

GLOBALIZATION AND ANTI-AMERICANISM:
A STUDY OF SINGAPOREAN
COLLEGE STUDENTS

By

MATTHEW DEAN HAMILTON

Bachelor of Arts
Oklahoma City University
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
1991

Master of Business Administration
University of Missouri-Columbia
Columbia, Missouri
1993

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Dissertation Approved:

Dr. Adrienne Hyle

Committee Chair

Dr. Jami Fullerton

Dissertation Adviser

Dr. James Halligan

Dr. Tom Weir

Dr. A. Gordon Emslie

Dean of the Graduate College

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 1964, media visionary Marshall McLuhan wrote that human beings were increasingly becoming part of a “global village”. He predicted that media technologies would bring people closer together, creating a true global society for the first time. McLuhan believed citizens in this society would use mass media as a vehicle to share ideas with one another and achieve common social goals. He also warned that this phenomenon could lead to a homogenizing effect on culture, with media messages, including advertisements, creating a world of cloned consumers instead of diverse citizens (McLuhan, 1964). McLuhan’s global village concept has gained validity with the growth of the Internet and e-commerce in the last two decades. Mass communications researchers have used McLuhan’s vision to support their studies on media globalization, the development of new media technologies and the impact of marketing communications (Stevenson, 1994; Hachten, 1999).

However, globalization may not be as positive as McLuhan suggested. Some academicians, politicians, journalists and advertising professionals have criticized globalization because of its domination by U.S. interests (Walker, 1996; Grimm, 2003; Love, 2003). They point to globally distributed U.S. news, entertainment and advertising as examples of U.S. influence. Even U.S. government sponsored communication in other countries (i.e. public diplomacy) has been criticized as a form of cultural imperialism

(Powers, 2001; Rubin, 2002; Temporal, 2004). Mass media scholar Melvin DeFleur (2003) explained that globalization has created “a culture of hate” toward America and Americans, primarily in Muslim nations.

Anti-Americanism is a growing problem for the United States. Recent events like the September 11th attacks and the terrorist bombings in Indonesia have caused people, including President George W. Bush, to ask the question, “Why do they hate us?” (Bush, 2001). Organizations like the Pew Research Center have conducted global surveys that show dramatic decreases in favorability ratings towards the United States in the past two years. Many of the world’s Muslims now believe the United States is threatening their culture and religion (Norris & Inglehart, 2002; Pew, 2003; Telhami, 2003; Pew, 2004). This growing negativity toward America has spread from the Middle East to Southeast Asia and Europe and has impacted the U.S. government in its fight against terrorism as well as U.S. based multinational marketers seeking to sell their products overseas.

Research Problem

Several factors have been blamed for the rise in anti-Americanism, including U.S. foreign policy, the invasion of Iraq, and the rise of the United States as the sole superpower following the fall of the Soviet Union (Rubin, 2002; Telhami, 2002; Nye, 2004; Temporal, 2004); however, U.S. domination of global media messages has also been questioned (DeFleur, 2003). This study seeks to investigate the role of U.S. dominated global media messages in anti-Americanism by measuring attitudes among international college students toward America and Americans. Specifically, to what degree do students around the world develop their attitudes about America and Americans based on three types of mass mediated inputs: U.S. entertainment (i.e. movies,

TV programs, music), U.S. multinational marketing (i.e. brands/advertising) and U.S. government sponsored communication (i.e. public diplomacy)? These inputs are measured separately to understand their individual impact on anti-Americanism, as well how they interact together to form attitudes toward America and Americans. Other factors that may contribute to the formation of student attitudes toward America and Americans, such as personal characteristics (i.e. gender, age, religion, ethnicity) and visits to the United States, are also measured and analyzed in this study.

Figure 1 illustrates the thrust of this study. International young people have multiple channels of influence that may impact their attitudes toward America and Americans. In an effort to better understand globalization of mass communications, this study focuses only on the U.S. dominated media messages that are consumed by young people worldwide and personal characteristics (in red) and does not examine the non-media messages and domestic communications (in black). While the impact of non-media messages (such as family, friendships and previous education), domestic communication campaigns (including government propaganda, advertising and entertainment) and news coverage may influence attitudes toward America and Americans, examination of these inputs is beyond the scope of this study.

Methodology

To address the research problem, 328 Singaporean college students completed a questionnaire in March 2004, which measured their attitude toward America and Americans, attitude toward advertising and American brands, levels of U.S. media usage and reactions to a recent U.S. government public diplomacy campaign. This study employs mixed methodology, including survey, experimental design and qualitative

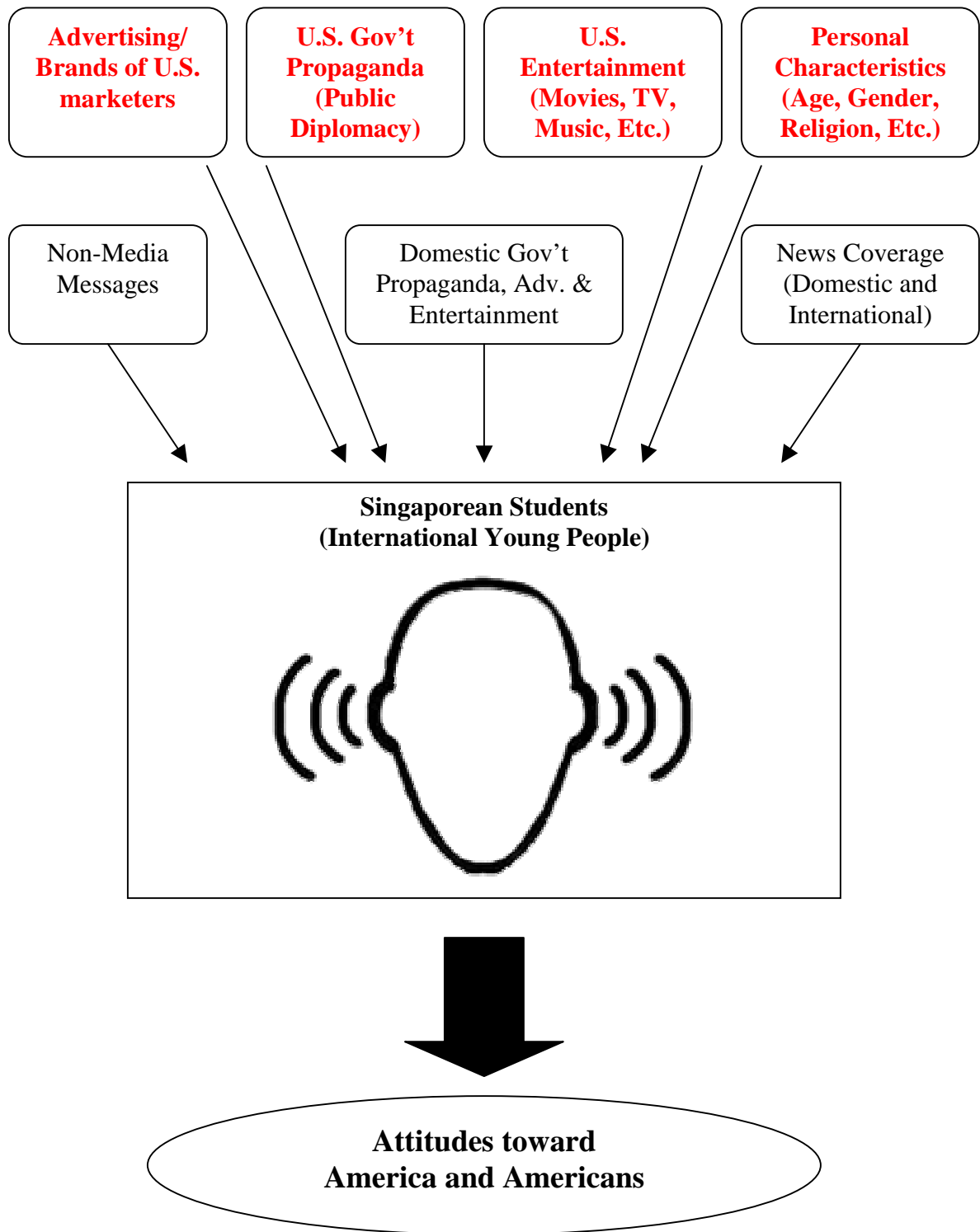


Figure 1. Conceptual model of influences on international students' attitude toward America and Americans.

analysis of student reactions. It replicates and expands the previous efforts of Kendrick and Fullerton (2004) by using a modified version of their instrument in Singapore for the first time.

Significance

The problem of global media influence on shaping attitudes toward America and Americans needs to be addressed for many reasons. This study will aid the U.S. government in better communicating with young people from Southeast Asia, particularly Singapore. Given Singapore's strategic military and political ties to the United States and its geographic proximity to densely populated Muslim nations, U.S. public diplomacy policy decisions must be carefully planned. Because Singapore was named the most globalized country in the world in terms of Western media usage, according to Kluver and Fu's (2004) Cultural Globalization Index, this study will analyze how Singaporean attitudes toward America and Americans have been affected by high consumption of U.S. produced media.

From a business perspective, this study is relevant because over 200 American companies have invested heavily in Singapore (Cohn, 2002). In May 2003, President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong from Singapore signed a free trade agreement, removing trade barriers and spurring trade between the nations. Essentially, this agreement makes it easier for American goods to be exported to Singapore. Thus, promoting American brands to young Singaporeans is a priority and understanding Singaporean perceptions about America is vital to successful marketing for American business.

Lastly, this study will help U.S. advertising professors to prepare for teaching assignments in Southeast Asia. It is essential for American professors engaged in overseas teaching, especially in Muslim nations, to thoroughly study attitudes toward America and toward the subject matter – advertising. This information is useful when preparing lecture materials or when simply interacting with students in the classroom. Andrews and Lysonski (1991) claimed, “American professors who ignore students’ social and economic perceptions of advertising when teaching abroad may be inviting criticism and, at minimum, be viewed as less knowledgeable within their area of expertise” (p. 26). As Singapore continues to adopt American higher education systems, opportunities for overseas teaching assignments will multiply (Cohen, 1999). American professors must be prepared to accept these opportunities.

The Importance of Singapore

Though this study is limited to only one country, much can be learned from this nation-state that will be of interest to the U.S. government and U.S. multinational marketers. Singapore is located in Southeast Asia between Malaysia and Indonesia – two of the world’s largest Muslim nations. Singapore also has a large Muslim population, approximately 20%. Singapore is a thriving economic success story in a volatile part of the world – Southeast Asia. The 2004 A.T. Kearney/Foreign Policy Globalization Index ranks Singapore as the second most globalized nation in the world, up from fourth place in 2003, based on its political, economic, personal and technological scales (“Measuring Globalization”, 2004). Singapore has enjoyed good relations with the United States over the years and has been a strategic military ally (Cohn, 2002).

Culturally, Singaporeans are heavily influenced by American media, especially Hollywood movies, music and television programming. According to Kluver and Fu's (2004) Cultural Globalization Index, Singapore is the most globalized country in the world, based on its consumption of mass communication products from overseas. Despite their affinity for American entertainment, many younger Singaporeans' attitudes toward Americans are worsening. Some Singaporean college students say that they are irritated with American students' ignorance about their country, its location, language, racial composition and history. They are tired of the fact that many Americans link Singapore primarily with the Michael Fay vandalism incident and subsequent caning (Hodson, 2003). Others complain that Americans often confuse their country with the Chinese city of Shanghai, and they are offended that Americans don't realize that Singaporeans speak English fluently (R. Gonawala & M.Y. Leong, personal communication, March 25, 2002).

Theoretical Framework

By applying the social constructionism perspective of inquiry, this study utilizes three mass communications theories to serve as a platform for examining this complex research question: cultural studies theory, social construction of reality and propaganda theory. Taken together these theories may explain the impact of U.S. mass mediated messages on international students, specifically, how Singaporean college students have constructed their social reality (attitudes and beliefs) about America and Americans.

Cultural Studies Theory and Hegemony

Stuart Hall (1986) developed cultural studies theory (as cited in Griffin, 1997). Hall explains how theorists who critique culture view the mass media as a means “by which the haves of [global] society gain the willing support of the have-nots to maintain the status quo” (Griffin, 1997, p. 363). Hall (1986) also introduced the concept of “hegemony” to mass media research. He defined it as “preponderant influence or domination, especially one nation over another” (Griffin, 1997, p. 366). Hall believes the culture industries of art and communication, particularly media, can produce a definition of reality that is favorable to the ruling class or dominant nation. His critical theory holds that American media thrusts its cultural norms onto global viewers with “a plurality of meanings” that reinforces the nation’s dominance (p. 367).

Cultural studies theory can be applied to the Singaporean study easily. First, through its public diplomacy efforts, the U.S. government actively promotes dominant American values to other nations, including Singapore, such as: liberty, freedom, creativity, innovation and self-expression (Temporal, 2004). However, American public diplomacy campaigns in Southeast Asia, especially in the Muslim nations of Indonesia and Malaysia, have been labeled by local politicians and journalists as arrogant, patronizing and ill conceived (Perlez, 2002). Singapore’s Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew recently complained about the U.S. government’s attempt to “foist their system indiscriminately on societies in which it will not work” (Hodson, 2003, p. 12). Second, the U.S. entertainment industry promotes the dominant American culture to the global marketplace through media channels like movies, music, television, magazines and the Internet. This creates new markets for U.S. multinational companies, which are eager to

advertise their brands overseas to consumers who want to purchase all things American. This study examines how these hegemonic factors contribute to Singaporean students' attitudes about America and Americans and how attitudes toward America impact consumption of American brands, entertainment and government policy.

Social Construction of Reality Theory

Social construction of reality pertains to the media's role in influencing people's beliefs, meanings and interpretations of the world. DeFleur and DeFleur (2003) explain that by watching American movies and TV programs, reading magazines or listening to American recording artists, audiences in other nations "develop a social construction of reality concerning the nature of Americans, their families, their typical behavior and their values" (p. 102). DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) explained, "the real world [in America] and that presented in the media may be substantially different" (p. 262). However, it is plausible that people react, discuss, agree and assign meaning to situations based on depictions provided to them by the press (p. 260).

The idea that media provides us with views of "the world outside" so we can form "pictures in our heads" about other people, places and things is one of the foundations of mass communications research (Lowery & DeFleur, 1995, p. 266). Walter Lippman's *Public Opinion*, published in 1922, discussed how the media's coverage and interpretations of global news events can affect how audiences develop attitudes and beliefs about their external social environment.

Applying social construction of reality to this Singaporean study seems logical. Exposure to American media has educated the Singaporean audience about the American culture, its norms and values, many of which are quite opposite (and in many cases

offensive) to religious teachings, especially Islamic values. It is understandable how Singaporean students might have constructed certain attitudes or beliefs about Americans by consuming American advertising, music, movies, TV shows, etc.

Propaganda Theory and Public Diplomacy

In part, this study examines the effectiveness of a U.S. public diplomacy campaign by measuring reactions to the Shared Values Initiative advertising campaign launched in Muslim nations by the U.S. Department of State in October 2002. This campaign was a first of its kind in that it utilized television commercials to tell America's story abroad. The SVI campaign came under tremendous criticism; however, advertising and mass communications researchers Kendrick and Fullerton (2004) claim that it could have been effective, if given a chance. This study explores the question of using advertising as a tool in public diplomacy.

In her book *Propaganda, Inc.*, Nancy Snow (2002) defines public diplomacy as the exportation of favorable viewpoints about America, presumably to influence public attitudes in foreign countries and to advance the national interests of the U.S. government (p. 32). Public diplomacy is synonymous with propaganda. Therefore, propaganda theory will also be used in understanding the findings of this study.

Although propaganda is often associated with wars, especially Germany's Nazi party in World War II, Hiebert and Gibbons (2000) explain that many governments conduct propaganda campaigns to change attitudes and behaviors about social issues. U.S. federal advertising campaigns have addressed seat belt usage, high blood pressure, reducing litter, recycling, smoking and drug abuse. Grunig and Hunt (1984) explain that propaganda is not limited to government use, but is also used by marketers. They

contend that most advertising and public relations campaigns could be labeled as propaganda since they represent one-way communication from the organizations to the target audiences.

Review of the Literature

There is a rich history of mass communications research which investigates the effects of media messages on audiences. This study adds to this body of literature on media effects by specifically examining the relationship among U.S. exported TV programs and movies (entertainment), advertising, and mass mediated U.S. public diplomacy and their impact on attitudes toward America and Americans. This research is detailed in Chapter II. There are three specific studies from which this study draws directly (Larkin, 1977; DeFleur & DeFleur, 2003; Kendrick & Fullerton, 2004).

American Entertainment Media

To explain how young people around the world learn to hate Americans, Margaret and Melvin DeFleur (2003) surveyed teenagers from 12 countries: Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, South Korea, Mexico, China, Spain, Taiwan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Nigeria, Italy and Argentina. They found that teens in nearly all of these countries held somewhat negative attitudes toward Americans. Negative characteristics that respondents associated most with Americans were that they are sexually immoral, dominating, warmongering, materialistic and violent. Calling the findings “disturbing,” Melvin DeFleur sees the disdain as a result of little contact with Americans combined with the flood of U.S. films, music and television programming around the world. “These results suggest that pop-culture rather than foreign policy is the true culprit of anti-Americanism” (“Pop Anti-

Americanism,” 2003, p. 17). DeFleur’s instrument to measure attitude toward Americans is used in this study.

Attitudes toward Advertising

Larkin (1977) studied college students’ attitudes toward advertising in the United States. He categorized the students’ responses into four attitudinal areas: social effects of advertising, economic effects of advertising, ethics of advertising and regulations of advertising. He found that most students were critical of the social and economic effects of advertising. Others have also investigated attitude toward advertising in general finding students in other countries generally negative to specific ads but relatively in favor of advertising as an institution (Yang, 2000; Ramaprasad, 2001; Fullerton & Weir, 2002). This study utilizes Larkin’s instrument to measure attitude toward advertising and extends the body of literature on this subject by exploring the relationship between advertising and attitude toward America.

U.S. Public Diplomacy (Shared Values Initiative)

Kendrick and Fullerton (2004) conducted an experiment in London to determine the impact of the SVI commercials on international students. Results showed a significant positive increase in attitudes toward the U.S. government after viewing the SVI commercials. After viewing the commercials, students also agreed significantly more strongly that Muslims in America are treated fairly. Overall, despite some criticisms about believability and the one-sided nature of the copy, Kendrick and Fullerton found the SVI commercials achieved the original goals that the U.S. State Department had set. Kendrick and Fullerton’s experiment was replicated in Singapore for this study.

Summary

Given the growth of anti-Americanism in the world, especially in Muslim countries, it is important to understand how international students develop attitudes toward America and Americans. Recognizing that U.S. dominated globalization of media messages plays a role in attitude formation, three mass mediated inputs are examined in this study: U.S. entertainment; U.S. brands/advertising and U.S. government sponsored communication, better known as public diplomacy. By replicating previous research among international students (DeFleur & DeFleur, 2003; Kendrick & Fullerton, 2004), this study applies an accepted research instrument to a different country – Singapore. This study is useful to U.S. multinational marketers because it examines the attitudes of an important consumer group toward their brands and advertising messages. More importantly, since Singapore is located in an unstable part of the world – Southeast Asia, this study is particularly relevant to the U.S. government and potentially helpful in understanding how we can strive towards a more peaceful and cooperative world.

Outline of the Study

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the theoretical framework, general background of the study, and rationale for conducting it. Chapter 2 contains a literature review that is divided into six sections. Chapter 3 presents the research method. Chapter 4 presents the results and interpretations of Singapore college students' attitudes toward America, advertising, American brands, and the Shared Values Initiative television commercials. Chapter 5 draws the conclusions of this study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The primary research problem addressed in this study is: To what degrees do Singaporean college students develop their expectations and attitudes about America and Americans based on three media inputs: U.S. entertainment, U.S. brands/advertising and U.S. government sponsored communication (i.e. public diplomacy)? Other factors like personal characteristics (i.e. gender, age, religion, ethnicity) and visits to the United States are also measured. Additionally, this study measures the reactions that Singaporean college students have toward the Shared Values Initiative television spots created by the U.S. Department of State in response to the September 11th attacks.

The following literature review is divided into six sections. Section One begins with McLuhan's (1964) concept of the global village and examines the development of globalization. Section Two examines the different causes of anti-Americanism in the world today and summarizes related studies about media's influence on attitudes toward America. Section Three examines several mass communications theories that comprise the framework for this study, including cultural studies theory, social construction of reality theory and propaganda theory. Section Four summarizes previous research about student attitudes toward advertising, both domestic and cross-cultural studies. Section Five examines the U.S. Department of State's Shared Values Initiative campaign as well as the concept of Brand America. Section Six outlines information about Singapore,

including its demographic and lifestyle characteristics, history of media censorship, educational trends and alliance with the United States.

Section One: Globalization

In his book *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (1964), media philosopher Marshall McLuhan developed the concept of the global village. He predicted that through media technologies like telephone, radio and television, people would be linked together across the globe. This closeness would enable them to interact with one another as if they were face-to-face, living together in the same community and experiencing events instantly. The development of the Internet really exemplifies McLuhan's concept better than radio or television, because it provides "on-line villagers" the ability to exchange information with others around the globe as if they were neighbors (Levinson, 1999).

McLuhan (1964) also suggested that the global village would require nations to develop foreign policies very carefully. "As electrically contracted, the globe is no more than a village. Electric speed in bringing all social and political functions together in a sudden implosion has heightened human awareness of responsibility to an intense degree" (p. 5).

One aspect of the global village that McLuhan disliked was the expected growth of advertising. He warned that advertising would lead to a homogenization of global cultures:

The advertising industry is a crude attempt to extend the principles of automation to every aspect of society. Ideally, advertising aims at the goal of a programmed harmony among all human impulses and aspirations and endeavors... It stretches out toward the ultimate goal of a collective consciousness. (p. 227)

The growth of U.S. multinational advertising seems to confirm McLuhan's prediction. According to *Advertising Age* magazine, 49 of the top 100 global advertisers are based in the United States. Total non-U.S. advertising expenditures for these companies in 2002 was \$12.864 billion (Crain, 2003).

Globalization of U.S. Produced Entertainment Media

Another factor affecting the homogenization of global cultures is the amount of U.S. produced entertainment media available throughout the world. Popular culture products are now America's number one export, representing half of the profits of American media conglomerates. Today, U.S. films are shown in more than 150 countries worldwide and the U.S. film industry produces most of the world's videos and DVDs. U.S. television programs are broadcast in over 125 international markets. In fact, MTV can be seen in more foreign households than American ones (Media Awareness Network, 2005).

U.S. exports of movies, television and radio programs, music and music videos in 2002 totaled approximately \$9.8 billion. This amount does not include the sale of entertainment media produced by U.S. affiliates of foreign-owned companies, which was estimated between \$5 - \$6 billion. For example, movies produced by Universal Studios, which was owned by Vivendi of France in 2002, are excluded (U.S. International Trade Commission, 2004). These figures also do not include sales of illegal, pirated copies of movies and television programs, a common practice in Southeast Asia and countries where many U.S. movies are banned by the government or edited for content.

Violent and Sexual Content

American-produced entertainment media is often criticized for showing the most negative aspects of American culture, particularly the abundance of sex and violent portrayals. The amount of violent and sexual content in American movies and television shows has been documented. According to the National Television Violence Study (1997), 91% of movies and 75% of TV dramas contain violence. Over half of music videos and 38% of Reality TV shows, two categories of programming popular with young people, depict violent acts. In terms of sexual content, Kunkel *et. al* (1999) reported that 56% of all American television programs contain sexual content. Researchers at the University of California at Santa Barbara (2005) reported that two thirds of the 1999-2000 prime-time television season contained sexual content (up from 50% in the previous season). Sexual content of sitcom scenes also increased from 56% in 1999 to 84% in 2000. The Kaiser Family Foundation (2001) reported that 80% of the content presented on American soap operas is sexual in nature.

Given these statistics, it is clear that U.S. movies and television programs contain extensive violent and sexual content and they are distributed globally. Many have criticized the movie industry for exporting such graphic images of American life to international audiences (Melloan, 2000). In a *New York Times* editorial Todd G. Buchholz (2004), author and advisor to President George H. W. Bush, suggested that Hollywood turn down the “vulgarity meter.”

