following respondent, of Indian ethnic background, living with his wife and her elderly father, associates materialism with Westernisation.

I think we are becoming more materialistic. In urban areas, I think people are getting more wealthy, getting more materialistic, getting very much into the western than ever before (Household 40).

His statement has been supported by another Indian family, who claimed many Malaysians are becoming more materialistic.

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Yes, more westernised. Such as lifestyles. In fact, everyone is more materialistic. Commercial wise...we're progressing tremendously. So, when something grows tremendously, everything changes (Household 45).

This opinion is shared by other ethnic groups. This Chinese respondent, who is a shopkeeper in a small town in Perlis (Northern State of Malaysia) also, feels the changes can be seen in terms of lifestyle.

The lifestyles. Everyone is more materialistic and commercially... we're progressing tremendously. When something grows tremendously, everything changes. And it affects me a lot as I have to work extremely hard to catch up with it (Household 27).

It is important to note here that these similar opinions emanate from backgrounds differing in social class, occupation and income. Here I would like to hypothesise that the similarity is due to number of reasons. One of these is the greater current accessibility of information, particularly that disseminated through electronic channels, such as television and newspapers. These audiences normally associate the transformation of lifestyles with spending patterns, dress, choice of food and many other aspects.

The currently changing pattern of social life is linked directly and indirectly to the developing economy and media (Chapters Four and Five). Some of the families interviewed are very conscious of this link, seeing it manifested in their children. They are aware that present trends have resulted in modification of some of their traditional values. The following respondents, a Malay couple, who are both university lecturers, illustrate this.

I think it affects us a lot... It affects us in term of activities. If you compare it with the previous culture, children had a lot of outdoor activities. But now, as a result of these developments, I can say that they are self-sufficient. They just stay at home and do their own activities like watching TV, playing with the computer, listening to music etc. There are lots of differences. The children of the past didn't have all those things. So they had to go out and make friends, playing football. Another thing is that these people are quite individualistic because they do their own activities so they don't think much about their neighbours and other people. In fact our kids don't have many friends (Household 1).

Another respondent, an urban Malay working as a copywriter, claimed the changes in her traditional cultural values have now become her norm.
It changes in terms of our culture. Now I can accept the change and it is already my norm. For example food, we used to eat rice at least twice a day. Today we don't miss it so much if we don't eat rice, as we can substitute it with fast food and others (Household 13).

This section has illustrated considerable agreement on the part of respondents concerning recognition of lifestyle and consumption changes, in spite of their different backgrounds. Why is this so? Why are urban and rural, middle and working class differences submerged in this instance? Such a finding conflicts with the ideas of many scholars, who recognise that cultural distinctions between classes within a wider social totality are linked to differences in economic position, interest and experience. For example in Veblen's (1979) classic account of the American leisure class, where conspicuous consumption and the hierarchy of prestige that accompanies this practice, are explained as more or less simple outcomes of wealth differences.

The findings (similarity in opinions) are consistent with the idea promoted by scholars such as Michael Pinches (1999) in his 'social relational' thesis, in which, class culture is not so much directly related to economic conditions as to the social relations through which people are differentially located.

Finally, I would like to suggest that there is a high level of awareness of the changes in lifestyle in the society. The only difference detected between different classes was in the manner of expression rather than in what was expressed.

**Opinions on Malaysian Thinking and Attitudes**

Another subject that was commonly highlighted during the interviews was the changes in Malaysian attitudes toward preserving their way of life and family values.

One of the middle-class households stated that people are currently undergoing a process of lifestyle transformation as society moves towards modernisation in social life;

First,... things are changing very fast. Second, the culture of the people is modernising. I agree with my husband. From what I see, the values of people are changing. We have more women working, more women are becoming breadwinners. And between a husband and a wife sometimes, the wife has a better education than the husband does. The kids are also undergoing cultural
change. They are not being taken care of by parents but by baby-sitters (Household 1).

The above clearly shows that the former idea of the male as sole breadwinner is no longer universally accepted. Traditionally, the man has always been a 'breadwinner' for the household. It was always the rule among conservative Malays that the 'woman should be in the kitchen' and 'men should be the income earner' and most traditionalist Malays believe the responsibility for raising their children lies with the mother. However, with more educated professional females and more women working, a baby-sitter or nanny has become a necessity for some households. The respondent above seems to know her rights as a woman. While this lady's opinion contradicts the traditional Malay viewpoint, it is not so surprising when we recall her background as a city dwelling, high income lecturer. This finding is consistent with the opinion presented by Stivens (1996), as described in Chapter Four of this thesis, concerning the modern attitudes of the new rich and middle class women on their roles at home with the family.

However, not all respondents were enthusiastic about the new lifestyle. A low income farmer from Perlis (Northern State of Malaysia) showed concern over his daughter's request for an independent life in the city.

Today many youngsters want to work in Penang after leaving school. Many want to work in a factory. Who will stay in the village and do the farming? That's why, if you look around, the only people living in this 'kampung' are old ones and children. My daughter's going to finish school at the end of this year. She said she wants to work in Mak Mandin (electronic industrial area in Penang). My wife and I are worried - no one can watch her there. She's only eighteen and she might be influenced by the wrong people - you know, there are so many cases, like abandoned babies. (Household 48)

One respondent, the Managing Director of a production house, describes the values necessary for people to survive in a competitive and demanding society 'industriousness' and 'aggressiveness'.

Yes...mentality; they are more industrious, more aggressive, more corporate oriented and more motivated compared to ten or twenty years ago. They are also more organised, more outgoing, more open-minded, more liberal. This is mainly due to information technology, information through the medium of communication. I would say they have changed tremendously. In a very positive perspective. I suppose our country has been experiencing industrial
growth for the past decade. And the physical changes are very rapid. The changes influence the people because we need to survive and keep pace with the industrial development (Household 2).

Some respondents considered that the environmental pressures that many of them are experiencing have also transformed people, making them more career minded;

The pace of living is getting faster compared to when I was young. And it affects us as we are becoming more career minded. (Household 5)

Another respondent, a 70 year-old government pensioner living in Perlis\(^{38}\), suggested that the situation in Malaysia is transforming the younger generation into more ‘outgoing and open-minded’ people.

Lifestyles. If you look at the younger generation today, they are more open and more outgoing compared to the older generation. (Household 8).

As well as being opened minded and outgoing, some feel that Malaysian society is currently becoming more Westernised as the result of media influence. This opinion echoes the results of some studies in the West on the impact of the Western media; the subject has been thoroughly investigated by Tunstall (1977), Schiller (1976), Tomlinson (1991) and many others. The following respondent, holder of a PhD from Washington State University, concurs.

In terms of values and thinking we are becoming more westernised because of what we watch and what we read. We are no longer different from the people in the U.S. (Household 23).

Some of the audiences interviewed felt the new lifestyles affect them mentally, influencing them in many ways.

It affects me very much. For example, I’m now more materialistic (Household 22 - Young Urban Malay Engineer).

The findings show that for many Malaysians social life has been affected by the activities that are happening around them. However, not all were willing to submit themselves to the present phenomena, as illustrated by the following comment from one of the respondents, a lecturer living in Shah Alam.

\(^{38}\) A small state in northern part of Malaysia. The main economic activity is agriculture.
There are many things actually. In the sense that I am conservative, I still follow my religious principles and code of ethics in my life. Certain things I will definitely avoid. I tend to keep with the clothes that I put on, the food that I eat or stuff that I consumed before (Household 23).

In this section, the findings show many audiences acknowledge the pressure caused by the social and economic development in the country. They find themselves adopting new attitudes and ways of thinking in order to adapt to the new way of life. Others refuse to submit to the changes. There is some evidence to suggest that some of the rural audiences are apprehensive about the transformation of cultural values. For them, the increasing liberalisation and materialism may lead to social problems.

Another topic commonly highlighted by the audiences is the changing of family values.

*Family Values*

In the midst of these changes in Malaysian lifestyle and thinking, concerns for the impact on family values were discussed by the audiences. Some of them show their concern for the falling value of the 'family institution'. Malaysians, whether they are Malay, Chinese or Indian, are known to treasure 'family values and ties'. This claim is supported by the effort of many ethnic communities, which often raise the issue of the importance of family values. The government also shows concern in continually promoting the family amongst the citizens. The 'Young Friends Program' (Program Rakan Muda) aims to inculcate family values in young people in the hope of producing a more dynamic Malaysia. Other government efforts include outlines on identity and ideal values (Table 5.6).

A household in one of the villages in the north claimed that Malaysia is experiencing change in many things. According to him, the most obvious change is the way of thinking. The father, who is from an older generation, has a different way of thinking from that of the new generation of parents.

There are a lot of things changing in Malaysia but the most permanent, is the way of thinking. I can say that if we go back to the past, the way our parents thought was a bit traditional. If we compare it to the present parent, it is different (Household 10 - Rural Malay Teacher).
The following couple, from a middle class background, work as an engineer and an architect and claim the impact has affected family relations as more people become career oriented. Though the couple did not yet have a child, their opinion on parenting is the result of their observation.

Yes, compared to 5 years ago when our country was not as progressive as we are now. Family ties were very important. And now people are more career oriented. Some parents nowadays spend less time with their children. They come home late, and their children are already asleep. When the children wake up, they have already gone to the office. The only time they spend with their children is during the weekend. (Household 5)

This is supported by the following Indian respondent who lives in Kuala Lumpur. He claims that many Malaysians are becoming more career minded nowadays and depend on the child or baby-sitter to assume responsibility for raising the children.

Yes, lifestyles. Apart from that we are more career minded. Where the husband and wife have to work. Especially when you have a little child who needs attention but you have to leave her at the day-care centre (Household 46 - Urban Indian Stockbroker).

Many of the audiences in the study showed their concern over the effects on the children produced by the media. Some claim that the media act as trend-setter and the children follow without considering the economic and social effects.

One parent, who is self-employed with low income, expressed his concern over meeting the demands of his children. They, according to him, are becoming more modern (referring to branded imported trainer), which indirectly increases the desire to own the products that are associated with the new lifestyle.

My children are becoming modern. And the daily demand for products is increasing from them, and sometimes I can’t cope with their demands. We are not a rich family. When they see on TV the ‘sport shoes’ and then they see their friends wearing them they also want. (Household 8).

Another audience, who both work as school teachers, have taken up a second job to supplement their inadequate income. The wife has to sacrifice the experience of raising the children because of the need to earn extra money in order to have a comfortable life.
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My husband and I are working. In fact my husband and I have to take up a second job, we work in a ‘tuition’ centre at night. Because we need the extra money in order to have a comfortable life. We have to leave our kids with the baby-sitter. Sometimes we feel we ignore our children because we spend more time working (Household 9).

Some said that the new trends that are invading the family institution are somehow forcing the family into a new lifestyle. They stressed that parents need to teach their children to appreciate the previous way of life, which was rich in traditional values (they referring to values embodied in common practices in ‘kampung’, such as kissing the hand while shaking hand, washing the feet before entering the house etc).

Yes, my way of life is definitely changing. Especially me. I still believe in the traditional way of life. So now that my children have become like this, I feel that I must equip them with values, I mean the past values, like the ‘kampung’ (village) people. So at least they will be self sufficient and there will be a lot of awareness. (Household 1)

Apart from preserving traditional values in their life, the wife expressed her regrets for not having enough time to spend with her children.

In terms of child caring. Since I’m working, I feel that I have less time for my children. The time spent is very limited, whether it’s with my kids or my husband. In other areas we are trying to teach our values to our children. Sometimes it is very difficult because they have been exposed to so many things. For example, my children are so attached to the computers and the latest technology (Household 1).

During the research, many respondents emphasised the subject of respect in the family. They felt that the most important value, which needs embedding within the family, is respect for elders and the feeling of belonging to the family.

Respect the eldest, family ties and I don’t like my children to imitate their friends. As a father I have a vision that I planned for my children. It is important for me that my children are aware of the environment, are self-sufficient, well trained in terms of experience; this does not mean I want them to be chased from home. But I want them to have an experience from what I’ve taught them because I see that most of the young in Malaysia now tend more towards materialistic values. They spend most of their time at the shopping complex, mixing with their friends, doing nothing. I think this is quite bad. For a person to grow up, they require guidance or they must have experiences. We believe, as they grow older they’ll be facing a lot of problems. So now is the time for me to equip them to be aware of their surroundings (Household 1).

Respect yourself and others. Taking people as they are. Believing that life is not permanent. Working hard to achieve success (Household 20).
Some audiences stress that 'gratitude' is also important in order to have good family values. Feelings of 'gratitude' to parents should be instilled into the family members.

As a son, I am responsible for giving some money to my family. The money that I earn from my job. This is how I pay my debt to them, I owe them so much for raising me (Household 16 - Urban Malay Account Executive).

Others insist 'moderation' and 'flexibility' should be emphasised as family values.

I want them to know everything about life. As for myself, I want my kids to follow what I feel is best for them. What they intend to do in the future is beyond my control. However, I want them to stick to their roots and not to be influenced by the negative values of the west. But I want them to understand the positive values of the west (Household 2 - Urban Malay Managing Director).

Many also felt those values such as 'respect' and 'honour' are declining in the family relationship. Interestingly, this concern is shared by all ethnic groups, locations and different income groups. Many stressed that these values need to be instilled into the family members.

Respect the parent, never raise your voice against old people, family ties, and you must know how to manage your budget (Household 29 - Urban Chinese Pensioner).

I think our typical Asian families are very close, there is a sense of more direction from father and mother than in the Western family. More respect (Household 40 - Urban Indian Copywriter).

Yes. Family bonding, respect for the elders and elders should also give a chance to younger ones to voice their opinions (Household 41 - Urban Indian Administrator).

'Unity' among family members is also mentioned as important.

Being united and maintaining a very solid link is very important. Like respecting the parent, taking care of the elders. I think that's fairly common among us (Household 36 - Urban Chinese Marketing Executive).

Many respondents compared modern values with traditional ones, regarding the latter as superior. These traditional values appear to be based, particularly for the Malay majority, on the old 'kampung' way of life. Many of the new rich who originated from peasant (working class) families were brought up in this relatively strict environment and are very conscious of the changing values in modern Malay society.
These more ‘modern’ values are in the main attributed to western influence and are considered as a threat to, a degrading of, the traditional ways. This ‘clash’ of values seems to create ambivalence between the attraction of modern materialism and ‘softer’ living and the less appealing but worthy values of the past. The fear felt by many of the dilution of traditional family and personal ethics is expressed as fear for the children and is compounded by what the adults see around them in the street and by what invades their homes through the TV and computer screen.

Change in the Economy
During the interviews, people offered an assessment of the economy. Some of them stressed that changes in the Malaysian economy had changed their life and their cultural values.

Basically, what is the Malaysian looking for now? Now, Malaysian culture is moving towards greater materialism and we’re trying to broaden our minds, be more open, but we don’t know how successful we are in this (Household 17 - Urban Malay Copywriter).

Yes, especially in terms of the development because it is so fast. It makes people change so fast. It makes people want to get rich faster (Household 3 - Urban Malay Researcher).

One of the effects of a fast growing economy like Malaysia is the growing wealth of the middle class. Some felt this factor has widened the gap of wealth distribution between the middle and lower classes. However, some regarded it positively, since it makes them work harder. The next respondent works as a lecturer and his wife is a newscaster with ‘TV3’. They expressed their views on the increased gap between the social classes.

Yes. At a very fast pace, compared to ten years go. For example computers did not mean anything before but now people are talking about it. And there’s a growth of the middle class population, I mean there are many more wealthy people. At the same time in the urban areas, because of the increase of the middle class population, there’s an under class of people; people that cannot make it. It makes us more aware and conscious of the social change in terms of wealth and social distribution that may affect us. It makes us work harder to earn more money. At the same time, we're worried about our children. In future, the change may be more profound. (Household 4 - Urban Malay Lecturer and Newscaster).
Some see the positive side of the rapid development in economic growth as the promise of a better life in the future. For example, both of the audiences which live in Perlis, a poor state, felt the development somehow gives them some opportunity to improve their standard of living and reduce their poverty.

Yes, in terms of development and the increase of standard of living. And poverty also being reduced.....Like my way of life and finances. Easy to get money as long as we are hard working. (Household 6 - Rural Malay Clerk)

In terms of development, there are massive waves of foreign investors coming into Malaysia to invest. Indirectly, the industry sector expands and gives more job opportunities to Malaysians. (Household 19 - Rural Malay Telephone Operator)

The rapid development in Malaysia created through the National Economic Policy and privatisation introduced by the government have somehow introduced a new culture into Malaysia. More people appear to be working harder in order to earn more money for themselves and their families. Having additional income could make their dreams come true. No doubt these dreams are based on what they see around them, including in the media, which will cultivate their taste and need for a product.

However, the development that the country is now experiencing has its pros and cons. Some audiences said that the situation has made things more expensive. It has also changed a lot of things including leisure, family lifestyle, culture and the way of thinking. The Malay and Chinese audiences below expressed their concern over the increase in prices.

The cost of living is becoming expensive, but the standards of living improve with plenty of development in this country (Household 30 - Single Urban Chinese Secretary).

The price is increasing and a lot of new things are happening, such as food, building and the people (Household 35 - Urban Chinese Officer).

Basically, the economy has been doing very well for the past ten years. As a whole, I think Malaysia has modernised a lot, in terms of tangible assets or things and it has changed our kind of leisure, family lifestyle, the culture and the way of thinking. And it affects me .... I am more conscious of the surrounding factors and the values (Household 36 - Urban Chinese Marketing Officer).

Quite a lot. Because of the increasing inflation, people have to catch up with the pace of living (Household 3 - Urban Malay Researcher).
It affects me a lot because I feel that I have a lot of commitment now. The kind of money that I’m earning now is just enough for the expenses. I don’t really have any savings (Household 33 - Single Urban Chinese TV Producer).

The feeling of pressure due to the increased cost of living, does not choose particular audiences, it affects everyone. The person below, a researcher with the Malaysian Nuclear Research Centre has to diversify to earn more and operates a small tailoring outlet with his wife.

The situation makes me realise I have to move on in order to upgrade my standard of living, I need to venture into business somehow. The current situation encourages me to be business oriented. My wife and I have set up a tailoring shop in Kajang (Household 3 - Urban Malay Researcher).

This idea is echoed by the respondent below, who felt the changing patterns in life have influenced him to look at things from a different perspective. He felt that the present situation gives people no room to be selective, only to work harder.

It makes us more aware and conscious of the social change in terms of wealth and social distribution that may affect us. It makes us work harder to earn more money. At the same time, we’re worried about our children. In future, the change maybe more profound.....It changes in terms of material accommodation, and as I grow older, I become wiser, able to understand more things. Today, I have what I didn’t have earlier, I have a son and the dimension of thinking towards things, people, ideas, objects etc. (Household 4 - Urban Malay Lecturer).

Many respondents agree that developments (through the National Economic Policy and privatisation) have improved their standard of living, but this literally has its price as the cost of goods and services has increased. However, many of them take positive views, such as the desire to work hard. Respondents from rural areas seem to be less preoccupied than those from urban areas with the price increases. This may be related to the current trend of increasing job opportunities while the cost of living remains lower than in the city areas.

**Change of Technology**

Many would agree that technology has the power to change many things and that includes audience ‘Culture and Values’. With the diversification of information technology, more people have the opportunities to access information, which includes television, newspapers and computers. The respondent below, a Eurasian, working as a computer programmer with Celcom (a leading cellular telephone company in
Malaysia) claimed that technology has changed a great deal of the Malaysian way of life.

Information technology for example; changes our life, our style and values. Recently we have our multimedia supercorridor, then our cultural change by media especially in media influence on our society. Right now maybe Malaysia has become a cyber society. Before this our society was more traditional. But now we have changed, maybe because of the media and we have become media literate (Household 43).

Another comment concerning technological invasion in Malaysia points to the dynamising effects of such phenomena as satellite TV and the Internet. This view is expressed by an academic with a broadcasting background.

The mood of living and the lifestyle itself is dynamic. It keeps on changing, especially in Malaysia where the pace of development and the progress is still going on. Comparatively speaking, during the time when I was growing up, we learned to live with the constraints or whatever was available at that time. But now, you see that the trends are changing. They keep on changing. The present generation has learned to cope with the changing trend, but not the previous generation. My father wouldn’t know how to use the ATM machine, I would. But I wouldn’t know the linear or non-linear editing system or computerised editing etc. A younger student would know. I have passed that stage. Anyway I know the basic concept of editing. So definitely there is a changing lifestyle but maybe the difference is among the different types of people (Household 23 - Urban Malay Associate Professor).