Hachten (1999) said American media companies are exporting “cultural trash” or programming that was unsuccessful. “A good example is ‘Baywatch’, an inane television show about California hunks and babes which NBC initially canceled after just one

season. Yet, 'Baywatch' has gone on to a new life – heard in 15 different languages and seen in 144 countries, including Iran and China, drawing more people than any other entertainment show in history” (p. 89).

Media critic Michiko Kakutani (1997) agreed that American media conglomerates try to find new audiences overseas for unsuccessful programs, but in doing so they're exporting the worst that American culture has to offer. “Some of America's cultural exports are so awful that you suspect that we're using the rest of the world as a vast toxic waste dump, and charging for the privilege” (p. 31).

Critiquing McLuhan's Global Village

Many media scholars have examined McLuhan's concept of the global village and studied the impact of Western media throughout the world. Some scholars agree that Western media has created a globalized, homogenized culture, while others do not fully accept the definition or existence of a global culture.

Stevenson (1994) claimed that American media dominance does exist since English has been established as the global media language. Combined with Western technological advances in computers and satellite broadcasting, this language dominance has caused the spread of Western pop culture and values, creating a global culture. Stevenson stated that global culture “is built on English as a common language and consists of a common definition of news, a uniform but superficial popular culture, and a set of universally recognizable icons such as the Sony Walkman, the Coke bottle, and Michael Jackson's glove” (p. 37). However, Stevenson also argued that many countries will not readily accept globalization and will work hard to keep their cultures from being assimilated.

Hachten (1999) claimed other countries have rapidly accepted Western media technologies since the end of World War II and this has caused the development of a global audience. “With satellite dishes and antenna sprouting everywhere, the lands of Asia, particularly China and India, are flocking to join the global village” (p. 181). Hachten wrote that Western mass media has conditioned the global audience to expect entertainment from the industry, for better or worse. “Parents and others 30 years old almost everywhere must be offended and repelled by the noisy, brassy music videos of MTV, but there is no doubting their appeal to teenagers literally everywhere” (p. 180). Hachten (1999) agreed with Stevenson (1994) that the acceptance of English was the key to globalization. He stated that English had become the international language of media, business, science, and technology.

Fortner (1993) argued that McLuhan’s (1964) global village concept was an incorrect metaphor. He stated that people in villages know one another, share history, values, and develop intimacy. However, global communications makes such intimacy impossible. Fortner proposed a new term – global metropolis – where power and celebrity are concentrated in the hands of a few elites, not the villagers. “The population at large knows more about the elites than about other members of the community” (p. 24). Fortner believed the global metropolis was a better description for the emergence of the global culture and popularity of Western media icons.

Hamelink (1995) coined the term “McDonaldization” and said that Western media dominance had created a global society of similar consumers, but not a homogenized culture. Walker (1996) agreed with Hamelink (1995) that a global culture could be seen by how readily consumers adopted Western brands. By examining the

impact of global television on consumerism, Walker concluded that Western media had created a global shopping mall, but not the global village that McLuhan (1964) forecasted. Walker claimed that homogenization of cultures had not occurred. In fact, Walker asserted that countries struggle to maintain their values, norms, and religious beliefs against the pressure from the West. Hamelink (1993) stated a similar belief:

The worldwide proliferation of standardized food, clothing, music, and TV drama, and the spread of Anglo-Saxon business style and linguistic convention, create the impression of an unprecedented cultural homogenization. Yet, in spite of the McDonaldization of the world... this does not yet bring about a global culture. (p. 378)

Section Two: Attitudes Toward America

Anti-Americanism has increased since the September 11 terrorist attacks, but experts continue to argue the causes for the animosity. Some contend that the U.S. government's aggressive foreign policies, especially the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, are the primary cause, along with America's continued support for Israel (Telhami, 2003). Others believe that radical Muslim clerics and politicians are fueling anti-Americanism to build support for their own agendas (Rubin, 2002). Some media researchers believe that globalization and the exporting of Western media have contributed to the dislike of American culture (DeFleur & DeFleur, 2003). Regardless of the reasons, international polls continue to show declines in the United States' popularity.

Several studies have measured attitudes of Muslims toward Western nations, particularly the United States (Norris & Inglehart, 2002; Pew, 2003; Telhami, 2003; Pew, 2004). The Global Attitudes Survey conducted by the Pew Research Center (2004) revealed that hatred toward America and its policies has intensified since the war in Iraq began. The survey was conducted in February and March 2004 in the United States and

eight other countries: Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Turkey, Morocco, Jordan and Pakistan. Half of the respondents in these eight countries view the United States as less trustworthy as a result of the Iraqi war. The majority in Jordan (70%) and Morocco (66%) believe suicide attacks against Americans in Iraq are justifiable. Almost half (46%) of Pakistanis agree that suicide attacks on Americans are justifiable. These percentages are even higher in support of Palestinian suicide attacks against Israelis. The approval rankings are Jordan (86%), Morocco (74%) and Pakistan (47%). Osama bin Laden is viewed favorably by large percentages in Pakistan (65%), Jordan (55%) and Morocco (45%), (p. 4). Large percentages of people believe that the United States' motive for invading Iraq was to control its oil supply: Jordan (71%), Turkey (64%), Morocco (64%), Germany (60%), and France (58%). Majorities in Jordan (70%) and Morocco (54%) also believe the United States invaded Iraq to protect Israel (p. 19).

The 2003 Global Attitudes Survey contained similar results. However, it also revealed that Muslim attitudes toward the United States were plummeting around the world, not just in the Middle East. "Favorable ratings for the United States have fallen from 61% to 15% in Indonesia and from 71% to 38% among Muslims in Nigeria [since 2002]. In the wake of the war, a growing percentage of Muslims see serious threats to Islam" (p. 13).

Shibley Telhami (2003), Anwar Sadat professor for Peace and Development at University of Maryland, surveyed 3,020 citizens in six Islamic nations in February and March 2003 and found declining attitudes toward the United States. Most respondents felt threatened by the American presence in Iraq and believed that the war would generate more terrorism in the region. Telhami discovered that few respondents held favorable

views of the United States: Saudi Arabia (4%), Jordan (6%), Morocco (6%), United Arab Emirates (10%), Egypt (13%), and Lebanon (32%), (p. 24). More than 80% of those surveyed believed that the United States invaded Iraq primarily to control the country's oil refineries. This belief has been perpetuated by al-Jazeera television. "Coverage of the war focused heavily on the fact that much of the postwar looting happened in hospitals and museums, left unprotected by U.S. forces, and not the oil installations and oil ministries, which were heavily guarded by troops" (p. 26). Overcoming this media coverage will be a difficult task. Telhami suggests bringing credible third parties into the situation to reduce Arab public opinion that the United States is an imperial power there only to protect its oil interests.

After analyzing the World Values Survey results from 1995-96 and 2000-02, which covered 70 countries and over 150,000 respondents, Norris and Inglehart (2002), reported that Muslims held significantly lower tolerance levels than Westerners for four cultural issues: homosexuality (12%), gender equality (55%), divorce (35%), and abortion (25%). The corresponding levels in Western nations were 53, 82, 60 and 48%, respectively. The authors assert that Western youth have adopted more liberal attitudes toward sexuality and gender roles than their Islamic peers, who remain deeply religious and traditional in their beliefs. The World Values Survey included five Arab countries (Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Morocco) and nine predominantly Muslim countries (Albania, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bosnia, Indonesia, Iran, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan and Turkey). The authors explained that Muslims in different countries often subscribe to different value systems. It is important to recognize which Islamic countries are mainstream and which have experienced communist rule when discussing their value

systems. The ex-communist Islamic societies tend to have much more secular-rational (liberal) values than the mainstream Islamic countries, which emphasize more traditional religious values (Norris & Inglehart, 2002).

These results indicate that declining Muslim attitudes toward the United States can be attributed to both political and cultural factors; however, Telhami (2003) claims the negativity is rooted in U.S. foreign policy. “At the heart of Arab attitudes are resentment of U.S. policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict and deep mistrust of America’s intentions in Iraq” (p. 26). However, since U.S. foreign policy cannot easily be changed, he recommends several things the U.S. government can do to improve its image abroad. First, Telhami (2002) explains that America needs to identify and cultivate individuals who can accurately deliver U.S. messages. “We should make full use of all resources, not only those talented and dedicated Muslim and Arab Americans who have every interest in building bridges between the United States and the nations of the Middle East, but also the voices in the Middle East who are trusted and share our views” (p. 47). Second, Telhami suggests we should work with the existing Arab news media in the region and not simply create new Western media outlets. “In large part, al-Jazeera’s success springs from its ability to reflect public opinion, not to shape it. Any new television or radio outlet supported by the United States that does not take this reality into account would find its ability to compete in the region quite limited” (p. 47). Third, Telhami believes the U.S. government must project more empathy for the great pain and suffering that Palestinians have endured, just as it empathizes with Israeli victims of terrorist bombings. “Empathy is an issue that must transcend policy... the United States is always conducting important humanitarian projects across the Arab and Muslim world.

It should increase those projects” (p. 48). Lastly, Telhami advocates for more cultural exchanges between East and West to reduce the perception gap that exists between cultures. “Centers of American studies could be established in the major universities in the Middle East. Today so little is known about American culture and politics, even in those universities, that conspiracy theories can prevail without answer” (p. 48).

Morton A. Kaplan, Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Chicago and Editor and Publisher of *The World & I*, a publication of the Washington Times Corporation, agrees with Telhami. Kaplan (2002) believes that the United States is disliked because it is a rich, powerful, majority-Christian nation that continues to support Israel and the Jewish people. Kaplan also explains that many Islamic schools like the Washington Islamic Academy, funded by the government of Saudi Arabia, teach their students to hate Jews and Christians, and in some cases to kill them. Kaplan has called upon American Muslims to speak out against Muslim schools that teach hate and to demand that the Saudis stop funding them (p. 12).

Barry Rubin, Director of the Global Research in International Affairs Center and Editor of the *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, doesn't agree with Telhami and Kaplan. Instead, Rubin (2002) contends that the main reason for anti-Americanism is that it is a useful diversion technique used by radical Muslim rulers and clerics, revolutionary movements, and sometimes even moderate regimes to build domestic support and pursue their self-centered agendas. Rubin states that many Muslims fundamentally misunderstand the United States, “Middle Easterners’ inability to understand the United States has always been [great]... Throughout the region, leaders and movements have always expected Washington to try to conquer them and wipe out

its enemies – since, after all, this is what the locals would do if they controlled the world’s most powerful country” (p. 73). Rubin claims that radical Muslims have tried to reduce all anti-Americanism to a single issue: U.S. support for Israel. However, these same radicals seem to have a vested interest in a perpetual Arab-Israeli conflict. Blaming America for everything that is wrong in the region helps these leaders to reach their personal goals. Therefore, a conflict resolution would erode their base of support. Rubin explains how the September 11 attacks were planned at a time when Arab-Israeli peace talks were very close to success. “It is no accident that Middle Eastern anti-Americanism peaked at the very moment when the United States was proposing to support the creation of an independent Palestinian state with its capital in east Jerusalem” (p. 73). Rubin states that radical Muslims are afraid that attractive Western ideas like political freedom and modernization will take hold in region. By bashing such ideas as anti-Muslim or unholy, these self-centered radicals are using America as a political scapegoat.

Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Joseph S. Nye, Jr. now holds the position of Distinguished Service Professor at Harvard University. From December 1995 until June 2004 he was the Dean of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. Nye (2004) believes that anti-Americanism is a result of poor public diplomacy efforts by the U.S. government. “The world’s only superpower, and the leader in the information revolution, spends as little on public diplomacy as does France or the United Kingdom – and is all too often outgunned in the propaganda war by fundamentalists hiding in caves” (p. 17). During the Cold War, American radio broadcasts reached half of the Soviet population and 80% of the European population. After the Cold War ended, the penetration of the Voice of America radio network decreased. Before the September 11

terrorist attacks, only 2% of Arabs listened to the network (Nye, 2004). Instead, Nye writes that autocratic Muslim leaders exploit the fact that the Middle East is flooded with America's exported media programming, which distorts the image of the U.S. government and culture in the minds of Arab and Muslim audiences. "Liberal democracy, as they portray it, is full of corruption, sex, and violence – an impression reinforced by American movies and television" (p. 18). Nye contends that most people in the Middle East do not hate the United States at all. Many do fear, misunderstand and oppose U.S. policies, but they admire and respect aspects of American values and culture. Nye believes the U.S. government has not recognized and exploited these opportunities for dialogue. In 2003, the United States spent only \$150 million on public diplomacy in Muslim countries, including \$25 million on outreach programs. A bipartisan advisory group complained, "to say that financial resources are inadequate to the task is a gross understatement" (p. 19). Nye claims this is only a symptom of a much larger problem, a lack of attention and resources given to public diplomacy:

The combined cost of the State Department's public diplomacy programs and U.S. international broadcasting is just over a billion dollars, about 4% of the nation's international affairs budget. That total is about 3% of what the United States spends on intelligence and a quarter of 1% of its military budget. If Washington devoted just 1% of its military spending to public diplomacy... it would mean almost quadrupling the current budget. (p. 16)

Besides spending more on public diplomacy, Nye provides some simple suggestions for improving America's image. First, Americans are too insulated from the rest of the world. They need to understand how U.S. policies affect other nations; media coverage must be modified to achieve this. Second, foreign language training has slipped in America; this trend should be reversed. Finally, fewer university professors are

applying for Fulbright visiting lectureships; more should be willing to share their talents overseas in cultural exchanges, especially in Muslim nations (Nye, 2004).

Global Media's Impact on Anti-Americanism

Some media researchers believe the exportation of American entertainment has increased anti-Americanism because it often conflicts with other cultures' ideologies and teachings. However, other studies indicate that American entertainment might not be such a problem. Many international consumers seem to have the ability to separate their positive attitudes about the U.S. culture and people from their negative attitudes toward the U.S. government and its foreign policy (Guyon, 2003).

Michigan State University researcher Yasuhiro Inoue (1999) surveyed 220 Japanese middle school students and found no correlation between exposure to Japanese media and negative attitudes toward the individual Americans, even though Japanese programming contains violent images of America and portrays it as a dangerous place. However, exposure to violent images of America in Japanese media was correlated with negative attitudes toward the United States as a nation. Inoue also found a positive correlation between exposure to American movies and television programs and Japanese students' attitudes toward America and Americans.

Harvard University professors Matthew Gentzkow and Jesse Shapiro (2003) examined the relationship between exposure to U.S. media and anti-Americanism by analyzing 2002 Gallup data from nine predominantly Muslim countries. Results showed that exposure to U.S. newspapers, television and radio did not lead to positive attitudes toward the United States; however, particular sources of information about American did make a difference - exposure to CNN was associated with pro-American attitudes while

exposure to Al-Jazeera correlated strongly with anti-American views. The researchers concluded that increased exposure to Western media, particularly news sources, could actually reduce anti-Americanism in Muslim countries.

Chen Shengluo (2003) of China Youth University for Political Sciences interviewed over 100 Chinese students in eight universities in China to assess their attitudes toward the United States. His results indicated that Chinese students develop many beliefs about the United States as a result of the hegemonic flow of American culture and programming into their country; however, these beliefs are not always negative. “The ubiquitous Coca-Cola soft drinks... the brand name sports clothing and shoes... McDonald’s... the thrilling American movies... the computers everyone uses – all of these things are in fact constantly shaping the image of the United States” (p. 20). When Shengluo asked about their first impressions of the United States, many students replied, “The NBA. They play good basketball in the United States.” Shengluo attributed these responses to the amount of National Basketball Association games featuring Chinese stars like Yao Ming of the Houston Rockets that are broadcast in China. Overall, Shengluo found that Chinese college students were heavily exposed to American values through brands and entertainment. The students had developed positive attitudes toward the U.S. culture while maintaining negative attitudes toward the U.S. government and its political system.

In their book *Learning to Hate Americans*, Boston University media researchers Margaret and Melvin DeFleur (2003) report the findings of a survey they administered to 1,259 teenagers from 12 countries: Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, South Korea, Mexico, China, Spain, Taiwan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Nigeria, Italy and Argentina. They found that teens in

nearly all of these countries responded very negatively toward Americans. Saudi teens topped the list of those with the most negative perceptions, followed by Bahrain, South Korea and Mexico. Negative characteristics that the teenagers associated most with Americans were that they are sexually immoral, dominating, warmongering, materialistic and violent. Calling the findings “disturbing,” Melvin DeFleur sees the disdain as a result of little contact with Americans combined with the flood of U.S. entertainment exports. He claims that American entertainment “exceeds boundaries of conservative tastes and morality,” and contains depictions of Americans that may be “seriously flawed and misleading” (p. 107). DeFleur concludes, “These results suggest that pop-culture rather than foreign policy is the true culprit of anti-Americanism” (“Pop Anti-Americanism,” 2003, p.17).

Jami Fullerton (2004) of Oklahoma State University surveyed 105 international students enrolled at Regents College in London, England, in July 2003. Overall, the students held a slightly negative attitude toward America (Mean = 2.89). “They agreed most strongly with the statement, ‘American people like to dominate other people’ (Mean = 4.06) and disagreed most strongly with the statement, ‘Americans are peaceful people’ (Mean = 2.47)” (p. 11). Nearly 77% of the students agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, “I like American music, movies, and television.” However, Fullerton found no significant difference between students who watched U.S. television programs and those who did not in terms of their overall attitude toward America. These findings contradict the position of DeFleur and DeFleur (2003). Fullerton did find a significant positive correlation between the students’ attitude toward America and attitude toward advertising ($r = .242$, $p = .013$), (p. 12). Fullerton concluded that this relationship was

logical since advertising is considered a symbol of American culture, standing for capitalism, democracy and freedom.

Section Three: Theoretical Framework

There are numerous theories in mass communications that may explain how international audiences are affected by U.S. dominated global media. By applying the social constructionism perspective of inquiry, three primary mass communications theories will be used as a platform for studying this issue: cultural studies theory, social construction of reality theory and propaganda theory. Schramm, Lyle and Parker's (1961) incidental learning theory is also discussed. Applying these different theoretical frames will help to explain how Singaporean college students have constructed their social reality (attitudes and beliefs) about America and Americans.

As cited in Patton (2002), Crotty explains, "Social constructionism emphasizes the hold our culture has on us: it shapes the way in which we see things and gives us a quite definite view of the world" (p. 97). Constructionists assume that people do not have direct access to a fully knowable external reality. Their understanding is based on cultural references, social messages embedded in communications, and interpersonal relationships. Thus, two people can live in the same world and consume the same media content, but perceive (or construct) their realities very differently based on their backgrounds, cultures and life experiences. Based on the individual nature of social constructionism, the social expectations theory is preferred for this study on Singaporean students, but all of the following theories provide interesting perspectives to consider.

Cultural Studies Theory and Hegemony

Stuart Hall (1986) developed cultural studies theory (as cited in Griffin, 1997).

Hall explains how theorists who critique culture view the mass media as a means “by which the haves of [global] society gain the willing support of the have-nots to maintain the status quo” (Griffin, 1997, p. 363). Cultural studies theorists typically believe three things:

1. Entertainment and news media promote the interests of dominant groups in society;
2. Capitalism is made attractive to those who suffer economically in other cultures;
3. Mass media research funded by big business and government cannot be impartial because those groups seek to maintain their cultural dominance.

Hall (1986) also introduced the concept of “hegemony” to mass media research, although Antonio Gramsci proposed the theory in 1927 to illustrate how traditional Marxists maintained their ideology. Hall defined hegemony as “preponderant influence or domination, especially one nation over another” (Griffin, 1997, p. 366). Hall believes the culture industries of art and communication, particularly media, can produce a definition of reality that is favorable to the dominant nation. His critical theory holds that American media never delivers a single meaning. Instead, American media thrusts its cultural norms onto global viewers with “a plurality of meanings” that reinforces the nation’s dominance (p. 367). Lewis (1999) explained that hegemony involves the effort to create approval for social systems that favor certain dominant interests. Resistance to those interests can be overcome by creating a favorable climate where it is possible to achieve approval. Dominant interests (corporations, governments, etc.) often use the media’s influence to create these climates and persuade audiences to support their issues.

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) explain that hegemonic values in the news media are effective in permeating common sense, because they are made to appear natural and are placed within newscasts through normal dealings with dominant interests. Also, the media's perceived autonomy gives their messages more legitimacy and credibility with audiences (p. 237). From an ideological perspective, the U.S. government manipulated the media during the first Persian Gulf War and prevented reporters from gaining access to key areas of the conflict. This kind of hegemonic framing was not done by the media, but by the dominant interest (p. 239).

On the other hand, Hall (1986) describes how "the obstinate audience" can resist the dominant ideology presented in the media, dissect the messages, and resist assimilation. "[Hall] doesn't regard the masses as cultural dupes who are easily manipulated by those who control the media" (Griffin, 1997, p. 370).

Cultural studies theory can be applied to the Singaporean student study easily. American programming promotes the dominant American culture in a global environment. DeFleur and DeFleur (2003) explain how one of America's most profitable exports today is entertainment, especially movies and TV programs (p. 23). American conglomerates like NBC Universal, AOL Time Warner, Viacom and The Walt Disney Company distribute their products globally. However, in many markets there exists "an obstinate audience", notably Muslims, who are spiritually opposed to many of the values and beliefs portrayed in American media. This creates hostility toward America and Western globalization efforts.

Hall's "obstinate audience" concept is plausible because citizens of other nations would like to see their own locally produced programming as much as possible, not be force-fed American shows. This could be irritating to any audience, not just Muslims.

Social Construction of Reality Theory

DeFleur and DeFleur (2003) explain that social construction of reality can be traced back to Plato's *Republic*, which includes the famous "Allegory of the Cave." Plato used this allegory to illustrate the way people interpret their physical and social environments to build beliefs about reality. By telling us the story of a group of men chained together, living in a deep underground chamber with limited light, Plato explained how the men would interpret the shadows they saw in the cave, construct meanings about them and develop a shared reality. DeFleur and DeFleur (2003) claim everyone lives in a cave to some degree, especially international students. These students are living in their own worlds and are developing understandings, beliefs and evaluations about the United States based on information provided by the mass media. Just as the men in Plato's cave interpreted the shadows they saw, it is logical how international students with little exposure to America or Americans interpret media messages in order to socially construct their reality.

Social construction of reality can be summarized in five steps (DeFleur & DeFleur, 2003, p. 102):

1. All human beings require understandings of the world in which they live, and to which they must adapt.
2. Communication through language became a part of human existence when evolutionary changes to the body made possible the control of sound with the vocal chords and the storing of complex meanings in a larger brain.

3. With words and language available, features of the environment with which people had to deal could be given names, with associated conventions of internally aroused meanings, permitting standardization of interpretations of phenomena, stabilizing the meanings attached to all the aspects of reality with which people had to deal.
4. In modern times, media, including mass media, play a part in developing the meanings individuals acquire for events, situations and objects in the human environment through their depictions and representations in entertainment and other content.
5. Therefore, the meanings, either personal or private, or culturally shared, of any aspect of reality to which people must adjust, are developed in a process of interpersonal or mediated communication – indicating that reality, in the sense of individual interpretations (or a consensus of shared meanings) people attach to objects, actions, events and situations are socially constructed.

Social construction of reality can also be traced back to Walter Lippmann's writings about how people acquire knowledge. In his book *Public Opinion* (1922), Lippmann discussed how the print media's coverage of stories and events could alter the readers' interpretations of reality. Lippmann asserted that the press could mislead readers and create false "pictures in our heads" about our surroundings (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989).

Applying social construction of reality theory to this Singaporean study seems logical and preferable to cultural studies theory. Exposure to American media has educated the Singaporean audience about the American culture, its norms and values, many of which are quite opposite (and in many cases offensive) to religious teachings, especially Islamic values. The independent nature and status of women, sexual references and alcoholic beverages are some of things that Muslims would object to in American programs. It is understandable how Singaporean students might have constructed certain common, agreed upon beliefs (realities) about Americans after consuming Western music, movies, TV shows, etc.