This opinion is also supported by a Chinese businesswoman who lives in a suburb of Kuala Lumpur. She argues that the influence on Malaysian culture by other sources is unstoppable as more Malaysians are becoming exposed to technology-based instruments such as satellite TV and the Internet. Interestingly, this phenomenon is also experienced in most Western countries, as mentioned in many studies conducted in the West.

The way of life is changing, because of the exposure to technology, satellite TV, Internet etc., I think we can’t help but be influenced (Household 37 - Urban Chinese Self-Employed).

Some audiences acknowledge the advantage of being ‘technology literate’. Some said technology could help the people into the information era as long they have money.

We tend to follow whatever trend there is in the market and that includes me. For example, before I did not have internet, but today we have it. If they have money no doubt more people will subscribe to it (Household 13 - Urban Malay Asst. Architect).
Most of them associate the changes with information technology. For example one audience said that the new technology changes the way people communicate with each other.

For example the way we communicate is changing a lot. DVD, satellite TV and internet. So the world, too, is going to change, a lot more development and technologically based stuff. (Household 40 - Urban Indian Copywriter).

In this section, many respondents agreed on the existence of the power of technology in planning their lives. Most of these opinions came from people with an urban background, some of which had technology-based occupations, whereas none came from rurally based respondents. This is not surprising in view of the greater accessibility of technology to city dwellers and the fact that many of the urban people are in a higher income bracket than their rural counterparts. In other words, the finding shows that the new middle class has greater access to new information compared to rural dwellers. This support the claims made by some scholars that the new urban middle class tends to consume what are regarded as luxury products as a result of their greater purchasing power.

II. Audience Definition of Culture

This section explores how Malaysians interpret and define Malaysian and Western culture. The term ‘culture’ is problematic and there are many inconsistencies in its definitions. There is clear evidence that the respondents, too, define the term in their own way and the resulting differences may well be accounted for by the variety in their different situations, such as type of class, occupation, location and ethnic background.

Audience Opinion on Malaysian Culture

Here, the audience description of the present culture in Malaysia reflects the complexities and diversity of Malaysian/Western culture. For example, one of the respondents stressed Malaysian culture is mixed between two eras, the ‘period of colonialisation’, and ‘post colonialisation’ and ‘Eastern’ and ‘Western’.
Ours is a very confusing society. It is like a melting pot. Because we have our colonial, our own eastern values that we want to take care of, but at the same time we have the English educated and American educated. They have their own ways of thinking. So, we don't have such a thing as a unique Malaysian culture. What we do understand of the Malaysian culture is the eastern values, like the Japanese, Taiwan etc. For example, respecting the elders (Household 1 - Urban Malay Lecturer).

This statement shows how the respondent, who works as a lecturer and lives in Kuala Lumpur, feels about the complexity of Malaysian culture. What the audiences feel is important is to have a Malaysian culture yet it is difficult to define what it is due to the mixed elements in the structure.

The lady's opinion, above, is supported by her husband, also a lecturer, in agreeing that Malaysia does not have a specific culture. For him, the main reason is the unique combination of elements due to the present mixed ethnic composition.

Yes, I agree with that. Because in Malaysia, our government gives respect to other religions. And so now we allow other races to have their own freedom of religion and culture. Since the 1970's there is no such thing as a Malaysian culture. The culture is being separated according to ethnic background. That is why the Malay practice their own culture and religion because the Malay people have their own beliefs and their own traditional way of life, and the same goes for the Chinese and the Indians. They only mix in school, but at home I don't think they interact frequently with each other. We have Indian, Chinese and American neighbours here but we never mix with them in terms of eating together, going to a party together etc. So we have our own values, way of life and we stay at home. We educate our children with our own culture (Household 1 - Malay Lecturer).

This discussion clearly shows that the family interprets 'Malaysian Culture' as a combination of various ethnic influences. The family admitted that there are various values surrounding them that influence their family, and the need to refer to their inherited customs is still vital.

No, I still hold on to the Malay traditional culture and belief. So that's my way of life. Malay culture is the one inherited from our parents. The way of life, for example, makes socialisation like when we have 'kenduri', then we go. Only to the Malay houses but I wouldn't go to the Indian or Chinese houses if they held a 'kenduri'. I don't mix with them because they eat pork and drink liquor. Even if I attend it, I do that just to honour my neighbour. But I still don't like it (Household 1).
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The idea of Malaysian culture as a mixture of the different influences received much support from respondents of different backgrounds. Below are the opinions of an Indian (Household 41) and a Chinese (Household 36) from urban areas.

Yes, there is a Malaysian culture... I think so. Malaysia is very different from the rest. Because we have so many ethnic groups, so many races of people. And therefore, the culture is made up of all these. Malaysian culture is a combination from several cultures in Malaysia (Household 41 - Urban Indian Administrator).

To me there are basically three main races. Each race has got its own particular culture. I think that basic culture is still quite intact as it is now. It's just the way you see it or how you feel. It may be modified on the way as you go along, we can call it upgraded or modified. But the basic values are still very much in there. Things like 'balik kampung', respect the parent, your religious belief etc. They are all still here. Just how you carry them out could be different (Household 36 - Urban Chinese Marketing Executive).

A similar view is given by an account clerk from a rural area.

Talking about Malaysian culture, we cannot avoid the three biggest ethnic groups in Malaysia, the Malay, Chinese and Indian. These three dominant races have their own cultures. So, we have to accept these cultures as our way of life. These are unique and make up Malaysian culture (Household 12 - Rural Malay Account Clerk).

The above description shows many respondents felt the Malaysian culture is a mixture from different ethnic groups. However, not all respondents shared the same opinion. According to some, Malaysian culture is actually being segregated according to the individual ethnic dimensions.

Well, I don't think there's such a thing as a Malaysian culture. There is a Malay culture, Chinese culture and Indian culture. Common elements are there, certain things are shared. You maybe recognise the Malay, Chinese and Indian in terms of the way they eat, speak, dress etc. But that does not constitute the Malaysian culture. It constitutes assimilation to an elementary extent which may not mean being 'Malaysian'. (Household 4 - Urban Malay Lecturer).

No. Not exactly. Because everybody is pretty much in their own racial group. Their daily life is tied to their background...where they come from. Furthermore, it's very difficult to define, because what would be the national identity? (Household 34 - Rural Chinese self-employed).

At the moment I don't think so. I think we're still very segmented by race. It's very difficult for me to define what a Malaysian culture is. In general, if there's anything associated with Malay, the people consider it as Malaysian culture (Household 38 - Urban Chinese Accountant).

As well as the arguments and claims associating ethnic cultures with the Malaysian culture, some stress that influence from the West needs also to be considered.
Malaysian culture they claim is not only made up of the influence of the ethnic groups but also a blend between East and West. They also stress that the element of history cannot be neglected in defining Malaysian culture, as the Malay and Chinese respondents quoted below.

We have a culture that compromises the west and the east. All blended into one. If we look at our history, I would say that our culture is blended from all kinds of people coming from all over the world. They had their own cultures and blended to be a very unique culture. All kinds of norms and customs that are being used are quite familiar in other parts of the world (Household 2 - Urban Malay Managing Director).

I think that right now it would be a blend of traditional values and influence with western thought. I like to think that as Malaysians we treasure what we know best. Keep those but we do not allow ourselves to be old fashioned. We take what is good from the technology and use that (Household 37 - Urban Chinese Account Executive).

This statement is supported by the audience below, an Associate Professor in Communication living with his wife and twins. He describes Malaysian culture as no longer containing a 'traditional culture'. To him, the present culture is a mixture between 'Traditional Culture' and 'Popular Culture'.

Each time we use the word culture, we think in terms of dancing, very traditional clothes and each race performing its dance routine. But there's also another side to Malaysian culture. Going out to the fast food restaurants, going on a holiday etc. Now I think it has become the culture of the upper class and the middle class, and of course whistling to the Michael Jackson’s or Mariah Carey’s song, going to McDonald’s or A&W, those are becoming part of the Malaysian way of life too (Household 23 - Urban Malay Associate Professor).

The idea of Malaysian culture as a mixture is not limited to ethnic influences. For some respondents, technology and religion also have parts to play. The automation and information technologies, which have flooded the Malaysian market, have created a technology dependent society, while religion influences belief and thinking. This opinion is expressed by a Customs Officer who works at the Malaysia and Thailand border and lives in one of the villages with his teacher wife and a daughter. His statement indicates he is aware of culture and information technology, though his figure of 90 per cent for Malaysian Muslims is inaccurate (the correct figure is 60 per cent).

Malaysian culture has now become an 'masyarakat maklumat' [information society]. People automatically depend on the media or information from
technology in their daily lives. For example, ATM helps us withdraw our money faster, by using a handset we can reach other people from all over the world. In other words, information technology is part of the Malaysian culture. Besides that, religion is also part of the Malaysian culture. I think 90% of Malaysians are Muslims. Religions influence the way we perceive things, our style etc. According to religion certain things have their own limits (Household 21 - Rural Malay Custom Officer).

In this section the differing views of Malaysian culture are revealed. For some it is a mixture evolved from the three ethnicities of Malay, Chinese and Indian. For others, Malaysian culture is only a term to signify the three independently surviving unmixed cultures. There are others who see it as a mixture of the three and of western culture. Why such diverse views? This diversity, I suggest, is a reflection of the complexity of Malaysia’s cultural heritage and politics of identity, which has led to the drawing of boundaries within and between culture, of defining the content of ‘Malay culture’, ‘Chinese culture’, ‘Indian culture’, ‘traditional culture’, ‘western culture’ etc. Secondly, it is a reflection of the hybrid space or translocalities (Appadurai, 1996) which cause the respondent to experience the intersection of his/her own culture with other cultures. Some of the respondents acknowledge that they are hybrids of something, a Malay or Chinese or Indian, who draw on Western lifestyles, Western schools of thought, and Western education. Third, the differences in opinion are related to the composition of the new middle class and are influenced by the rapid economic change. Respondents, for instance, are often keen to differentiate themselves from others. Some of those who are well educated and have spent time abroad were more analytical when speaking of Malaysian culture and stressed the idea of mixture and of the part played by western influence. Those who saw three distinct cultures were from homogeneous ethnic locations. Those who see Malaysian culture as a mixture of the three local cultures were in general from multi-racial housing areas or working environments.

**Audience Comparison of Malaysian and Western Cultures**

It is appropriate to discover what the audience think about Western culture after describing their own. The audiences were asked to differentiate between Malaysian and Western cultures.

In order to differentiate between the cultures, the respondent from a middle class background quoted below used the experience of living in the West when he was a
student. He differentiates by using several categories i.e. sex, the young and the elderly;

There are lots of differences. One thing is in terms of socialisation. I was in the USA at one time and stayed with American people. So, I saw their socialisation at first hand. There is no relationship between the parents and their children. The son is in Iowa and the mother is in San Francisco for example. They also practice free relationships between different genders especially the young. However, the relationship between boyfriend and girlfriend in Malaysia is still maintained by the traditional way of life. There is a barrier between the man and the woman. Western culture also allows freedom in life, for example, to do whatever they like. There is a gap between the young and the elderly. But over here even if they do follow the modern way of living, the traditional values, like respecting the elders, are there and they still obey their religion (Household I - Urban Malay Lecturer).

According to him, Western culture could be viewed from several perspectives. He described a culture based on physical environment, technology, and broken values. He acknowledged that Western culture could be seen through physical modernisation, total freedom in life and thinking and yet still encounter many setbacks such as deteriorating values;

Western culture we can seen through development, especially in material terms. Physical... when someone mentions Western I imagine New York city, Chicago, London. But on the other side they are very poor in an inherited traditional way of life. Even now they are seeking for the traditional, spiritual values from the east. I also visualise western culture as a broken culture because of the family ties. In my experience, I never heard my surrogate mother at that time saying ‘I have an uncle in Iowa’ or ‘this is my niece or nephew’. I stayed there for three years but I never heard about that. They only talk about themselves. Quite individualistic, that’s western culture. Apart from that, to me western culture is very advanced. They have so much freedom to interpret their own values and to take whatever attitude they want (Household I).

Another audience (the new rich), brought up in a poor family in Kelantan (a state on the East Coast of Malaysia) and now holding a post as Managing Director with a Production House, describes how both cultures have similarities as well as differences. According to him, the differences were created through the influence of the media.

There are some differences and there are some similarities. In customs, the urban people tend more towards the Western culture. In the sense of what they wear, how they speak, the way they eat, these have so much influence. Maybe they got it through the media. The difference is quite obvious in other parts of the urban areas; in the East Coast of Malaysia - they are very untouched. They are more open-minded and more socialised. Apart from that the urban areas are so influenced by the western culture. Probably not deep inside but in their personality or attitude, they project the western culture. This is very different
from the very pure eastern culture. They are very Muslim, not so liberal, but then these are the setting; different people have different kinds of objectives and attitudes (Household 2 - Urban Malay Managing Director).

The respondent below, who describes himself as Malay but with mixed (Indian) blood and who lives in Subang Jaya (satellite city of Kuala Lumpur) sees the differences as more obvious in the areas of ‘belief’ and ‘customs’. However, as he stressed, there are also some similarities in terms of product choices and information received.

Yes, of course there’s a difference. First of all, similarity can be seen in terms of the globalisation process of things, products and ideas. Meaning what they have over there, like houses, cars, technology, we also have them. And also we get the same messages and information. So what they get is the same as what we get. But individually there are some differences. Like the way we eat. And another thing is that before a person dies, he always goes back to his roots even if he is living in the west. He still has in mind and from the bottom of his heart that he is Malay. Therefore he wants to die as a Muslim and be buried in a Malay cemetery. There are lots of similarities unless we live in a wooden house. Those are from original Malay culture. However, the western culture is not that bad. But because of negative influences they go overboard (Household 4 - Urban Malay Lecturer).

The respondent below, who is Malay, differentiated between the cultures by looking at ‘family values’. According to him, the Eastern people always believe their cultures have stronger family bonds than Western cultures.

Yes, there are differences.... in fact a lot. As you know everyone in Malaysia is heading for future improvement in the their lives. Everyone works very hard day and night. The country is developing so fast yet somehow we’re still totally rooted to our families. We respect them and I believe strong bonds always keep the family together and not like westerners. For me when someone says western culture...I think of free culture. Freedom of doing almost anything as long it does not go against the law (Household 5 - Urban Malay Engineer).

This statement was supported by the respondent below, who works as a government officer and lives in a rural area in the northern part of Malaysia. He also pointed to family relationships as the difference between East and West.

Yes, looking at the lifestyles; we are still practising the eastern lifestyles where the family ties are still concrete and strong. Unlike the normal western lifestyles; you and you, I and I. Even the family ties are not strong. Whereas in Malaysia we have the family gathering or family unity (Household 14 - Rural Malay Agriculture Officer).
He continues his criticism, claiming Westerners are becoming lazier. Interestingly, his opinion was based on what he had heard and not on personal experience.

Westerners, they think very progressively but that's not what I've seen because I've never been to a western country. Unfortunately from what I've heard, they have become lazier than they used to be (Household 14).

Some differentiate between the cultures by admiring the Malaysian 'politeness' and way of 'bringing up children', as this respondent, who works as a clerk and lives with his wife and three children in a rural area.

First our way of life is very different. We are more polite and humble. Our children's upbringing is better compared to them. We educate them to believe in god and religion. We also instil in them to be caring and concerned, especially with the family, which I don’t think they do in England. As for me, when you say Western culture, I always imagine they adopt a free lifestyle, they are not married but living together and they don't believe in God. They are also less caring with their neighbours. (Household 6 - Rural Malay Clerk).

Another audience, who also lives in a rural area, differentiates between the cultures by referring to 'dress' and to the more erratic behaviour of western people.

If we look at their behaviour, they are uncivilised and sometimes difficult to understand. They don’t care about their dress. Sometimes, they don’t wear anything. If they do wear something, their body is barely covered (Household 8 - Rural Malay Pensioner).

The audience of Household 13 was more analytical in comparing Malaysian and Western culture. In this sense, she negotiates her 'Malay Identity' by acknowledging the hybridities of the East and the West. Her experience and social class background give her an outlook, a mentality that is more open and not so inward looking.

The obvious differences are in terms of dressing and food. Here, we eat rice, in Western countries they eat bread. In terms of clothing we still maintain our Malaysian identity, though at the same time we accept Western clothing like pants and jeans. In other words our daily clothing at the moment is not as extreme as theirs. In Europe, the people can wear only a bra and mingle in public. In Malaysia we couldn't accept that lifestyle. But just to wear tight pants, tight shirts, tight skirts are now more acceptable in Malaysia. When one mentions Western culture, instantly I imagine more freedom, more openness and wildness. Those are Western cultures. However, not all Western cultures are bad, some are good. The good thing they have is the technology and the bad thing is their moral attitudes... less respect for elders. So as eastern people, we take the good things as an example and get rid of the bad things (Household 13 - Urban Malay Copywriter).
Another audience, like the family above, has lived in the United States for five years, working as an Associate Professor in a university. He differentiates between the cultures by adoring the flexibility and freedom of life in the West, something which is not available in Malaysia.

Let's take USA for example. The constitution of the USA is the most important document that affects the public lives of the American people; now that sort of gives character and meaning to the American culture. For instance, their government will not create an act or law that will curb freedom of speech. They're strong believers in an individual right and the right to make a comment. But in Malaysia, if you want to compare to the West, you are bound to the traditional values. We are conscious about what we should be doing and not doing in public. When you mention Western culture, people tend to stereotype it. To me western culture is the high culture that tends to be condescending with other cultures. In other words, western culture sees itself as the highest culture while other cultures are way behind. This is not good. For example, if you read a western press report on the eastern or developing countries; it is very condescending - '...they don't have freedom,...the government has banned this and that...'. They think that they are at a high level and that gives them the right to look at others in a condescending way, and that they are better off. Of course if you look at the technological development, they are better off than us. I mean, who could produce a better space shuttle than the USA itself (Household 23 - Urban Malay Associate Professor).

For some, there are few significant differences between the cultures. They cite the similarities, particularly with reference to entertainment and food, and even where sex is concerned, they suggest their view of the west may be stereotyped.

Yes, it can't be denied that Malaysian and Western cultures have no differences. We come from different countries and backgrounds, which give some differences in ritual. But, one thing for sure, there are no differences in the culture of watching TV, and listening to radio. Watching movies. And also enjoying junk food or drinking Pepsi-Cola or Coke and eating KFC. Again, concerning Western culture the problem is we tend to stereotype. When we talk about Western culture, free sex will come into our mind, that is how we perceive them. It might be stereotyping (Household 9 - Urban Malay Teacher).

The following respondent, who lives with her husband and child in a rural area and works as an accounts clerk, expresses an opinion in tune with those common in urban areas. She believes the impact of cultural influence depends on the individual, that not all Western culture is bad [during the interview it was revealed that two of her sisters have studied in the U.K.] and some aspects are better.

Before I used to think that, as Malaysians, we should not be influenced by the west. But now I think, not everything from the West is no good and cannot be adapted by the east. And not everything in the east is too good. The good thing about the west is the way they raise their children. The parent in the west is
Due to the extent of the influence some audiences no longer feel that differences exist, as indicated by an unmarried urban Malay.

No, there is no difference anymore. Because most of our people now are more westernised. As for me, western culture can be described in terms of values and thinking. They are more open-minded. Though there is good and bad influence. Bad in the sense that we're loosing our heritage because of the influence (Household 15 - Urban Malay Reporter).

Another respondent, though of Chinese descent, uses the Malay culture in comparison with the West. This may be as a result of her work experience alongside Malay colleagues at the University Technology Mara and her residence in a predominantly Malay area. She stresses the absence of differences in daily life.

Ten years ago, there was a big difference. But now, I see it as the assimilation of Western and the Malaysian cultures. For example, the Malay do their 'bersanding' by wearing modern dress. It is difficult to say that we have solely Malaysian culture. Malaysian culture is unique in the sense that we are blending three cultures together. For me Western culture is too liberal for my liking. For example, they accept a lot of things that I can't accept like lesbianism, homosexuality. We don't have that in our culture. However there is something about the western culture that's good. For example, there are more gentlemen, they actually abide by certain rules like 'they'll park their car at the side of the road when they hear the siren and also they are very punctual. In Malaysian culture, we never introduced that into our system. So, there are things that are good about the western culture and there are things that are too liberal (Household 29 - Urban Chinese Lecturer).

Another Chinese acknowledged the existence of differences, of good and bad influences, but also of an acceptance of these influences.

People are still very conservative. Because of more influence from overseas and the West you become quite familiar with the Western culture. A few years back, people still kept their real culture of family bonding, the way they dressed, they still kept a strong belief in their religion and culture, not doing things that were forbidden by their religion. But now, it is very open. Way overboard and practising all of this Western culture stuff...such as hippie culture, free sex culture .... However, not all Western culture is bad, there are good things and bad things. Good things consist of the improvements like scientific improvement, and modernisation. Those are a better influence to our lifestyle. Bad things consist of drugs (Household 31 - Urban Chinese Producer).

Yet another Chinese, this times self-employed and living in a rural area, felt that not all Western cultural influences are that bad. He urges the Malaysians to follow the good examples offered by the West.
We can't say that they are all bad or they are all good. There are a lot of good things in the West, a lot of freedom, but there are also a lot of bad things like people sometimes don't like to take care of their elders, and the lack of respect (Household 34 - Rural Chinese Self-Employed).

A more radical view of Western culture was expressed by an unmarried lady working as producer in a production house. For her, western culture is 'sex' and sex is something which should not be discussed openly as it is in the West.

For me Western culture is 'Sex', because the way of thinking is very different from what we have. We are more conservative. They are more open, especially regarding sex (Household 33 - Single Urban Chinese TV Producer).

Another respondent who is also a Chinese living in Petaling Jaya (a satellite city of Kuala Lumpur) sees the differences essentially in family values, such as caring for the elderly.

Yes, there are lots of differences. But depending on which area. For example in family values, how you look after your parent. In Malaysian culture, you don't think twice having a parent living with you when they get old. You expect it. But that's not the way it is in the west. These are all being reflected on TV, movies and magazines. Because that would be our first line of information, apart from visiting. But even visiting is different because you don't actually live there. So you're not actually exposed to what it is really like. Though there are bad things and that is no different with us. Even the Malaysian culture has good and bad but it depends to how you adopt and practise it (Household 37 - Urban Chinese Account Executive).

This respondent goes further, acknowledging that Westerners are better in terms of their political scenario, which is more mature and stable.

We still have more respect for the elders, are more polite to them and we are not as open as the westerner nor do we like to confront people as much. The advantage in Western culture is that the individual opinion and decision are given more respect and recognition. Besides that, certain things in their politics I think are good and we can learn from that. The government is actually answerable to the people. When something happens to the government, the Westerner will tend to find out rather than what happens here, where I think there's a lot of cover up (Household 37).

Some saw the differences in terms of 'children's upbringing'. One lady who is single, stressed that Western parents are more flexible and open minded, especially in giving their children freedom to make decisions.
There are lots of differences. The way they are brought up is very different from the way we are brought up in Malaysia. The children are given freedom to make decisions much more than we do. Some of the things that we say are more important to them. Let's say that we have a small family. The parent still places a lot of emphasis on education. Whereas westerners don't do that much. They are given much more freedom. The education system is also very different. The ways they are educated are very different from ours. As a result they may be more outspoken and may be more selfish. However, of course there are certain things that are good. I wouldn't say that they are good or bad. It's just the way their society functions. They are functioning in that way because the whole society is doing that. Whereas our society is not. So, suddenly if you want to change and include something from them, it will be very difficult (Household 36 - Single Urban Chinese Marketing Executive).

Another comparison of both cultures concerned the handling of 'controversy'. Malaysians try to hide any controversial issue from the public and try solving it discreetly in order to prevent any public unrest. In the West a different approach is taken.

For example our style is different. If there is controversy, it is advisable to solve it, handle it, behind the scenes. So people don't go out and cause trouble on the street or in the press. In Western culture, it always appears through Advertising, Television and films (Household 40 - Urban Indian Pensioner).

The following comment is typical of many of the audiences in that it cites a fall in moral standards in the West as a major difference in culture.

Malaysian culture still has the Asian values. The Western doesn't have values like the Asian. For example the kids are uncontrollable. And again I don't like the way the kids treat their elderly and parents. They don't have respect. Too much outside influence, bad company, drugs, and free sex (Household 41 - Urban Indian Administrator with two children).

The opinions presented by the audiences in this section could be interpreted as the effect of the social structure in Malaysia. The increasing number of new middle class with their increasing wealth, skills, and education are reflected in the audience responses. Here, the interpretations of western culture were varied, they appear to converge around perceptions of social problems, free sex and the loss of family values. Not all interpretations were negative, however, and some respondents highlighted positive elements in western culture. For example, freedom in leading their lives, freedom of speech, technology and so forth. What is more, these opinions mostly emanated from city dwellers with higher education qualifications who regularly travel abroad. Their new lifestyle has made them more open and receptive to changes and less inward looking. Some respondents, who live in rural areas and who are categorised mainly in the lower income bracket, provided their own version
of Western culture. This version was at the same time more negative and more extreme than that given by the urban respondents. The sources of information upon which these assumptions were made were watching TV (soaps etc.) popular magazines, the mosquito newspaper and listening to other people. The differences of opinion between social classes may be due in part to selectivity in reading and watching TV programmes.
The main aim of this section is to see to what extent the changing social structure in Malaysia has influenced the audience in responding to television advertising, culturally and morally. Before discussing audience response to TV advertising in detail, it is appropriate to revisit the changing social structure in Malaysia, particularly with regard to the agents of change and the significance of change. In Chapter Four (Sections 4.3.5) and particularly in the early section of this chapter, I have illustrated how the new middle class is constructed and differentiated. ‘Constructed’, meaning what has made and transformed the old middle class into the new middle class of today. First, I believe change has come through the economic policy (New Economic Policy) introduced by government, in which the Malay is seen as the major recipient and the benefactor. Secondly, the rapid growth and strengthening economy. The major benefactors are Malaysian as a whole, particularly the Chinese entrepreneur. Thirdly, the idea of privatisation, where the Malay politicians and Chinese entrepreneurs are the major recipients and players. ‘Differentiated’ means how they differentiated themselves from others. Here I would like to claim that differentiation is expressed in the audience consumption pattern and social traits. For example, Where do they live? What type of car do they drive? How do they spend their leisure time? Where do they go? What do they read? What do they wear? Which food outlet do they prefer? etc. Finally, how the audience expresses their thoughts on advertising in relation to all these changes. In this section, I would like to examine the audience opinion in relation to cultural values and social life. I chosen three areas of investigation – 1. Cultural Values and Criticism 2. Audience views of the Advertised Products 3. Role of TV Advertisements in Influencing Audience Social Life.
Chapter Ten: The Impact of Western Advertising - An Audience Study

I. Cultural Values and Criticism

During the interviews, thirty TV advertisements were shown to the audiences. These were identified from a total of 307 broadcast during the study period (Table 6.8) using content analysis. The criteria for identification was described in Chapter Six and was based upon the most frequent advertisement appearing between July 1 and July 30, 1996. Several questions were put to the audiences in order to determine their understanding of the advertisements. The results show that most of the audiences interviewed had seen the advertisements on the television. In this section, I analyse the audience discussions arising from their consciousness of the advertisement themes.

During the interviews some of the respondents instantly recognised the 'cultural values' that were being portrayed, as they fell within their frame of reference.

Culture and Value in the TV Advertisements

This section examines the audience definition of Western and Malaysian cultural values. Most of the audiences claimed that the advertisements used Western portrayal to promote the products, though some of them recognised that Malaysian values are also used. Some of the audiences accepted the Western approach used in the advertisements while some showed disapproval.

Many of the audiences claimed the advertisements shown to them incorporated Western ideas. Some said it is pleasant to watch the advertisements but at the same time they were unhappy with the actors who appeared. To them, actors coming from a Pan-Asian background do not represent the Malaysian population, as they are, in fact, a minority. This Malay teacher (Household 10) and a Chinese Account Director (Household 28) expressed their views.

The Peter Stuyvescent advert is very Western. The background is all western scenery but I like it. I guess it is because the brand itself originated in the west. The actors are Pan-Asian but they are not the majority of our population. They portray a certain type of people, which are not representative of Malaysians. The Caltex advertisement has Malaysian scenery. The advertisement is very artificial. We don’t do such things in reality. Sincerely speaking, it’s just like watching a movie. So I watch the movement (Household 10).

Caltex. Very Westernised, the messages tell us to move ahead, to have a very active lifestyle and to have a modern lifestyle (Household 28).

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Many audiences (such as Household 2, who works in the production house, and Household 36, who is an executive with a marketing firm) also found the Western elements used in the advertisements were interesting. Some praised the advertisements for having interesting themes.

The content is actually a western approach, very fast, very dynamic action, very interesting, especially for the kids. In terms of values, I wouldn’t say that we’re looking for values in the commercial. It is not the intention of any commercial to project any values except to sell the product. In terms of the contents, within those few seconds, it is very good (Household 2).

I think Salem is good because they are very consistent in their concept and it’s very different from the rest of the cigarette commercials. It is a very basic and down to earth type of campaign. Looking at the Salem Holidays, a boy and a girl spending their holidays in a cool country. Basically Salem is a menthol cigarette, so it’s cool. That’s quite good.... the messages, they are trying to reach the young teenagers. So if you are talking about the teenagers, what is better than giving them some sort of aspiration to have a boyfriend or girlfriend and going out together? Having a good time on a hill at a cool resort. I think that touches a lot of their inner beliefs. And also they have been very consistent; the song, the jingles, the mood, the location etc. It’s a good commercial (Household 36).

In addition to the Western elements, some audiences recognised that Malaysian culture was also used in the advertisements (Household 40 who came from an Indian background), though this was not so widespread. Audiences also claimed that some advertisements mixed elements of both cultures in promoting the product (Household 23, who is Malay and works in the University). According to them, this will cause Malaysian culture to gradually lose its identity.

I like McDonald’s, It’s a good advertisement. It tries to reflect a bit of Malaysia. We can see family togetherness, associated with a good time in McDonald’s. ...........Some of them are good because they are based on local culture. For example ‘Axion’ of course is a very Malaysian. The jingle.... Some of them are very Western, like Peter Stuyvescent, Salem, Benson & Hedges. In fact, I am afraid the majority of the advertisements are like that. The adaptations of Western concepts show no effort is being made to be more Malaysian. That might cause us to lose our identity (Household 40).

There are certain reflections of bits and pieces of the daily life of the people in Malaysia. I cannot say that what is being depicted is a true reflection of the Malaysian lifestyle. Only bits and pieces. (Household 23).

Another audience, a Legal Officer, stressed that the advertiser tries to ‘Malaysianise’ Western culture to make the advertisement more acceptable to the consumer.
Chapter Ten: The Impact of Western Advertising - An Audience Study

Not really Malaysian culture. I think it is something very Western translated into Malaysian culture. Just to make it more acceptable to the customers (Household 32).

However, some stress the advertisements did not show any relationship or reflect any Malaysian culture.

There's no relationship to Malaysian culture (Household 24 - Urban Malay Credit Officer).

It doesn't reflect much of the Malaysian culture. (Household 10 - Rural Malay Housewife).

I don't think there's any relationship to the culture. I think it touches on something that teenagers across the globe can relate to. They are talking about falling in love, going for holidays and having a date. I think that's what they are trying to say (Household 36 - Urban Chinese Marketing Executive).

In this section we see opinions of three types. Some saw the advertisements embodying a mixture of western and Malaysian influences - the concept of glocalisation (Household 32). Others saw them as promoting 'Western cultural values', while some felt there was a smattering of Malaysian portrayal.

The group, which provided most comment, was that of professional urban dwellers who enjoyed a higher standard of living. These respondents tended to be more analytical and comprehensive in their opinions and some of them exhibited awareness of the symbolic messages used in the advertisements. In contrast, rural audiences were less responsive, less analytical when it came to discussing culture and value in the TV advertisements (Household 10). It is evident here that structural groupings manifested characteristic differences in opinion.

**General Criticisms of the TV Advertisements**

During the interviews, many audiences from various backgrounds tended to criticise the advertisements. The type of criticism concerned unrealistic advertisements, social and moral objections, changing the audience's way of life, deception, misleading, and promoting extravagant lifestyles.

Some of these portrayals used in promoting Western images were seen as absurd by the audiences. For instance, in the Benson & Hedges Bistro and BP advertisements.
Most of them are quite Western oriented in the way they’ve done it, for example Bistro (Benson & Hedges), Peter Stuyvescent. They are all Western. The image is it’s possible to do anything, anywhere. Jumping from the plane, landing in the middle of the building; which I think is ridiculous, and there is a certain amount of selling sex at the end. The girl was looking at the boy (Household 32 - Urban Chinese Legal Officer).

It’s stupid (BP advertisement). It doesn’t mean that if your car uses the BP fuel it can turn into a spaceship that can fly.... It does not make sense. The message is not delivered properly... (Household 21 - Rural Malay Custom Officer)

The criticisms were not only aimed at Western portrayals in the advertisements but also included the advertisers that used Malaysian elements in their approaches. These comments concerned products such as Axion Dish Detergent and Court Mammoth. The Axion advertisement shows a Malay family eating together at a stall and singing.

It is a perfect example of introducing the anti-bacteria Axion. But somehow it looks like a stupid way to show our culture. (Household 7 - Rural Malay Government Servant).

The Court Mammoth advertisement was regarded as;

Quite ridiculous, where all the vans come out at the same time to deliver the furniture. However, at the end of the advertisement it is nice to see Malaysian culture being promoted.... when the people come and visit and they serve the guest well (Household 17 - Urban Malay Secretary).

Some were more vocal, such as this Bank Credit Officer, criticising advertisements which embedded local approaches. He claimed that local themes do not have the same flavour as Western approaches;

Compared to the western approach, local approaches lack flavour. Our commercials are too straightforward. We can predict what will happen next, but in the Western advertisement they’re sometimes more unpredictable. They can create some feelings or some jokes that can really interest you (Household 24).

The insufficient impact of the local approach was blamed on an unclear Malaysian identity. It was claimed that many Malaysians are no longer practising a Malaysian traditional culture. The following respondent works with the government and lives in a rural area.

It is difficult to find the Malay wearing 'baju Melayu' all the time. But I think this is a reality today in our society (Household 21 - Custom Officer).
One criticism, made by a seamstress who lives with her husband and three children, concerned the promotion of an extravagant lifestyle, which the majority of Malaysian, cannot afford.

Advertisements like Salem or Benson & Hedges; for certain people like businessman, they achieve that lifestyle. But how about the villagers, it is difficult for them to achieve it. Even if they could, it's just to show off and because they can gain from the product. I think it is immoral and unethical (Household 3).

Another criticism concerned advertisers who attempted to change the audience's lifestyle. One advertisement was aimed at changing the population's eating habits and recreational activities. The audiences quoted below, middle class housewives living in Kuala Lumpur, felt that advertisers were creating an unnecessary need, forcing them to buy a non-essential product.

When you see a fast food advertisement, the advertisers want the audience to change their culture. For example, if we normally have rice for lunch, they will change our need into having lunch at a fast food restaurant like McDonald's (Household 16).

(About Peter Stuyvescent) We don't think of holidays abroad as part of our main recreational activity. It is a luxury, and we don't fit into the picture. But now we are being influenced by the ads (Household 11).

There were some claims that the advertisements did not have a clear motive in that they did not explicitly show the merchandise. The advertisements concerned are usually about cigarettes. The approaches here are more covert. For example, the Salem TV advertisement which promotes Salem (a place) for holiday packages. Though their sincerity is doubted, the advertisers insist that it is the truth. However, some of the audience recognised it as an advertisement for cigarettes.

Yes, We know what their intention is. Like Salem, we know that they are selling the 'brand'. They are selling a cigarette brand. Though they said they are selling holiday packages, cigarette images appear in my mind. (Household 45 - Urban Indian Security Officer)

Some advertisements tried to portray 'status' by showing a high profile lifestyle and Western values, like Benson & Hedges Bistro, as stressed by this Malay Factory Manager. The story line shows a young man parachuting from a plane and gliding
down right in front the Bistro to have a cup of coffee with his friend. This did not include any reference to Malaysian lifestyles.

The technique is beautiful with special effects but it’s not realistic. You have a man flying from the sky and coming down to a Bistro... it’s not a Malaysian lifestyle, it just caters for the target group only (Household 20).

Some of the audiences said that some advertisements are misleading purely to influence the consumer.

There's nothing very unique about those advertisements. I expect something unusual. Some concept that no advertiser has used before. So that when you look at it, it will stick in your mind. For me this ad. stressed having a better life or having a good time. I think because many of the advertisers thought that Malaysians can easily be influenced. Like Salem Holidays, it seems that most of the Malaysians like to go overseas...this is misleading (Household 49 - Urban Malay Stewardess).

Another respondent, a single Eurasian working as a Product Promoter, complains that the Benson & Hedges advertisement does not represent real life. He also shows his openness in accepting the new lifestyle of drinking coffee.

It doesn't really reflect real life. But I guess that's what advertising is all about. Basically, what they are trying to sell is a Bistro, where you can have a good time relaxing. ...It is trying to sell a place where people can hang out.....Well, I suppose it is a more progressive way. Instead of hanging out at the 'mamak' stall or coffee shop, they hang out at a Bistro. But it is not for everybody. (Household 44).

One audience, a Malay in the high-income bracket, criticised the advertisement for not being patriotic in promoting a Western holiday destination and thus highlighting Western culture. However, according to him the advertiser changed the location after he received complaints from the public. Although they responded to the complaints by promoting a local destination, ironically, they still used the same ‘Western lifestyle’ in the theme.

The Peter Stuyvescent advertisement is focusing on a holiday destination. Last time they used the western countries for the holiday destination but recently they have been encouraging you to go to a local destination like Pulau Langkawi, Pulau Tioman after being criticised by TDC. But the way they promote the places does not reflect Malaysian culture. Basically they don’t bother about the places, their main aim is to sell the cigarette. Like what I said just now that although they are promoting the local places, they do not portray the Malaysian culture. They are more towards western values - the projection of the image itself. For example, the use of the speed boat or in the Salem ads where the young characters mix together, their dress, trying to project as if that is the cool
place. Basically there aren’t many cool places in our country. But because Salem is a menthol cigarette, they try to portray the cool places. However, it is not reflecting the Malaysian environment. (Household 2).

Some refer to a mis-portrayal of the Malaysian culture in eating habits, such as this respondent who is in the lower income bracket and lives in a rural area.

It is what they eat (referring to the Kentucky Fried Chicken advertisement), to me it is junk food. We do have this kind of fried chicken but the way we eat it is not like the one portrayed in the commercial. In Malay culture, it is not polite for a girl or a lady to walk with a drumstick and pass through the crowd while eating (Household 8).

Wrong portrayal in the advertisements was mentioned by other rural audiences. They felt the portrayal was not true to the Malaysian way of life.

No relationship (referring to the Salem advertisement). The way they enjoy their holiday. I don’t think that’s the way the Malaysians enjoy their holidays (Household 12).

In this section we see a tendency on the part of respondents to criticise advertisements that attempt to westernise the Malaysian way of life. This runs contrary to the assumptions made by some scholars that the new rich have assimilated western values. In fact the resistance to western values shown here is in accordance with Hung Chao Tai’s (1989) characterisation of the Asian new rich. He suggested that the new rich are superficially Western, but are also essentially oriental. For example, many of them embrace Western capitalism, dress in Western suits and many speak English, travel, study and do business abroad. In other words, this new middle class has the appearance of being westernised. Yet, behind this facade they still pursue their oriental way of life. They prefer, for example, to eat oriental food, they observe the lunar calendar based on national festivities, the family remains the focus of their social life, they emphasise frugality and retain a strong devotion to education, etc.

In this section I have mapped audience opinion according to how criticism was made and what was criticised. In relation to the first criteria, urban dwellers demonstrate a more analytical approach than their rural counterparts in considering, for example, which particular elements are employed in the advertisements to send messages. Rural dwellers, on the other hand, tend to criticise on a more superficial level, commenting for example on the unlikelihood of petrol turning a car into a spaceship (Household 21).
II. Audience Views of the Advertised Products

Audience Opinion of the Product in the TV Advertisement

The purpose of this section is to examine audience awareness and reception of the product advertised. One of my aims is to examine audience inclination towards Western products. The main reason for exploring audience choice of product is to understand the correlation between consumption and influence. The discussion began with audience opinions on the product they first recall or the product attracting their attention after having viewed the TV Advertisements.

Let's take McDonald's. They are trying to sell the American product here and they are doing it by depicting American values. They use the Malaysian model but they use American values. As for Salem Holidays, the thing that comes into my mind is that only the rich people can go there, but not the ordinary people. There are only two things that I can think of - useful or not useful. For example, like the Panadol advertisement just now, it is useful. Because it can cure my headache. But it is about cigarettes. Since I'm smoking, I have a lot of consciousness about the bad effects of smoking. So I just say, 'Go to hell with the cigarette', or 'Go to hell with that advertisement'; although I am smoking. (Household I - Urban Malay Lecturer).