What attitudes, social behaviors or beliefs about Americans are Singaporean students learning from their favorite American television programs like *American Idol*, *CSI*, *Friends*, *The Bachelor*, *Fear Factor*, *Survivor* and World Wrestling Entertainment's *Smackdown* and *Raw* ("AXN," 2003; "World," 2003)? When teaching a class in Singapore in December 2004, an 18-year-old female Malay student asked me how many women I got to select from before I got married and what criteria I used to give my wife "the final rose." Obviously, she had watched episodes of *The Bachelor* and believed it was common for American men to date multiple women simultaneously and to choose their favorites by giving them roses, as the show portrays. She later told me that many Muslim parents still arrange marriages for their daughters in Singapore, so she was interested in how American courtship rituals differed. Another 19-year-old male Chinese student told me that he believed Americans were so greedy that they would do anything for money, no matter how gross or immoral. When I asked him to elaborate he referred to episodes of *Fear Factor* and *Survivor* that he had watched on television. It is no wonder that international audiences often misunderstand American people and construct beliefs for themselves that are inconsistent with reality (M. Zakaria & L. Jiyuan, personal communication, December 6, 2004).

Social construction of reality theory can shape people's attitudes and behaviors (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989). DeFleur and DeFleur (2003) define an attitude to be "a configuration of related evaluative beliefs about some attitude object" (p. 36). In other words, an attitude is a collection of favorable or unfavorable views about a subject. DeFleur and DeFleur suggest using Likert scales when studying international students to measure their subtle differences in attitudes (p. 37).

Incidental Learning Theory

Schramm, Lyle and Parker (1961) introduced incidental learning theory when they studied the influence that television programs had on U.S. children:

Most of a child's learning from television, as we have said, is incidental learning. By this we mean learning that takes place when a viewer goes to television for entertainment and stores up certain items of information without seeking them. (p.75)

DeFleur and DeFleur (2003) explain that incidental learning is “subtle and unwitting”, meaning that individuals do not seek to be instructed by the media content they are using strictly for entertainment. However, while being entertained, the person acquires knowledge and beliefs about people and their characteristics that are embedded inside the media stimuli. This point explains how “teenagers in other countries – who seek gratification from movies, television programming and other forms of popular culture – encounter flawed images of Americans” (p. 97). This phenomenon could be considered a negative, unintended side effect of globalization. DeFleur and DeFleur (2003) explain that incidental learning theory can be summarized in the following points (pp. 98-99):

1. Those mass communicators who design, develop and distribute media entertainment do so within a capitalistic system.
2. Within that system, few formal restrictions are imposed on the content that is produced and making profits is the first goal – that is, earning a maximum return on investment.
3. The media products produced and distributed are designed creatively to provide maximum gratification and entertainment for their audiences and there is little concern whether they provide accurate instructional lessons about the people depicted in their content.
4. The audiences who attend those entertainment products do so for the purpose of being entertained and experiencing gratification – they often have no intention of receiving instruction or a realization that they are doing so.

5. Therefore, while attending, those audiences are unwittingly exposed to subtle but unintended lessons about the people, actions and situations that are depicted – from which they may acquire very flawed ideas, beliefs and understandings about those who are being portrayed.

Although incidental learning theory is not used in this study, it provides an interesting perspective from which to evaluate the Singaporean students' qualitative responses about Western programming. Western media, especially American movies, magazines and television shows, heavily influences Singaporeans (Kluver & Fu, 2004).

Propaganda Theory and Public Diplomacy

Because this study examines Singaporean college students' reactions to the Shared Values Initiative advertising campaign launched in Muslim nations by the U.S. Department of State in October 2002, it is important to include propaganda theory in the framework.

Mass communications researchers have studied propaganda for decades. In his book *Propaganda Techniques and the World War* (1927), Harold Lasswell labeled the mass audience as a defenseless, passive herd of sheep that is easy prey for manipulation and propaganda. Lasswell provided one of the first definitions of propaganda, "It refers solely to the control of opinion by significant symbols, or... by stories, rumors, reports, pictures and other forms of social communication" (p. 9).

In their book *Propaganda and Persuasion*, Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) state that propaganda is often associated with government sponsorship and is considered to be more deliberate and organized than persuasion. They define propaganda as "the deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist" (p. 6).

Development of the United States Information Agency. Over the years, the U.S. government has sought ways to tell America's story to the world, especially during times of war. In her book *Propaganda, Inc.*, Nancy Snow (2002) discusses the development of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) and explains how the agency uses public diplomacy to export favorable viewpoints about America, presumably to influence public attitudes in foreign countries and to advance the national interests of the U.S. government (p. 32).

The modern history of public diplomacy begins in 1917, when President Woodrow Wilson created the Committee on Public Information (CPI) to enhance America's image overseas during World War I and improve the Allies spirits. In October 1937, Columbia University professor Clyde R. Miller launched the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. The leaders and educators that helped Miller to establish the Institute were concerned with war propaganda, as well as domestic propaganda from the Ku Klux Klan, Communists, and advertisers. Their concern was that too much propaganda from too many sources would inhibit citizens' ability to think clearly (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999).

The U.S. government also made use of propaganda techniques during World War II, producing posters, films and cartoons to demonize both Nazi and Japanese leaders. In 1949, Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield published a study of the U.S. Army's *Why We Fight* film series, directed by Frank Capra. These seven films were produced for the purpose of training recruits. Capra presented the history of World War II from 1931 to Pearl Harbor and explained America's involvement in the war effort. The U.S. Army wanted to find out what recruits learned from these films, if they instilled patriotic feelings in the recruits and whether they motivated the recruits to accept military tasks

willingly. The researchers discovered that the films were not effective in motivating recruits to fight in the war. However, they were very effective at teaching the recruits factual knowledge about the war. In fact, the recruits liked the films, readily accepted their content as factual, and labeled them as educational, not one-sided propaganda (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999).

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Voice of America radio network was launched in 1942 to counter the Axis powers' radio dominance, particularly Radio Tokyo (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). After World War II, funding for the VOA was cut dramatically, but the Cold War against the Soviet Union brought increased funding again and a permanent home for VOA in the U.S. Department of State.

The USIA was officially established as an independent government agency in 1953 when President Eisenhower removed it from the State Department (Green, 1988).

It conducted a broad range of public diplomacy activities during the Cold War. The VOA expanded its language broadcasts, while its sister networks, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty worked to bring down the Iron Curtain. The USIA reached its strongest, most respected level in the decade of the 1960s, when respected journalist Edward R. Murrow was its director (Heil, 2003).

In 1965, the USIA launched its largest propaganda campaign ever in Vietnam. Its two main goals were to build democratic support in South Vietnam and to undermine support for the Communist regime in North Vietnam. The core message was "Give up the fight and return to the folds of the government of Vietnam!" Viet Cong defecting to the south were guaranteed protection, medicine, and new jobs. The USIA dropped over 50 billion leaflets over Vietnam over a period of 7 years.

After the demise of the Soviet Union in 1989, funding for public diplomacy efforts significantly decreased in the 1990s. Staff in many USIA posts abroad was reduced. American cultural centers and libraries were closed. Foreign officers dedicated to public diplomacy efforts were reduced by 40% between 1991 and 2001. In 1999, the USIA was incorporated into the State Department when Congress passed the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act. In Zaharna's (2004) opinion, these changes made it difficult to respond quickly to the Bush Administration's request "to do a better job of making our case" to overseas publics after the September 11 attacks. Systems had to be rebuilt. "Congress held hearings and increased funding for public diplomacy. The State Department appointed a new undersecretary for public diplomacy. The president created the White House Office on Global Communication to help coordinate America's message" (p. 221).

The Future of Public Diplomacy. Zaharna agrees with Nye (2004) that the future of American public diplomacy will involve a "contest of credibility" (p. 223). To achieve credibility, she believes Americans must understand the true difference between propaganda and public diplomacy. Public diplomacy flourishes in an open environment of global communication. Propaganda is persuasion through sinister coercion and control. In her opinion, propaganda and public diplomacy are not synonymous any longer. "In the international political arena, communication and information are used to effectively gain public trust and support for a government's policies... To substitute propaganda for public diplomacy can undermine the effectiveness of each as powerful persuasive tools" (p. 224).

On the other hand, Snow (2002) believes the more accurate term for public diplomacy is propaganda. She claims the USIA engages in propaganda, not public diplomacy, because it acts as a one-sided public relations branch of a global corporation (the U.S. government) that “utilizes psychological warfare to promote the superiority of American free enterprise, the expansion of American business interests overseas and the promotion of the U.S. economy” (p. 40).

Kendrick and Fullerton (2003) believe that public diplomacy efforts must change in the post September 11 world, specifically the tactics used to communicate with external publics. The United States has new enemies that are connected by global technologies like digital photography, wireless phones, and the Internet. Therefore, “new propaganda methods, in the new media environment, need to be examined to determine their suitability for use in communicating with skeptical audiences abroad” (p. 4).

Section Four: Student Attitudes Toward Advertising

During the last four decades, many researchers have studied the opinions of college students toward the advertising industry and advertisements in general. This section summarizes several domestic and international studies in this body of research.

American Studies

Haller (1974) surveyed 500 college students in five metropolitan areas – San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago and New York – and compared their attitudes toward advertising with results from a study of businessmen conducted by Greyser and Reece (1971). The students responded more negatively or ranked advertising more weakly than the businessmen. Some of Haller’s most interesting

findings were: 1) Only one-third of the students felt that advertising was necessary at all. 2) Three-fourths of the students believed that advertising presents invalid or misleading claims. 3) Over 80% of the students felt that advertising insults their intelligence. 4) Two-thirds of the students felt advertising is irritating. 5) Over 80% of the students rated TV advertising highly annoying (Haller, 1974, p. 38). Based on these results, Haller concluded that negative attitudes expressed by the college students indicated a fundamental distrust and cynicism toward advertising in general. He questioned the effectiveness of advertising to a demographic group that held such negative views.

Larkin (1977) surveyed a group of 80 college students at a large midwestern university to measure attitudes towards advertising. He divided the survey items into four groups: 1) economic effects of advertising, 2) social effects of advertising, 3) ethics of advertising, and 4) regulation of advertising. Larkin identified five factors that accounted for 65% of the total variance in responses among the students. Factor One – students that possessed anti-advertising attitudes. Factor Two – students that possessed mixed feelings. Factor Three – students concerned with anti-social effects of advertising. Factor Four – students with extremely negative attitudes. Factor Five – students with somewhat negative attitudes (Larkin, 1977). Based on these findings, Larkin concluded that college student attitudes toward advertising are diverse and complex. He suggested that advertising educators work harder to explain the social and economic affects of advertising in society to reduce some of the negativity.

American Studies: Advertising as Institution or Instrument

Over the past 25 years, advertising researchers have been particularly interested in how students distinguish advertising as an institution (the field) from specific advertising

instruments (individual advertisements). A summary of the research about this phenomenon follows.

Sandage and Leckenby (1980) surveyed 1,552 college students at three schools from 1960 to 1978. Their results indicated that respondents were more favorable toward the institution of advertising than toward the instruments used to further the institution” (pp. 30-31).

Muehling (1987) built on the finding of Sandage and Leckenby (1980) that advertising is made up of an institution and instrument component. Muehling surveyed 88 undergraduate business students about their attitudes toward advertising. To measure advertising as an institution, students were asked to respond to 20 statements about advertising with Likert scale responses. The written thoughts of the students from the first part of the questionnaire were coded into five categories: 1) functions of advertising; 2) practices of advertising; 3) advertising industry; 4) users of advertising; 5) miscellaneous. “Consistent with Sandage and Leckenby’s (1980) findings, attitudes toward the institution of advertising were higher than attitudes toward the instruments of advertising (Institution Mean=5.70; Instrument Mean=4.32; $t=13.59$, $p<.001$)” (p. 37). After analyzing the students’ written responses about advertising, Muehling concluded that the students’ perceptions dealt mostly with the instruments of advertising. Therefore, he suggested that creative executions play a large role in forming attitudes toward advertising, including its social and economic effects.

McCorkle and Alexander (1991) tested the impact of advertising education on business students’ attitudes toward advertising at a large metropolitan university. Results indicated that more education about the advertising field changed the students’ attitudes

toward advertising. For the experimental group in this study, attitudes actually became more favorable. Certain confounding variables could not be controlled in this study, such as the effectiveness of instructors, textbooks, and whether the courses were requirements or electives.

Cross-Cultural Studies

Many studies have been conducted to assess international students' attitudes toward advertising. Interestingly, most studies revealed that students from other countries had more positive attitudes toward advertising than their American counterparts.

In 1976, Rubens da Costa Santos surveyed 188 Latin American students enrolled at the University of Texas about their attitudes toward American advertising. Their results were compared with a matched sample of 193 American students at the same university. Santos found significant differences between the mean scores of Latin American students and American students for 24 of the 52 comparisons made in the questionnaire. The greatest difference occurred in attitudes toward direct mail and outdoor advertising, with Latin American students ranking these media as more informative than the Americans did. Latin American students also agreed more strongly with the statements, "Advertising persuades people to buy things they don't need," and "Advertising persuades people to buy things that they don't want," than their American counterparts. Latin American students believed over half of advertisements were for objectionable products (53%) while Americans believed only 42% were objectionable. Americans believed 73% of advertisements insulted their intelligence, compared with 59% of Latin Americans. Americans also believed that 63% of advertisements were

irritating, compared with 55% of Latin Americans (p. 38). Although these results cannot be generalized to Latin American students as a whole, Santos points out that in nearly one-half of the comparisons made, Latin American students' responses were significantly different than the American peers.

Wills, Jr. and Ryans, Jr. (1982) reported results of a study they conducted in 1978 to compare attitudes toward advertising of four distinct groups: managers, consumerists, academicians and college students. To assess college students, they administered a questionnaire to 227 students in six countries: Australia, Nigeria, Sweden, France, Japan and Canada. Overall, college students did not score significantly different than the three other test groups. Also, with the exception of a few statements, most student responses were evenly distributed across the Likert scale indicating no polarity. (Frequencies were reported but mean scores were not). For the attribute, "Advertising is informative about prices", 52% of students responded "Never". Students disagreed that advertising was "Too complex for the average consumer to understand," with 79% responding "Never". Sixty-three percent agreed that advertising was often "annoyingly repetitive" and 61% agreed that advertising often "reinforces stereotypes" (p. 126).

Andrews, Durvasula, and Netemeyer (1994) conducted a cross-national comparison of beliefs and attitudes toward advertising between college students from the United States and Russia. The study included 148 American students from a major, midwestern university and 64 students from two major universities in Russia. Russian students agreed significantly more that advertising is essential to the economy (Mean=6.56) than the Americans (Mean=5.88). American students held significantly more negative views about the social effects of advertising than Russian students.

Americans agreed more strongly that advertising insults intelligence (Mean=3.58) than the Russians believed (Mean=2.64). Americans agreed more strongly that advertising often persuades people to buy things they don't need (Mean=4.31) than the Russians (Mean=3.61). Lastly, Russians (Mean=5.92) held significantly more favorable attitudes toward advertising-in-general than Americans (Mean=5.36), (p. 79). The researchers concluded that Russian students likely view advertising as a positive force or opportunity to improve their economy.

Manso-Pinto and Diaz (1997) surveyed 180 undergraduate students at the University of Concepción in Chile. The researchers found that this sample of Chilean college students held more positive beliefs about advertising than their American counterparts. They attribute their findings to the positive economic and social influences that the advertising industry has brought to Chile's free-market economy in recent years (p. 268).

Yang (2000) modified Andrews' et al. (1994) and Muehling's (1987) methods and applied them in Taiwan. Yang surveyed 515 college students from several colleges in southern Taiwan – 285 female and 230 male. The students agreed that advertising helps a nation's economy (Mean=4.40) and promotes competition (Mean=4.26). Most agreed that advertising is an important source of fashion information (Mean=4.35) and helps them keep up with products and services available in the marketplace (Mean=4.21). Many also agreed that advertising is misleading (Mean=3.36) and deceptive (Mean=4.00). Yang concluded by admitting that this convenience sample of college students limits the generalizability of the results, due to the lack of random selection and

assignment to groups. Otherwise, the Taiwanese students held beliefs about advertising that were similar to American students.

Ramaprasad (2001) conducted a factor analysis of advertising beliefs among 852 students in 10 colleges in five South Asian nations – Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka – during 1995. The results of this study found the belief structure underlying attitude-toward-advertising-in-general (AG) was similar to that of American students. Overall mean AG scores for the five nations were Bangladesh (3.67), India (3.75), Nepal (3.90), Pakistan (3.88) and Sri Lanka (3.61), (p. 66). Factor analysis indicated that the economic and social beliefs about advertising in South Asia were comprised of seven significant factors: Hedonic/Pleasure, Product Information, Consumer Benefits, Materialism, Value Corruption, Good for Economy and Concrete Economic Role (p. 64). Ramaprasad admits the results might be affected by the fact that these were all English speaking students, which are typically more urban and educated. South Asia is a market of tremendous growth potential as globalization spreads, so the results of this study provide valuable benchmarks for analyzing international college students' attitudes about advertising.

Fullerton and Weir (2002) surveyed 82 students at the Al-Farabi Kazak State National University in Kazakhstan and found their beliefs to be negative towards advertising in general. Students agreed most strongly with the statement, "There is too much exaggeration in advertising today" (Mean=4.13). This negativity was also demonstrated in responses like, "There is a need for more truth in advertising," (Mean=4.09), and "Too many of today's advertisements are silly and ridiculous," (Mean=4.07). The researchers attributed the negative scores to differences in ethnicity,

Islamic beliefs and an overall lack of advertising education in Kazakhstan. The study was limited by a small sample size that was conveniently assembled, not randomly selected. Thus, results could not be generalized to the larger population.

Fullerton and Deushev (2003) replicated Fullerton and Weir's (2002) methods and applied them in Uzbekistan, another former Soviet republic. In this case, a non-probability sample of 186 undergraduate students enrolled at the Samarkand State Institute of Foreign Languages in Uzbekistan was surveyed. Again, the students held negative views of advertising overall. Students agreed most strongly with the statement, "Advertising should be more realistic" (Mean=4.16) and "There is a need for more truth in advertising" (Mean=4.14). Interestingly, many of these students knew the common Russian phrase, "Advertising is an engine of commerce," and therefore agreed (52.2%) or strongly agreed (22.6%) with the statement, "Advertising is essential for the prosperity of our economy" (Mean=3.91). Ethnicity was a factor in some responses, with Russian students answering more cynically and candidly than their Uzbek peers. Overall, the researchers attributed the negative scores to the infancy of the advertising industry in Uzbekistan, where many early advertising campaigns were untruthful or featured shoddy products.

Fullerton (2004) conducted a study of 105 international students from various countries enrolled at Regents College in London, England in July 2003. The students completed a 13-page questionnaire containing two attitudinal scales measuring attitude toward America and attitude toward advertising (results from the attitude toward America scale are discussed in Section Two of Chapter II). Overall, the students held a negative attitude toward advertising (Mean = 2.51). "They agreed most strongly with the

statement, 'Advertising often persuades people to buy things that they don't really need' (Mean = 4.17) and disagreed most strongly with the statement, 'In general, advertisements present a true picture of the product advertised' (Mean = 2.30)" (p. 12). However, Fullerton found no significant differences in the students' attitudes based on demographic variables such as gender, age or religion.

Advertising Studies in Singapore

There is a rich history of advertising research that has been conducted in Singapore. These studies have addressed variables affecting brand preference among Singaporeans (visuals, ethnicity of models, language, etc.), product placement in movies and TV shows, gender portrayals and lifestyle analysis of Singaporean consumers. Even though they investigate advertising from different perspectives, all of these studies provide insights about the Singaporean culture and how its consumers, particularly Chinese, respond to advertising.

Brand Recall and Preference. Leong et al. (1996) explored the effects of four independent variables on brand recall of print advertisements among 277 students at the National University of Singapore. These variables were type of ad (picture and words versus words only), level of processing (sensory versus semantic), level of meaning (high versus low), and number of exposures (one versus three). Students were randomly assigned to treatment groups between sizes of 16 and 19. Students were shown various print advertisements, based on the cell to which they were assigned in the factorial design. Results showed the variables affecting the most change in brand recall among these Singaporean students were: 1) level of meaning; 2) number of exposures; 3) level of

processing; and 4) picture versus word stimuli. An interesting finding was that pictures produced the least increase in brand recall.

Tan and Farley (1987) studied the effect of ethnicity of models used in advertisements and the advertised product's country of origin among Singaporean college students. Students from a large sample (n=1296) were randomly assigned to 12 cells (108 students per cell). Each respondent completed a questionnaire that contained a sample advertisement for one product. The advertisements were identical in every way, with the exception of the model featured. In all cases, student attitudes toward products of local origin were lower than attitudes toward imports. For two products, attitudes toward the print ads with the Asian model were significantly lower than ads with the Caucasian model. In only one case (men's clothing), attitude toward the print ad using the Asian model was higher. The authors concluded that their sample might have been overly westernized since the students overwhelmingly preferred imported products with Caucasian models promoting them. They suggested further tests on more traditional products linked with cultural meanings (like food) to see if these results were consistent across product types.

Schlevogt's (2000) results seem to contradict those of Tan and Farley (1987). Schlevogt cited a Gallup poll that indicated Chinese consumers prefer Chinese branded goods over American brands. Eighty percent of Chinese consumers said they prefer local brands like Wahaha cola and television maker Changhong over established Western brands like Coca-Cola. Seven of the top 10 brands in China ranked according to name recognition were also Chinese. Since the majority of consumers in Singapore are Chinese, this could be valuable information to international marketers.

Wee and Lwin (1994) surveyed 948 Chinese Singaporeans and found differences in advertising preference according to their language preference. Results indicated that Singaporeans who prefer to speak English were more influenced by the photographs and visuals in advertisements than by the details or body copy. They found lengthy product explanations boring and tedious. In contrast, Singaporeans who prefer to speak Chinese were more concerned with rational, informational aspects of advertisements, especially price information. These consumers were willing to read details of complex offers in print ads.

Advertising in Movies and Television. Karrh, Frith and Callison (2001) surveyed 97 American and 97 Singaporean college students to compare their attitudes toward product placement in movies and television programs as an advertising technique. Product placement refers to the inclusion of a branded product (i.e. Coke, Nike, McDonald's) in a scene of a movie or TV show. Results indicated that Singaporeans were less likely to perceive product placements as paid advertising; however, they were concerned about the ethics involved in these placements. In fact, Singaporeans were supportive of government restrictions on product placements. Both Americans and Singaporeans reported that they paid attention to product placements. Both groups also admitted that their purchasing habits are affected by brands they see in movies and TV shows.

Content Analysis (Gender Portrayal). Wee, Choong and Tambyah (1995) conducted a content analysis of almost 1,300 television commercials in Singapore and Malaysia to examine gender role portrayal in TV advertising. Malaysian commercials

tended to reflect the conservative nature of Malaysian society and the Muslim religion. Males were frequently shown in executive, independent roles while women were shown at home taking care of children. Singaporean commercials tended to reflect the Singaporean cosmopolitan lifestyle. Although males were frequently portrayed as business executives, more women were shown employed outside the home as well, mostly in white-collar positions. Women in Singaporean commercials were more modern, attractive and concerned about their appearances. The researchers concluded that the Singaporean commercials were more similar to U.S. commercials than Malaysian commercials in the sense that Singaporean women were portrayed as independent, but in a manner that would not offend traditional, spiritual values.

Lifestyle Analysis. Tai and Tam (1996) surveyed 107 Singaporean white-collar workers about their lifestyles and consumption patterns. Results showed that Singaporeans were very home-oriented. They preferred social activities that involved spending time with family members. They were very concerned about the environment. They were satisfied with their present jobs and held positive attitudes toward advertising. Results did show that females in Singapore were more influenced by friends and family in the choice of brands than males were. The authors attribute this to the fact that females often shop with large groups of female family members, while males do not.

Section Five: Shared Values Initiative (SVI) and Brand America

To address the declining Muslim attitudes toward the United States, the U.S. government created an international propaganda campaign to change public opinion in Islamic nations and ultimately help fight the war on terror. Government officials hoped

to capitalize on the fact that Islam is the fastest growing religion in the United States. According to the U.S. State Department, 60% of the 1,200 mosques in America were founded in the last two decades, and there now are more Muslims in America than Episcopalians, Lutherans and Presbyterians (Barta, 2002).