I can accept it (KFC and McDonald's) (Household 27 - Rural Chinese Shopkeeper).

Good except for the cigarette because I don’t like smoking. (Household 29 - A 75 years old Chinese pensioner)

Looks expensive (Benson & Hedges-Bistro) (Household 32 - A Chinese Art Director)

I think it’s an all-right place. I wouldn’t mind going there now and then just for a meal. (Benson & Hedges-Bistro) (Household 25 - Urban Chinese Artist).

A Bistro is fine. I can identify with that. But of course they're using the name of a cigarette. I know why are they doing that. It's just a vehicle for advertising (Benson & Hedges-Bistro) (Household 37 - Urban Chinese Account Executive).

All of them are very good, especially the Organic Shampoo (Household 46 - Urban Indian Stenographer).

One audience, a Malay architect, accused the advertiser of not giving enough information on the product’s benefits but merely focusing on the ‘advertisement appearance’;

Most of the products in Malaysian advertising take a back seat. Meaning advertising that concentrates too much on the way the advertisement looks, rather than projecting the product’s benefit (Household 5 - Urban Malay).
A similar opinion was expressed by this audience which lives in a rural area. He thought the advertiser had exaggerated the advertisements;

Sometimes they exaggerate it. I think the product can just do certain things but they exaggerate it. It makes me feel that I can't believe it (Household 12 - Rural Malay Account Clerk).

Though in the minority, some audiences did not criticise the advertisement or the product. Some felt the advertisement helped them in making the right purchase by being truthful.

It helps a lot in making decisions. Most of the advertisements are truthful (Household 2 - Urban Malay Managing Director).

Another audience, a Malay teacher, said that Kentucky Fried Chicken is acceptable to him but not for daily consumption;

It's okay to buy it once in a while but I don't think it is a healthy food for everyday (Household 9 - Urban Malay).

In spite of the fact that many of the opinions expressed in this section emanate from people of a single social class (urban middle class), they vary greatly. One of the reasons for this variation may be the high exposure to and considerable knowledge of the subject. With a high level of education and standard of living, foreign luxury consumer products are easily available to them and avidly accepted, as is indicated by their interest in 'healthy' products and high cost food items.

**Audience Attitude to Western and Malaysian Products**

Based on the analysis, the majority of the respondents from all backgrounds - ethnic group, class, income and location - presume that Western products are of better quality than those of the Malaysian based companies. Some of them refer to quality control and superb workmanship as the reasons for this superiority.

Yes, in terms of the quality. Mechanical products like cars, normally the westerns ones are much better. And then like clothes, the western products are longer lasting than local products. However, as for furniture, in terms of design and price we have better options than the west (Household 2 - Urban Malay Managing Director).

There are certain things like cars, for example. Of course you've got to look at the car that is fully imported from the West, the workmanship and finishing is better compared to what we get from our local assemblers here. So, the quality...
control of the Western product is better. I suppose they have the culture of the lawsuit. If you got one inferior product, the consumers are more willing to sue the company than are Asians. Unlike Malaysia, if you get an inferior product, we won’t make a big hassle about it. Whereas in the West they would. But I’m willing to buy the Malaysian car because of the price - (Household 32 - Urban Chinese Art Director).

Depending on which product. A good example would be Kit Kat. I enjoyed the imported one. Recently they started to manufacture it locally. I didn’t know this but I thought that it didn’t taste as good. And then I found out that they were manufactured locally. But maybe in terms of making clothes or T-shirts, I suspect we are just as good. So it depends on the product - (Household 37 - Urban Chinese Account Executive).

However, the research has also discovered many respondents who do not totally reject Malaysian products. Given comparable quality and the right price, these respondents prefer to purchase the Malaysian version.

Yes, of course it depends on what kind of product it is. For example, electronic products. I already have in mind that all of the electronic products from Japan and Korea are good, for example Samsung. But if it is American or German for example, Telefunken, I don’t like it. This is because I had a very bad experience with them. Now I go for the Japanese product. So it depends on which country produces the things. For example, medicine. Let’s say that Panadol is Malaysian made, I would still go for the American products because the quality is better. But if the product is being endorsed worldwide, I’ll purchase it. (Household 1 - Urban Malay Lecturer)

Yes if the quality is reasonable with the price they offer, for sure I will buy the product - (Household 17 - Urban Malay Copywriter).

If the price is good, I’ll buy it. But it depends on the product itself. For example if we have ‘nasi lemak’ or ‘roti canai’ in the fast food form, maybe I’ll buy it. But if it is the fried chicken again, then probably I won’t. Because it’s just chicken - (Household 24 - Urban Malay Credit Officer).

Here, I also would like to highlight that not all audiences buy the product because of quality, price or the experience they have had with it. Some buy Malaysian products in order to be patriotic to the country.

Yes, we must buy local products because our government encourages us to buy local products (Household 21 - Rural Malay Customs Officer).

Only one person totally rejected Malaysian products. The reason given is clear, as he is the type of person that likes to maintain a high-class lifestyle.

No, local products have got no class (Household 22 - Young Urban Single Engineer).
There was also agreement among some of the audiences that Western brands are more popular and more familiar to consumers because of the persistent promotion through advertising. Concerning the preference for Western products, one audience blamed local advertisers for not being informative enough about their products.

But the reason people prefer the Western product is because of the image and the way the advertising is being done. Over here the local brands have got no personality (Household 15 - Urban Malay Reporter).

Overall the difference is only because of advertisement. Here, we only look at Western products because of advertisement. Anything from the West we will love (Household 19 - Rural Malay Telephone Operator).

I'm very selective, for instance clothes, I tend to buy brand name items that originated from the West like Calvin Klein, I wear the Dunhill necktie and as for my golf set, it is from Japan. It depends on whether the products meet my need. I reach the stage where it meets my needs or not. I go for branded clothes because of the established name. Expecting that when I wear a Dunhill necktie people will recognise the prestige associated with Dunhill (Household 23 - Urban Malay Associate Professor).

Yes, but the Malaysian products are not being advertised as well as the international products. So how am I going to buy it if I don't know the product? (Household 3 - Urban Malay Researcher).

From the above statements in this section, I map the responses into several categories - quality, price, nationalism and promotion. Here, quality refers to workmanship and quality control, on which criteria the majority of the urban respondents favour Western products. To them, the Western Product is superior in quality and better value for money. The only difference is that most Chinese respondents will buy the Malaysian product if it is of suitable quality, while many Malays look at the prices. Only one, rural, respondent would reject western products - he was more supportive of local goods and more patriotic.
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III. Role of TV Advertisements in Influencing Audience Social Life

This section will examine the extent of the influence of TV advertisements on the Malaysian audiences. In order to do this, the audiences were asked specific questions directly related to TV advertisements shown to them during the interview.

**Audience Opinion of Actors/Actresses and Characters**

The first step in exploring audience perception is to discover their opinion of the actors and characters in the TV advertisements. The main reason for this is because the subjects might have a higher tendency to become 'role models'. The job of advertisements is 'selling images' and 'promises' to their potential target market. In other words, advertisements attempt to get the audience to associate with the images being portrayed. This may produce a cultural transformation in the audience.

Interestingly, the majority of viewers realise the actors in the advertisements do not reflect real life. The audience discussions focused on the images, the identities portrayed.

*When I look at them, they are just like the film stars. They are not the actual people on the road except in the CALTEX advertisement. So in my opinion, they are trying to show the people but not the products* - (Household 1 - Urban Malay Lecturer).

*Just acting, not reality* - (Household 3 - Urban Malay Researcher).

Most of them also acknowledged that the characters were just acting or modelling for the products. What is more important, most of them did not feel that 'Malaysian Identity' was being portrayed in the advertisements, as can be seen in the statements below by respondents from the rural areas.

*The models did not represent Malaysian culture because they were wearing skirts* (Salem Holidays) - (Household 8 - Rural Malay Housewife).

*The actor does not portray our culture at all* (Peter Stuyvescent) - (Household 19 - Rural Malay Telephone Operator).

*It is more for attracting the audiences. Most of the actors are models. They do not project the real Malaysian. Sometimes the selection of the actor itself is*
biased - only those who have a perfect look (Household 10 - Rural Malay Teacher).

They look modern but I don't think they portrayed Malaysians - (Household 12 - Rural Malay Account Clerk).

Some of the urban respondents took a more positive attitude.

We can see this guy quite cool and happy-go-lucky. It reflects something positive to the audiences. (B&H Bistro) - (Household 17 - Urban Malay Copywriter).

Young vibrant and energetic (Peter Stuyvescent) - (Household 23 - Urban Malay Asso. Professor).

Fine with me. Meets the objectives of the organisation. I wouldn't be sensitive about the characterisation of the ads. They are Malaysian - (Household 2 - Urban Malay Managing Director).

A few respondents agreed that the Court Mammoth advertisement gave a positive portrayal of Malaysia.

I think she is polite, being humble and being nice (Court) - (Household 17 - Urban Malay Copywriter).

Friendly and Warm (Court) - (Household 26 - Urban Chinese Manager).

They are Malaysian and I do believe it is quite good. It is a more down to earth person rather than other advertisements that always use pretty girls or good looking guys (Court) - (Household 33 - Urban Chinese TV Producer).

In this section, two sets of opinions are expressed. First, the actors and actresses did not portray the true Malaysian identity, and secondly, the portrayal of the actor and character were acceptable. Most of the opinions on the first set were provided by respondents from rural areas and those in the second set were mainly provided by respondents from the urban areas with middle class backgrounds. This may well indicate that respondents from rural areas are more traditional in their outlook since they have been exposed less to western influences than their urban counterparts.

This division of opinion between rural and urban respondents suggests a more conservative outlook on the part of the former group, which has been less exposed to western influences. This group lead daily life intimately entwined with the pattern of traditional customs, which still govern ceremonials such as weddings and determine important practices like circumcision.
Audience Opinion on the Actor as a Role Model

In this section, I explore the audience's degree of identification with the characters portrayed in the advertisements.

After seeing the advertisements, most of the audiences admitted to a desire to be like the actors portrayed. Some said they would like to be like them if they had money, while some said they had already become like them.

Yes. - (Household 2 - Urban Malay Housewife).

If I had the money, I would like to be like that - (Household 3 - Urban Malay Seamstress).

I think we are like that - (Household 5 - Urban Malay Architect).

Well I think I am like them - (Household 24 - Urban Malay Quantity Surveyor).

Actually I think I am like them. I dress like that - (Household 38 - Urban Single Chinese Accountant).

Some audiences admitted to the attraction of a luxurious lifestyle.

Yes.. of course. If you ask other people that, they'll say the same, because they want to be seen as successful in whatever they do - (Household 11 - Urban Malay Lecturer).

Yes.. because it's a luxurious kind of style - (Household 22 - Urban Malay Single Engineer).

Yes, because they are so pretty - (Household 39 - Rural Chinese Video Operator).

I like to be modern of course (Court) - (Household 26 - Urban Chinese Manager).

Some wanted to be like the models portrayed but realised the necessity of adapting to different situations.

I'm like them. Whatever they wear, I will wear. But it has to be the right occasion and right place. If I go to a Malay function, I will wear traditional dress. If I'm at a Chinese function I will wear a gown, and if I'm at the party I will wear a skirt. (B&H Bistro) - (Household 13 - Urban Malay Copywriter).

The following are the opinions of those audiences who would not change their images based on what they saw in TV advertisements:

No. Because human beings are not perfect. If we want to be like them, I think it is not reflecting ourselves. People that live a normal life cannot follow
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everything that is portrayed in the advertisements - (Household 10 - Rural Malay Housewife).

No. I would like to be a very modest person. Not lavish and not too poor (KFC) - (Household 9 - Urban Malay Teacher).

No! Well, it is kind of a group of people who I can’t identify with. It’s not that I say I don’t like them but it’s just that I do not identify with them (B&H Bistro) - (Household 34 - Rural Chinese Self-Employed).

I’m a person who has my own opinion. I never follow other people. I think advertisements don’t work on me. I buy things not because of advertisements. I buy because of the economic value and before I buy things, I will compare and contrast a few brands to look for the best buy. (Kellogg) - (Household 29 - Urban Chinese Lecturer).

No, because you can see. I mean in many of the advertisements, I think, the people are very plastic, very fake, too good to be true. They are not realistic. I prefer advertisements which show real people, like the Hong Kong Bank advertisements. It is a real slice of life (McDonald’s) - (Household 40 - Urban Indian Housewife).

This section reveals two types of advertising audience, those who wish to become like the actors or actresses, and those who do not. The first group is mainly urban respondents, who tend to imitate the portrayal of characters in advertisements. Some made the point that they feel they are already like the characters portrayed. However, not all urban respondents shared this opinion. Those respondents who would like to maintain their present way of life are in the lower income group or are from rural areas. Here, I would like to stress that differences in income status appear to influence how the respondent perceives things.

Audience Opinion on Lifestyles Portrayed in the TV Advertisement

In this topic audiences' opinions on the portrayed lifestyles were examined. The analysis was based on how they viewed and interpreted the lifestyle portrayed.

Many of the views expressed concerned about the social status and wealth.

They portray the middle class rich people. They portray those people who always have money whether they are young or children. The father is like a rich man. They never portray people that don’t have money or are poor...I believe that is what they are trying to show. The rich man’s daughter or son. In fact some people don’t want to watch the advertisement because of the culture. Especially like me. I just look at this advertisement like a movie. I don’t care about the product because they portray the beautiful girls. It is synonymous with a movie or drama. (Peter Stuyvescent) - (Household 1 - Urban Malay Lecturer).

Advertising tries to show the best of everything. Since the economy is getting better now, everybody can afford the best of everything. So what it portrays is
the richer part of society, not the whole of the society. Quite a lot of people in this country are middle class. (Benson & Hedges Bistro) - (Household 34 - Rural Chinese Self-Employed).

They portray the yuppie lifestyle. They have big cars. All the time they're having a good life. But, if you look at real life in Malaysia, it is not all a good time. There's a lot of hard work to get to that position. In the commercial, it shows you that it is so easy and simple, and you have a lot of things around you. In the real life that's not really true (Salem) - (Household 29 - Urban Chinese Lecturer).

Some saw the advertisements as portraying liberal and modern lifestyles. Many of them claimed the advertisements promote an enchanting and problem-free life.

Carefree and liberal lifestyles, sophisticated and urban (Peter Stuyvescent) - (Household 4 - Urban Malay Newscaster).

Young people live freely and in luxury (Peter Stuyvescent) - (Household 6 - Rural Malay Clerk).

Others stressed that certain products tried to show a comfortable lifestyle.

Most of the ads show modern lifestyle.... More a Western lifestyle...... Depends on the products. If the product is meant for villagers, 'kampung' lifestyle will be highlighted. - (Household 13 - Urban Malay Copywriter).

Malaysians are getting more comfortable in life and they are able to buy quite expensive stuff (Court) - (Household 17 - Urban Malay Secretary).

'Freedom' was considered by some audiences to be the feature portrayed, which they did not consider to be compatible with the Malaysian lifestyle.

I'm not too comfortable with the kind of lifestyle that is portrayed. Because it supposes you to be materialistic and if you look at the Peter Stuyvescent Breakaway ads, I believe that those young people are not married. They are single. To them it's okay to break away together and have fun. I am comfortable with the way I've been brought up; the religious norms and values - (Household 23 - Urban Malay Associate Professor).

'Cultural Values Portrayal in the TV Advertisement' is meant to examine the audience interpretation of the 'values' employed. Most of the audiences felt the advertisements contained too many Western influences. To them the lifestyles portrayed are not normal Malaysian life. Although some realised that the 'conditions portrayed' in the advertisements were not truthful, they were somehow influenced due to the convincing techniques used. Some of them already accept Western culture as their culture and to some of them Western culture is no longer a threat.
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It is very urbanised, very modern and it's a city setting. When we talk about a city setting, we mean Western culture...Yes! It suits my lifestyle - (Household 2 - Urban Malay Managing Director).

It is more Western...the lifestyle sometimes it suits me, when I'm too busy to cook - (Household 41 - Urban Indian AV Co-ordinator).

There's not much culture there. No doubt it's Western culture because that food is originally from the West. Yes, it suits me because the way we work we don't have time for home cooking - (Household 31 - Urban Chinese Producer).

On the other hand, there were audiences who felt that the lifestyles portrayed were not suitable to their way of life.

The values are not linked to any culture. They are more globalised... Some of it may not suit my lifestyle - (Household 4 - Urban Malay Lecturer).

They don’t really portray any cultural values. You can’t really identify it. Sometimes it suits my lifestyle, sometimes it doesn’t - (Household 12 - Rural Malay Account Clerk).

There’s no cultural value at all. It does not suit my lifestyle - (Household 16 - Urban Malay Housewife).

Some showed their disappointment with the lack of Malaysian values in the advertisements.

Completely lacking in local cultural values. All of the advertisers want to project the Western image of their products - (Household 7- Rural Malay Government Servant).

Findings here show that those respondents, who embrace the western lifestyle depicted in television advertisements, live and work in urban areas. They tend to adopt such a lifestyle. In this case, I suggest, the urban middle class respondents are more exposed to current trends and feel comfortable with them. They are more flexible when confronted with change if they see it as being good for them. Rural respondents, however, prefer to maintain their traditional ways.

Earlier in this chapter I suggested that income and occupation status are influential in how respondents perceive things. It is likely, therefore, that as income rises, consumption habits will change and lifestyle will be accordingly affected, as personal identity status shifts.
Audience Opinion on Dress

Obviously, Malaysia is now becoming an industrialised state and liberalisation in ideas and thinking has already taken place among her citizens. However, it is known that Malaysians would not easily sacrifice their values if it goes against their religion and customs. The manner of dress, for instance, has always been debated by the Muslim majority. Last year, Selangor Religious Department enforced a stricter dress code on Muslims, by which they have to abide. In this scenario, the examination of audience opinion on dress could prove interesting.

The main objective was to look at dress in the context of cultural differentiation. It would be debatable to associate 'Universal Dress' with any specific culture and as discussed previously, 'universal dress' like shirt, trousers, suit, ties etc. has already blended into Malaysian culture. However, there may be some differentiation evident in extremes of dress.

The majority of the audiences accepted the clothing in the advertisements as their own style of dress. Some admitted the dress portrayed is their normal dress worn at work or at home.

The dress is OK. We are using those kinds of clothes. Not too advanced that we don't have such clothes in our life. The dressing is real but the people are not. (Peter Stuyvescent) - (Household I - Urban Malay Lecturer).

I think that it is the present style of dressing. (Benson & Hedges Bistro) - (Household 5 - Urban Malay Architect).

It's the way the Malaysians dress. (Axion) - (Household 15 - Urban Malay Reporter).

Some of the audiences acknowledged that the dresses are Western but that this has already been accepted into Malaysian culture. To them, it is all right to wear dress that is considered to be Western as long as it does not look obscene.

Most of them are wearing modern clothing. Western, but it is acceptable to our people. The women are wearing long pants. (Benson & Hedges Bistro) - (Household 13 - Urban Malay Copywriter).

Quite acceptable because Malaysians also wear modern dress (Court Mammoth) (Household 17 - Urban Malay Secretary).
They are like Malaysian dress. Malaysian dress and Western dress are now almost the same. Not much different (Salem) - (Household 24 - Urban Malay Credit Officer).

The findings in this section clearly indicate that dress in the advertisements is not a major issue in changing lifestyle. To many of the respondents, the clothes worn by the actors and actresses are a reflection of what they themselves wear. Three points are, however, worthy of note. First, the dress used in advertisements is already an acceptable part of respondents' daily life. Second, there is indication that western and Malaysian dress are differentiated only with some difficulty. Thirdly, the apparent success on the part of the regulator in enforcing the advertisement code and regulation concerning dress in the media.

**Children’s Response to TV Advertisements**

Though almost all ‘influence’ has been studied, there remains the impact on children. Most parents thought their children could be easily influenced by the advertisements. After watching the advertisements, the children will immediately ask their parents to buy the products.

I have two older kids and two small kids. Sometimes when they watch TV at six p.m., after listening to the jingles like Yum-yum or Kum-Kum, the small kids would like to have it. But my second son is very brand conscious. He is very interested in basketball, so anything that has to do with sport like Nike, Reebok, he’ll ask me to buy it for him ....- (Household 1 - Urban Malay Lecturer).