Charlotte Beers, Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy

Only a few weeks after the September 11th attacks, Secretary of State Colin Powell asked Charlotte Beers to head up the State Department's Bureau of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs ("Diplomat Beers," 2001). Powell believed that Beers' success leading two global advertising agencies, Ogilvy & Mather and J. Walter Thompson, would enable her to lead the international communications arm of the federal government. Explaining his unusual appointment of the Madison Avenue executive, Powell said, "'There is nothing wrong with getting somebody who knows how to sell something. We are selling a product. We need someone who can rebrand American foreign policy, rebrand diplomacy'" ("From Uncle Ben's", 2002, p. 70).

Beers was given the task of selling America's core values to the Muslim world in the first-ever public diplomacy campaign. Powers (2001) interviewed experts that disagreed about the effectiveness of using brand advertising in public diplomacy. Abe Novick, senior vice president of Eisner Communications, a Baltimore agency whose clients include the Voice of America, said there are many positive, cultural aspects to promote about America. "There's so much richness to tap into that's inspiring... I think we know who we are very well, and I think it's time the world understands better who we are" (p. 3578). Robert Keim, president of the Ad Council from 1966-87 disagreed with Beers' proposed branding approach, "To call our country a brand is to denigrate it in

people's minds" (p. 3579). Frank Mankiewicz, vice chairman of public relations at Hill & Knowlton, agreed with Keim. "It's like saying the U.S. is a brand like Nike... I don't think people are willing to die for Nike" (McDonald, 2001, p. 46). William J. Drake of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace questioned Powell's selection of Beers for the job. "I'm not sure what an ad person brings to public diplomacy in a time of war" said (Starr, 2001, p. 56). Nick Higham (2001) of BBC News warned, "One problem, clearly, is that many Muslim governments are not natural friends of freedom, tolerance or diversity," and cautioned Beers about producing a slick, brand campaign about American values (p. 19).

Soon after her appointment, Beers demonstrated her public relations skills by organizing a Ramadan celebration at the White House. On November 19, 2001, President Bush hosted 53 ambassadors from Islamic countries at the White House for an Iftaar, a traditional meal to break the daily fast that Muslims observe during the holy month of Ramadan. In his speech, the president stated that the United States was fighting a war against terrorism and not Islam (Edwards, 2001).

In December 2001, Beers developed her first large-scale public diplomacy effort, a brochure called "The Network of Terrorism." It contained grisly photos of the September 11 tragedy and explained Osama bin Laden's role in the attacks. Over one million copies were translated into 30 languages and distributed to Middle Eastern countries, often as newspaper supplements (Starr, 2001; "From Uncle Ben's," 2002).

Beers Identifies Shared Values with Muslim World

In 2002, Beers developed the Shared Values Initiative campaign. By applied marketing principles and audience research she identified vast differences between the

United States and Muslim nations in terms of modesty, obedience, duty, perseverance, freedom, faith, family and learning. Beers also learned that the “Western value system” was considered a negative influence by more than half of those polled in Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Morocco and Jordan (Beers, 2002). Based on this consumer research, Beers hired McCann-Erickson advertising agency to produce the SVI campaign to promote the shared values of faith and family between Americans and Muslims. Five testimonial-style commercials were produced featuring American Muslims living successful, family-centered, and faith-based lives in the United States. Those featured in the commercials were not actors and they were not paid for their performances. Beers collaborated with Chairman Malik Hasan of the Council of American Muslims for Understanding (CAMU) to develop the central themes for the commercials. Many politicians criticized the U.S. State Department’s partnership with such a religious organization and objected to CAMU receiving government funding. On April 24, 2002, Beers explained to a House appropriations subcommittee, "It is imperative that we reach out, inform, educate and persuade these [Muslim] populations that we are a society and a country that is based on certain shared values, values that resonate with the Muslim world, such as peace, acceptance, tolerance and love of family" (O’Keefe, 2002, p. 17).

Kendrick and Fullerton (2003) described the SVI commercials as follows:

- “Baker” profiles an average day in a busy family-run bakery/restaurant in Toledo, Ohio owned by a Lebanese family, and highlights the interaction between the Muslim owners and their non-Muslim American clientele. The father explains how he founded an Islamic school in his neighborhood.

- “Doctor” showcases the accomplishments of Dr. Elias Zerhouni, whom President George W. Bush named as Director of the National Institutes of Health. Dr. Zerhouni, who was born in Algeria, describes his life as a successful government official and respected Muslim American.

- “School Teacher” features Rawai Ismail working as a public school teacher in Toledo, Ohio. The spot shows her wearing a hijab while teaching elementary school children and later holding Saturday Koran classes in her home. Ismail is shown playing with her children, cheering at a little league baseball game and interacting socially with children of various races.

- “Journalist” follows a female Indonesian journalism student at the University of Missouri through a typical day as a reporter for the school television news show, as a student and as a practicing Muslim. The spot shows her interacting with other students and professors.

- “Firefighter” shows a young, very-Americanized, Muslim firefighter sharing his experiences since September 11th. In the spot, he describes the closeness he feels to both his non-Muslim co-workers and community around his New York City fire station. The spot also features a young, African-American Muslim counselor. He describes his role in the community and how he provides encouragement to New York City police officers. He also claims that Muslims in America have more freedom “to work for Islam” than in any other country.

The SVI Campaign is Launched

The SVI commercials were broadcast throughout the Middle East and Southeast Asia from October 2002 to January 2003. They were launched first in Indonesia, where

88% of the nation's 217 million people are Muslim (Care International, 2004). Special efforts were made to give audiences the chance to respond to the commercials and the supporting print campaign. Over 300,000 brochures titled "Muslim Life in America" were distributed by American embassies containing tear sheets for readers to send their feedback to local officials or directly to the U.S. State Department (Perlez, 2002; "Public Diplomacy," 2003).

Choquette (2004) explains that a combination of donated airtime and paid commercial broadcasts was used in the SVI campaign:

Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan agreed to air the campaign at no charge. State-run networks in Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan had initially expressed interest in airing the mini-documentaries but reversed their willingness upon viewing the final product; pan-Arab satellite networks in England eventually brought the campaign to these countries as well as to Iraq and Iran. (p. 24)

The U.S. State Department (2003) confirmed that it had purchased commercial airtime in Pakistan, Malaysia, Indonesia, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, Kenya and Tanzania. Koranteng (2001) reported that al-Jazeera, the pan-Arab satellite news channel often called "the Arab world's CNN" would accept the SVI commercials. "'Not only will we take advertising from the U.S. government, it will be an honor for us,' said Foad Tawil, managing director for advertising at Gulf Space International, the Dubai-based company that sells al-Jazeera's airtime. 'We're eager to see it [happen]'" (p. 4). However, the U.S. State Department did not purchase airtime because the network was charging extremely high prices (Choquette, 2004).

Criticisms of the SVI Campaign

Reactions to this American "propaganda" campaign were mixed, with many foreigners, as well as Muslim Americans, complaining that the spots were "patronizing,

simplistic, arrogant, even stupid” (Perlez, 2002; “Big bucks,” 2003). Others distrusted the religious tolerance theme and believed the spots portrayed the United States as self-centered and globally ignorant. Some complained about the lack of Muslims from East and Southeast Asia in the commercials (Perlez, 2002). Georgetown University professor Mamoun Fandy said the campaign had actually “contributed to anti-Americanism in the region [Southeast Asia]” (“Public Diplomacy,” 2003).

Perhaps the sharpest criticism of the SVI campaign came from the advertising industry itself. In *Brandweek* magazine, Matthew Grimm (2003) wrote that “marketing tools don’t work in public policy” and claimed the U.S. government was “throwing money at the problem without actually addressing it... when you flag America’s institutional beneficence in a region in which for years it played chess with despots to benefit a consortium of U.S. oil companies” (p. 19). Grimm claimed the SVI campaign was ineffective, citing Pew Research data that showed Muslim perceptions of America still decreasing. To solve this problem, Grimm suggested the State Department should outline U.S. foreign policy more in future campaigns. The conclusion of Grimm’s article seemed to address Beers directly, “America is not a brand, and if you’re thinking of it as such, get the hell out of government and go back to the corporate tower” (p. 19). Steve Silver, a partner of Helios Consulting and expert in brand positioning, agreed with Grimm in a March 2003 interview aired on National Public Radio. “Foreign policy is integral to the entire task of brand management and that... is one of the shortcomings of what has been done to date [the SVI campaign].”

Academic Research on the SVI Campaign

Formal mass communications research about the effectiveness of the SVI campaign has been limited to a few studies. Kendrick and Fullerton (2003) analyzed the propaganda content and media coverage of the SVI commercials. Some labeled the campaign as blatant propaganda. Many viewers complained that the campaign left out key facts about American foreign policy. Choquette (2004) also found that most SVI critics wanted to see the United States articulate its foreign policy. “The Middle East doesn’t want an airbrushed picture of Muslim life in the United States. It wants answers, about xenophobia in post-9/11 America, about the futures of Palestine and Iraq, about political and economic reforms in the region, and about America’s relationship with Israel” (p. 26). To address this concern, Kendrick and Fullerton (2003) advocated more interactive, two-sided communications to better explain U.S. policy to the targets.

To assess international students’ reactions to the SVI commercials, Kendrick and Fullerton (2004) conducted a study of 105 students, from 25 different countries, studying at Regents College in London, England. A pre-post experimental design and advertising copy test were used. Students completed the first part of a questionnaire, viewed the SVI commercials, and then completed the second part of the questionnaire. The students’ attitudes toward the U.S. government, U.S. people and how Muslims are treated in America were all measured using statements with Likert scale responses before and after viewing the commercials. Open-ended questions captured the students’ first impressions of the commercials, as well as their main message, liked/disliked aspects, credibility, effectiveness and appropriateness. Results showed a significant positive increase in attitudes toward the U.S. government after viewing the commercials (pre mean = 1.86;

post mean = 2.05, $t = -2.54$, $p = .013$). After viewing the commercials, students also agreed significantly more strongly that Muslims in America are treated fairly (pre mean = 2.82, post mean = 3.14, $t = -3.762$, $p = .0001$). Results of the open-ended questions were mixed. Almost 40% had negative first impressions of the commercials, including comments like “fake, suspicious, propaganda, misleading and one-sided.” Sixty-four percent found the commercials confusing or hard to believe. However, nearly 60% understood the main message of the commercials to be improving the image of the United States, writing comments like “opportunities, Americans like/respect Muslims, freedom, acceptance.” Thirty-nine percent thought the United States used an appropriate strategy in the commercials, while 37% thought it was inappropriate. Nearly half (46.6%) agreed with the statement that “the videos are an effective tool in communicating with citizens of Muslim countries about the positive aspects of Muslim life.” Overall, despite some criticisms about believability and the one-sided nature of the scripts, Kendrick and Fullerton found the SVI commercials achieved the original goals that the U.S. State Department had set. “Results of the experiment showed that viewing the Shared Values Initiative commercials produced immediate and significant attitude shifts. Overall attitudes toward the U.S. government as well as whether Muslims were treated fairly in the United States increased significantly after the videos were shown” (p. 14).

Charlotte Beers Resigns

On March 3, 2003, Charlotte Beers announced her resignation from the U.S. Department of State, citing health concerns; however, many speculated that politicians who were uncomfortable with her methods and critical of the SVI campaign contributed to her decision (“Big bucks,” 2003). Before she left, Beers summarized the grim reality

facing the United States and its image problem in the Muslim world when she addressed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in February 2003. “We are talking about millions of ordinary people, a huge number of whom have gravely distorted but carefully cultivated images of us,” she said. “The gap between who we are and how we wish to be seen, and how we are in fact seen, is frighteningly wide” (“Big bucks,” 2003, p.A6).

Brand America and Business for Diplomatic Action (BDA)

When he heard President Bush’s question, “Why do they hate us?” after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, DDB Worldwide Chairman Keith Reinhard decided to investigate the question himself. Reinhard launched a task force of DDB professionals in 17 countries, sending them a brief with an assignment to gather information about anti-Americanism. In January 2002, the task force had identified four negative factors that contributed to American offensiveness (Reinhard, 2003, p. 30):

1. Exploitation – the feeling that American companies take more than they give.
2. The corrupting influence – the view that American brands enhance thinking and behavior that clash with local customs or cultural or religious norms.
3. Gross insensitivity and arrogance – everything from failure to use the local language to the perception that Americans believe everyone wants to be like them.
4. Hyper-consumerism – the feeling that, to Americans, dollars are more important than people, that U.S. companies are more interested in money than humanity and present products that are not needed or wanted.

Reinhard was surprised to learn that U.S. foreign policy was not the sole cause of anti-Americanism abroad. In an interview with *Adweek*, he cited the results of a Roper-ASW study released on July 1, 2003, that show for the first time since 1998 that consumers are so disenchanted with America that they are less likely to buy American

brands like Nike, McDonald's, Microsoft, Disney, etc. Reinhard said, "DDB has a lot of big U.S.-based multinational clients, and I wanted to better understand this issue so we could be more helpful to our clients in advising them... Public diplomacy has also become a personal passion" (Melillo, 2003, p. 10).

Originally called "Brand America", Reinhard's task force met informally between 2001 to 2003. Staffers from The Richards Group, Temerlin McClain, Publicis, DDB Needham (Chicago, Dallas and New York offices), Weber Shandwick, Saatchi and Saatchi, Grey Worldwide, TBWA Worldwide, McCann Erickson, and client reps from American Airlines, EDS, Exxon Mobil, Frito-Lay, Nokia, Warner Brothers and the Sesame Workshop have been involved. In January 2004, the group was incorporated under the name Business for Diplomatic Action (BDA). Reinhard hopes to distance BDA from the failed SVI campaign, although he hired Cari Eggspuehler, former assistant to Charlotte Beers, as BDA's executive director. Reinhard believes the private sector is better suited to address the issues of public diplomacy. "Businesses can operate without the bureaucratic entanglements that Charlotte Beers faced during her time at the State Department" (p. 10).

Reinhard pledged that BDA would constantly look for ways to reduce anti-Americanism that don't have anything to do with advertising campaigns. For example, in October 2004, in a partnership with Southern Methodist University, BDA published the World Citizens Guide for young Americans travelers. The guide includes information about culture, religion, politics, language and money issues that students might encounter while studying abroad or traveling. Most of the content was compiled from foreign nationals working in 130 DDB offices worldwide. Reinhard asked them, "If you could

advise Americans on what they could do to be better global citizens and to reduce resentment towards them, what would you say?" (Dickenson, 2004). The guide will be distributed in partnership with two groups – NAFSA: Association of International Educators and STA: Student Travel Abroad.

Careful Overseas Brand Positioning

To insulate themselves from anti-Americanism and consumer backlash, many U.S. companies are giving their brands local appeal instead of touting “Made in America” slogans. “Coke, GE, McDonald’s and Boeing attribute their staying power to decisions made years ago to localize their global businesses. All employ hundreds of thousands of people overseas and attempt to bend their products and selling strategies to fit local tastes” (Guyon, 2003, p. 180). This model seems to be working. A recent GMI poll revealed that foreign consumers barely identified Visa as an American brand; however, American Express was strongly identified as American (Gumber, 2005).

Harvard professor John Quelch isn’t worried about foreign consumers boycotting U.S. brands. He found only a minority of foreign consumers, between 10% and 15%, refuse to buy U.S. brands. Quelch attributes this amount to the anti-global movement from the last decade, not today’s anti-Americanism. He is skeptical that the average shoppers are going to let their views of American foreign policy affect the brand decisions (Gumber, 2005).

Section Six: The Nation of Singapore

Singapore is a tiny, island nation that is seen as one of the great economic success stories of this century. However, it is also seen as an authoritarian state that limits free

speech and political choice. As it has shaped its nation's collective mind, the Singapore government has traditionally rejected Western ideals of individualism and liberty, while it has promoted Asian values like studiousness, achievement through hard work, and respect for authority through government sponsored propaganda campaigns (Yuen, 1999).

The fact that Singapore's press system operates under strict government control has been well documented by Tan and Soh (1994). But interestingly, most Singaporeans support media censorship, including advertising censorship by the Advertising Standards Authority of Singapore, for several reasons. They are concerned about economic stability. They also support the government's efforts to maintain racial harmony. Many older Singaporeans believe an uncensored media would lead to the erosion of traditional Asian values (Gunther & Hwa, 1996).

The Singapore government is very concerned about threats from Islamic terrorists in Southeast Asia. Since the September 11 attacks, Singapore authorities have stopped plots by the Indonesian-based terrorist group Jemaah Islamiah to bomb various targets in Singapore. These targets included the U.S. naval base, U.S. embassy, Shell and Exxon facilities, Changi Airport and public transportation stations.

History, People and Religions of Singapore

Singapore was founded as a British trading colony in 1819. It joined the Malaysian Federation in 1963 but separated two years later and became independent. It soon became one of the world's most prosperous countries with strong international trading links (its port is the world's busiest in terms of tonnage handled) and with per capita GDP equal to that of Western European nations (Luen, 2000). Singapore has a

population of approximately 4.4 million. The multi-racial society is divided into three main segments: Chinese (76.7%), Malay (14%), Indian (7.9%) and Other (1.4%). When Singapore became independent in 1965, the government advocated policies of social and religious tolerance to reduce ethnic tensions and create a cosmopolitan Asian society.

Chinese were present when the British colonized the island. Many different Chinese subcultures are represented in Singapore, including Hokkien, Teochiu, Hakka and Cantonese. These groups speak different dialects of Chinese, although Mandarin is the preferred Chinese language in Singapore. Chinese leaders are politically and economically dominant, which often creates tensions with Malaysian leaders to the north. Most Chinese in Singapore are very religious, following one or a combination of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism (Levinson, 1998).

Malays are the indigenous race of Singapore, although today they represent a minority of the population. Most Malays (70%) actually came from Indonesia, not Malaysia, and are known as Javanese. Unfortunately, the Malay community suffers from high crime, drug addiction and school dropouts. Government education programs have been instituted to reverse these social trends. Most Malays in Singapore practice Islam (Levinson, 1998).

The British colonists brought Indians to the island of Singapore to work as unskilled laborers; however, today many educated Indians have become successful in business, banking and government. This has created a type of Indian caste system. The Indian community is comprised of various subcultures, including Indians, Bangladeshis, Burmans, Sri Lankans and Sikhs. The majority are Tamils from southeastern India.

Most Indians practice Hinduism or Sikhism, although a few practice Islam (Levinson, 1998).

English is recognized as the common language for all Singaporeans. Besides English, most people also speak dialects of Chinese, Malay or Tamil. Among young people, a slang language called “Singlish” has developed, combining elements of English and Chinese. As noted above, several religions are practiced in Singapore. These include Buddhism (43%), Islam (15%), Christianity (15%), Taoism (9%), Hinduism (4%), Sikhism (2%), and Confucianism (2%). Singaporean atheists are usually labeled as Free Thinkers in the press and literature (Luen, 2000). Since Singapore is located in the diverse region of Southeast Asia, the government encourages social harmony and racial cohesion. Journalist Martin Cohn (2002) of *The Toronto Star* wrote about how maintaining good race relations is very important to the Singapore government:

Indeed, it [social harmony] is the unofficial ideology of this tiny island republic... whose ethnic Chinese majority is sandwiched – often uncomfortably – between two predominantly Muslim giants, Indonesia and Malaysia. (p. A11)

The “Kiasu” Concept

Singaporeans are guided in life by a concept known as kiasu. Commonly known as “striving to be the best” or “fear of losing”, kiasu makes Singaporeans behave very competitively in all aspects of life. In his book *Why Asians are Less Creative than Westerners*, Dr. Ng Aik Kwang (2001) describes kiasu:

In spite of the fact that money is no guarantee of happiness, many Asians still strive after the status symbols of their society. But because these material goods are what similar others in society desire as well, and the demand is more than the supply, the person is forced to be one step ahead of the others, so that he will not lose out to them. In Singapore, a person who behaves in this manner is said to be kiasu, or afraid to lose out. (p. 91)

Kwang believes this “fear of losing” or “fear of coming in second place” makes Singaporeans behave in a highly ego-involved manner. He continues:

The kiasu Singaporean is the essential product of a Skinnerian society, in which people and institutions are ranked competitively from top to bottom, and materialistic rewards and punishments serve as a major means of prodding individuals to behave. Under such circumstances, intelligent individuals with a Machiavellian streak in their character mock any parallel efforts. (p. 193)

Kwang contends that understanding the competitive nature of kiasu is the key to understanding the inferiority complexes of Singaporean college students, especially those that come to the United States to study. These students are growing irritated with American students’ ignorance about their country, its location, language, racial composition and history. They are tired of Singapore being linked with the Michael Fay vandalism incident and subsequent caning. They are offended that Americans often confuse their country with the Chinese city of Shanghai. They are offended that Americans don’t realize that Singaporeans speak English. Given Singapore’s economic success and strategic military position as an ally to the United States in Southeast Asia, this inferiority complex among the younger generation is understandable.

Kiasu in Education -- Adopting the American System

The Singaporean government is rapidly forming alliances with American universities to bring their education systems to Singaporean classrooms. “American-style higher learning has become an absolutely crucial part of our vision for education,” says Jacob Phang, the director of external relations at the National University of Singapore. “The very future of our economy is based on this realization” (Cohen, 1999, p. A62). The British system that Singapore inherited from its colonial past “was still good in terms of its depth, rigor, and quality control,” says Lim Pin, vice-chancellor of the National

University. “But the American system, we now believe, is good for its flexibility, scope and choice” (Cohen, 1999, p. A62).

The list of American universities working in partnerships with Singapore includes the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the California Institute of Technology, the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Chicago, Cornell, Stanford, Johns Hopkins and Oklahoma City University. The Singapore government recently launched Singapore Management University, a joint venture with the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, to provide top-flight business education (Cohen, 1999, p. A62).

Singapore’s Propaganda or “Public Education” Campaigns

In *The Straits Times*, Susan Long (2003) explained how propaganda or “public education” campaigns have been used as tools by the ruling People’s Action Party (PAP) in Singapore since independence in 1965. Some, like the Courtesy and Speak Mandarin campaigns, have stretched for decades. The PAP has used others to address more short-term issues. Some famous campaigns include:

- 1967 – Eat More Wheat
- 1968 – Keep Singapore Clean
- 1978 – Stop at Two (children)
- 1979 – Use Metric
- 1981 – Be Punctual
- 1984 – Stop Spitting
- 1985 – Eat Frozen Pork
- 1987 – Clean Up the Singapore River
- 1989 – Care and Share Month
- 1990 – Maintain Cleanliness in Public Toilets
- 1993 – The Great Singapore Workout
- 1995 – Anti-littering Campaign
- 2001 – Speak Good English
- 2003 – Eat With Your Family Day

Mr. Basskaran Nair headed the government press department and supervised the propaganda campaigns from 1974 to 1986. Today, he is an associate professor of communications at the National University of Singapore. Nair explained the origin of the campaigns:

In those days, the campaigns were aimed at forging a nation and a sense of ownership among a migrant people, who were racially and emotionally divided... From Family Planning to No Spitting to Planting Trees, it was really to socially re-engineer people to become responsible citizens. It was to make them behave and to understand that the law will be enforced fairly and harshly if they did not comply. (Long, 2003, p. 27)

However, it seems that some Singaporeans are willing to criticize the national campaigns. Family therapist Anthony Yeo is a vocal critic of campaigns that attempt to change the social aspects of family life in Singapore:

Campaigns these days bear on the idealistic and seem to be crafted by advertising people who lack contact with the ground and are insensitive to our local culture. (Long, 2003, p. 27)

Advertising copywriter Adrian Tan believes that many Singaporeans view the campaigns as “trespassing on their private domain and independence”. He thinks Singaporeans are growing weary of being “instructed” or “told how to behave” by higher authorities (Long, 2003, p. 29).

Alvin Pang, head of Pagesetters advertising firm in Singapore, believes the government campaigns are still useful, but to a lesser degree than before:

We are at a peculiar stage of transition [in Singapore], where some of us are sophisticated enough to see the crassness of campaigns, while there are others who may still need things spelled out in simple, stark terms. Witness the SARS phenomenon, and the wave of hysteria, paranoia and downright superstition surrounding the virus... It was the right thing to come out strongly to dispel the myths and present the facts. (Long, 2003, p. 29)

History of Press Censorship in Singapore

Many countries have tried to control the media and muzzle their own domestic press, but none has succeeded so well with controlling the international media as Singapore. From a Western perspective, especially American, it is difficult to defend censorship. However, Singapore's government believes that media censorship is vital in order to maintain social and racial harmony in the nation (Tan & Soh, 1994).