Yes, last week my son wanted to buy a wallet after watching one of the ads.... Adidas.... Obliging? Sometimes - (Household 21 - Rural Malay Custom Officer).

Sometimes these kids would like to try the new product from McDonald’s or KFC and they want us to take them there. Like last time, they wanted to try the Monza Burger. My second son is very brand conscious. So when they watch it, they would like to have that product - (Household 3 - Urban Malay Researcher).

This influence varies, according to product types and age group. The type of influence may be ‘desire to have the product’, ‘admiring the lifestyle’, ‘imitating the character’, ‘repeating the slogan’ or ‘humming the jingle’. ‘Imitating the character’ will be examined in the next section.
The findings show that many parents tend not to fulfill their children's demand all the time. Responding to such demands depends on the need for the products.

Included below are some of the remarks made by parents on how their children responded to the advertisements shown. Many of the children were easily influenced to buy the product.

Yes, especially fast food like the McDonald's and KFC.... Obliging? Not immediate - (Household 2 - Urban Malay Housewife with three children).

Yes depends on the kind of products... and not sweets. - (Household 8 - Rural Malay Housewife with six children).

No, not always...Oblige? Well, it depends on what kind of product. If it is all right, then we'll buy it for them - (Household 34 - Rural Chinese housewife with two children).

They are very happy, especially with children's advertisements. They'll ask, 'Dad, let's go and buy this product' - (Household 14 - Rural Malay Government Officer with three children).

Some parents also admitted that sometimes their children wanted to buy the product just because they were attracted by the premium offered.

They'll ask me to buy the product like McDonald's for example, because it always uses toys to attract the kids. They want to go to McDonald's just to get the toys - (Household 11 - Urban Malay Lecturer with two children).

Most of the time especially the promo product from KFC and McDonald's and I oblige only at certain times. - (Household 27 - Rural Chinese Shopkeeper).

I don't think so. They only want to have the toy or the gift.... Oblige? Of course! [referring to his nieces and nephews] - (Household 22 - Urban Malay Single Engineer).

Many parents tried to avoid the demands of their children, some reasoned with them about not buying.

Sometimes they will ask me to buy the product like a bicycle, mountain bike, clothes etc. Fortunately they have a father in the field of communication. So, I can tell them not to believe all of these ads - (Household 23 - Urban Malay Associate Professor with two children).

My children are quite impressed and can be influenced by the commercial. But because of the advice that my wife and I usually give, they'll get the message - (Household 9 - Urban Malay Teacher with three children).

Apart from the impact of the advertisements on the trend of consumption, some claimed the children tend to be attracted by the music or jingle in the advertisements.
He may dance to the beat of the music and recognise the advertisement. He likes to see the baby product ads. - (Household 4 - Urban Malay Newscaster with a son age three).

Easy to follow! If we do not guide them, they will be influenced - (Household 6 - Rural Malay Housewife with three children).

They are attracted to the catchy tune. Something that they can easily catch for example like 'lift', 'push', 'press' - (Household 7 - Rural Malay Government Servant with a child).

Sometimes, certain programs like the basketball (NBA) short preview. If it has to do with basket ball on TV they will follow...Yes, they hum certain songs or slogans like the song of The Gardenia ads....- (Household 1- Malay Urban Lecturer).

Yes. They can remember the jingle....- (Household 9 - Urban Malay Teacher with three children).

Another kind of influence was the movement shown in the advertisements.

They love to watch advertisements. No matter what ads. They love it because it moves so fast. Children love things that go 'fast' - (Household 8 - Rural Malay Housewife with six children).

They like to watch certain advertisements. If they like it, they'll watch it and give their comments. Whereas if they don't like it, during the commercial, it seems like a break for them to go to the kitchen and take a drink - (Household 12 - Rural Malay Account clerk with a child).

Yes sometimes. For example like the Power Ranger ad. In the ad it shows the character doing 'martial art' movements. They will imitate with kicking and punching. And for the Johnson & Johnson baby shampoo advertisement, they will repeat the script.. 'Tidak pedihkan mata'(My eye does not sting). - (Household 13 Urban Malay Copywriter with two children).

It is clear from the evidence above that all children, of whatever background, can be easily influenced by the advertisements they see. They can be seen imitating various parts of advertisements, the jingles and tunes used are easy for them to memorise and repeat, and they sometimes ask their parents to buy the advertised product. What is interesting here is that parent responses to such requests are not differentiated according to social position. As far as children's well being, their habits and the values they are taught are concerned, there appears to be a consistency regardless of social background.
10.2 Concluding Remarks

This chapter was divided into two main sections. The first section aims to set the scene for the examination of Malaysian audience opinion on the changing pattern of Malaysian culture and values in general. All aspects of influence were taken into consideration, such as the media, technology, religion, travel etc. The second part of the chapter examined the opinions on this changing lifestyle and on the effects through the advertisements. To aid audience recall, the thirty most broadcast advertisements were shown to them in July 1996.

The findings show that most of the audiences, in spite of differences in occupation, income, location and ethnic origin, were conscious of changes in their social life. These changes are manifested in lifestyle, consumption, character and attitude of Malaysians to their lives and their economy. Most of the changes were related to their physical surroundings and concerned physical appearance, as in clothing, and consumption, as in food. Some respondents associated the changes with the increased purchasing power and the higher standard of education currently enjoyed by many Malaysians.

Thinking and attitudes were also highlighted during the interviews. Many respondents, particularly those from the urban middle class, believe that Malaysians have become more open-minded and less conservative over recent years. For some, changes are related to new attitudes to work as many Malaysian women are now expressing their desire to forsake their traditional roles in the home, and Malaysians generally see themselves as more industrious than before. Respondents acknowledged the use of nannies and nurseries for children as part of the changing Malaysian lifestyle, which could be seen as confirming the evidence given by Stivens (1998: 99).

Most of the audiences, particularly those from the new middle class group believe the changes are caused by the improved economy and the media, through which Malaysians can gain great knowledge. The changing social structure does play a role in how audiences receive advertisements, supporting the idea that income differences affect perception. Some audiences attributed a place in this to the greater access to
higher education which Malaysians are enjoying today. Technology is acknowledged as important in the process through its effect of compressing time and space. The effects of cable and satellite TV in better informing people, are also acknowledged by audiences as important in this, as well as in contributing to greater awareness of people's rights.

All these changes have had their effects. Opinions on these effects were mixed. Many claimed that today Malaysians have become more materialistic and opportunity seeking. Materialism was mainly related to consumption. Many said the consumption pattern was very much related to the individual or family image among friends and the public. Some of them are becoming more brand conscious and emphasised the benefits the products can provide. This attitude has made many Malaysians become opportunistic, individualistic and self-centred, in striving for success in their occupation. By this attitude, they hope to provide their family with continuos flow of comfortable financial support and maybe even some luxury. The phenomenon has dictated their spending pattern in clothing, food, furnishing, cars etc., since much of this merchandise is taken as a yardstick for measuring the success of the individual. In terms of family relationships, there is a trend to liberalisation and openness, especially between father and children. In this trend, it has become more acceptable for the children to express their opinions, whereas before, the communication was one-way.

There was also negative feedback from the audiences on the changes. Some felt the cost of living has increased drastically, especially in the urban areas. To the Malaysian who can afford it, this increase might do no harm but to Malaysians who are unfortunate and fail to cope with the competitiveness around them, it is a serious problem. This effect, it is claimed, has widened the gap between the rich and the poor. The effect on family values has also been highlighted during the interviews. Some feel there has been a drastic change in attitude among the young, especially the teenagers. Many of them, it is claimed, are becoming more stubborn and rude. 'Respecting the elders', which was commonly highlighted by middle aged respondents is one of the treasured values among Malaysians, but was seen to be under threat and is caused by parents spending more time at the office and leaving the responsibility of the children to the nanny. Many audiences claimed they spent more
time working and less time with their children, especially those who work and live in
the urban areas. Though they realise the effect this has, some said they are helpless,
as they cannot sacrifice their high standard of living. This problem is not uncommon
in the Malaysian middle class households living in urban areas and is also faced by
their counterpart in western countries. This particular trend indeed appears to be a
global phenomenon.

As well as examining how Malaysian audiences view the changing pattern in their
social life, this chapter has examined how Malaysians interpret culture, especially in
differentiating between Malaysia and the West. Overall, the findings show mixed
opinions. Some said Malaysian culture is being mixed with various elements such as
Malay, Chinese, Indian and Western. Some claimed there is no true Malaysian
culture which can be identified separately, as for example Malay, Chinese or Indian.
Some claimed Malaysian culture is no longer a traditional culture, it is an improved
culture that has constantly changed over time and with the influence of many
elements. Whatever the interpretation, the whole notion of Malaysian culture is
problematical. It is a confusing notion, which many claimed the state had taken to be
self-evident. Many of the opinions reflect the complexities and diversity of
Malaysian and Western cultures. In fact, Malaysian culture is seen as a living object,
which is continuously changing and adapting and emulating an ever-changing
environment.

In terms of differentiating between Malaysian and Western cultures, the audiences
tended to refer back to their traditional culture, which is basically associated with
their ethnic background and beliefs. To many of them, Western culture refers to
modernisation, for example in terms of technology and physical environment
(building, car, lifestyle, and individual presentation). Westernisation is also a
modernisation in thinking and attitude - freedom (freedom of speech, freedom in
lifestyle). At the same time, this interpretation involved a negative perception of
Western culture. Many felt that it is made up of 'broken values'. For instance, the
deterioration in family values (rude, not respecting elders), too much freedom (social
life, sex, etc.) and working attitude (lazy). Malaysian culture (traditional culture), on
the other hand, some viewed positively; some stress Malaysians are brought up to be
polite and to respect others. Malaysians, they felt, maintain close knit family
relationships, and have a sense of gratitude. On the other hand, some claimed Malaysian culture also has its negative side. For example, too traditional, too conservative and old fashioned.

The final part of this chapter discusses the findings on audiences’ views of the advertisements. Many of the audiences perceived the advertisements shown to them as incorporating Western elements. However, most of them admit there is evidence of some Malaysian values and image portrayal. Some criticised the approach and themes adopted in the advertisements for creating unnecessary needs, especially with non-essential products. Some of them, especially respondents from the rural areas, claimed the advertisements were unrealistic and do not portray real Malaysian life. Some claimed the advertisements were not sincere, as they did not provide sufficient information for the audience to make a decision. They only emphasise the ‘appearances’ and not the products, as for example with the cigarette related advertisements.

In interpreting product quality, however, most of the audiences believed Western products are superior, especially products like cars, chocolate, food etc. The quality becomes more obvious when it is associated with images and packaging delivered together with the advertisements. To many of them, Malaysian products do not have the same quality as the Western product. They perceive Malaysian products as inferior and unable to provide the same standard as those from the West. This, they believe, was based on a lack of quality control in Malaysian manufacturing. At the same time views from rural areas tend to be nationalistic and patriotic about Malaysian products. If there are choices, many from this background tend to consume Malaysian rather than Western products.

Many audiences reported that advertisements played an important role in changing lifestyles and in influencing tastes. Though many of them admitted some of the portrayal in the advertisements was unrealistic, they stressed they wanted to be like the character in the advertisement. For example, they want to be beautiful, wealthy, sophisticated and modern in lifestyle (urban middle-class group). The findings also show that many of them want to be dressed (Western dressing) like the character in the advertisement. To them it is okay to trade off some of their traditional way of
life, as long it is acceptable to the public. This could not, however, be construed as 'total westernisation' since many expressed the desire to maintain traditional values as well as having a western lifestyle and increased consumption. Such views were expressed mainly by urban respondents in the middle and higher income groups. Their rural counterparts tended towards the preservation of their traditional identity, many of them expressing reluctance to change their lifestyles just to be like the people in the advertisements. Overall I would like to stress that advertisements did play an important role in changing lifestyles. However this could only be achieved, if the people have the capacity to purchase. In other words, the rise in income influences how people see things and leads to changes in audience consumption habit value. One of the factors which drives them to 'express' their new identity is the desire to be differentiated from others.

The advertisement is also seen to play an important role in the life of children. The analysis shows most children, despite their different backgrounds, are easily influenced by the advertisements. They tend to believe whatever message the advertisement contains. Many parents, despite their social structure position, claimed that the advertisements have increased the desire of their children to purchase the product. Many children are also seen as knowledgeable about the product and are somehow brand conscious. Some children insist on their parent buying the product for them. However, the analysis also shows that not all parents are keen to oblige their children in this respect. Some would reason with their children over not buying the product for them. There is strong evidence for the children imitating the content of the advertisement - many parents claim their children love to imitate the physical activities and the jingles. Here we can say that social structure did not determine how children saw things. To most of the children, what they watch in TV is reality and part of their life.

As an overview, the analysis in this chapter has clearly indicated that the changing patterns of social class in Malaysia have influenced most of the opinions expressed by the audiences. Some of the findings confirm some of the opinions expressed by scholars such as Pinches, Stivens, Wallerstein and Giddens. The transformations of economy, education and media technology have revolutionised especially the middle class perception of the world. In general, these people are more aware of what is
happening around them, both locally and globally, and some have become more certain of their direction in life. For example, they seem more clearly focussed on what they need for a better quality of life. The idea of 'total westernisation' is debatable as a Malaysian reality, as there is at the same time evidence suggesting the desire to preserve traditional entities, a perception which is shared by Pinches (1991:1) and by Hung Chao Tai (1989).

Before concluding this chapter, I think it is important to focus briefly on two points. First is the way the respondents map their opinions of the cultural influences from Malaysia and from the West. Second, do the Malaysians in this study express the similarity of opinions and those reported in research conducted in the West.

As to the first point, the opinions seen to be mapped into four areas - 1. Western Culture 2. Malaysian Culture 3. The Good and Bad of Western Culture and 4. The Good and Bad of Malaysian Culture. For example, the positive side of the Western influence was seen in terms of technology, modernity, progress, sophistication, freedom etc. The bad side of Western cultural influence is seen as sexual relationships, casualness, individuality, broken family, the break up of families, lack of respect for the elderly, too much freedom. The positive side of Malaysian culture is regarded as modesty in life, good family values, respect etc., and the Malaysian negative side, as traditionalism and conservatism, which need to be changed. However, the whole finding here is more dialectical, more than a question of Western or Malaysian and good or bad. The opinions expressed were related to the diverse backgrounds of the respondents and while there is an overall consistency there is also, in more detail, a variety of interpretation and argument. Each opinion, then, is a reflection of the individual from whom it emanated, and results from differences of upbringing, experience, the generation gap and differences in the capacity for and opportunity of accessing knowledge. The second point concerns the astonishing similarity of views expressed by respondents in this study to those reported in research on social problems and the influence of technology and of the media conducted in the West. What we are witnessing here is the generation shift in technology, education, media exposure etc. in Malaysia. However, consideration of this is beyond our scope here and it seems to me that further research would be beneficial in exposing the underlying causes.
Chapter Eleven

Conclusion

11.1 Introduction

The principal objective of this thesis is to examine the impact of globalised Western advertising on cultural values in Malaysia. The fundamental questions are; can advertising be seen as a major source and repository of cultural values in Malaysia and does it promote cultural imperialism? Or does it have a role to play at all? Three areas concerning the process and the impact of the dynamism of globalisation were investigated. These areas were: 'cultural representation', 'regulation and production' and the 'impact on social life and values.'

'Cultural representation' in this research is defined as cultural values portrayed in the advertisements shown on Malaysian television. Two methods of approach were involved in determining these objectives. They were content analysis and semiological analysis.

For content analysis, the samples of content were collected from products originating in Western countries, Malaysia and others. Three hundreds and seven different TV advertisements were examined from 1,977 samples collected. These samples were collected from TV advertisements which appeared in July 1996, on three major TV stations; TV1, TV2 and STMB (TV3). Content analysis was focused on four dimensions of portrayal: 'Character Representation in the Advertisement', 'Group Character Representation', 'Production and Image Framing', 'The Representation of Lifestyles and Values'. For qualitative analysis, ten advertisements were chosen. In order to provide the patterns of advertisers origin in Malaysia, 15,309 newspaper

39 The concept of representation concerns the connection of meaning and language to culture in order to say something meaningful to people. Representation is also a process in which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture in which is involved language of signs and images (Hall, 1997:15).
advertisements appearing over a period of ten years (1986 -1995) were examined. The newspaper content analysis was focused on two dimensions: Product Category and Origin.

For the study of 'regulating and production', fifteen personal interviews were conducted. The interviewees were selected from various backgrounds such as personnel from advertising agencies, advertisers, media, Government bodies and consumer associations. These interviews were intended to investigate the process of regulation involved in producing advertisements.

The final objective of the empirical studies is to examine the impact of the advertisements on Malaysian social life and values. To this end, fifty households were selected from different demographic backgrounds. Detailed summaries of the findings have already been included in the concluding remarks to Chapters Seven, Eight, Nine and Ten. However, it is appropriate to revisit the discourse which pertains to this subject and to relate it to the empirical findings.

11.2 Review of the General Arguments

The preceding chapters assessed the general impact of globalisation on economy, state and culture and its involvement in Malaysian advertising. It is widely asserted that globalisation is a concept, process and expression of what we are experiencing today. The dynamism of globalisation is widely argued in economy, politics, culture and ideology. On the other hand, the term is used in so many different contexts, by many different people for so many different reasons, that is difficult to comprehend what is at stake in the globalisation problematic, what function the term serves, and what effects it has on culture. For some, globalisation is the Westernisation of the world, while for others it involves a cover for the ascendancy of capitalism. Some see globalisation as generating increasing homogeneity in culture, while others see it as producing diversity and heterogeneity that increases hybridisation. For advertising, whether in Malaysia or anywhere else, globalisation appears to be the strategy for increasing corporate profits and power. For government, it is often deployed to promote an increase in state power, while non-governmental social organisations see
globalisation as a lever to produce positive social effects like environmental action, democratisation, or humanisation.

Among its critics, there are two kinds of discourse that can be distinguished. First is the 'intellectual criticism' that 'globalisation does not exist, there isn't such a thing' etc. This is what Giddens described as 'scepticism' (Giddens, 1991:27-28). The critics point out that there has always been an international trade, in which the nation-state has played an important role and, indeed, still does, being, as it is, quite resilient at local and regional levels. They also regard as exaggerated the claim that growth of communication technology has embraced the majority of the world's populations, arguing there has been no marked change and that such descriptions are 'misleading'. The second type of criticism focuses on the balance of advantage - disadvantage attributed to globalisation (Curran and Seaton, 1998:243). For the critics, the former are outweighed by the latter. They cite the devastation of local tradition and culture, the exacerbation of subordination of poorer nations by rich ones, environmental destruction, the homogenisation of culture and everyday life. They also stress the threat to national sovereignty and to participatory democracy from global forces. Environmentalists and cultural conservatives join the ranks of critics where such issues represent home ground.

Whatever the criticisms are, the development of a new global market economy, the shifting system of nation states and the rise of global culture is an especially salient feature of contemporary globalisation, which is accompanying the dramatic expansion of capitalism and new transnational political organisations. A new global culture is emerging, resulting from computer and communication technology and a consumer society with its panorama of goods and services. There is a concomitant growth in consumption, transnational forms of architecture and design, and a wide range of products and cultural forms that are traversing national boundaries and becoming part of a new world culture. This global culture includes the proliferation of media technologies that give expression to Marshall McLuhan's dream of a global village, in which people all over the world watch political spectacles like the Gulf War, major sports events, entertainment programs, and advertisements that relentlessly promote capitalist modernisation.
Global advertising also involves the promotion of life-style, consumption, products and identities. Transnational corporations use advertising to penetrate local markets, to sell global products, and to overcome local resistance. Expansion of TV stations, private cable and satellite systems, which Malaysia is currently experiencing, has brought with it the aggressive promotion of a commercial culture through advertising. In a sense, culture itself is being redefined since previously local and national cultures were sources of resistance to global forces, protecting the traditions, identities, and modes of life of specific groups and peoples. Culture has been the particularising, localising force that distinguished societies and people from each other. Culture provides forms of local identities, practices and modes of everyday life that could serve as a bastion against the invasion of ideas, identities, and forms of life extraneous to the specific local region in question. Indeed, culture is an especially complex and contested terrain described in conflicting positive and negative normative discourses, as today global cultures permeate local ones and new configurations emerge that synthesise both poles, providing contradictory forces of imperialism and resistance, global homogenisation and new local hybrid forms and identities.