Under the leadership of Minister Mentor Lee Kuan Yew, who is considered the founding father of modern Singapore, the government passed a series of censorship laws that established clear guidelines for the press. Wraga (1995) examined each of these acts in detail:

The Internal Security Act of 1963 prohibited the "printing, publishing, circulation and possession of any material deemed counter to the 'national interest, public order or society of Singapore'".

The Sedition Act of 1964 banned publications that demonstrated "seditious tendencies", which weren't clearly defined in the act itself.

The Undesirable Publications Act of 1967 gave the government power to ban publications it deemed "contrary to the public interest". This prevented the media from being a watchdog over government, as it does in the West.

The Newspaper and Printing Presses Act of 1974 required editors and printers to obtain annual government licenses. Newspapers applying for licenses agree to one main condition. They must not to carry "any article which is likely to cause ill-will or misunderstanding between the government and people of Singapore... or which is likely to excite communal or racial emotions; or which glorifies or justifies the use of violence

in politics” (Tan & Soh, 1994, p. 36). The law also consolidated press operations under three companies: Singapore Press Holdings, The Straits Times Press or Times Publishing Company (Wrage, 1995).

Amendments to the Newspaper and Printing Presses Act came in 1986. These made it easier for the government to punish errant publications. They also made it legal for Singapore’s officials to declare any newspaper published outside Singapore to be engaging in the domestic politics of Singapore (Wrage, 1995). Newspapers so designated could only be sold in Singapore with government approval. The government could also limit the number of copies to be circulated in the nation.

Today, the government continues to restrict the circulation of popular titles like *TIME* magazine, *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, *Asiaweek*, and *The Economist* for printing articles that weaken national harmony (Tan & Soh, 1994). Minister Mentor Lee Kuan Yew explained why in a 1989 speech:

One value which does not fit Singapore is the theory that the press is the Fourth Estate. And in Singapore’s experience, because of our volatile racial and religious mix, the American concept of the ‘marketplace of ideas’, instead of producing harmonious enlightenment, has, from time to time, led to riots and bloodshed... We cannot allow them [journalists] to assume a role in Singapore that the American media play in America, that of adversary and inquisitor of the administration. If allowed to do so, they will radically change the nature of Singapore society, and I doubt if our social glue is strong enough to withstand such treatment. (Tan & Soh, 1994, p. 55)

Many publications choose to pull out of Singapore altogether once they’ve been censored. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* stopped selling issues in Singapore since its circulation was cut to 500 copies a week in 1987 after it printed a series of critical articles (“No love lost,” 1990). In 1990, Dow Jones pulled the *Asian Wall Street Journal* from circulation when the government passed a law requiring foreign publications to pay

deposits against future legal judgments. In other words, the government wanted publishers to pay legal fees for libel suits in advance. Dow Jones replied, “What the government of Singapore wants is for the foreign press to practice self-censorship. We cannot accept the implicit bargain” (Branegan, 1990, p. 91).

Even *TIME* magazine has had problems in Singapore. In 1987, its circulation was cut to 2,000 after it failed to print a letter from the government that pointed out errors in a previous story about an opposition leader (Branegan, 1990).

Singapore’s top leaders are willing to endure negative international publicity. In fact, Minister Mentor Lee believes such publicity tells Singaporeans that, “regardless of the pontifications of foreign correspondents and commentators, it is the values of the elected government of Singapore that must and will prevail” (“Nose cut off,” 1990, p. 40). The government is serious about censoring foreign criticism about its policies. In 1995, Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong stated that “attacks by hostile Western media [are] the second gravest threat facing the nation” (Wallace, 1995, p. 20). Minister Mentor Lee succeeded in creating an international debate on whether Asian values include a free press or not. In fact, other authoritarian governments in Southeast Asia are carefully studying the Singaporean model of success, in which economic growth depends on intellectual and political repression (Schidlovsky, 1996).

Censoring the Internet

With its global reach and evolving content, the Internet poses a great censorship challenge to Singapore. Although it might seem easy to control only three Internet service providers in the nation, many problems still abound. Regulating the Internet is a constant chore, but the government believes it is essential for national security purposes.

In July 2000, Singapore Minister of Information and the Arts, Lee Yock Suan, said that technological breakthroughs are changing the world and creating enormous potential for growth. But, he added, they may also “threaten society... and pose troubling issues of ethics and morality” (Xinhua News, 2000).

Singapore has explored many ways to censor the Internet, including spying on users. Most of these tactics would be considered unethical by Western standards. In 1994, a database administrator at TechNet, a government-funded network that provided access to academics and researchers, conducted an unauthorized scan for .GIF graphic images through 80,000 employee files. Of those files scanned, five were found pornographic by Singapore’s standards and their owners received stiff fines (Johnstone, 1995). In April 1999, Singapore’s internal security agency secretly scanned 200,000 private computers and confiscated those that contained pornographic images. As a result, many users are afraid to use the Internet at home. “Singapore Internet users are always fighting... the perceived fear that someone will come knocking on your door,” said Harish Pillay, who heads Singapore’s Internet Society (Levander, 1999, not paginated).

Relaxing Censorship in Singapore

Singapore is now promoting itself as a media hub and knowledge-based economy. The nation is actively recruiting foreign industries (i.e. Hewlett Packard, FedEx, Xerox, 3M, Siemens, Seagate) and is trying to persuade them to build new facilities in Singapore. However, analysts agree that it will take quite some time for Singapore to shake off its authoritarian image where Big Brother keeps a tight grasp on information flow (Bociurkiw, 2000). Evidence is emerging that Singapore is relaxing censorship laws

in order to achieve additional economic growth. Many government leaders are hinting about lifting government restrictions.

With a Westernized younger generation on its hands, Singapore is being forced to adjust to modern life. Information Minister Lee Yock Suan recently said that many of Singapore's censorship laws need to be reviewed. Of course a review doesn't mean they will be dropped entirely, but the government has acknowledged that things aren't working like they used to. "Times have changed and we are all bombarded by all these new media. Values have changed. People are now much more exposed" (Ching, 1999, p. 31).

Once a forbidden topic, race relations is now being discussed openly in the pages of *The Straits Times* and other newspapers. A public Speaker's Corner has been created in Hong Lim Park, where anyone can speak without obtaining a permit from the government first. Citizens must show their ID cards and register with the police, who will keep the names on file for five years (Mydans, 2000). Although it represents a step in the right direction, most citizens are wary of the Speaker's Corner. In a poll conducted in August 2000 by the Chinese-language newspaper *Lianhe Zaobao*, 9 out of 10 people said that if they disagreed with any government policies they would not say so in public. One-third said they wouldn't even tell their family and friends (Mydans, 2000).

Easing censorship controls has not happened overnight. In December 1997, the Ministry of Information and the Arts introduced a self-censorship scheme to enable record companies to speed up imports of compact discs into the island. Categories of music like classical, jazz, folk, opera and instrumental were made exempt from censor approval. In addition, the MIA agreed to approve certain recordings that contain a

moderate amount of swearing or mildly aggressive lyrics and have only a niche audience (Cheah, 1997). Thus, many Beatles recordings that had been previously banned (i.e. “Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band”) can now be considered for release.

In April 1998, the Singapore Broadcasting Authority announced that it was changing some of the rules governing ISPs in order to encourage Singaporeans to shop on-line and support e-commerce. ISPs were still required to block over 100 Web sites banned by the government; however, Singapore limited the liability of service providers for content carried on their systems (Powell, 1998).

Reducing Censorship on American Entertainment

Throughout Southeast Asia, American sitcoms and soap operas are extremely popular, as well as prime time favorites like *CSI*, *ER*, *The Amazing Race*, *The Bachelor* and *Fear Factor* (“AXN,” 2003). One of the most popular American programs in Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore is professional wrestling, especially World Wrestling Entertainment’s *Smackdown* and *Raw* series (“World,” 2003).

Censors in Singapore have relaxed many restrictions over the past 12 months, permitting many “taboo” American TV series and movies to be shown. In September 2003, the government approved *Sex and the City* for broadcast on HBO Asia. The series was long considered too indecent for Singaporean audiences (Associated Press, 2004).

American movies have been popular with Singaporeans for decades (although most are edited to remove violent and sexual content). The increase of multiplex theaters in shopping malls with stadium seating intensified this popularity. Since Hollywood productions must be reviewed by the Board of Film Censors, they are usually screened in Singapore six to seven weeks after their release in the United States (Tan & Soh, 1994).

However, in March 2004 censors relaxed their standards to allow more popular R-rated American films into Singapore by creating a new film rating (M-18) – viewers over 18. Mel Gibson’s *The Passion of the Christ* was the first film to receive the new rating, allowing it to be shown unedited. Government censors wanted to bridge the gap between its NC16 (no children under 16) and R21 (restricted to over 21) ratings (Fine & Osborne, 2004).

Singapore’s Advertising Industry

According to the Singapore Department of Statistics 2000 Report, advertising businesses in Singapore earned \$1.24 billion (U.S. dollars) and employed 5,584 people (Heng, Choo & Ho, 2003).

The Asian Mass Communication Research & Information Center at the National University of Singapore reports there are 121 local and 19 foreign owned advertising agencies in Singapore. These include many branch offices of the world’s leading agency networks: BBDO, DDB, J. Walter Thompson, Leo Burnett, McCann-Erickson, Ogilvy & Mather and Saatchi & Saatchi (“Singapore,” 2005). Perhaps the most famous advertising agency in Singapore is Batey Ads, a local shop founded by Australian advertising guru Ian Batey that created the renowned “Singapore Girl” campaign for Singapore Airlines.

Top global marketers in Singapore that were U.S. companies included Dell Computer and Exxon-Mobil (known as MobilOne in 2002), which spent \$14.4 and \$14.0 million respectively (Crain, 2003).

Advertising Guidelines

Tan and Soh (1994) explained how guidelines on ethical advertising are enforced in Singapore. The 1976 Code of Advertising Practice was initiated by the government to ban advertisements that discriminate against race, religion or sex. The original version of the code also limited a company's ability to make price comparisons with its competitors. A competitor must have charged a higher price for at least 28 days in order for the advertiser to claim a cheaper price. The code has been amended to contain a list of forbidden advertising practices. Those that are notably different from advertising standards in the United States include:

- Not using fear appeals to persuade consumers
- Not attacking or discrediting other products
- Not depicting members of government in advertisements
- Restricting the use of the words "guarantee", "warranty" and "free"
- Restricting the use of testimonials from persons outside Singapore

Tan and Soh (1994) also explained that the Consumers' Association of Singapore established the Advertising Standards Authority of Singapore in 1976 as a regulatory body to oversee the advertising industry. Members of the ASAS include representatives from the government, media, medical field, environmental protection field, and the Association of Accredited Advertising Agents. The ASAS employs a large staff to sample advertisements in newspaper and television each day. These samples are analyzed by the ASAS to ensure they comply with ethical standards and the Code of Advertising Practice. The ASAS also serves as an agency that hears public complaints against advertisers, a function similarly performed by the Federal Trade Commission in the United States. The ASAS has the authority to instruct offensive advertisers to amend their messages or to withdraw them from print and broadcast media. If the advertiser

refuses, the ASAS can instruct media owners to stop running the offensive material or risk prosecution.

Tan and Soh (1994) recalled that the most complaints the ASAS receives are for advertisements that use sex appeal, racial stereotypes, misleading price claims or socially unacceptable humor. Global advertisers like Benetton, Nestle, Mobil, McDonald's and Kodak have been asked to revise or pull their advertising executions after being scrutinized by the ASAS. This type of censorship is consistent with the government's primary agenda of maintaining social, racial and religious harmony in Singapore.

On January 9, 2003, the Singapore Code of Advertising Practice was updated to prohibit the use of fake testimonials. ASAS now requires advertisers to produce substantiation for all testimonials. Celebrities who endorse products must have actually used them. ASAS chairman Ivan Chong said, "How can a person who has never used the product say how wonderful it is? We fine-tuned our guidelines to encourage good-faith advertisements" (Wong, 2003, p. 1). In 2002, ASAS handled over 200 cases about misleading testimonials, especially in weight loss print ads with before and after photographs.

Terrorism and Singapore

Singapore has become a prime target for terrorist groups because of its support of the United States. Singapore is located between two of the largest Islamic nations in the world where terrorists are known to operate – Indonesia and Malaysia. The U.S. Navy has a logistics base in Singapore and warships going to and from Afghanistan and Iraq have been resupplied in Singapore for years. Besides a military presence, the U.S. has

extensive business investments in Singapore. Over 200 American companies have offices there (Cohn, 2002).

During an American raid of Al-Qaeda leader Muhammad Atef's home in Afghanistan in December 2001, troops found disturbing evidence of planned terrorist attacks in Singapore. On December 28, Singapore authorities viewed the videotapes and Arabic handwritten notes for the first time. They contained elaborate surveillance plans with the voice of Hashim Abas, a militant terrorist with the Indonesian-based Jemaah Islamiah, narrating plans to plant bombs near embassies, U.S. Navy ships, subway stations, sewer grates, bicycle stands and pubs where American troops frequently relaxed. In January 2002, Singapore authorities arrested 15 members of Jemaah Islamiah for planning the attacks. Thirteen were imprisoned indefinitely without trial under provisions of Singapore's draconian Internal Security Act. The other two received severe travel restrictions (Cohn, 2002).

Perhaps the most disturbing fact about these terrorists was how they blended into Singaporean society so easily:

The 13 clean-cut local Muslims [defied] the stereotypes of far-away terrorists. They lived in public housing flats, graduated from local technical schools and were model employees. At local madrassas (Islamic religious schools) no one had ever heard of them... Six of them did full-time national service in the army. (Cohn, 2002, p. A11)

On January 10, 2003, the Singapore government released a white-paper outlining how Jemaah Islamiah was responsible for the October 12, 2002, bombings in Bali, Indonesia, compiled from the interrogation of 31 Singaporean Muslim terrorists. The nightclub attacks killed over 200 people, including many Australian and American

citizens. The document also expressed concern about Osama bin Laden's vow to destroy Australia over its role in East Timor and called for the public's support:

Even if the U.S. succeeds in dismantling Al-Qaeda, radical Muslim groups in the region will continue to pursue Al-Qaeda's agenda of global jihad... These groups will pose a grave threat to the security of Southeast Asia for years to come. (Ellis, 2003, p. 9)

On December 15, 2004, *The Straits Times* published a column written by Singapore's Minister Mentor Lee Kuan Yew titled, "What the Bush victory means for East Asia." MM Lee explains that many Asian leaders expect and hope President Bush will pursue a more aggressive agenda against terrorism in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. MM Lee also pledges support for an international coalition against terrorism based on moderate religious values:

No matter how many atrocities Al-Qaeda or Jemaah Islamiah may commit, they cannot take over the Christian West, Hindu South Asia and Buddhist East Asia. They can, however, overthrow moderate Muslim governments. Therefore it is only a question of time before moderates clash with extremists in Muslim countries. If America, Europe, Russia, China and India stand solidly against Islamic terrorism, Muslim moderates will take heart, knowing that they have the world's backing when they face down fundamentalist ulamas (religious scholars) who preach hatred towards and death for the enemies of Islam – Americans, Israelis and many others the world over. (p. 22)

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Research Problem

This study seeks to investigate the role of U.S. dominated global media messages in anti-Americanism by measuring attitudes among international college students toward America and Americans. Three mass mediated inputs (U.S. entertainment, U.S. multinational advertising and U.S. government sponsored communication), as well as personal characteristics, are measured and analyzed to determine their impact on attitude formation.

Research Questions

Specifically, the following research questions were examined in this study:

1. What are the prevailing attitudes toward the United States, the U.S. government, the U.S. people and the U.S. culture held by Singaporean college students? Do these attitudes vary according to demographic variables such as gender, age, ethnicity, religion and having visited the United States?
2. What types and levels of U.S. media are consumed by Singaporean college students? Do these types vary according to demographic variables such as gender, age, ethnicity, religion and having visited the United States?
3. For Singaporean college students, does a relationship exist between higher levels of consumption of U.S. media and attitudes toward the United States?

4. For Singaporean college students, does viewing U.S. television programs or movies affect their attitude toward the United States?
5. What are the prevailing attitudes about advertising held by Singaporean college students? Do these attitudes vary according to demographic variables such as gender, age, ethnicity, religion, and having visited the United States?
6. For Singaporean college students, do attitudes about advertising vary in terms of economic effects, regulations, social effects and ethical implications?
7. For Singaporean college students, does a relationship exist between higher levels of exposure to U.S. media and attitude toward advertising?
8. For Singaporean college students, what is the overall likeability of U.S. brands and does this likeability vary according to demographic variables such as gender, age, ethnicity, religion and having visited the United States?
9. For Singaporean college students, does a relationship exist between attitude toward advertising and attitude toward America?
10. Overall, for Singaporean college students, what inputs (variables) account for the variability in their attitude toward America scores?

Additionally, this study tests the effectiveness of a recent U.S. public diplomacy campaign known as the Shared Values Initiative. The SVI campaign was the first American advertising campaign to the Muslim world, a new method of propaganda. It was executed without much study or evaluation. Kendrick and Fullerton (2004) published quantitative research on the attitudinal effects of the SVI commercials. In their study of 105 international students studying in Great Britain, they found that exposure to SVI commercials resulted in more favorable attitudes toward the U.S. government and

how Muslims are treated in the United States. The following study was conducted to replicate Kendrick and Fullerton's method and apply it to a different nation – Singapore. The purpose was to gain insight about communicating with new, skeptical, especially Muslim, audiences.

To evaluate the impact and effectiveness of the SVI commercials on Singaporean college students, the following research questions were examined in this study:

1. Do Singaporean college students' attitudes toward the U.S. government change after viewing the Shared Values Initiative commercials?
2. Do Singaporean college students' attitudes toward the U.S. people change after viewing the Shared Values Initiative commercials?
3. Do Singaporean college students' attitudes toward how Muslims are treated in America change after viewing the Shared Values Initiative?
4. What are the initial reactions to the Shared Values Initiative commercials among Singaporean college students?
5. What is the perceived main message presented by the Shared Values Initiative commercials among Singaporean college students?
6. What elements of the Shared Values Initiative commercials are liked, disliked or considered confusing by Singaporean college students?
7. Do Singaporean college students feel that the Shared Values Initiative commercials are believable?
8. Do Singaporean college students believe that it is appropriate and helpful for the United States government to run the Shared Values Initiative commercials in Muslim countries?

9. What is the perceived effectiveness of the Shared Values Initiative commercials among Singaporean college students?
10. What percentage of Singaporean college students is aware of the Shared Values Initiative campaign?

Methodology

This is a mixed method study. It includes scales to measure attitudes toward advertising and attitudes toward America, an experiment to measure attitude changes after viewing the SVI commercials and open-ended, qualitative questions to gauge reactions to the SVI commercials, American TV programs and American brands. The use of mixed methods has many advantages. Denzin (1978) introduced the term “triangulation” in research and claimed a problem could be more accurately studied by using multiple methods. Patton (2002) stated that mixed methods provide a variety of data that “can contribute to methodological rigor” (p. 68). Because studies that use only one method are more vulnerable to errors linked to that particular method, a mixed method study provides “cross-data validity checks” (p. 248).

Sample

A purposive sample of 328 students at the Management Development Institute of Singapore (MDIS) who were enrolled in advanced diploma (freshman and sophomore level) and bachelor’s (junior and senior level) degree programs participated in the study. These students were divided among 12 different classes visited by the researcher over a period of 3 weeks in March 2004. Eight of the classes were advanced diploma level and contained students who had never been taught by American professors during their

program at MDIS. The other four classes were bachelor's level and contained students who had been taught by American professors.

Gaining access to these classes was difficult. MDIS has a policy that prohibits instructors from conducting research with their students. The researcher obtained special permission from MDIS management for this study based on its academic nature and the strong relationship between his university and MDIS. Once permission was granted, several MDIS staff members, especially Jasene Ong (Senior Executive, Central Planning Unit), were helpful in securing permission from local professors for the researcher to visit their classes.

MDIS provides accredited degree programs to students in the areas of Business Management, Mass Communications, Biomedical Sciences and Information Technology, offered in collaboration with universities in the United Kingdom, United States and Australia. Although most of the students enrolled at MDIS are from Singapore, many students are from China, India, Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines.

Procedure

The students at MDIS completed a pencil and paper questionnaire in their respective classrooms located in four different MDIS offices/teaching centers in Singapore: Bugis, Bishan, Somerset and Dhoby Ghaut. Depending on the local professors' preference, the researcher visited the classes either at the beginning, conclusion or mid-break time of the sessions. After distributing the questionnaires to the students, the researcher promised confidentiality and explained to the students that their participation was strictly voluntary. Students were instructed to complete the

questionnaires up to statement 52, and then pause to view a video containing the five Shared Values Initiative television commercials, which was played by the researcher. After watching the video, the students were instructed to complete the remaining sections of their questionnaires and to submit them to the researcher when finished. During data collection, the researcher remained in the classrooms and sat quietly, but no students asked any questions. Students completed the questionnaires silently and did not discuss items with one another.

Instrument

The 13-page questionnaire consisted primarily of two large attitudinal scales (see Appendix). The first scale measured attitude toward America ($\text{Alpha}=.8015$) and contained seventeen 5-point Likert scale statements ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The first 11 statements and the 13th statement on the scale were taken from DeFleur and DeFleur (2003) with the other five adapted from the Pew Research Center (2002).

DeFleur and DeFleur (2003) define attitude as “a configuration of related evaluative beliefs about some attitude object” (p. 36). DeFleur’s 12 statements address a specific attitude object or topic of study: “the daily behavior, standards of conduct, and moral codes of ordinary Americans and their families” (p. 41). To broaden the scope of DeFleur’s attitude object and to include both Americans – the people of the United States – and America, the country, five other statements were added to the scale. These addressed living in the United States, American customs, American entertainment and how fairly Muslims are treated in America. To calculate an overall attitude toward America score (AAm), negatively worded statements were recoded so that all responses

scored in the same direction. Mean scores were calculated so that each respondent received a score from 1 (most negative) to 5 (most positive). Statistics for the individual statements are reported in Table 1 (page 160).

The second attitudinal scale measured attitude toward advertising ($\text{Alpha}=.7955$). It consisted of twenty-five 5-point Likert scale statements ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) taken from Larkin (1977). To calculate an overall attitude toward advertising score (AAd), negatively worded statements again were reverse coded. Mean scores were calculated. Statistics for the individual statements are reported in Table 2 (page 161). These statements were grouped according to Larkin's (1977) four subscales representing attitudinal areas: economic effects of advertising (ECON), regulations of advertising (REG), social effects of advertising (SOC) and ethical implications of advertising (ETH). Negatively worded statements were reverse coded. Responses under each attitudinal area were combined and mean scores were calculated so that each respondent received a score from 1 (most negative) to 5 (most positive).

To measure the respondents' level of American media usage, 10 fill-in-the-blank questions were included using media categories adapted from Willnat, He and Xiaoming (1997). Students were asked to indicate the percentage of time they spent with U.S. media in relation to total use of these 10 media categories: television, radio, cinema, video/DVD, music, Internet, newspaper, magazine, books and comics. These questions formed a U.S. media usage scale ($\text{Alpha}=.8105$). Mean scores for media usage times were calculated.

Additional questions covered exposure to and likeability of U.S. brands, movies and television programs. Several demographic questions, including age, gender, native

language, occupation, ethnicity, religious preference and country of citizenship were included at the end of the questionnaire. Students were also asked if they knew anyone in the United States, whether or not they had visited the United States, and if they would like to visit the nation some day.

In addition to these survey questions, a pre-post experimental design was incorporated into the questionnaire for the purpose of assessing the impact of the Shared Values Initiative commercials. A standard advertising copy test featuring several open-ended questions was also used to gather diagnostic information about likes and dislikes of the commercial messages. (The SVI components of the instrument are discussed in detail in the next few pages.)

Shared Values Initiative Commercials

The SVI campaign consists of numerous communication elements including speeches by diplomats to international audiences, Internet sites and chat rooms, and various mass media elements (Hayes, 2002). This study focuses on the five SVI television commercials, which the DOS calls “mini-documentaries.” The commercials were produced in multiple languages and dialects; however, only the English versions were used in this study.

The testimonial-style commercials feature “slice-of-life” treatments of happy and successful Muslim Americans in various personal and professional roles. Several of the spots feature Muslim Americans practicing their religion and speaking positively about the tolerance Americans have for the Muslim faith (Kendrick & Fullerton, 2003).

Experimental Design

For the pre-post experiment, scaled items were used to measure participants' attitudes toward the U.S. government, the U.S. people and how fairly Muslims are treated in America before and after viewing the SVI commercials. For these items a favorability scale was used in which 4 was "very favorable" and 1 "very unfavorable." Scaled items also were used to measure believability, effectiveness and appropriateness of the commercials. Using the Haskins Notational System for Research Design (Haskins & Kendrick, 1993), the experiment appeared as follows:

	T1	T2	T3
P1	M1-3	S1(ox)	M1-3

Legend

P1 = 328 students enrolled at the Management Development Institute of Singapore.

M1-3 = Attitudes toward the U.S. government, the U.S. people and how fairly Muslims are treated in America, measured by pencil and paper questionnaire.

S1(ox) = videotape containing five State Department commercials about Muslims in America.

T1-3 = March 8-26, 2004

Experimental Procedure

As stated previously, students were instructed to complete their questionnaires, pausing at statement 52 to view the five SVI commercials. Three items in the first half of the instrument comprised the initial or pre-SVI stage of the experiment:

Q7: Please tell us if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the government of the United States.

Q8: Please tell us if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the American people.

Q27: Muslims who live in America are treated fairly. (Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree Nor Disagree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree)

When all students had completed the first part of the questionnaire, the researcher played the 8-minute videotape of the five SVI commercials. After viewing the commercials, the students were instructed to complete the remaining sections of the questionnaire. Three items in the second half of the instrument comprised the post-SVI stage of the experiment:

Q64: After seeing the commercials, please tell us if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the government of the United States.

Q65: After seeing the commercials, please tell us if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the American people.

Q66: After seeing the commercials, I think Muslims who live in America are treated fairly. (Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree Nor Disagree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree)

Advertising Copy Test

In addition to the experiment, the researcher conducted a standard advertising copy test of the SVI commercials. Open-ended questions were used to elicit qualitative responses to the commercials in terms of first impressions, message content, likeability, believability and appropriateness. Other dichotomous questions were used to ask whether the commercials contained confusing elements and if the videos changed the

students' attitudes toward the United States. If students answered affirmatively to these, subsequent open-ended questions asked them to explain their opinions in more detail.

Pilot Study

The researcher conducted a pilot study of the instrument in Singapore during December 2003. The questionnaire was administered to 27 Singaporean students enrolled in bachelor's degree programs at MDIS. The procedure was tested and the researcher observed that it took approximately 30 minutes for students to complete the questionnaires. Afterwards, the researcher asked the students to provide feedback about the instrument, including its overall readability and clarity of instructions. Based on this feedback, minor revisions were made to the wording of some questions. In addition, the media usage section was added to the questionnaire after the pilot study was conducted.

Data Analysis

Completed questionnaires were quantitatively analyzed using SPSS Version 10 for Macintosh. First the responses to the Likert scale statements were coded: strongly disagree (1), disagree (2), neither agree nor disagree (3), agree (4), strongly agree (5). Then statements on the survey that were worded negatively toward America and advertising, such as "American people like to dominate other people" and "Most advertising insults the intelligence of the consumer" were reverse coded so that all of the statements scored in the same direction, allowing statement scores to be combined.

The attitude toward America statements were analyzed and mean scores were calculated. Students received an overall attitude toward America score ranging from 1 (most negative) to 5 (most positive).

The advertising statements were grouped according to Larkin's (1977) four attitudinal areas: economic effects, social effects, ethical concerns, and regulations of advertising. Responses under each attitudinal area were combined and mean scores were calculated for each area, as well as scores for individual statements and overall attitude toward advertising. These scores also ranged from 1 (most negative) to 5 (most positive).

Dichotomous questions were coded accordingly (Yes = 1, No = 2), analyzed and frequencies were reported. Demographic questions were coded, analyzed, and reported in a similar fashion. American media usage questions were not coded in this manner. Instead, usage percentages were tabulated and mean scores were calculated. Written responses to all of the open-ended questions on the survey were transcribed. Responses were then qualitatively analyzed, grouped and reported in frequency tables.

Several statistical tests were used to analyze the quantitative data. The analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was used to analyze the variance in a quantitative dependent variable (i.e. AttAm) by a single factor (independent) variable (i.e. Religion). The independent-samples *t*-test was used to compare the means of two groups (i.e. male and female) for a quantitative dependent variable (i.e. AttAm). The paired-samples *t*-test was used to compare the means of two quantitative variables for a single group. Students in this study were asked questions before and after viewing the SVI commercials. The paired samples *t*-test compared these responses to measure attitude changes toward the U.S. people, U.S. government and how fairly Muslims are treated in the United States. Pearson's *r* correlation tests were used to reveal either positive or negative relationships between two variables. Multiple regression analysis was used to determine which inputs (variables) accounted for the variability in attitude toward America (AAm) scores.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Respondent Profile

Seventy percent of the students who participated were female (n=227), and 30% were male (n=95). Six students did not indicate their gender. Average age of the participants was 23.5 years, with a range of 16-43. Fifty-five percent (n=179) claimed English was their native language. The rest claimed several native languages, including Chinese (25.9%, n=85), Malay (7.9%, n=26) and Tamil (4.6%, n=15). Ninety-five percent (n=305) said they spoke English fluently.

One-third (35.4%, n=115) had visited the United States and 95.8% (n=299) said they would like to do so. Fifty-eight percent (n=189) of the students were employed and 53% (n=171) said they were full-time students. Eighty-four percent (n=276) said mass communications was their field of academic study, followed by engineering (1.5%, n=5) and information technology (1.2%, n=4). Other responses included business, accounting, literature, and 21 students refused to answer.

Most participants were from Singapore (87.0%, n=275), followed by China (6.0%, n=19) and Malaysia (4.1%, n=13). In terms of ethnicity, the majority of students were Chinese (70.9%, n=210), followed by Indian (11.5%, n=34), Malay (10.5%, n=31), Indonesian (2.0%, n=6) and Eurasian (2.0%, n=6). When compared with Singapore's population statistics (see p. 66), Indians are over-represented in this sample. This is

logical since many Singaporean Indian families are wealthy merchants and bankers who value higher education. Malays are under-represented in this sample. This can also be explained since Malays comprise the working class in Singapore, as well as the majority of the poor and unemployed (Levinson, 1998).

The largest group of students who expressed a religious preference was Christian (36.8%, n=119), followed by Buddhist (18.0%, n=58), Muslim (13.0%, n=42), Hindu (7.4%, n=24), Taoist (3.4%, n=11) and Sikh (0.9%, n=3). Other responses were “not religious” (14.2%, n=46), “free thinker” (2.8%, n=9) and 10 students refused to answer. Though Christians make up a small percentage (15%) of religious Singaporeans (see p. 66), Christians are over-represented in this sample of college students. Since MDIS offers degree programs from several western universities, including one affiliated with the United Methodist church, many young Singaporean Christians are drawn to the organization for this reason (MDIS, n.d.).

Asked if they knew anyone in the United States, 70.6% (n=230) said yes, and 49.2% (n=160) said they have regular email contact with friends, co-workers or relatives in the United States.

Attitudes toward America

1. What are the prevailing attitudes toward the United States, the U.S. government, the U.S. people and the U.S. culture held by Singaporean college students? Do these attitudes vary according to demographic variables such as gender, age, ethnicity, religion, and having visited the United States?

Overall the students in this study had a slightly negative attitude toward America (AAM Mean=2.96). Table 1 (page 160) includes descriptive statistics for all 17 statements contained in this attitudinal scale. Students agreed most strongly with the statement, “I like American music, movies and television” (Mean=3.96), followed by

“American people like to dominate other people” (Mean=3.71). They disagreed most strongly with the statement, “Americans respect people who are not like themselves” (Mean=2.76), followed by “American people are very concerned about their poor” (Mean=2.78).

Interestingly, over half (55.1%) of the students agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, “I would like to live in the United States if I had the opportunity” but only 37.6% thought it was good that American ideas and customs were spreading to their country.

U.S. Government and U.S. People. The students had more negative attitudes toward the U.S. government (Mean=2.38) than they had toward the U.S. people (Mean=2.82). When responding to the question, “What three words would you use to describe the United States government?” the top three terms students used were “powerful” (42), “arrogant” (33), and “dominating” (27), (see Table 3, page 163). When responding to the question, “What three words would you use to describe the American people?” the top three terms students used were “friendly” (112), “open-minded” (50), and “arrogant” (29), (see Table 4, page 165).

Gender and U.S. Visits. Independent-samples t-tests revealed no significant differences in overall attitude toward America scores among groups based on gender or having visited the United States. However, a significant difference was found between males and females that responded to the statement, “Many American people engage in criminal activities” ($df=320$, $t=2.248$, $p=.025$). Women agreed with the statement (Mean=3.14), but men slightly disagreed (Mean=2.91).

A significant difference was found between students who had or had not visited the United States for the statement, “American women are sexually immoral” ($df=322$, $t=2.514$, $p=.012$). Students who had visited the United States slightly disagreed with the statement (Mean=2.96), while those who had not visited the United States agreed with the statement (Mean=3.22).

Age, Ethnicity and Religion. ANOVAs revealed no significant differences in overall attitude toward America scores among groups based on demographic variables such as age, ethnicity and religion. However, significance was found for certain factors on a few individual statements.

Age was a significant factor in responses to three statements. The first was “American people are quite violent” ($f=2.057$, $p=.004$). Students in their early 20s agreed most strongly with this statement. The second was “American people are generous” ($f=1.609$, $p=.041$). Students between the ages of 20 and 25 agreed most strongly. The third was “I would like to live in the United States if I had the opportunity” ($f=1.606$, $p=.041$). Scores varied widely, especially between teens and older adults.

Ethnicity was a significant factor for only one statement, “Many American people engage in criminal activities” ($f=1.878$, $p=.048$). Indian and Chinese students agreed with the statement (Means=3.18 and 3.08, respectively), while Malay students disagreed (Mean=2.87). Interestingly, Arab and Caucasian students disagreed most strongly with the statement and had equal mean scores (Mean=1.5). ANOVA found no significant differences for any statements based on religious preference.

2. What types and levels of U.S. media are consumed by Singaporean college students? Do these types vary according to demographic variables such as gender, age, ethnicity, religion and having visited the United States?

Students were asked to estimate the amount of U.S. media they consume out of their total media consumption in a typical week. Overall, the amount of U.S. media the students in the study consume is less than 40% of their total media consumption (Mean=39.44). Students reported the percentage of time they spend with U.S. media in ten categories. Mean percentages were calculated: cinema (71.7%), music (61.8%), video/DVD (59.7%), Internet (50.5%), books (46.3%), television (40.0%), comics (26.0%), magazine (25.63%), newspaper (8.66%) and radio (7.1%). In other words, of all the movies these students watch, nearly 72% of them are U.S. movies, and so forth.

Gender and U.S. Visits. Independent-samples *t*-tests revealed a significant difference in overall U.S. media use between male and female students ($df=314$, $t=2.891$, $p=.004$). Individually, *t*-tests revealed significant differences in usage between males and females for four media vehicles. For cinema ($df=310$, $t=2.537$, $p=.012$), males watched a higher percentage of U.S. films (Mean=78.30) than females (Mean=69.06). For video/DVD ($df=307$, $t=2.833$, $p=.005$), males watched a higher percentage of U.S. material (Mean=67.93) than females (Mean=56.60). For Internet ($df=311$, $t=2.014$, $p=.045$), males surfed a higher percentage of U.S. sites (Mean=55.75) than females (Mean=48.50). For comics ($df=305$, $t=2.982$, $p=.003$), males read a higher percentage of U.S. titles (Mean=35.00) than females (Mean=21.79).

Independent-samples *t*-tests revealed no significant differences in overall U.S. media use between students who had or had not visited the United States. However, significant differences were found for usage of four individual media vehicles. For

television ($df=314$, $t=2.522$, $p=.012$), those who had visited the United States watched a higher percentage of U.S. shows (Mean=45.41) than those who had not visited (Mean=36.92). For music ($df=311$, $t=2.332$, $p=.020$), those who had visited the United States listened to a higher percentage of U.S. music (Mean=67.58) than those who had not visited (Mean=58.98). For comics ($df=307$, $t=2.336$, $p=.020$), those who had visited the United States read a higher percentage U.S. titles (Mean=32.40) than those who had not visited (Mean=22.44). For newspaper ($df=311$, $t=-2.653$, $p=.008$), a reverse relationship was found. Those who had not visited the United States read a higher percentage of U.S. titles (Mean=10.05) than those who had visited the country (Mean=5.62).

Age, Ethnicity and Religion. ANOVAs revealed no significant differences in overall U.S. media use or consumption of individual media vehicles based on age. Significance was found between ethnicity ($f=2.173$, $p=.020$) and religion ($f=3.576$, $p=.000$) for overall U.S. media use.

Ethnicity was a significant factor in consumption of four U.S. media vehicles. For radio ($f=2.308$, $p=.013$), Eurasians listen to the highest percentage of U.S. radio stations (Mean=30.00) but several ethnic groups listen to none, including Indonesians and Arabs. For newspaper ($f=1.865$, $p=.050$), Javanese read the highest percentage of U.S. titles (Mean=27.50) but Chinese read much less (Mean=7.06). For magazine ($f=2.725$, $p=.003$), Malays read a higher percentage of U.S. titles (Mean=34.32) than Chinese (Mean=22.82). For comics ($f=2.024$, $p=.031$), Eurasians read a higher percentage of U.S. titles (Mean=39.17) than Indians (Mean=19.66).

Religion was a significant factor in consumption of four U.S. media vehicles. For television ($f=4.328$, $p=.000$), Muslims watch the highest percentage of U.S. shows (Mean=53.45) and Taoists watch the least (Mean=18.50). For radio ($f=2.920$, $p=.002$), Hindus listen to the highest percentage of U.S. stations (Mean=13.33) and Sikhs listen to the least (Mean=0.67). For cinema ($f=3.085$, $p=.001$), Muslims watch the highest percentage of U.S. movies (Mean=81.88) and Sikhs watch the least (Mean=43.33). For music ($f=2.308$, $p=.016$), Muslims listen to the most U.S. music (Mean=75.89) and Sikhs the least (Mean=40.33).

The students named dozens of American television programs and movies they had seen, but those most often mentioned were *American Idol* (83), *Friends* (66) and *Survivor* (32), (see Table 5, page 167). Seventy-five percent ($n=239$) said that there were television programs and movies from the United States that they particularly liked. The top three shows students liked were *American Idol* (29), *Friends* (17) and *CSI* (13), (see Table 6, page 169). Forty-three percent ($n=137$) said that there were television programs and movies from the United States that they particularly disliked. The top three shows students disliked were *The Bachelor* (31), *Fear Factor* (14) and *Survivor* (13), (see Table 7, page 171).

3. For Singaporean college students, does a relationship exist between higher levels of consumption of U.S. media and attitudes toward the United States?

Using Pearson's r test, a significant positive correlation was found between attitude toward America and overall U.S. media use ($r=.164$, $p=.01$). Significant positive correlations were also found between attitude toward America and the students' use of certain American media vehicles. Correlations were found with magazine use ($r=.200$,

$p=.01$), television use ($r=.195$, $p=.01$), Internet use ($r=.184$, $p=.01$), newspaper use ($r=.128$, $p=.05$) and music use ($r=.116$, $p=.05$).

4. For Singaporean college students, does viewing U.S. television programs or movies affect their attitude toward the United States?

Ninety percent of the students ($n=291$) said they watch U.S. television programs, and 56.5% ($n=183$) said they believe these programs show characters that are similar to most American people. However, independent-samples t -tests found no significant difference between students who watched U.S. television programs and those who did not in terms of their attitudes toward America.

Attitudes toward Advertising

5. What are the prevailing attitudes about advertising held by Singaporean college students? Do these attitudes vary according to demographic variables such as gender, age, ethnicity, religion and having visited the United States?

Overall the students in this study held negative attitudes toward advertising (AAd Mean=2.68). Table 2 (page 161) includes descriptive statistics for all 25 statements contained in this attitudinal scale. Students agreed most strongly with the statement, “Advertising is essential to the prosperity of my country’s economy” (Mean=4.05) and disagreed most strongly with the statement, “In general, advertisements present a true picture of the product advertised” (Mean=2.39).

Independent-samples t -tests and ANOVAs revealed no significant differences on overall attitude toward advertising scores for demographic variables such as gender, age, ethnicity, religion and having visited the United States. However, when responses in each attitudinal sub-section were grouped and analyzed, significance was found for factors in certain areas, as described below.

6. *For Singaporean college students, do attitudes about advertising vary in terms of economic effects, regulations, social effects and ethical implications?*

Economic Effects of Advertising. Overall the students in this study held slightly positive attitudes toward the economic effects of advertising (ECON Mean=3.08). This was the strongest score of the four attitudinal areas. Independent-samples *t*-tests and ANOVAs revealed no significant differences on overall economic effects of advertising scores for all demographic variables. However, age was a significant factor in responses to one statement, “Advertising helps raise our standard of living” ($f=1.611$, $p=.040$). Students between the ages of 25 to 33 agreed most strongly.

Gender was a significant factor in responses to one economic statement, “Advertising helps to create business monopolies” ($df=320$, $t=1.968$, $p=.50$). Women agreed with the statement (Mean=3.6) more strongly than men (Mean=3.4).

Ethnicity was a significant factor in response to the statement, “Advertising increases the cost of goods and services” ($f=1.880$, $p=.048$). Indonesians and Arabs agreed most strongly (Mean=4.5), while Caucasians were neutral (Mean=3.0).

Religion was a significant factor in responses to two economic statements. The first was “Advertising is essential to the prosperity of my country’s economy” ($f=2.056$, $p=.033$). Hindus agreed most strongly (Mean=4.25), while Taoists agreed to a lesser degree (Mean=3.91). The second was “In general, advertising results in lower prices for products” ($f=2.207$, $p=.021$). Sikhs agreed most strongly (Mean=3.33), while “not religious” students disagreed most strongly (Mean=2.09).

Regulations of Advertising. Overall the students held slightly negative attitudes toward regulations of advertising (REG Mean=2.82). Independent-samples *t*-tests and

ANOVAs revealed no significant differences on overall regulations of advertising scores for all demographic variables. Age was a significant factor for responses to the statement, “There should be more government regulation of advertising” ($f=2.024$, $p=.004$). Teens and students in their 20s disagreed with the statement, but those over 28 strongly agreed.

Gender was a significant factor for the same regulatory statement, “There should be more government regulation of advertising” ($df=320$, $t=2.109$, $p=.036$). Women agreed slightly with the statement (Mean=3.02), while men disagreed (Mean=2.77).

Social Effects of Advertising. Overall the students held negative attitudes toward the social effects of advertising (SOC Mean=2.55). Independent-samples t-tests and ANOVAs revealed no significant differences on overall social effects of advertising scores for all demographic variables. Age was a significant factor in responses to the statement, “Advertising just tends to confuse people by presenting them with too many choices and claims” ($f=1.702$, $p=.025$). Students in their 30s agreed most strongly.

Ethnicity was a significant factor for responses to the statement, “Advertising is making people materialistic– interested in owning and getting things” ($f=2.440$, $p=.008$). Eurasians and Indonesians agreed most strongly (Mean=4.5), while Caucasians disagreed most strongly (Mean=2.5).

Having visited the United States was a significant factor for one social effects statement, “Advertising just tends to confuse people by presenting them with too many choices and claims” ($f=8.274$, $p=.004$). Those who had not been to the United States strongly agreed (Mean=3.42), while those who had visited the United States were more neutral (Mean=3.10).

Ethical Implications of Advertising. Overall the students held negative attitudes toward the ethical implications advertising (ETH Mean=2.33). This was the weakest of the four attitudinal areas. Independent-samples *t*-tests revealed significant differences in overall ethical implications of advertising scores based on gender (df=320, $t=2.957$, $p=.003$). Scores for women (Mean=2.28) were lower than men (Mean=2.47).

An examination of individual statements showed that the two genders also differed significantly on the statement, “There should be less emphasis on sex in advertising” (df=320, $t=4.356$, $p=.000$). Women agreed with the statement (Mean=3.56), while men were almost neutral (Mean=3.02).

7. For Singaporean college students, does a relationship exist between higher levels of exposure to U.S. media and attitude toward advertising?

Using Pearson’s *r* test, significant positive correlations were found between attitude toward advertising and the students’ use of American media vehicles. Correlations were found with television use ($r=.151$, $p=.01$) and DVD use ($r=.174$, $p=.01$).

8. For Singaporean college students, what is the overall likeability of U.S. brands and does this likeability vary according to demographic variables such as gender, age, ethnicity, religion and having visited the United States?

Students in this sample were ambivalent toward the purchase of U.S. brands with 79% (n=243) saying that it did not matter if the products that they bought were from the United States or not, they chose the products that they liked best, regardless of the brands’ national origin. Eleven percent (n=36) said they preferred to buy U.S. brands.

Independent-samples *t*-tests and ANOVAs revealed no significant differences on U.S. brand likeability scores for demographic variables such as gender, religion, ethnicity

and having visited the United States. However, age did make a difference in the likeability of U.S. brands ($f=1.608$, $p=.041$) with younger students preferring U.S. brands while those over 30 were neutral or negative toward U.S. brands.

Students were asked to name brands of products or services that came to mind when thinking about the United States. Dozens were named. The top three mentioned brands were Nike (92), McDonald's (76) and Coca-Cola(63) (see Table 8, page 172). The top three brands students liked the most were Nike (49), Levi's (30) and Coca-Cola (20) (see Table 9, page 174). The top three brands disliked the most were McDonald's (9), Nike (6) and Tommy Hilfiger (5) (see Table 10, page 175). Interestingly, 117 students left the "dislike" question blank.

9. For Singaporean college students, does a relationship exist between attitude toward advertising and attitude toward America?

Using Pearson's r test, a significant positive correlation was found between overall attitude toward advertising and attitude toward America ($r=.293$, $p=.01$).

10. Overall, for Singaporean college students, what inputs (variables) account for the variability in their attitude toward America scores?

Multiple regression was used to answer this research question. Taken together, media usage scores and attitude toward advertising scores accounted for 8.7% of the variance in attitude toward America scores (see Tables 11 and 12, page 176). However, it is important to remember that the media usage and attitude toward advertising scales are comprised of several items. These components were examined separately to determine if accountability increased.

Taken together, the following components accounted for 16.4% of the variance in attitude toward America scores (see Tables 13 and 14, page 177):

From the Attitude toward Advertising scale:

Q30 “In general, advertisements present a true picture of the product advertised.”
(Accounts for 6.3% of variance)

Q52 “Too much of today’s advertising is false and misleading.”
(Accounts for 2.5% of variance)

Q35 “Advertising results in better products for the public.”
(Accounts for 1.5% of variance)

From the Media Usage scale:

Q79 “What percentage of your total magazine readership is spent with U.S. magazines?” (Accounts for 3.9% of variance)

Q72 “What percentage of your total television viewing is spent with U.S. television programs?” (Accounts for 1.1% of variance)

Q81 “What percentage of your total comic readership is spent with U.S. comics?”
(Accounts for 1.1% of variance)

On Table 14 (page 177), note that all of these six items have positive Beta coefficients, with the exception of question 81 (U.S. comics), meaning that higher scores predicted higher positive attitudes towards attitude toward America. However, since question 81 has a negative coefficient, this means an inverse relationship exists – higher scores predicted more negative attitudes toward America.

The Shared Values Initiative Campaign

- 1. Do Singaporean college students’ attitudes toward the U.S. government change after viewing the Shared Values Initiative commercials?*
- 2. Do Singaporean college students’ attitudes toward the U.S. people change after viewing the Shared Values Initiative commercials?*
- 3. Do Singaporean college students’ attitudes toward how Muslims are treated in America change after viewing the Shared Values Initiative?*

Before and after viewing the State Department commercials, respondents were asked about their attitudes toward the U.S. government, the U.S. people and how fairly Muslims are treated in America. Responses were measured on a favorability scale of 1 to 4 (with 4 being most favorable).