Globalisation also involves the dissemination of new technologies that have tremendous impact on economy, polity, society, culture and everyday life. Time-space compression produced by new media and communication technologies are overcoming previous boundaries of space and time, creating a global cultural village and a dramatic penetration of global forces into every realm of life in every region of the world. The new technologies also create new industries, such as the computer and information industry, allowing transnational media and information to instantaneously traverse the globe.

In the name of globalisation, national trade barriers are systematically dismantled and eroded, global economic forces penetrate local economies and a global consumerism and media traverse the globe. The decline of the power of the nation-state produces a new geopolitical matrix in which transnational organisations, corporations and other forces challenge local sites of power and influence. The results have been considerable; economic growth has expanded fivefold, international trade has expanded by roughly twelve times and foreign direct investment has been expanding at two or three times the rate of trade expansion (Korten 1995:15; Kellner 1998:13).
Yet the results of these developments have been highly uneven. While economic elites and corporations have benefited tremendously, the rewards have been unequally distributed.

It is in the realm of culture that globalisation is most apparent. Global media and information systems and a world capitalist consumer culture circulate products, images and ideas throughout the world, as can be seen clearly in advertisements. This global culture however, operates precisely through the multiplication of different products, services and spectacles, targeted at specific audiences. Consumer (advertiser) and media industries (advertising agency, TV station etc.) are becoming more differentiated and are segmenting their customers and audiences into more categories. In many cases, this involves the simulation of minor differences of fashion and style as significant, but it also involves the proliferation of a more highly differentiated culture and society in terms of expanding variety and diversity of cultural artefacts, products and services.

However, the concept of globalisation can also be disempowering, leading to cynicism and hopelessness, to the idea that inexorable market forces cannot be regulated and controlled by the state, or that the economy cannot be shaped and directed by the people, thus undermining democracy and the power to counterbalance the hegemony of capital. We can recognise the reality of globalisation, its power and effects, but we can also identify forces of resistance that attempt to counter the most destructive aspects of global forces, or which inflect globalisation for democratic and locally empowering ends. These can be seen through the significant eruption of subcultures of resistance that have attempted to preserve specific forms of culture and society against globalisation and homogenisation. For instance, groups of student activists at the University of Malaya are resisting the siting of a McDonald's outlet on campus. The present juncture, I would suggest, is marked by conflict between growing centralisation and organisation of power and wealth in the hands of the few, contrasted to opposing processes exhibiting a fragmentation of power that is more plural and multiple.

Referring back to Malaysia, I would like to stress that the expansion of the advertising industry has been very much contributed to by the dynamism of globalisation, which
is consistent with the idea promoted by Giddens (direct consequence of modernity and multi-causal logic) and Wallerstein (global economy created a universal economic space) as described in Chapter Two. Ethnographically, more goods and services are available to Malaysians than ever before. Choices of product are widespread and consumption is increasing. The growing middle-class parallels the rapid economic growth which Malaysia is currently experiencing. More demand can be seen for quality and branded products - rhetorically referring to Western products. The increase in consumption is also helped through advertising. Consumers are able to ask for a product by its name, which distinguishes it from all others.

This thesis has shown the impact of globalisation on Malaysia. We can see the increased growth of the economy, the increasing size of the middle class, the influx of information, and the wide variety of product and services. What has this to do with the Cultural Westernisation, or alternatively has the local and sovereign culture been influenced and eroded? Some (Malaysian audiences) imply cultural Westernisation, just by having and consuming McDonald's, Levi's Jeans, Coca-Cola etc. However, Cultural Westernisation is more than that, it is more complicated and varied than we thought. Cultural Westernisation here refers to the impact of ideology on Malaysian traditional culture and society. That is, the Westernisation or secularisation of Malaysian culture. And what of Malaysian culture itself? Malaysian culture is self-dynamic and compact. It comprises several different dimensions, 'multi-ethnicity' - Malay, Chinese, 'locality' - rural, urban, and 'belief' - secular and religious. Thus within Malaysian culture we know there is a great deal of complexity to deal with. This has made the study problematical as there is no clear line to separate the phenomena. However, it is not impossible to measure the extent of the impact. Whether or not this has an impact on Malaysian culture, was examined in the next section.

11.3 Findings

As I have mentioned in the last section, the cultural impact contributed by the process of globalisation could be measured. However, the truth is that the precise role of Western product advertising as a major source and repository of cultural values in
Malaysia is difficult to determine. This conclusion is also a reflection of the multiplicity and interwoven character of the process of the changing pattern of cultural dynamism, which is contributed to by many factors, such as TV programmes, movies, internet, tourism, newspapers etc.

However, while culture is made up of many factors, I would like to stress that advertisements should be considered as a powerful catalyst in this process, due to their nature - creating impression and persuasion. Stuart Ewen (1988:91) describes it as 'a process of creating commodity images for people to emulate and believe in'. What I would like to highlight here is that advertising has the capacity and power to make the difference. The findings from the analysis of advertisements can be used as a 'barometer' in studying the trends, especially in countries such as Malaysia, which are still in the emerging or embryonic stage.

The analysis of the findings has shown that the advertisements, which appeared on Malaysian television, were dominated by Western style advertising. This however, is to be expected, as it is in line with the dimension of globalisation - the increasing number of Western brand names in the periphery nations due to the expansion of the global market. One of the reasons for this Western domination is that home-grown Malaysian advertising is still in the embryonic stage, while Western brands are increasingly being targeted on developing countries such as Malaysia.

How then does this fit with the observed rapid growth of Malaysian advertising? The answer lies in the fact that this growth is in no small measure accounted for by the increased activity of Western TNAA's (linked to the increasing FDI in Malaysia) rather than Malaysian owned manufacturing companies and advertising agencies. At present many manufactured goods carry Western names such as Hewlett Packard and Intel. This, however, is a trend which may change if more Malaysian manufacturers follow in the footsteps of Proton cars, Perodua cars, Petronas lubrication and Sapura telephones in selling their products under Malaysian names.

1. Cultural Representation - The findings on cultural representation show there is a combination of Western and Malaysian elements in the advertisements.
Most of the advertisements examined show a tendency to embed both cultures. In some cases, the producers have employed a hybrid of modern Western and traditional Malaysian values and have thus created something which the audience perceives as 'Western'. One of the main reasons identified is the incorporation of the concept of 'localisation' and 'go global and think local' by most Western product advertisers. This has been adopted in order to reach financial targets and to increase the acceptance level among the consumers. This approach also encourages the audiences to identify with the messages and images presented to them. However, the analysis has also shown a variation in the level of mixture among the types of products. For example, advertisements for products such as 'Citibanks MasterCard' adopt Westernised approaches in all aspects; place, clothing, atmosphere, etc. (representing the upper social class Malay) and 'Fab' by Colgate Palmolive adopts the Malaysian approach; clothing, friendliness, and talkative housewife (a stereotyping of Malay housewives) (Chapter Nine).

Although the findings show a mixture of Western and Malaysian influences, there is significant evidence in the whole structure of the advertisements that the process has been dominated by the Western element, which is described in the analysis of audience research. The results show 'family' relationships are a major theme in most advertisements. This seems to be aligned with the Malaysian way of life, and does not depart from the Malaysian norm. Another feature, 'housewife', was shown regularly as the principal actor in the advertisement. This result also seems to parallel the Malaysian way of life. As for the role of men, the man is portrayed as leader, and the respected person in the household. This representation is also aligned with Malaysian and Islamic custom, in which men are considered as superior to women. For example, the accepted norm in the advertisements is that of the man as breadwinner while the woman looks after the house, husband and children. In terms of location portrayal, the results show consistency with guidelines imposed by the Malaysian government; the majority of the advertisements chose Malaysia as their backcloth, while occasional Western locations were used only for products related to tourism.

Western influence in advertisements is also dominating in terms of music and type of clothing. Western music dominates in almost all advertisements. However, this
causes little controversy as Western music has been accepted by Malaysians for decades and some of the music has been adjusted to local experience in terms of lyrics. In fact, before the term 'globalisation' became a major issue in today's discussion, Western music was known and listened to by Malaysians regardless of ethnicity, social status and age. As for clothing, most advertisements portrayed the actors with Western clothing. This did not cause controversy either, as generally Western clothing today is a reflection of modernisation in Malaysia.

The results from qualitative analysis have supported the evidence from quantitative analysis that there are mixtures of Western and Malaysian elements portrayed in the individual advertisements. The traces of Western cultural influence which promote Western lifestyles relate to domestic settings, furnished in affluent and urban style, the style of eating, diet, clothing, hygiene etc. Some of the advertisements show the changing role of women and men; for example the women are shown to be independent career oriented, active, sophisticated in appearance (dress, hair, make-up etc.). At the same time, the traditional roles are still maintained; for example, taking care of her children, respecting the husband as the leader of the household.

The advertisements signify to the audiences that they can still be traditional in their way of life and at the same time can consume modernity. Some men in the advertisements have been portrayed with dual roles; as household leader and 'less dominant'. For example, the man may be seen as the respected person and leader in the household, but at the same time is willing to lower his role (for example helping his wife to do domestic work, which was previously seen as an insult to Malaysian men in general). The message is intended to show the male audiences that this is the modern lifestyle, the way for the modern husband to be.

Another message is that women and men are treated the same, the thing that holds them together is the concept of love, respect and trust; the relationships of young adults are portrayed in some advertisements with friendship and togetherness, having an active, healthy enjoyable life. These values have long been promoted by the government through the 'Rakan Muda' or 'Young Friend' campaign, especially to promote multi-ethnic harmonisation and to inculcate an anti drug culture, which has to confront, amongst other things, the dubious example set by Western performers'
admissions of drug use. At the same time the advertisements are seen to incorporate Western lifestyles - 'sense of freedom', mingling with the opposite sex (not encouraged by Islam), clothing etc. On clothing, the imagery promotes the idea that Western and traditional clothing can blend together and can be accepted as a norm.

In general, the notion of 'cultural representation' through globalisation in the advertisements did not show an obvious contradiction in terms of cultural values. Most of the cultural values used have been generally accepted as global norms. In other words, we can say that these cultural values are accepted by Malaysians, just as they are in the Western world. The contradiction lies in the use of these cultural values in the advertisement. The audiences could see no difference physically but could feel it subliminally. Generally, most of the concepts and themes in the advertisements adapt and portray Western lifestyles. Not through ideology or belief but merely in daily life, routine or activities. Most of the advertisements could be seen to symbolise Westernisation in culture. Modern lifestyles could be seen in most advertisements. As mentioned earlier, 'Westernised' or modern lifestyle in this context could be seen in terms of the domestic setting, portraying affluent and urban styles, clothing, diet, social activities and appearances.

2. Regulating and Producing - The findings clearly show that the regulations created either by the government or through the advertising code of practice by ASAM, are to protect the consumer against the influence of foreign culture. The government instituted this regulation because of the belief that not all of its citizens are prepared to fully accept all aspects of Western culture. In terms of imposing this ruling, the findings show that the states are still in control in regulating and enforcing government policy but in certain cases they are willing to 'bend the rules' in order to accommodate economic interests. In terms of advertisement production, the campaign is generally subject to the decision of the headquarters of TNAs and TNAAs.

The findings show that the government and ASAM generally regulate and self-regulate efficiently the policy enforced by the government and the code of ethics which outlines the behaviour. Advertising agencies, whether they are local or international, have to abide by the rules and regulations set by the regulators. Any
values in the advertisements that could bring negative impact on the societies in which they are disseminated would be rejected before production commenced.

During the process of analysis, some criticisms were discovered concerning how the regulations have been enforced. Claims made by the consumer association and the advertising agency concerned inconsistencies and double standards in making decisions. However, there was no clear evidence to support these claims. These allegations are generally made by the competitors who are unhappy about how the rules were applied. In certain cases, it was admitted by the government regulators that 'oversights' had occurred.

Regulations imposed by the Malaysian Government for certain products such as cigarettes have created a new product that carries a related name. For example, Salem, a cigarette brand name, has adopted Salem High Country, the name of a travel agent. We can see here that whatever rules are imposed by the regulators, the advertisers will try to come up with new ways, ever more creative, in circumventing the problem.

In producing the advertisements, most of the concepts for the global brands were adopted from the global theme that applied to all the countries in the world. For example, Colgate Total toothpaste advertisements in Malaysia use the same concept that is applied in the United States. However, some modifications were made in order to suit Malaysian culture and taste, such as the location and actors (which are required by the Malaysia regulator). Meanwhile, music and jingles used were similar but have to be composed and sung by locals to suit the 'Made-In-Malaysia' regulations. The lyrics might vary according to local needs.

The advertisements that do not use the global concept mostly concern cigarettes because there is no exact Western 'story board' that can be copied as most cigarette advertisements were banned in the West. However, the global theme of cigarettes such as Marlboro, which uses the same colour and focuses on ruggedness and masculinity, can be found in the TV advertisements produced for Malaysian audiences.
The findings also showed that global advertisements are usually used as a guide in creating the advertising campaign for the local product. Samples of foreign advertisements are occasionally used as references. As a result, evidence of Western values and cultures might be seen even in the local product advertisement.

Western influence could also exist because most of the top advertising personnel involved in creating the advertisements are foreigners. For example, most Creative Directors in most of the international advertising agencies are expatriates. However, there is evidence lately that more posts of Managing Director, Creative Director and Marketing Director are being given to qualified locals. Even when the personnel is local, most have studied Western techniques or were sent to the Western countries for training. The outcome of this is reminiscent of the idea promoted by Golding (1979) on the transfer of ideology.

Whatever the advertisement to be produced, whether for local or global products, it has to follow the guidelines and regulations imposed by the regulator. However, sometimes for certain products, the advertiser will find ways to circumvent them. Therefore, Western influence could be seen in most of the advertisements, both local and international, because the nature of the advertising itself is very Western. And the regulations imposed are actually only to control the Western influence that brings a negative effect to Malaysia society, whereas MIM (Made-In-Malaysia) is more to help local production houses. In short, there are several factors that influence the production of advertisements; the role of the state (regulation), transfer of ideology (adaptation from global theme campaign, staff training etc.), type of commodities (manipulation of banned products such as cigarettes) and the role of TNAs and TNAAs (final decision on the actual campaign).

3. **Impact on Social Life and Values** - The results from audience research show that the impact of globalisation, either through advertising or other types of media, has generally transformed Malaysian social life, especially in terms of daily life. Interestingly, the traditional values still remain intact and treasured, especially among the older generations. There are signs of change of traditional values in the younger generation, such as relationships with the opposite sex and with parents, which are becoming more open and more freely expressed.
Globalisation also results in the homogenisation of cultures. For example, in food consumption and clothing, the Malaysians have accepted McDonald's as part of their diet and the 'hot dog' is an accepted term for food. Previously, 'hot dog' had a close connotation with dog, which was not encouraged as a pet by Islam. People have also become more individualistic and materialistic. Families have become smaller compared to before as people start to think that small families live a better life. This is a complete change from the past when parents would love to have as many children as possible. Communication appears to be more open and expressive between parents and children. At the same time, people's thinking and attitudes are more 'liberal' in order to adapt to the present situation and so called 'modernisation'. They are also more aware of their human rights and have become more conscious of their surroundings; 'JUST' and 'ADIL' are examples of organisations created to fight for human rights, and demands by consumers to make it mandatory to list the content and calories in each food product.

The study found that advertising did play an important role in the changing pattern of Malaysian lifestyle. For example in clothing, the dress worn by the actors or the models in the advertisements will be followed by some in the audiences. As another example, Malaysian children tend to use similar toys and games to those of children in the West, playing with Action Man, Space Power Ranger and software FIFA 99, which militates towards sameness in children's activities.

However, not all respondents share and express the same idea. The findings show that there is variation in terms of acknowledging the impact on themselves and their families. The differences of idea were consistently related to their social backgrounds such as ethnic group, income, occupation and age, as demographic background played an important role in processing and interpreting the message disseminated through advertisements. For example, the Malays were more unanimously protective of their values and way of life, while other ethnic groups like the Indians and Chinese were divided in their opinions.

As far as Western influences are concerned, Malaysians are willing to accept changes
in the cultural values, as long they do not bring negative effects40 with them. Western products are still perceived as superior to local ones in terms of quality. They represent status and those who consume or use Western products are portrayed as rich. For example, people who drive Fords are perceived to have higher status than to those who own Protons. Therefore, advertising has made people more material driven and status conscious.

In summary, the findings show evidence that globalised Western product advertising has changed social life and values to some degree, society becoming more materialistic and opportunity seeking, and the pattern of consumption is influenced by the image projected by the products. There were some signs of homogenisation in culture and consumption, society becoming more dependent upon technology, liberalisation of thought and attitude, increase in human rights and environment consciousness, health and hygiene consciousness, more focused on independence and individualism. An important discovery is the willingness of the audience to accept change in their social life and values as long as it will benefit the society.

11.4 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

This thesis has taken a forward step in the study of the impact of globalisation through advertising on Malaysian society, a phenomenon never before experienced in the country. It is hoped that the findings here constitute a new research dimension in the domain of social science in Malaysia. This thesis may also provide a platform for studying globalisation, advertising and culture for those in a similar situation to Malaysia. The findings of this research will also give a general view to the Malaysian government for future policy, focusing especially on the role of state, economy, culture and advertising.

As this thesis has been a pioneering venture, the constraints and limitations are inevitable. Below are some of the limitations together with suggestions for further research:

40 Anything, which contravenes religious belief, is against racial harmony, or encourages an undesirable lifestyle - kissing in public, women's costumes not too revealing and suggestive etc. However, Malaysians are willing to accept cleanliness, healthy living, industrious attitudes, self
Chapter Eleven Conclusion

1. During the process of this research, the difficulties in obtaining relevant information on Malaysia were considerable. Some few articles exist, written by Western scholars, but in the form of overview rather than empirical research. Some information was retrieved from studies conducted on the Western countries and other peripheral nations. It is suggested that more research be conducted in this area, and that it be given priority in Malaysia especially since the country wants to prepare itself as an industrialised nation by the year 2020, a date set by the Malaysian government.

2. This research focused solely on television advertisements as the ‘tip of the iceberg’ (Newspapers were also examined, however, to provide a historical perspective and for background information). It is hoped, however, that it will constitute a stepping stone for other research in related areas, such as radio, magazines, outdoor media and the Internet.

3. The impact of globalisation on culture is not only produced by advertising. As noted, the dynamism of culture implies a complex, interwoven scenario. For a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon, areas such as TV programs, satellite TV, movie, books, tourism, education, internet need to be emphasised in the future.

4. This research employed essentially a Western perspective and ideology in understanding Malaysian culture, a posture adopted by most studies. As Malaysia is dominated by a Moslem population, in which the texture and pattern of society is dialectical and complicated, it is suggested that future research should employ an Islamic perspective, discourse and ‘syaria’ (law). This will create a balanced perspective, removing the feeling of suspicion prevalent among Moslems on issues such as ‘Western bias’ and ‘Western perspective’, which were consistently highlighted by the politicians, nationalists, media etc.
11.5 Concluding Remarks

Researching this phenomenon has not been an easy task and this thesis has employed a broad scope of areas of economy, state and advertising in understanding the impact of globalisation on Malaysian social life and values. However, the findings have been beneficial in identifying the changing pattern of social life and values in Malaysian society caused by the globalisation phenomenon. The findings have also shown consistency with ideas promoted by many 'globalisation' scholars and theoreticians, particularly with those of Giddens (multi-causal logic). The findings also shared the ideas partly promoted by Robertson (compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness), Wallerstein (global economy created a universal economic space), Rosenau (technology), Golding (unification of global culture and transfer of ideology), Hirst (role of state has weakened in governance, changing concept in sovereignty), and Sinclair (dependency society and ideological effect in order to secure market). At the same time this thesis rejects Ohmae’s idea on the end of the nation-state (nation-state is becoming fiction and government is becoming obsolete) since there is no evidence from Malaysia that the state is losing control of government or sovereignty.

Whatever the ideas, concepts and theories promoted by scholars are, culture itself has became a commodity, and it is only when the cultural context is considered that the influence of advertising can be fully appreciated. The study has shown that audiences interpret messages in terms of their own experience and values, but in Malaysia, advertisements have presented new cultural idealism to traditional cultures. The idea of Westernism has become a norm for people to live up to, which is legitimated and enforced by advertisements. The question here is what are the present consequences for and contributions to Malaysian plural society?

I have to admit that it is difficult to argue against the positive benefits of economic growth, but it is equally difficult to argue for the destruction of indigenous culture. And there is not doubt that advertising has contributed to the creation of a lifestyle, particularly among the young in Malaysia, heavily oriented towards Western culture. This emerging lifestyle is not just the creation of advertising agencies, but all the
culture industries including TV programs, movies, rock videos and music. The question that seems most relevant, then, is what is being lost and what is being gained? Without doubt, Western cultural influences through the mass media have affected the style of dress and address in Malaysia. Modes of communication have changed, but whether or not deep moral values have been eroded as the result of globalised advertising and mass media is difficult to assess.

Although styles of clothing and modes of address may have changed in the last few decades, the importance of family, religion and co-operation seems to have been maintained in Malaysia. The argument for falling morality due to globalised advertising may well be insignificant. There are good and bad Malaysian values just as there are good and bad Western values.

Today, as we are poised to enter the new millennium, there is undoubtedly a new structure of a high level of co-operation between nations as well as new forms of communication technology, which are creating a form of global integration that is unprecedented in world history. The new media such as cellular telephone, satellite and computer combine to provide for unprecedented interaction between sender and receiver. Marshall McLuhan's vision of a 'Global Village', may be coming to fruition through these new technologies, which create the possibility of convergence and a global integration that transcends national boundaries and individual cultures. Whereas, earlier forms of mass communication produced a genuinely fragmented set of human social conditions, we now appear to be moving in a world, 'in which humankind in some respects becomes a 'we', facing problems and opportunities where there are no 'others'' (Giddens 1991:27).

Finally, what role does advertising play in this vision? If capitalism has been the fuel for economic growth, then advertising has been the match that sparked the fire. As a form of public communication, advertising transcends nationality and ethnic origins. The reality is that advertisements for products such as McDonalds and Levi jeans have been creating 'communities of interest' across traditional boundaries, and have penetrated villages and towns where religious messages would never have been allowed. In other words, the discourse on advertising should not just be about products and services, but about lifestyle that is creating a worldwide culture.
Appendices
### Appendix 1

List of the Interviewed Advertising Practitioners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bates Worldwide, Malaysia</td>
<td>Managing Director</td>
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<td>Managing Director</td>
<td>British</td>
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<td>Senior Vice-President</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Programme Controller</td>
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<td>Programme Controller</td>
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<td>Head</td>
<td>Malaysian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOMCA</td>
<td>President</td>
<td>Malaysian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2
List of Questions for the In-Depth Interview

1. Questions for Advertising Agency
   a. Interviewee Background
      1. What is your designation in this company?
      2. How long have you been working here?
      3. Could you describe your responsibility within the organisation?

   b. Company Background
      1. How long has this company been in operation in Malaysia?
      2. What is the parent company of this agency?
      3. Where is it being located?
      4. Who are the shareholders?
      5. How many clients are currently under your flag?
      6. Who are your clients?
      7. How many are there from the US, the UK, Europe etc.?
      8. Are they pitched locally or by world wide decision?

   c. Philosophy and Theme
      1. Does your agency have any philosophy in running the business?
      2. What is the philosophy?
      3. Was it created locally or globally?

   d. Operation
      1. How is the agency being operated especially in making decisions? is it centralised or decentralised?
      2. Does your agency use regional structure in your operation? Where is it located?
      3. Who leads the Regional Headquarters?
      4. Who normally makes the decisions in your agency?
      5. How often do you make your (the agency) own decisions?
      6. How often do you have to report to your parent company?
      7. Are your existing foreign clients handled by the same agency world wide?
      8. Is there any expatriate in your agency?
      9. In which department are they located?
     10. Why in the creative department? What do you think of local talent?
**e. Globalisation and Culture**

1. Do you believe in or are you aware of the concept of product globalisation?
2. Do you use the same creative concept as is used globally? Why?
3. Do you make any changes in order to accommodate local taste?
4. What kind of changes? Could you please describe them?
5. What do you think of the influence of foreign culture? Could you differentiate and briefly explain? For example?
6. What do you think of local culture? Do you think it is marketable enough to be portrayed in the ads?
7. Do you think we need to be protective of local culture?
8. What do you think of the power of TV commercials? Do you believe in their strength?
9. How often do your TV commercials represent real life? Could you explain?
10. What do you think of westernisation of values? Does it exist?
11. What kind of theme (values) are mainly used in your TV Commercials? Why?
12. What is the favourite theme among Malaysian audiences?
13. What kind of USP (unique selling point) is mainly used? Can you give an example?
14. What kind of technique is mainly used in your ads? Why?
15. Do you think Malaysian audiences care about what they watch?
16. Do you think some of the elements in TV Commercials can be used as role models?

**f. Regulations and Restrictions**

1. What do you think of the role of the Ministry of Information in regulating TV Commercials?
2. Are they effective?
3. What do you think of their perception of foreign influence? Do you know what it is? And how about you?
4. Do they understand what they are doing? Are they consistent with their decision?
5. Do you have any problem in getting approval for your storyboard?
6. If yes, how often and what kind of problems?
7. Are there any changes? What kind of changes?
8. Is there any particular restriction that you consider absurd?
9. Are you aware of the existence of the Malaysian Code of Advertising Practice?
10. Do they effectively play their role as advertising watchdog?
11. Are you obliged to follow their advice?
2. Questions for the Advertiser

a. Interviewee Background
1. What is your designation in the company?
2. How long have you been working with them?
3. What is your main responsibility in the firm?

b. Company Background
1. How long has the company been in this country?
2. What kind of products do you manufacture or sell?
3. Who are the shareholders?
4. Who is the parent company?
5. Where is it located?

c. Company Strategy
1. What kind of marketing strategy do you adopt?
2. Is it decided by the international headquarters? Is it being practised globally?
3. Do you have other strategies beside the global one in order to accommodate local needs?
4. Is there any distinctive differential between global and local strategy?
5. What is your comment on 'Go Global by Being Local'?

d. Advertising
1. Do you advertise your product?
2. Do you believe in advertising? Do you believe advertising will improve sale?
3. How much money do you allocate for your advertising expenditure?
4. Do you use any formula in getting allocation for your advertising budget?
5. What percentage do you allocate based on your total sales?
6. Who decided your advertising appropriation, local or international headquarters?
7. What type of advertising vehicle do you normally use? Which is more cost efficient?
8. Where does most of your advertising budget go to? Above the line or below the line and why?
9. Do you apply integrated communication in your strategy?
e. Message
1. Do you standardise all your advertising messages world wide?
2. Who develops your advertising messages?
3. What kind of relationship do you have with your advertising agency?
4. Which is your advertising agency currently?
5. Who normally contributes to your advertising strategy? You or the Agency?
6. Do you believe in brand revolutionisation/transformation in order to meet local needs?
7. What do you think of culture clash between foreign and local culture in your advertising?
8. What is your reaction if there is a complaint about your advertising?
9. What kind of value do you want to portray in .............advertisement?
10. How do you normally define ‘suitability’ in your message?

3. Questions for the Media
   a. Interviewee Background
      1. What is your designation in this company?
      2. How long have you been working here?
      3. What is your main responsibility?
   b. Institution/Company Background
      1. How long has the TV station been in operation?
      2. Does the company have any specific objectives in running the station? What are they?
      3. How is the company supported financially?
      4. How much advertising revenue did the station receive last year and the first half of this year?
      5. How does it compare to the other TV Station?
      6. How many hours do you broadcast daily?
      6. What percentage of the advertisement segment do you allocate per hour?
      7. Do you have your own in-house censorboard?
      8. How is it normally regulated? Based on what? Is there any particular process?
      9. Do you give any specific guideline to the advertising agency in drawing out their storyboard?
     10. Have you recorded any complain about TV Advertisements that appeared on your station? Do you remember by whom?
c. Culture
1. Have you heard of western culture in TV Commercials? What do you understand about it?
2. Could you differentiate between western and local culture through your own perspective?

4. Question to the Ministry of Information
a. Interviewee Background
1. What is your designation?
2. What is your main responsibility?

b. Objective and Policy
1. Could you tell me the history of the Advertising Board?
2. What are the objectives of the Advertising Board?
3. What are the main objective for the set-up of the advertising board?
4. Could you explain the need for it?
5. Does the Ministry of Information have a specific policy on western culture?
6. What is your opinion on the influence of western culture through TV Advertisements? Does it exist?
7. Why is it so important for the government to restrict the influence?
   After all, you know it is difficult to curb such influence with TV programmes, satellite TV, Cable TV, internet etc.?
8. What kind of influence does the government allow and not reject?

5. Questions for the Consumer Association
a. Interviewee Background
1. What is your designation in the association?
2. How long have you been with association?

b. Association Background
1. When was the association established?
2. What are the objectives of the association?
3. What is your membership number today?
c. Culture

1. Have you heard of cultural imperialism?
2. Do you believe it?
3. What do you know about Cultural Values?
4. Have you heard of Western Culture? Could you give an example?
5. How about local culture? Could you identify?
6. What do you think of Western Cultural Values in TV Commercials?
7. Do you think we need to monitor the flow of western cultural influence in the country?
8. Why is it important?
9. Is it a threat? To whom?
10. What is the association going to do?
11. What do you think about the information flow through other channels such as internet, travellers, satellite TV etc.?
### Appendix 3

**List of the 50 Interviewed Households**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ethnic</th>
<th>Income M$ (000)</th>
<th>No. per. h/Hold</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Size of Group</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Profile of Group Audience Interviewed</th>
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<td>$48</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5-42</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Both are Lecturer; 2 children</td>
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<td>5-36</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>5-43</td>
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<td>Urban</td>
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<td>5-40</td>
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<td>7-44</td>
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<td>Clerk, Housewife; 3 children</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>10-48</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Self-Employ, Housewife, 2 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>$6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13-56</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Farmer, Housewife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>$30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24-28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>PRO, Air Stewardess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>$6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Self-Employ, Housewife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Monthly income in Malaysian ringgit (000)
Appendix 4
List of Questions for Audience Research

Preamble: Thank you Mr/Mrs........and family for allowing me to talk to all members of the family. For your information I am from Loughborough University, England, and currently conducting research on Advertising for my PhD.

Stage One: Understanding of Cultural Values
1. Do you feel the way of life is changing in Malaysia and, if so, in what way?
2. Could you expand on this?
3. What are your feelings about Malaysian culture?
4. Are you aware of a distinctly Western Culture?
5. Do you think there are any important differences between Western Culture and your own?
6. Do you accept Western Culture? If you do please explain?
7. What is your opinion of Western Culture?
8. Are there any values that are of particular importance for your family? Either that should be avoided or that are crucial?
9. Do you feel it is important to preserve your own culture?

Stage 2: Video Session
In this session all thirty TV Advertisements are shown to the members of the household. The duration of the screening is approximately will be last for 15 minutes. Immediately after the viewing the discussion will resume.

Stage 3: Defining the TV Commercial
1. Have you seen all these commercials before?
2. When and Where?
3. How do you find it? Which and Why? What is your opinion of it?. What is your opinion of the messages in the commercial?
5. Do you know what it is trying to sell?
6. What do you think of its relationship to Malaysian culture?

Stage 4: Influence
1. What do you think of the talents/models in the ads?
2. Could you identify their ethnic background?
3. What is your opinion of the portrayed lifestyles? How about their dress?

4. Do you want to be like them? Why?

5. What is your children’s response when they watch the commercial? Could you give an example?

6. Do they try to imitate the actor?

7. Do they always want to buy the product? Do you always bow to their demands?

8. What you think of the cultural values portrayal in the commercial?

9. Does it suit your lifestyle?

Stage 5: Product Understanding

1. What do you think of the product?

2. Do you know where it come from?

3. Did/Will you purchase the product?

4. If you did, then what is the quality of the product?

5. If this is a Malaysian product will you buy it? Why?

6. Are there any differences between local and Western products?

Interviewee’s Particulars

1. Name:

2. Age:

3. Sex:

4. Race:

5. Religion:

6. Income:

7. Household Income:

8. Occupation:

9. Number of Children:

10. Children’s Gender and Ages:
Appendix 5

Coding Schedule for TV Advertisements
July 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coding Variables</th>
<th>Columns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Case Number</td>
<td>1-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Date</td>
<td>5-6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given that the sampling period is from 1st July -31st July 1996, only two columns are needed to indicate the date. For example "15" is to indicate that the sample was collected from the 15th July 1996. For this exercise only 15 out of 31 days of samples will be used. The selection is based on even or odd numbers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. TV Station</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. TV1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. TV2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. TV3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4. Appearance</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Yes . If yes, please name the product brand (and the possible title) and not Applicable&quot; for all sections begin from number 8 (&quot;Not Applicable&quot; refers to all commercials that have reappeared).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. No. If no, proceed as usual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This variable is to help in preventing the same advertisement being analysed again.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5. Product Categories</th>
<th>9 - 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01. Cigarettes Related Company</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Such as Salem Celebration, B&amp;H Accessories, Camel Cigarettes and Camel Adventure Clothing etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> Malaysian Information Ministry does not permit advertiser to advertise cigarettes in the television but it allows the advertiser to use the similar brand name for other products such as apparels, jewellery, restaurant, travel agency etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02. Banks/Credit Card</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Such as Mayban, Citi Bank etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03. Fast-food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(MacDonald’s, Kenny Rogers, Kentucky Fried Chicken etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04. Foods related</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Such as Heinz, Campbell, Kellogg etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05. Department Stores/Retail Outlets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mark &amp; Spencer, Makro, Sogo etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06. Apparels/Jeans/Shoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Such as Hugo Boss, Versace, Levis, Cable &amp; Co.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07. Sport Equipment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Such as Adidas, Nike, Reebok etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08. Telephones/Pagers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Such as Telekom Malaysia, Celcom, Hutchinson Pager etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09. Petroleum related</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


10. Automobiles/Motorcycles/Accessories  
   (Such as Proton, Toyota etc.)

11. Household Products  
   (Such as Colgate Palmolive, Lever Brothers etc.)

12. Home Electrical/Electronic Appliances  
   (Such as Sony, Panasonic, Whirlpool etc.)

13. Softdrinks  
   (Such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Fanta etc.)

14. Cosmetics/Toiletries  
   (Such as Lancome, Estee Lauder, Cover Girl etc.)

15. Personal Computers/Games  
   (Such as Compaq, IBM, Atari, Sega etc.)

16. Toys  
   (Toy R Us, Little Tikes etc.)

17. Holidays

18. Agriculture related

19. Publication

20. Property

21. Education

22. Airline

23. Mail/Couriers

24. Government Bodies (for e.g. Min. of Health, Transport etc.)

98. Others

99. Not Applicable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brand/Name of Product</th>
<th>11 - 13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001. Adabi Curry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>002. AIA Insurance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>003. Anak anak Sidek - Comic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>004. Apollo Chocolate</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>005. Apollo Snack</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>006. Avocado Eversoft</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>007. Audi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>008. Appeton Vitamin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>009. Analene Milk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>010. ASB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>011. ASB-Old Folk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>012. Avon - Lipstick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>013. A&amp;W - Coney Dog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>014. Ayam Brand Sardine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>015. Axion - Colgate Palmolive (Malay Family)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>016. Axion - Colgate Palmolive (Chinese Family)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>017. Avon - Gymnastic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>018. Basta 15 Weedkiller - Hoechst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>019. Baygon Aerosol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>020. Benson &amp; Hedges - Live</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>021. Benson &amp; Hedges - Bistro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>022. Brand Essence Junior</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>023. Brand Essence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>024. BP - Petrol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
025. Breeze Color - Fashion Designer
026. Breeze Color - Lever Bros. (Chinese)
027. Bukit Merah Property
028. Buppolo Wok
029. Cap Bendera Condensed Milk
030. Carrier Viking Air Conditioner
031. Celcom - GSM
032. Caltex - Petrol Station
033. Champs Vitamin
034. Cheesdale
035. Cheesdale - Arab
036. Citibank - MasterCard
037. Chipsmore Chocolate Chip
038. Cocorex - Good Maid
039. Court Mammoth - Fauziah Latif
040. Court Mammoth - Family
041. Darlie Toothpaste - Chinese
042. Darlie Toothpaste - Azah
043. DCB Bank - Mega
044. Debeer Diamond
045. Didi Snack
046. Dumex - 1 Plus
047. Dumex
048. Dunhill - Briefcase
049. Dunhill - London
050. Dunhill - Watches
051. Dunhill - New York
052. Dunhill - Safari
053. Dutch Lady - 123
054. Dutch Lady Choc. Drink
055. Dutch Lady Milk - Memory
056. Dynamo - Colgate Palmolive
057. Electrolux - Washing Machine
058. Enchanteur Perfume
059. EPF
060. Eveready Milk
061. Fab Total Colgate - Yusni
062. Fab Total Colgate - Yusni (Spin-off)
063. Fab Total Colgate - Fat Lady
064. Fab Total Colgate - Fat Lady (Spin-off)
065. Fab Total Bar
066. Fab Total - Housewife
067. Fajar Department Store
068. Ferncare Milk
069. Fernleaf Milk
070. Fernleaf Milk - Chinese
071. Foremost Milk
072. Federal Express
073. Friskies
074. Genting Theme Park
075. Glade
076. Gillette Nacet
077. Hack
078. Hazeline Snow - Tube
079. Hitachi - Zainal
080. Honda Civic V-Tec
081. Hongkong Bank - Mum and Daughter
082. Hoya Lenses
083. Horas Toy
084. Harpic
085. Helang Cooking Utensils
086. HiCal Milk Dumex
087. HL Milk
088. Jacob Oatmeal
089. Jacob Biscuit
090. Jeans Rider
091. Johnson & Johnson Baby Bath
092. Johnson & Johnson Baby Cologne
093. Johnson & Johnson Talcum Powder
094. Johnson & Johnson (Umbrella concept - all product)
095. Jental Milk
096. Kelapa Laut Africa - Coughdrop
097. Kamdar
098. KFC - Kid Fun Meal
099. KFC - Chicken Wing
100. Kellogg Cornflakes
101. Kellogg Frosted Flakes
102. KL Mutual Trust Fund
103. Knorr Chicken Cube
104. Kraft - Single
105. KTM
106. Lea & Perrins
107. Lipton Tea
108. Listerine
109. Livita
110. L'Oreal - Plenitude
111. L'Oreal - Lipstick
112. Lux Liquid Soap - Lever Bros.
113. Milo Nestle - Swimmer
114. Milo Soccer
115. Maybelline Cosmetic
116. Maggi Noodle - Nestle
117. Maggi Oyster Sauce - Nestle
118. Malta - Guinness
119. Master Card - MBF
120. Marlboro - Mountain
121. Marlboro - Motorcycle
122. Marigold Peel Fresh - Orange Juice
123. Marigold Evaporated Milk
124. Marigold
125. Mayban Home Loan
126. Mayban Trade Finance Centre
127. Maxis - Roaming
128. Max Kleen
129. Mobifon 800
130. Mopiko Cartoon
131. Digi 1800 - Mutiara Telecom Corporate
132. Digi 1800 - Mobile Phone
133. McDonald - Glasses
134. Nature Way Vitamin
135. NEC Multi Media
136. Nestum Cereal
137. Nestle Honey Star Cereal
138. New World Hotel
139. Nespray - Math
140. Nespray - Organ
141. Nissan Sentra
142. Nissan Ad Resort
143. Nivea Visage
144. Nyum-Nyum Chocolate
145. Ocean Department Store
146. OAC Insurance
147. Olive Beauty Care
148. Oral B
149. Organic Shampoo
150. Pantene Shampoo
151. Pamper Ultra Dry
152. Parkson Grand Sale
153. Peter Stuyvescent - Breakaway Travel (Western)
154. Peter Stuyvescent - KL
155. Pesta Flora
156. Perilly's - Takraw
157. Pizza Hut - 3 Chef
158. Power Rangers Toy - Bandai
159. Prime College
160. Quaker Oat - Family
161. Rejoice Shampoo
162. Ribena
163. Ridsect
164. Romano Parfum
165. Rota Crisp
166. Salem - Everest
167. Salem - Holiday
168. Samsung Refrigerator
169. Samsung Bio TV
170. Scottex Tissue
171. Sega - Boy
172. Sega - Man
173. Sega - Family
174. Sea Breeze
175. Seven Eleven - Park
176. Seven Eleven - Escalator
177. Shell Corporate
178. Sifone Shampoo
179. Snow Jelly Drink
180. Sony Laser Player
181. Sony Super Trinitron
182. Spark Weed Killer
183. Spritzer Mineral Water
184. Stanz Shoes
185. Suzuki GSX
186. Sustagen
187. Tetra Pak
188. Toshiba Air Conditioner
189. Tudor Watch
190. Vico - Champion
191. Vico - The Tarik
192. Vick Vaporub
193. Vick Sweet
194. Volvo
195. Wall - Viennetta
196. Wall Cornetto
197. Wells - Man
198. Winn - Detergent
199. Whiskas
200. Wrigley Fruit - Gum
201. Wrigley Chewing Gum
202. Vyksim
203. Yeo's - Martial Art
204. Yellow Pages (Multi Roles)
205. Yellow Pages (Plumbing)
206. Yoahan - Sale
207. Zwitsal
208. Zaitun - Soap
209. Zaitun Talcum
210. Zaitun Detergent
211. Zaitun Soap - Lady
212. Zaitun Tooth Paste
213. Zaitun Hair Gel
214. A&W - Burger
215. Johnson & Johnson - Honey Shampoo
216. Horlicks
217. Milkmaid Nestle - Group of biker
218. Apple New Zealand
219. DHL
220. Bata - Sale
221. Thailand - Anniversary
222. Masplo - TV Aerial
223. Nestle Evaporated Milk
224. Didi Toys
225. Westar Watch