A paired samples *t*-test showed that attitudes toward the U.S. government were significantly more positive after the videos were seen. When responding to the statement “Please tell us if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the government of the United States,” students responded (pre-video Mean=2.42; post-video Mean=2.65; $t=-5.266$, $p=.000$).

Attitudes toward the U.S. people also improved significantly after students viewed the commercials. When responding to the statement “Please tell us if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the American people,” students responded (pre-video Mean=2.84; post-video Mean=2.91; $t=-1.981$, $p=.049$).

Attitudes about how fairly Muslims are treated in America were also significantly more positive after students viewed the commercials. When responding to the statement, “Muslims who live in America are treated fairly,” respondents agreed significantly more strongly after viewing the videos (pre-video Mean=2.81; post-video Mean=3.20; $t=-8.992$, $p=.000$). This finding indicates that the primary communication objective of the State Department campaign was met among this experimental group.

Subgroup analysis revealed that women felt significantly more favorable than men after seeing the videos toward both the U.S. government (pre-video Mean 2.53 vs. post-video Mean=2.73, $df=271$, $t=2.293$, $p=.023$) and the U.S. people (pre-video Mean

2.80 vs. post-video Mean =2.94, $df=280$, $t=2.091$, $p=.037$). No significant difference between genders was found regarding how fairly Muslims are treated in America. No differences among ethnic or religious groups were detected among the Singaporean students for any of these statements.

Qualitative Responses (Attitude Change). Students were asked, “Do the commercials affect your attitude toward the United States in any way?” Nearly 38% ($n=120$) answered yes. Of those students, 67% ($n=80$) said their attitudes changed positively (based on qualitative analysis). Typical responses were: “It shows the United States is making an effort to understand Muslims since 9/11,” and “It helps me to see that the United States treats people of different races equally.”

Other comments were more moderate or cautious, for example: “The intention of this commercial is a good start,” and “It may or may not be propaganda, but it’s the effort that counts,” and “It strengthens my belief that the United States is a good country with good people, but spoilt by a questionable government.”

Forty students claimed their attitudes changed negatively toward the United States after viewing the commercials. These students wrote very sharp comments. For example, an 18-year-old male Chinese student wrote, “It makes me hate the U.S. government even more.” A 28-year-old male Chinese student remarked, “I am rather disturbed now.” A 27-year-old male Eurasian student wrote, “It reinforces my skepticism because the videos are certainly propaganda and aren’t realistic enough.”

Many Muslim students in the class hesitated changing their attitudes about the United States. A 22-year-old Malay female wrote, “Well, even though it seems to show

that Islamic people are treated fairly in America, the truth will only be known upon arrival in America... based on how I am welcomed. Experience it. That is believing.”

4. What are the initial reactions to the Shared Values Initiative commercials among Singaporean college students?

Initial reaction to the videos varied widely among the students. The most frequent first reaction (21.9%) was that the commercials were part of a government propaganda or public relations campaign (see Table 15, page 178). The next largest group (10.0%) described their first impressions of the commercials in terms of how Muslims live in the United States. The next group (8.5%) described how Muslims are respected and treated fairly in the United States. Another group (8.2%) felt that Americans accepted other cultures and religions.

5. What is the perceived main message presented by the Shared Values Initiative commercials among Singaporean college students?

The main message taken away by most (41.1%) of those who saw the State Department videos was that Americans respect Muslims, accept them and treat them equally (see Table 16, page 179). The second largest group of students (24.0%) believed the main message was a bit more general – that Americans respect different cultures and religions. Twenty-two students (6.7%) said the videos were meant to show how Muslims lived in America. Eleven students (3.3%) said the main message was that all Muslims are not terrorists. Taken together, the Muslim-related comments constituted over one-half of the main message registrations.

6. What elements of the Shared Values Initiative commercials are liked, disliked or considered confusing by Singaporean college students?

Though almost 14% of those who rated the videos said there was “nothing” they liked about them, various aspects were liked by others, most notably the overall “objective” and “realistic” style and tone (12.8%), (see Table 17, page 180). Others expressed liking for the diverse people and different occupations shown in the videos (10.6%) and how Muslims were shown in a positive light (7.0%).

By far the most disliked aspect of the videos was their lack of believability, whether they were perceived to be outright “misleading” or just “biased” or “one-sided” (33.0%), (see Table 18, page 181). Nearly one fourth of the students (24.3%) said there was “nothing” they disliked about the videos. Other students (7.9%) thought the videos were examples of government propaganda. Twenty-two students (6.7%) disliked the fact that only Muslims were featured in the video. Six students (1.8%) complained that only “successful” or “wealthy” Muslims were shown.

Students were asked if anything about the commercials was confusing or hard to believe. Over 40% answered “no” or “nothing” (see Table 19, page 182). However, 41 students (12.5%) said it was hard to believe that Americans and Muslims lived harmoniously, with respect and friendship in America, especially after the 9/11 attacks. Another 35 students (10.7%) said they specifically remembered media coverage of hate crimes and discrimination in America toward Muslims in the weeks following the 9/11 attacks. They found it hard to reconcile the images featured in the videos with these personal memories. Nineteen students (5.8%) felt the videos were too positive to be realistic. Sixteen students (4.9%) were disappointed that only successful or wealthy

Muslims were shown. Several of these students suggested that more “average” or “poor” Muslims should be included to create a more realistic image.

7. Do Singaporean college students feel that the Shared Values Initiative commercials are believable?

Believability of the commercials “to self” as well as perceived believability of commercials to others was measured on a 4-point scale with 4 being “very believable” and 1 being “very unbelievable”. More than half of the students (61.6%) said they considered the commercials believable themselves, though 45.7% felt they would not be believable among the “intended audience” in other countries.

Using ANOVA, no significance was found among the different ethnicities regarding believability of the SVI commercials. However, Sikhs felt they were believable (Mean=3.33), while Chinese felt they were somewhat unbelievable (Mean=2.45).

A significant difference was found between groups of students based on religious preference ($f=2.18$, $p=.023$) in regards to believability. Again, those practicing Sikhism felt the commercials were believable (Mean=3.33), while Taoists felt they were somewhat unbelievable (Mean=2.27). No significance was found for the demographic variables of gender or age.

8. Do Singaporean college students believe that it is appropriate and helpful for the U.S. government to run the Shared Values Initiative commercials in Muslim countries?

Appropriateness and effectiveness of commercials were measured using 5-point Likert scales with 5 being “Strongly Agree” and 1 “Strongly Disagree”. More than half of the students (52.8%) said they considered it “appropriate and helpful for the U.S.

government to run these commercials on television stations in other countries, including Muslim countries.”

9. What is the perceived effectiveness of the Shared Values Initiative commercials among Singaporean college students?

More than half (52.4%) of the students agreed with the statement: “The videos are an effective tool in communicating with citizens of Muslim countries about the positive aspects of Muslim life.”

10. How many Singaporean college students are aware of the Shared Values Initiative campaign?

Students were asked, “Prior to today, were you aware that the United States was planning to release video segments to Muslim countries for the purpose of improving attitudes toward the United States and the American people?” More than half (63.1%) said they were not aware of the campaign.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS & CONCLUSIONS

McLuhan's (1964) vision of the global village has apparently been realized, especially with the rapid growth of the Internet. Citizens around the world electronically communicate with each other as if they were neighbors. Globalization has increased revenues for several media conglomerates by exporting American entertainment programming to new overseas markets and allowing U.S. brands to be purchased worldwide. However, globalization and the hegemonic distribution of U.S. culture may also be responsible (at least in part) for growing anti-Americanism and cultural tensions abroad.

This study investigated the role of U.S. dominated global media messages in anti-Americanism by measuring attitudes among Singaporean college students toward America and Americans. This study replicated Kendrick and Fullerton's (2004) research done in Great Britain by applying a modified version of their research instrument in Singapore. A non-probability sample of 328 students enrolled at the Management Development Institute of Singapore was surveyed. Using a mixed method approach, three mass mediated inputs (U.S. entertainment, U.S. multinational advertising and U.S. government sponsored communication) were measured and analyzed to determine their impact on the students' attitudes. This study also tested the effectiveness of the Shared Valued Initiative campaign by assessing Singapore college students' attitudes toward the

U.S. government, U.S. people and how fairly Muslims are treated in the United States using a simple pre-post experiment and an advertising copy test.

Singapore was chosen for this study for three reasons. First, it is ranked as the most globalized nation in the world in terms of its Western media consumption (Kluver & Fu, 2004). Second, it is located in volatile Southeast Asia between two of the world's largest Muslim countries, Indonesia and Malaysia, although only 15% of Singaporeans practice Islam. Third, it is an important economic, political and military ally of the United States. Over 200 U.S. corporations have offices in Singapore and the U.S. Navy has a logistics base on the island.

Summary of Findings

Overall, Singaporean college students in this study held slightly negative attitudes toward America. However, the students felt more negative toward the U.S. government than the U.S. people. The students consume a large amount of U.S. entertainment (movies, TV shows, magazines, comics, etc.); however, contrary to previous research, this mass-mediated exposure to American values and culture is positively correlated with their attitudes toward America.

Singaporean college students in this study held slightly negative attitudes toward advertising overall. However, they felt positively about the economic effects of advertising for their nation. Students with positive attitudes toward advertising had more positive attitudes toward America, even though most of the students do not consider country of origin when purchasing brands.

The students had mixed reactions to U.S. public diplomacy advertising. After viewing the Shared Values Initiative commercials, statistically significant positive

changes in attitude were found toward the U.S. government, U.S. people and how Muslims are treated in America. However, qualitative results showed that the students had some criticisms of the commercials, especially their one-sided, propaganda style format. Overall, Malay Muslim women in Singapore were persuaded most by the SVI commercials, which is consistent with the original advertising objective set by former Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy Charlotte Beers when she launched the campaign in 2002.

Discussion

Attitude toward America and Americans

The negative attitudes toward America held by Singaporean college students are consistent with recent large-scale international polls (Norris & Inglehart, 2002; Pew, 2003; Telhami, 2003; Pew, 2004). Upon further analysis an interesting phenomenon was found. The Singaporean students were able to separate their positive attitudes toward U.S. entertainment, culture and people from their negative attitudes toward the U.S. government. This finding is consistent with previous research (Inoue, 1999; Guyon, 2003; Shengluo, 2003; Fullerton, 2004). When describing American people, most students used words like “friendly, sociable, kind, warm and open-minded.” However, when describing the U.S. government, most students answered negatively with words like “powerful, arrogant, conceited, dominating and selfish.” Subsequent findings from this study support this phenomenon.

At first glance, it would seem that Singaporean students who had visited the United States would have more positive attitudes toward the U.S. government and U.S. people compared with students who had not visited. However, no statistically significant

difference was found in attitudes between these groups. This confirms Fullerton's (2004) finding from London and means that other factors are influencing Singaporean students' attitudes toward America. To determine these factors, three mass mediated inputs (U.S. entertainment, U.S. multinational advertising and U.S. government sponsored communication) were examined.

U.S. Media Usage and Attitude toward America

There is little doubt that young Singaporeans consume large amounts of U.S. entertainment. Overall, Singaporean students in this study spend about 40% of their total media consumption time with U.S. media. Most of that time is spent watching U.S. movies and TV shows and listening to music by U.S. recording artists. Most of the movies (72%) seen by the students are American films. Over 60% of their favorite music is American and many of the television programs they watch (40%) are American.

Religion was a significant factor in consumption of U.S. media. Muslim students watch the highest percentage of U.S. television shows (53%), U.S. movies (83%) and U.S. music (75%). At first glance, these findings seem surprising since international polls report that Muslims believe the United States is threatening Islam (Pew, 2003; Telhami, 2003; Pew, 2004). However, one explanation may be that Singaporean Muslim students are curious about Western culture and want to learn more about it. Women are portrayed differently (more open and independent) in U.S. media. Sexuality and violence are common themes in U.S. media. Muslim students may want to experience these "taboo" themes and evaluate the U.S. culture for themselves.

The most popular U.S. television program is *American Idol*, according to these students, followed by *Friends*, *CSI* and *Fear Factor*. These shows are also very popular

with American college students. On the whole, 90% of the Singaporean students said they watch U.S. television programs regularly. No statistically significant difference was found between those who watch U.S. television and those that do not in terms of their attitude toward America. In fact, a statistically significant positive correlation was found between overall U.S. media use and attitude toward America. Positive correlations were also found with five individual media vehicles: magazines, television, Internet, newspaper and music. These findings directly contradict DeFleur and DeFleur's (2003) claim that American entertainment exports, especially Hollywood movies and television shows, teach international students to hate America. It also contradicts many academics and politicians who blame anti-Americanism on the globalization of American culture and entertainment exports (Hachten, 1999; Melloan, 2000; Buchholz, 2004). However, these results are consistent with the findings of Inoue (1999) and Fullerton (2004) who both found positive correlations between U.S. media usage and attitude toward America.

This relationship is one of the most interesting findings of this study. Even though correlations do not prove causality, they do suggest a positive relationship between variables. Thus, Singaporeans who consume more U.S. entertainment have more positive attitudes toward America. Selective exposure could also play a role here. This would suggest that Singaporeans who are already pro-American seek out more U.S. entertainment, music and movies than their peers who are not pro-American. Kluver and Fu's (2004) Cultural Globalization Index supports the selective exposure argument. The index ranks Singapore as the most globalized culture in the world due to its heavy consumption of Western media, indicating that Singaporeans as a whole enjoy U.S. entertainment and therefore are more pro-American than other countries.

Attitude toward Advertising and U.S. Brands

A similar correlation was found between Singaporean college students' attitudes toward advertising and their attitudes toward America. This means that students who held positive attitudes toward advertising also held positive attitudes toward America. As Fullerton (2004) described, this finding supports the idea that advertising is an international symbol of America and an icon of U.S. culture. Advertising stands for capitalism, democracy and freedoms (market freedom, press freedom and speech freedom). Since the Singapore government has restricted press freedom and speech freedom, it is logical that Singaporeans admire these Western traits and link them with U.S. multinational advertising.

Despite the positive correlation with attitude toward America, the findings of this study reveal a somewhat negative view of advertising in general among Singaporean college students. This is consistent with other studies of international students (Wills, Jr. & Ryans, Jr., 1982; Yang, 2000; Fullerton & Weir, 2002; Fullerton & Deushev, 2003; Fullerton, 2004). However, when categorizing the responses according to Larkin's (1977) four dimensions: economic effects, regulations, social effects and ethical implications, interesting results were found. The students held positive attitudes about the economic effects of advertising, but held negative attitudes about the other three dimensions. Again, this suggests that Singaporeans embrace capitalism and view advertising as an engine for economic growth. Singaporean government agencies like the Economic Development Board, Trade Development Board and Singapore Tourism Board have reinforced this belief in advertising by promoting Singapore as a global business hub for the last two decades (Luen, 2000).

Singaporeans in this study (79%) do not seem to care about country of origin when it comes to brand purchase decisions. American brands were not considered superior or fashionable when compared to local brands. This is consistent with Harvard professor John Quelch's findings, as reported by Gumber (2005). Quelch found that very few foreign consumers would boycott American brands, even though they might dislike the U.S. government and its policies. However, this finding seems to contradict Schlevogt's (2000) study, which found that 80% of Chinese consumers prefer local brands over American brands. Since Singapore's population is nearly 77% Chinese, it seems these consumers might have beliefs that are congruent with Schlevogt's results from mainland China. This is not the case, indicating that Singaporeans are more globalized in their attitudes toward branded products and services.

Interestingly, 12 students wrote that they could not distinguish American brands from those of other countries or they did not know any American brands at all. Because the Singapore marketplace is dominated by Coke, Pepsi, McDonald's, Subway, Starbucks and other American brands, these 12 comments seem hard to believe. However, they support Gumber's (2005) statement that many U.S. brands (Nike, Pepsi, Starbucks, Visa and others) are trying to downplay country of origin in their advertising and transform themselves into global brands. Students had mixed reactions to several American brands. For example, brands like McDonald's, Nike, Coca-Cola and GAP received votes for both categories: most liked and most disliked.

Multiple Regression – Combination of Variables

By using multiple regression analysis to distill the U.S. media usage and advertising scales down to their individual components, it was possible to identify which

items accounted for the most variability (16.4%) in attitude toward America scores (see p. 104). In terms of media usage, these results indicate that Singaporean college students' attitudes toward America are most affected by the consumption of U.S. television, magazines and comics. This supports the State Department's strategy of using television as the primary persuasive medium for the Shared Values Initiative campaign. In terms of advertising, one statement from the economic effects attitudinal sub-section was statistically significant: Q35 "Advertising results in better products for the public," (Mean=3.25). This indicates that Singaporeans understand the role of advertising in a competitive market. Two questions from the ethical effects attitudinal sub-section were statistically significant: Q30 "In general, advertisements present a true picture of the product advertised," (Mean=2.39) and Q52 "Too much of today's advertising is false and misleading," (Mean=2.50). These scores indicate that Singaporean students have mixed feelings about the ethical, subjective nature of advertising, like most consumers. On one hand, they are reluctant to admit that all advertising claims are true. On the other hand, they disagree that too much advertising is misleading. Of course, the real answer is likely somewhere in the middle. Since multiple regression measures total variability (positive or negative) in the attitude toward America (the dependent variable) based on these independent variables, these mixed feelings are accounted for in the calculation.

SVI Campaign Commercials

The Shared Values Initiative advertising campaign was launched in Muslim nations by the U.S. Department of State in October 2002. This campaign was a first of its kind in that it utilized television commercials to tell America's story abroad. Even though these commercials never aired in Singapore, this study shows they could have

been effective. Overall, after viewing the SVI commercials, Singaporean college students' attitudes toward the U.S. government, U.S. people and how fairly Muslims are treated in America were higher than those expressed by international students in London (Kendrick & Fullerton, 2004). Statistically significant, positive changes in attitude toward the U.S. government among Singaporean students (Mean=2.65) were greater than reactions of the London students (Mean=2.05). Singaporean students (Mean=3.20) also felt more strongly that Muslims were being treated fairly in the United States after viewing the SVI commercials than London students (Mean=3.14). However, Singaporean students also developed significantly more positive attitudes toward the U.S. people after viewing the SVI commercials (pre-Mean=2.84; post-Mean=2.91), something that Kendrick and Fullerton did not find in their study. Based on these results, it seems the U.S. State Department achieved its goal of persuading international audiences, at least in Singapore, about the freedom of Muslims to practice their faith in the United States.

By examining the mean scores produced by the pre-post experiment, a valuable interpretation can be made about Singaporean students' reactions to the SVI commercials – Malay Muslim women who had not visited the United States were most strongly affected by the commercials. This is consistent with the primary target audience identified by Charlotte Beers in 2002. Beers cited the importance of reaching Muslim women because they were “the mothers and teachers” (Beers, 2002). This finding reinforces the basic principles of market segmentation and creative message development that Beers championed while serving at the State Department.

Overall, women had more positive attitudes than men toward the U.S. government, U.S. people and about how fairly Muslims are treated in America after

viewing the commercials. In terms of the three largest ethnic groups in Singapore (Chinese, Malay and Indian), the message in the SVI commercials resonated with the Malays most strongly. Malays held the most positive attitude toward the U.S. people after watching the commercials. Malays also held the most positive attitude, and experienced the largest increase in score (+.68), about how fairly Muslims are treated in America after viewing the commercials. In terms of religion, Muslims (most of which are Malays) held the most positive attitude toward the U.S. people after watching the commercials. Muslims also held the most positive attitude, and experienced the largest increase in score (+.55), about how fairly Muslims are treated in America after viewing the commercials.

Lastly, Singaporeans who had never visited the United States held the most positive attitudes about how fairly Muslims are treated in America after watching the commercials. Taken together, the findings generated by the pre-post experiment are quite impressive and they support the use of advertising in public diplomacy efforts. The SVI commercials successfully communicated the positive aspects of religious life in America to those who were most unfamiliar with the United States.

In nearly all cases (99.97%), for all three pre-post experiment comparisons, Singaporean attitudes improved after watching the SVI commercials in terms of gender, ethnicity, religion and U.S. visits. In other words, Singaporean attitudes toward the U.S. government, U.S. people and how fairly Muslims are treated in America all improved, no matter what demographic variable is used to categorize the data. Clearly, the SVI campaign achieved its objectives in Singapore.

Even though the quantitative results showed positive movement in attitudes, the students' qualitative responses revealed many criticisms of the SVI commercials. First impressions of the SVI commercials were consistent between Singaporeans and students in the London study. Negative first impressions were reported by 41.8% of Singaporeans and 39.8% of students in London. Given the Singapore government's extensive use of propaganda campaigns to address social issues, it is not surprising that many students said "propaganda" or "public relations campaign" was the first thing that came to their minds when they watched the commercials.

The main message of the commercials taken away by students in both studies differed slightly. Over 41% of Singaporeans thought the commercials showed how Muslims were treated fairly or equally in America, while students in London took a more general approach. Nearly 60% of these students thought the commercials were meant to improve the image of the United States, especially by showing how Americans respect other religions and cultures. Religious acceptance and social harmony have also been predominant themes in the Singapore government's propaganda campaigns.

Overall, Singaporeans and international students in London liked and disliked the same elements of the SVI commercials. In terms of likeability, 34.5% of Singaporeans enjoyed the realistic, uplifting and peaceful tone of the commercials, while 29.4% of students in London felt the same way. Students in London were much more critical of the commercials than Singaporeans in terms of what they disliked. Over 70% of students in London felt the commercials were fake, misleading and one-sided, while 33% of Singaporeans felt the same way. Interestingly, 38% of Singaporeans said there was nothing they disliked about the commercials, compared to only 9% in the London study.

Overall believability of the commercials was higher among Singaporeans (61.6%) than international students in the London study. Only 44% of Singaporeans said the commercials would be believed by their intended audiences in Muslim nations.

Over half of Singaporeans (52.8%) thought the SVI commercials were appropriate and helpful for the U.S. government to broadcast in Muslim countries. Only 39% of students in London felt the same way.

Approximately half of students in both samples (52.4% of Singaporeans and 46.6% of students in London), agreed that the commercials are an effective tool in communicating with Muslim audiences.

Implications

The primary implication of this study is that advertising, particularly television commercials, should be considered by the U.S. State Department as a tool for improving attitudes toward the United States in future public diplomacy efforts. Results from Singapore confirm those found in the study of international students in London on this point (Kendrick & Fullerton, 2004). Even though vocal politicians, advertising critics and consumers might argue about the effectiveness of using television commercials in this manner, the results of this study indicate it is a worthwhile investment.

Since U.S. multinational companies continue to embrace globalization and develop advertising campaigns, it is essential to understand Singaporean perceptions about America. This is relevant because over 200 American companies have invested heavily in Singapore (Cohn, 2002). In May 2003, President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong of Singapore signed a free trade agreement, removing trade barriers and making it easier for American goods to be exported to Singapore. This study

provides information about Singaporeans' media usage, attitude toward U.S. brands, attitude toward advertising and demographics, all useful information for marketers.

This study also indicates that American brands might not be facing as huge a crisis in foreign markets as previously thought. In 2003, DDB Worldwide Chairman Keith Reinhard cited results of a Roper-ASW study that indicated international consumers felt so negatively toward America that they were less likely to buy American brands like Nike, McDonald's, Microsoft and Disney (Melillo, 2003). Reinhard was so concerned that he founded Business for Diplomatic Action (BDA) to look for ways to reduce anti-Americanism abroad. The findings of this Singaporean study do not support the Roper-ASW study so often cited by Reinhard. Singaporeans were very ambivalent (79%) toward the origin of products they purchased, seeking the best quality product instead of identifying where it was manufactured. This finding instead supports Guyon's (2003) claim in *Fortune* magazine that "rumors of the death of American business abroad are wildly exaggerated" (p. 179).