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226. Scotch Brite 3M
227. Prudential
228. Nespray Junior
229. Mild Seven
230. Lestari Group Music
231. Intel Pentium
232. Cathay Pacific
233. ASB - Wedding
234. Nestum - Baby
235. Mobifon 800
236. Orchard Square
237. Staedtler
238. Sharp HiFi
239. Shelltox Arrow
240. Nestlac
241. Johnson & Johnson Shampoo - 2 Girls
242. Dreamland
243. Anakku
244. Smarties - Nestle
245. ASB
246. Mayban - Yippie Account
247. Fernleaf - Ibu
248. Bosch - Burglar
249. Shell Sport 2TX
250. Fisherman Friend
251. Aqua Fresh Tooth Brush
252. Reebok
253. Dashing
254. Wringly - Bus Stop
255. Hong Kong Bank - Father and Son
256. Enfagrow Mead Johnson
257. Salem Konsert - Slam
258. Vick Sweet - Girls
259. Bistari Chicken Essence
260. Nestle Trix Cereal
261. Panadol
262. Canon Calculator
263. Protex Soap
264. Eyemo
265. Follow Me
266. Oil of Ulan
267. Asia Pacific Airlines
268. Sprite - Conflict of Identity
269. KLIM
270. Dax Trax Choc
271. Daihatsu Ascend
272. MAA Insurance
273. Vick Sweet - Boy
274. Maggi Chicken Cube
275. Calcimex - Dutch Lady
276. Debeer - Woman
277. Sugus
278. Court - Sales
279. F & N Condensed Milk
280. Tang Ling
281. Seiko Kinetic
282. Sime Axa Insurance
283. Sensodyne Tooth Paste
284. Dunhill - Paris
285. N-Hance - Unza
286. Shelltox Blue
287. Mentos
288. Gut-Buster - Exercise Gear
289. Panasonic Gaoo TV
290. KFC
291. Johnson & Johnson Baby Oil
292. 100 Plus

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293. Coffee Mate
294. Power Vantage Hong Kong Bank
295. Habib Jewel
296. Protex Face Cleanser
297 Gudang Garam
298 Great Eastern
300 Adabi Curry
301 Yeo's Soya
302 Pesta Flora KL
303 Cap Ayam
304 Bata Sekolah
305 Brahim Biryani
306 Pureen
307 Twisties
888. Others

7. Product Origin

1. United States
2. United Kingdom
3. Europe (Europe refer as the main continent except UK).
4. Japan
5. Malaysia
8. Others
(Such as Australia, New Zealand, Taiwan, Korea etc.)
9. Not Applicable

8. Actor and Role (To identify the main actor)

Gender

1. Male
2. Female
8. Others (include animals, animated figures, robots, aliens etc.)
9. Not Applicable
0. No Actor

Roles Categorisation

Age Group

1. Infant (1 month to 12 month)
2. Child (1 year to 10 years)
3. Teenager (11 to 17 years)
4. Adult (18 to 60 years) Note: Categorisation based on voting eligibility
5. Senior Citizen (61 and above)
9. Not applicable
0. None

Relationship

01. Son
02. Daughter
03. Father/Husband
04. Mother/Wife
05. Uncle
06. Aunt
07. Grandfather
08. Grandmother
09. Boyfriend
10. Girlfriend
11. Friend
99. Not applicable
00. None (No actor involved or cannot be identified or classified).
### Occupation and Roles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation/Role</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01. Actor/Actress</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02. Air Steward</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03. Air Stewardess</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04. Banker/Businessman</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>05. Broadcaster/Newscaster</td>
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<tr>
<td>06. Climber</td>
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<tr>
<td>07. Cyclist</td>
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<tr>
<td>08. Designer</td>
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<tr>
<td>09. Diver/Scuba Diver/Swimmer</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Doctor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Driver/Motorcyclist</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Engineer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Factory Worker/Casual worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Farmer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Fisherman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Housewife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Labourer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Lawyer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>19. Martial Artist</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20. Magician</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>21. Model</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22. Nurse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Orator/Debater</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Office Worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Petrol Attendant</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>26. Pilot</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>27. Politician</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>28. Salesman</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>29. Secretary</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>30. Shopkeeper</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>31. Singer/Musician</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Sportsman/Woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Student</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Teacher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Yuppie (Young Urban Professional- Note: Fashion Conscious, Expensive Taste, High Life Style)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98. Others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99. Not Applicable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00. None (No actor involved or cannot be identified or classified)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above roles based on the possibilities of the most frequent roles appearing in TV Advertisements.

### Scene/Setting/Technique

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene/Setting/Technique</th>
<th>21 - 25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### 9.1 Background During Filming

1. Western
2. Local
3. Mixed (Multi locations consist of Western and local scene)
4. Others (For example like the Great Wall, Pyramids etc.).
5. Not Applicable

#### 9.2 Technique

1. Real life
2. Animation (Cartoon, Character made from clay etc.).
3. Computer Graphic/SFX/Still Picture
4. Not Applicable

#### 9.3 Time Setting

1. Past
2. Present
3. Future
4. Mixed
9. Not Applicable

9.4 Location 24-25

01. Airport
02. Bank
03. Community Hall
04. City
05. Estates/Farms
06. In the air - e.g. Sky Diving
07. Hospital
08. Home
09. In the car
10. In public transportation - e.g. Buses, Train
11. Space
12. Mountain
13. Office
14. Park
15. Restaurant
16. School
17. Seaside
18. Seas
19. Shopping Complex/Shop
20. Studio
21. University
22. Village
23. Wedding
24. Desert
25. Sport Complex/Gym
26. Multi Location
27. Street
28. Kindergarten
29. Children Playing Ground
30. Golf Course
31. Theatre/Concert Hall/Cinema
32. Petrol Station
33. Safari/Jungle
34. Hotel
98. Others
99. Not Applicable
00. None

10. Dressing/Costumes 26

(The main subject or actor/actress)

10.1 Influence 26

1. Western
2. Local
3. Mixed (Western and Local)
8. Others (Like Clothing in the Future, Red Indian etc.)
9. Not Applicable
0. None (No actor/No Clothing/Not shown)

10.2 Type of Dressing 27-28

01. Three piece suit - Categorised as western
02. Tuxedo - Categorised as western
03. Two piece suit - Categorised as western
04. Shirt/pant/Tie -
05. Native Costume - Iban, Kadazan etc.
06. Baju Melayu - National Costume
07. Swimming wear - categorised as western (Muslim women not supposed to expose of their bodies).
08. Dress - for e.g. Skirts, Blouse - categorised as western
09. Leotards/Leggy - categorised as western
10. Cheong Sam (Chinese)
11. Sarees (Indian)
12. Baju Kurung/Kebaya - main dress for Malay women - categorised as local
13. Futuristic
14. Sport Attire
15. Jeans/T-Shirt
16. Shorts/Pants/T-Shirts
98. Others
99. Not Applicable
00. No dress or costume involved

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>11. Eating habits</th>
<th>29</th>
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<tr>
<td>11.1 Method</td>
<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Using spoon, knife and fork</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Using hands (for example using hand to eat rice)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Using Chopsticks</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Using fingers (for example crisp, Kentucky chicken)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Not Applicable</td>
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<tr>
<td>0. None</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>12. Music/Jingle</th>
<th>30 - 32</th>
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<td>12.1 Influence</td>
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<td>1. Western</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Malay (local)</td>
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<td>3. Mixed</td>
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<td>4. Chinese (local)</td>
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<td>5. Indian (local)</td>
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<td>6. Not Applicable</td>
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<tr>
<td>0. None (No music involved)</td>
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<td>01. Classical</td>
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<td>02. Country</td>
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<td>03. Jazz</td>
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<td>04. Pop</td>
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<td>05. Rap</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>06. Reggae/Salsa</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>07. Rock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08. Opera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09. Soul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Traditional/Folk Music</td>
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<tr>
<td>99. Not Applicable</td>
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<td>00. None</td>
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<th>13. Theme and Value</th>
<th>33 - 34</th>
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<td>01. Adventure</td>
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<tr>
<td>02. Beauty</td>
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<td>03. Collectivism</td>
<td></td>
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<td>04. Competition</td>
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<tr>
<td>05. Convenience</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>06. Courtesy</td>
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<tr>
<td>07. Economy</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>08. Effectiveness</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>09. Enjoyment</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Health</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Individualism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Leisure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Magic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Modernity</td>
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</table>
16. Natural
17. Neatness
18. Nurturance
19. Patriotism
20. Popularity
21. Quality
22. Respect for the elderly
23. Safety
24. Love
25. Social Status
26. Technology
27. Tradition
28. Uniqueness
29. Wealth
30. Wisdom
31. Work
32. Youth
98. Others
99. Not Applicable
98. Other
# Appendix 6
## Lists of Malaysian TNAAs’ Clients

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agencies</th>
<th>Clients</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. BDDP INTL (Batey Ads)</td>
<td>o Ericsson</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o ITT Sheraton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Mars (Regional Pan-Asian Projects)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Singapore Airlines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Sony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Tag Heuer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Source: Batey Ads, 1996)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. D’Arcy Masius Benton &amp; Bowles</td>
<td>o Bristol-Myers Squibb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Hyatt International</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Mars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Maybelline Cosmetics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Philips NV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Procter &amp; Gamble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Source: D’Arcy MB&amp;B, 1996)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Euro RSCG</td>
<td>o Canon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Compaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Intel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o MCI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Philips NV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Prudential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Puma (Source: Euro RSCG, 1996)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Lintas Worldwide</td>
<td>o Audi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Electrolux</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o ICI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Johnson &amp; Johnson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Quaker Oats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o R.J. Reynolds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Sara Lee/Hanes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Unilever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Wander (Source: Lintas Worldwide, 1996)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. McCann-Erickson Worldwide</td>
<td>o Braun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Buitoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Cathay Pacific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Cereal Partners Worldwide</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Coca-Cola</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Exxon/Essao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o General Motors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Gillette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Wm. Grant &amp; Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Johnson &amp; Johnson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Levi Strauss</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o London Intl. Grp. Durex</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o L’Oreal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Mattel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Nestle</td>
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<td></td>
<td>o Parker Pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o RJR Nabisco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o RJR Tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Scott Paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
<td>Companies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
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</table>
| 6. BBDO Worldwide            | o Timex  
                          | o Unilever  
                          | o UPS  
                          | o Wash. State Apple Comm.  
                          | o Waterman Pens (Source: McCann Erickson, 1996) |
| 7. Bozell Worldwide          | o CPC International   
                          | o Federal Express   
                          | o Oral-B   
                          | o Sara Lee   
                          | o Tambrands   
                          | o Visa International   
                          | o Wella (Source: BBDO Worldwide, 1996) |
| 8. Bates Worldwide           | o Chrysler   
                          | o Patek Philippe   
                          | o Samsung   
                          | o Scott Paper   
                          | o Singer   
                          | o Unisys   
                          | o Valvoline (Source: Bozell Worldwide, 1996) |
| 9. Leo Burnett Co.           | o Air New Zealand   
                          | o Ansett   
                          | o B.A.T   
                          | o Coca Cola F&N   
                          | o DHL   
                          | o Eveready Batteries   
                          | o Goodman Fielder   
                          | o Heineken   
                          | o Hongkong Bank   
                          | o Hong Kong Tourism (Source: Bates, 1996) |
| 10. Grey Advertising         | o Coca-Cola   
                          | o Goodyear   
                          | o McDonald’s   
                          | o Philip Morris Cos.   
                          | o Procter & Gamble   
                          | o Reebok   
                          | o Regent-Four Seasons Hotel   
                          | o Standard Chartered Bank   
                          | o United Biscuits/Keebler   
                          | o United Distillers (Source: Leo Burnett, 1996) |
| 11. DDB Needham Worldwide    | o B.A.T   
                          | o Digital   
                          | o IOC   
                          | o Procter & Gamble   
                          | o Quaker Oats   
                          | o Sara Lee   
                          | o SmithKline Beecham   
                          | o Wm. Wrigley Jr. (Source: Grey Advertising, 1996) |

375
12. J.W. Thompson
- Australian Tourist Commission
- Citicorp
- DeBeers
- Eastman Kodak
- S. C. Johnson & Son
- Kellogg
- Kraft Foods
- McDonnell Douglas Corp.
- Motorola
- Nestle
- Roche Holding
- Scott Paper Co.
- TNT Express Worldwide
- Unilever
- Warner-Lambert (Source: JW Thompson, 1996)

13. Dentsu, Young & Rubicam
- AT&T
- Bausch & Lomb/Ray Ban
- Camus
- Clorox
- Colgate-Palmolive
- Cross Pen
- Du Pont
- Holiday Inn
- Kraft Foods
- Lufthansa
- Novell
- Robert Bosch
- Royal Dutch/Shell Group
- Shell
- Sony

14. Ogilvy & Mather Worldwide
- American Express
- BMW
- Boeing
- Bristol-Myers Squibb
- Duracell
- Guinness
- IBM
- Korean Air
- Kraft Foods
- Nestle
- NutraSweet
- PepsiCo
- Reckitt & Colman
- Seagram
- Shell
- SmithKline Beecham
- Unilever
- World Wildlife Fund (Source: Ogilvy & Mather, 1996)

15. Saatchi & Saatchi Advertising WW
- Cadbury Schweppes
- Dupont
- Gesparal
- Guess Inc.
- Hewlett-Packard
- Hilton International

(Source: DDB Needham, 1996)
(Source: JW Thompson, 1996)
(Source: Ogilvy & Mather, 1996)
16. FCB Publicis
   - Procter & Gamble
   - Samsung
   - Whirlpool (Source: Saatchi & Saatchi, 1996)

17. Dentsu Inc.
   - S.C. Johnson
   - Panasonic (Source: FCB Publicis, 1996)
   - Canon
   - Kao
   - Sony
   - Toyota (Source: DY&R, 1996)

18. Hakahudo
   - Ajinomoto
   - Isetan
   - Kao
   - Konica
   - Nec (Source: Hakahudo, 1996)
## Appendix 7

### Table A1

**Origin According to Product Category**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Malaysian</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cigarettes Related</td>
<td>16 (94.1%)</td>
<td>1 (5.9%)</td>
<td>17 (5.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks</td>
<td>8 (38.1%)</td>
<td>11 (52.4%)</td>
<td>2 (9.5%)</td>
<td>21 (6.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast-food</td>
<td>7 (100%)</td>
<td>7 (100%)</td>
<td>4 (6.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foods</td>
<td>58 (64.4%)</td>
<td>13 (14.4%)</td>
<td>19 (21.1%)</td>
<td>90 (29.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department Store</td>
<td>6 (42.9%)</td>
<td>7 (50%)</td>
<td>1 (7.1%)</td>
<td>14 (4.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apparels</td>
<td>3 (27.3%)</td>
<td>3 (27.3%)</td>
<td>5 (45.5%)</td>
<td>11 (3.6%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>1 (50%)</td>
<td>1 (50%)</td>
<td>2 (7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telecommunication</td>
<td>7 (100%)</td>
<td>7 (100%)</td>
<td>7 (2.3%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Petroleum</td>
<td>4 (100%)</td>
<td>5 (62.5%)</td>
<td>8 (2.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobiles</td>
<td>3 (37.5%)</td>
<td>5 (62.5%)</td>
<td>8 (2.6%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household</td>
<td>42 (67.7%)</td>
<td>9 (14.5%)</td>
<td>11 (17.7%)</td>
<td>62 (20.2%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Electrical</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
<td>9 (75%)</td>
<td>12 (3.9%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Softdrinks</td>
<td>5 (83.3%)</td>
<td>9 (75%)</td>
<td>6 (2%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cosmetics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Computers</td>
<td>1 (20%)</td>
<td>4 (80%)</td>
<td>5 (1.6%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Toys</td>
<td>1 (33.3%)</td>
<td>2 (66.7%)</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holidays</td>
<td>3 (75%)</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
<td>4 (1.3%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
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<td>1 (3%)</td>
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<td>1 (3%)</td>
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<td>Couriers</td>
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<td>Government</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
<td>3 (75%)</td>
<td>4 (1.3%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>177 (57.7%)</td>
<td>66 (21.5%)</td>
<td>64 (20.8%)</td>
<td>307 (100%)</td>
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Note: $x^2 (df=48, N=307) = 166.5, p<.0001$
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<th>Female</th>
<th>No Actor</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cigarettes Related</td>
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<td>3 (17.6%)</td>
<td>3 (17.6%)</td>
<td>17 (5.5%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks</td>
<td>17 (81%)</td>
<td>4 (19%)</td>
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<td>31 (6.8%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fast-food</td>
<td>6 (85.7%)</td>
<td>1 (14.3%)</td>
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<td>7 (2.3%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foods</td>
<td>47 (52.2%)</td>
<td>29 (32.9%)</td>
<td>12 (13.3%)</td>
<td>90 (29.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department Store</td>
<td>6 (42.9%)</td>
<td>2 (14.3%)</td>
<td>6 (42.9%)</td>
<td>14 (4.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apparels</td>
<td>6 (54.5%)</td>
<td>2 (18.2%)</td>
<td>3 (27.3%)</td>
<td>11 (3.6%)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>1 (50%)</td>
<td>1 (50%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telecommunication</td>
<td>4 (57.1%)</td>
<td>1 (14.3%)</td>
<td>2 (28.6%)</td>
<td>7 (2.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petroleum</td>
<td>4 (100%)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4 (1.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobiles</td>
<td>8 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8 (2.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household</td>
<td>16 (25.8%)</td>
<td>36 (58.1%)</td>
<td>7 (11.3%)</td>
<td>62 (20.2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical</td>
<td>2 (16.7%)</td>
<td>4 (33.3%)</td>
<td>5 (41.7%)</td>
<td>12 (3.9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Softdrinks</td>
<td>6 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 (2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmetics</td>
<td>4 (21.1%)</td>
<td>14 (73.7%)</td>
<td>1 (5.3%)</td>
<td>19 (6.2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computers</td>
<td>3 (60%)</td>
<td>1 (20%)</td>
<td>1 (5.3%)</td>
<td>5 (1.6%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toys</td>
<td>2 (66.7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holidays</td>
<td>2 (50%)</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
<td>4 (1.3%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
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<td>2 (7%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication</td>
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<td>1 (33.3%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
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Note: $x^2$ (df=72, N=307)=117.4, p<0.0005
Table A3
Age Representation by Product Category

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Note: $x^2$ (df=72, N=307)=117.4, p<.0005
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<th>Aunt</th>
<th>Grandmother</th>
<th>Boyfriend</th>
<th>Girlfriend</th>
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<th>Office Mate</th>
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Note: $\chi^2 (df=240, N=307)=310.25$ p<.001
### Table A5
Character Activity Representation by Product Category

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<th>Banker/Businessman</th>
<th>Broadcaster</th>
<th>Designer</th>
<th>Doctor</th>
<th>Motorist</th>
<th>Engineer</th>
<th>Factory/ Casual</th>
<th>Farmer</th>
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<td>16 (25.8%)</td>
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Note: χ²(df=576, N=307) = 1080.53 < 0.001. The other 126 samples were coded as none and unidentified/cannot code.
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Note: χ² (df=96, N=307)=168.7; p<.0001
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Note: $X^2$ (df=624, N=266)=1326.7, p<0.0001. The others samples were "others", unidentified and none.
### Table A8
Filming Technique by Product Category

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Note: $x^2$ (df=48, N=307)=67.04, p<.03597.
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Note: \( x^2 \) (df=48, N=307)=90.81, p<0.00019.
### Table A10
Music by Product Category

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Note: $x^2$ (df=600, N=307)=1685.18, p<.0001
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Note: All percentage (bold) in one decimal point.
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