This study also provides valuable information for advertising educators, especially those who teach international advertising courses or who accept overseas teaching assignments. Case studies on Singaporean college students or the SVI commercials will likely find their way into the lesson plans of many such professors. One of the relevant findings in this study is that Singaporean college students' attitudes toward advertising positively correlate with their attitudes toward America. Combined with the positive results of the pre-post experiment with the SVI commercials, it seems that U.S. advertising and public diplomacy efforts are actually working to help the American cause. Dr. Paul Temporal of Shanghai Jiao Tong University (2004) suggested

that America should promote its core values (liberty, freedom, quality, self-expression, creativity and innovation) overseas, but make them relevant to local cultures. The SVI campaign achieved this objective. Charlotte Beers and the State Department targeted a specific audience (Muslim women) and developed a clear creative strategy that appealed to local cultures by respecting them, not preaching to them. It will be exciting to share these results with advertising students in the United States and abroad.

Theoretical Implications

Three mass communications theories were used as a framework for this study: cultural studies theory (hegemony), social construction of reality theory and propaganda theory. To some degree, each of these is supported by this study.

Cultural Studies Theory

Cultural studies theorists view the mass media as a means by which the haves (global powers) in a society gain the support of the have-nots (weaker groups). The related concept of hegemony describes how nations use the mass media to advance their dominant interests. Cultural studies theory is supported in this study. The U.S. State Department's SVI campaign can be considered hegemonic in that the U.S. government is attempting to persuade Muslim audiences overseas to achieve certain political objectives. Globalization of U.S. entertainment and U.S. brands might also be considered hegemonic methods of advancing U.S. economic interests abroad, namely the profitability of media conglomerates. However, results of this study indicate that Hall's (1986) concept of the "obstinate audience" is only partly supported. Hall argued that globalization of media would create hostility toward America among international audiences by force-feeding

them U.S. values and beliefs. Even though Singaporean college students' attitudes toward the U.S. government and U.S. people increased significantly after viewing the SVI commercials, their mean scores were still negative toward both (2.65 and 2.91, respectfully), indicating the students were cautious, or "obstinate", and still had concerns about the West. However, students in this study indicated they enjoy U.S. entertainment very much. Their U.S. media consumption is positively correlated with their attitudes toward America. Hall's theory that exposure to U.S. media leads to hostility is not supported.

Social Construction of Reality

Social construction of reality is also supported. This study's findings illustrate how Singaporean college students use U.S. entertainment, advertising and public diplomacy to develop positive attitudes, or "pictures in their heads" (Lippman, 1922) about American culture and people, not negative views about the U.S. government and U.S. people, as previously claimed by DeFleur and DeFleur (2003). This is consistent with Fullerton's (2004) findings in the London study, as well as Guyon's (2004) claim that international consumers are able to separate their feelings about the American culture from U.S. government foreign policy.

Responses to Question 70 ("Are there any entertainment programs or movies from the United States that you particularly like? Please explain.") illustrate how Singaporean students use U.S. movies and television programs to construct images about the United States. Overall, 74.9% of students answered "Yes" to this question and explained their reasons. Some examples of these qualitative responses are listed below:

"I get to learn about American culture."

“It shows the good side of Americans.”

“It’s very liberating for women.”

“These movies showcase the American culture, which is part of my interest.”

“It projects good characteristics of most Americans.”

“It shows how an ordinary person [in America] is given the chance to be a star.”

“I like the way of life of the Americans. I especially like watching dramas that show students on campus because I like the easy manner in which the students interact with each other.”

“Because the culture over there [in America] is so open and free.”

“The Bachelor -- because we see the difference between Asian and Western girls and how they fight for love.”

Propaganda Theory

Propaganda theory is easily supported in this study and it has been addressed above in discussion of student reactions to the SVI campaign. Snow (2002) explains that public diplomacy is a euphemism for propaganda. She asserts that the U.S. government uses public diplomacy to influence public attitudes in foreign countries, which advances American interests. In producing the campaign, Charlotte Beers illustrated this point by stating the U.S. government’s goal was to reach the hearts and minds of the Muslim people, particularly women, with messages that emphasized the humanity and tolerance of the American people (Beers, 2002). Results of this study indeed showed that Malay Muslim women were most persuaded by the SVI commercials. Thus, the public diplomacy goal of the campaign was achieved. This finding is consistent with previous research on the SVI campaign (Kendrick & Fullerton, 2003, 2004).

Limitations

As with any research, there are limitations that should be considered when reviewing the findings herein. One limitation of this study is that it features a non-probability, purposive sample of college students living in one country, attending the same institution. Using a non-probability sample makes it difficult to generalize the results to a larger population. However, the large sample size (N=328) adds credence to the research. Also, because Singapore is such a multi-racial, religiously diverse nation, homogenization of responses was of little concern. Lastly, because college students are the future leaders in Singaporean society, it is logical to study their attitudes about anti-Americanism. Singapore has been a strong economic, political and military ally to the United States. Maintaining this relationship is vital given Singapore's location in Southeast Asia.

Another consideration in this study is how the questionnaire's design might potentially cue or bias the Singaporeans' attitudes toward America, Americans and how Muslims are treated in the United States by conditioning them before they ever viewed the SVI commercials and completed the second part of the experiment. Again, by examining the qualitative responses to the SVI commercials, 42% had negative first impressions of them, using words like "fake, suspicious and staged". Also, even though attitudes toward the U.S. government and U.S. people improved, the post-SVI mean scores were all still negative. Attitudes about how Muslims are treated in the United States improved to slightly positive (Mean=3.20), which is consistent with the U.S. State Department's goal for this campaign.

Criticisms of the pre-post experimental approach for measuring the effect of a persuasive message on attitude change include the artificial setting of the laboratory versus a real world setting, the effect of a single, isolated message versus the impact of the frequency of a long-term message campaign, and the inability of quantitative scales to measure small, but important shifts in attitude change (Lowery & DeFleur, 1995; Wimmer & Dominick, 2003). These criticisms create potential problems with external validity and they should be considered when evaluating the findings of the experiment with the SVI commercials; however, the study was also designed to collect diagnostic, qualitative information in the form of an advertising copy test. Taken together, the experiment and qualitative responses provide insight into how Singaporean college students reacted to the SVI commercials, as well as factors related to those reactions. It is difficult to know if the same results would be found among other groups of Singaporeans who might have participated.

Critics of the experimental method claim that the sterile and unnatural conditions in laboratory settings make it impossible to measure changes in real-world behaviors, particularly attitudes. However, statistically significant positive changes in attitude toward the U.S. government, U.S. people and how fairly Muslims are treated in America were found in this study, which was conducted in classroom (laboratory) settings. This could indicate an even stronger effect of the SVI commercials in the field (reality).

Areas for Future Study

The deteriorating attitudes toward America among international audiences must be understood and addressed. Since this is only the second academic study on the effectiveness of the Shared Values Initiative campaign, there is an opportunity for future

research in this area. Given the Iraqi war, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, threat of Al Qaeda and America's position as the only remaining superpower, communicating effectively with other cultures is essential. More studies should be conducted on the U.S. State Department's public diplomacy efforts to determine their effectiveness.

As mentioned earlier, external validity is a problem with this study since a non-probability, purposive sample was used. Future researchers should consider obtaining a random sample and, if appropriate, randomly assigning members to groups, in order to generalize results to the larger population. This level of detail in sampling was beyond the budget of this study.

Another way to increase external validity in this study would be to measure the students' attitudes over time, especially toward the U.S. people, U.S. government and how fairly Muslims are treated in America. Since persuasion and attitude change do not easily occur after only one exposure to a message, measuring the students again after a few weeks or months would take into account the " sleeper effect " of the SVI commercials. Wimmer and Dominick (2003) explained that attitude change requires multiple exposures over time. Therefore, additional time and exposure to the SVI commercials might result in greater attitude change.

The percentage of Muslims in Singapore is only 15% of the population. Buddhism and Christianity are the two most practiced religions in Singapore. Since the SVI campaign was targeted to Muslim nations, it would be helpful to conduct a study in a predominantly Muslim nation, Indonesia for instance. Only six Indonesian students were included in this study's sample. Also, Singapore is an ally of the United States. It would

be interesting to conduct future studies in countries where anti-Americanism is more rampant.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, obtaining access to these students was very difficult due to the MDIS policy prohibiting instructors from conducting research with students in the classrooms. Although this issue was resolved and special permission was eventually granted, future researchers must be aware that conducting cross-cultural studies is not an easy process.

Conclusion

Nine days after the September 11th attacks, President George W. Bush asked the question, “Why do they hate us?” (Bush, 2001). Research firms, U.S. business leaders and U.S. scholars have all tried to answer it.

The Pew Research Center has conducted global surveys that show dramatic decreases in favorability ratings towards the United States in the past two years. Many of the world’s Muslims now believe the United States is threatening their culture and religion (Pew, 2003, 2004).

U.S. business leaders, represented by Reinhard (2003), have cited globalization and America’s dominance in the global economy as the cause. U.S. media scholars DeFleur and DeFleur (2003) have even suggested that American entertainment exports, especially television programs and movies, are the cause.

This study of Singaporean college students tells a different story, one that may not directly answer President Bush’s question, but still may provide hope for improved diplomatic relations in a globalized world.

Attitudes toward America do seem to be related to U.S. entertainment, advertising and public diplomacy but in a positive way. Overwhelmingly, Singaporeans in this study expressed how much they admire the American culture and people; however, they dislike the U.S. government and its foreign policy. This is a fairly new theme in the literature and this study supports it.

Singaporeans in this study reacted positively to the message of the SVI commercials in terms of their attitude change. Seeing these impressive numbers, one cannot help but to reflect on the criticism of Charlotte Beers as she developed the campaign. Matthew Grimm (2003) wrote, “marketing tools don’t work in public policy,” and told Beers, “America is not a brand, and if you’re thinking of it as such, get the hell out of government” (p. 19). Those comments now appear to be unjustified. Beers knew what she was doing. The campaign works.

This study indicates that globalization of American media is not the primary culprit of anti-Americanism and neither is global advertising. Results also indicate that public diplomacy campaigns featuring television commercials are effective. Perhaps most importantly, this study shows that the State Department’s primary target audience, young Muslims, can be effectively reached and persuaded. By examining these findings, the U.S. government can improve its current public diplomacy efforts and work toward a more peaceful and harmonious world.

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APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE

GLOBAL ADVERTISING STUDY

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this survey to measure global attitudes toward advertising. The questionnaire will only take about 20 minutes to complete. You will also watch an 8-minute video of some commercials and provide your opinions. The information that you give is part of an academic study being conducted by two universities in the United States. Your individual responses will be anonymous, so please do not write your name on this survey. The information you provide will not be directly associated with you in any way. Your participation is voluntary.

1. What are your most frequent sources for news about national issues?
(circle as many as apply)
 - a. Television
 - b. Newspapers
 - c. Radio
 - d. Magazines
 - e. Internet
 - f. Friends/relatives
 - g. Other
 - h. Don't know/Don't want to answer
2. What are your most frequent sources for news about international issues?
(circle as many as apply)
 - a. Television
 - b. Newspapers
 - c. Radio
 - d. Magazines
 - e. Internet
 - f. Friends/relatives
 - g. Other
 - h. Don't know/Don't want to answer

Below are questions about your views toward a number of governments in various countries as well as the people of those countries.

3. Please tell us if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of **the government of Australia**?

Very	Somewhat	Somewhat	Very	Don't Know/
Favorable	Favorable	Unfavorable	Unfavorable	Don't want to answer
4. Please tell us if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the **Australian people**?

Very	Somewhat	Somewhat	Very	Don't Know/
Favorable	Favorable	Unfavorable	Unfavorable	Don't want to answer

5. Please tell us if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the **government of Great Britain**?
- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Very
Favorable | Somewhat
Favorable | Somewhat
Unfavorable | Very
Unfavorable | Don't Know/
Don't want to answer |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
6. Please tell us if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the **British people**?
- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Very
Favorable | Somewhat
Favorable | Somewhat
Unfavorable | Very
Unfavorable | Don't Know/
Don't want to answer |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
7. Please tell us if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the **government of the United States**?
- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Very
Favorable | Somewhat
Favorable | Somewhat
Unfavorable | Very
Unfavorable | Don't Know/
Don't want to answer |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
8. Please tell us if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the **American people**?
- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Very
Favorable | Somewhat
Favorable | Somewhat
Unfavorable | Very
Unfavorable | Don't Know/
Don't want to answer |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
9. What three words would you use to describe the **United States government**?
10. What three words would you use to describe the **American people**?

Please tell us if you strongly agree, agree, neither agree or disagree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements about **American people**:

11. American people are generally quite violent.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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12. American people are generous.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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13. Many American women are sexually immoral.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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14. Americans respect people who are not like themselves.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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15. American people are very materialistic.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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16. American people have strong religious values.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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17. American people like to dominate other people.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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18. Americans are a peaceful people.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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19. Many American people engage in criminal activities.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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20. American people are very concerned about their poor.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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21. American people have strong family values.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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22. American people are religious.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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23. There is little for which I admire Americans.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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24. I would like to live in the United States if I had the opportunity.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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25. It is good that American ideas and customs are spreading to my country.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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26. I like American music, movies and television.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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27. Muslims who live in America are treated fairly.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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Now we would like you to respond to the following statements regarding your attitudes toward advertising:

28. Advertising is essential to the prosperity of my country's economy.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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29. Advertising often persuades people to buy things that they really don't need.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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30. In general, advertisements present a true picture of the product advertised.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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31. There should be less advertising.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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32. Advertising helps raise our standard of living.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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33. Most advertising insults the intelligence of the consumer.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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34. There is a need for more truth in advertising.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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35. Advertising results in better products for the public.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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36. Advertisements should be more realistic.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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37. There is too much exaggeration in advertising today.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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38. There should be more government regulation of advertising.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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39. In general, advertising results in lower prices for products.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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40. Too many of today's advertisements are silly and ridiculous.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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41. There should be less emphasis on sex in advertising.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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42. Advertising increases the cost of goods and services.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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43. Advertising just tends to confuse people by presenting them with too many choices and claims.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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44. Advertising makes people conformists – everyone acting the same way and liking the same things.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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45. Advertising is making people materialistic--interested in owning and getting things.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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46. Advertising helps to create business monopolies.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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47. Advertising is wasteful since it only transfers sales from one manufacturer to another without actually adding any new money to the economy.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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48. Advertising should be on a more adult level.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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49. Too many of today's advertisements attempt to create a trivial or imaginary difference between products that are actually identical or very similar in composition.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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50. There is a real need for better taste in most of today's advertisements.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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51. There should be a ban on advertising of harmful or dangerous products.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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52. Too much of today's advertising is false and misleading.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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Now you will be shown an eight-minute video of five commercials that were run on TV stations in several Muslim countries in November 2002.

The following questions are designed to measure your opinions about the commercials that you just saw.

53. Prior to today, were you aware that the United States was planning to release video messages to Muslim countries for the purpose of improving attitudes toward the United States and the American people?
___Yes ___No
54. What was the first thing that came to your mind when you viewed these video segments?
55. In your own words, what is the main message that these video segments are trying to communicate to you?
56. What do you LIKE about the videos?
57. What do you DISLIKE about the videos?
58. How believable or credible are the videos to YOU?

Very Believable	Somewhat Believable	Somewhat Unbelievable	Very Unbelievable	Don't Know
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59. How believable or credible do you think the videos will be to their INTENDED AUDIENCES IN OTHER COUNTRIES?

Very Believable	Somewhat Believable	Somewhat Unbelievable	Very Unbelievable	Don't Know
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60. Is there anything about the videos that is confusing or hard to believe? If so, what is it?

61. In your opinion, is the United States using an appropriate strategy with these videos? Why or why not?

62. I think the videos are an effective tool in communicating with citizens of Muslim countries about the positive aspects of American life.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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63. After seeing the commercials, I think it is appropriate and helpful for the U.S. government to run these commercials on television stations in other countries, including Muslim countries.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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Please answer the following questions again:

64. After seeing the commercials, please tell us if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the **government of the United States?**

Very Favorable	Somewhat Favorable	Somewhat Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Don't Know/ Don't want to answer
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65. After seeing the commercials, please tell us if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the **American people?**

Very Favorable	Somewhat Favorable	Somewhat Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Don't Know/ Don't want to answer
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66. After seeing the commercials, I think Muslims who live in America are treated fairly.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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67. Do the commercials affect your attitude toward the U.S. in any way?

☐ Yes ☐ No
How?

68. Do you ever see U.S. television programs when you watch television?

☐ Yes ☐ No
Which programs?

69. I believe that U.S. television programs show characters that are similar to most American people.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
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70. Are there any entertainment television programs or movies from the United States that you particularly **like**? ☐ Yes ☐ No
Please explain.

71. Are there any entertainment television programs or movies from the United States that you particularly **dislike**? ☐ Yes ☐ No
Please explain.

Think about an average week and the amount and types of media that you consume. Try to think about how much of that media originates in the United States. In the spaces below write the percentage of U.S. media you consume out of the total time you spend using that media. (For example if you watch 10 hours of TV each week and 2 hours are U.S. programs, then 20% of your time is spent watching U.S. TV.)

72. What percentage of your total television viewing is spent with U.S. television programs?
_____ %

73. What percentage of your total radio listening is spent with U.S. radio stations?
_____ %

74. What percentage of your total cinema visits are spent watching U.S. movies?
_____ %

75. What percentage of your total video/DVD viewing is spent with U.S. videos/DVDs?
_____ %

76. What percentage of your total use of recorded music is spent listening to U.S. music?
_____ %

77. What percentage of your total Internet usage is spent surfing U.S. web sites?
_____ %

78. What percentage of your total newspaper readership is spent with U.S. newspapers?
_____ %

79. What percentage of your total magazine readership is spent with U.S. magazines?
_____ %

80. What percentage of your total book reading is spent with U.S. books?
_____ %

81. What percentage of your total comic readership is spent with U.S. comics?
_____ %

82. When you think of the United States, what three brands of products or services come to mind?

83. Which U.S. brands do you like the most? Why?

84. Which U.S. brands do you dislike the most? Why?

85. Which of the following statements best reflects your views?

- a. I prefer to buy products with U.S. brands.
- b. Most of the time I will NOT buy products with a U.S. brand if I can find another one not from the U.S.
- c. Some of the time I will NOT buy products with a U.S. brand if I can find another one not from the U.S.
- d. I refuse to buy any products with a U.S. brand.
- e. I do not care if the products that I buy are from the U.S. or not, I choose the products that I like best, regardless of the national origin of the brands.

There are only a few more questions. These questions are about you.

86. Are you Male _____ or Female _____?

87. Your age is: _____

88. Is English your native language? YES _____ NO _____

89. If English is not your native language, what is your native language? _____

90. Do you speak English fluently? YES _____ NO _____

91. Do you study in English? YES _____ NO _____

92. Do you have a job? YES _____ NO _____

93. What is your occupation? _____

94. Do you attend school on a full time basis? YES _____ NO _____

95. What is your field of academic study? _____

96. Your country of citizenship _____

97. Your ethnicity _____

98. Your religion is (circle one)?

- a. Buddhist
- b. Taoist
- c. Muslim
- d. Hindu
- e. Christian
- f. Other _____
- g. I am not religious
- h. I do not wish to answer

99. How religious do you consider yourself (circle one)?

VERY
RELIGIOUS

MODERATELY
RELIGIOUS

NOT AT ALL
RELIGIOUS

DO NOT WISH
TO ANSWER

100. Have you ever visited the U.S.? Yes _____ or No _____

101. Do you know anyone in the U.S.? Yes _____ or No _____

Please describe who you know – are they friends, relatives, co-workers or others?

102. Would you like to visit the U.S. some day? Yes _____ or No _____

103. Which of the following do you have access to on a regular basis?

- ___ the Internet
- ___ e-mail (electronic mail)
- ___ both

104. Do you have regular e-mail contact with friends, co-workers or relatives in the U.S.?

Yes _____ No _____

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY!

APPENDIX B

TABLES

Table 1*Statistics for statements measuring Attitude toward America*

Statement (n=328)	Mean	Median	Mode	Standard Deviation	Variance
“American people are generally quite violent.”	3.23	3.00	3	.81	.73
“American people are generous”	3.25	3.00	3	.73	.54
“Many American women are sexually immoral.”	3.14	3.00	3	.91	.84
“Americans respect people who are not like themselves.”	2.76	3.00	3	.83	.68
“American people are very materialistic.”	3.27	3.00	3	.82	.66
“American people have strong religious values.”	2.89	3.00	3	.90	.82
“American people like to dominate other people.”	3.71	4.00	4	.86	.75
“Americans are a peaceful people.”	2.81	3.00	3	.76	.58
“Many American people engage in criminal activities.”	3.07	3.00	3	.87	.75
“American people are very concerned about their poor.”	2.78	3.00	3	.86	.74
“American people have strong family values.”	2.89	3.00	3	.97	.94
“American people are religious.”	2.88	3.00	3	.86	.73
“There is little for which I admire Americans.”	2.90	3.00	3	.91	.83
“I would like to live in the United States if I had the opportunity.”	3.43	4.00	4	1.06	1.13
“It is good that American ideas and customs are spreading to my country.”	3.20	3.00	3	.95	.89
“I like American music, movies and television.”	3.96	4.00	4	.72	.52
“Muslims who live in America are treated fairly.”	2.81	3.00	3	.77	.59

Table 2*Statistics for statements measuring Attitude toward Advertising*

Statement (n=328)	Mean	Median	Mode	Standard Deviation	Variance
“Advertising is essential to the prosperity of my country’s economy.”	4.05	4.00	4	.68	.46
“Advertising often persuades people to buy things that they don’t really need.”	4.02	4.00	4	.79	.62
“In general, advertisements present a true picture of the product advertised.”	2.39	2.00	2	.86	.75
“There should be less advertising.”	2.62	3.00	2	.89	.79
“Advertising helps raise our standard of living.	3.58	4.00	4	.84	.70
“Most advertising insults the intelligence of the consumer.”	2.83	3.00	2	.90	.81
“There is a need for more truth in advertising.”	3.99	4.00	4	.80	.64
“Advertising results in better products for the public.”	3.25	3.00	4	.89	.80
“Advertisements should be more realistic.”	3.80	4.00	4	.81	.66
“There is too much exaggeration in advertising today.”	3.75	4.00	4	.83	.70
“There should be more government regulation of advertising.”	2.95	3.00	3	.98	.97
“In general, advertising results in lower prices for products.”	2.43	2.00	2	.86	.75
“Too many of today’s advertisements are silly and ridiculous.”	3.10	3.00	3	.95	.89
“There should be less emphasis on sex in advertising.”	3.41	3.00	4	1.04	1.07
“Advertising increases the cost of goods and services.”	3.68	4.00	4	.90	.81
“Advertising just tends to confuse people by presenting them with too many choice and claims.”	3.31	4.00	4	.97	.94

“Advertising makes people conformists – everyone acting the same way and liking the same things.”	3.50	4.00	4	1.00	1.01
“Advertising is making people materialistic – interested in owning and getting things.”	3.90	4.00	4	.87	.76
“Advertising helps to create business monopolies.”	3.55	4.00	4	.85	.73
“Advertising is wasteful since it only transfers sales from one manufacturer to another without actually adding any new money to the economy.”	2.48	2.00	2	.74	.55
“Advertising should be on a more adult level.”	2.78	3.00	2	.86	.73
“Too many of today’s advertisements attempt to create a trivial or imaginary difference between products that are actually identical or very similar in composition.”	3.73	4.00	4	.74	.55
“There is a real need for better taste in most of today’s advertisements.”	3.78	4.00	4	.77	.60
“There should be a ban on advertising of harmful or dangerous products.”	3.96	4.00	4	.98	.96
“Too much of today’s advertising is false and misleading.”	3.50	4.00	4	.88	.77

Table 3*Words Used to Describe the United States Government**

Power/-ful – 42	Effective – 3	Able – 1
Arrogant/conceited – 33	Egocentric – 3	Assertive – 1
Dominating – 27	Friendly – 3	Aloof – 1
Democratic – 26	Idealistic – 3	Ambitious – 1
Free/freedom – 21	Judgmental – 3	Anti-social – 1
Liberal – 20	Nosey – 3	Acting willingly – 1
Selfish – 18	Overbearing – 3	Action-oriented – 1
Aggressive – 16	Pushy – 3	Affluent – 1
Strong/strength – 14	Stubborn – 3	Barbaric – 1
Proud/pride – 13	Big brother – 2	Bastards – 1
Leads/leader/-ship – 9	Caring – 2	Blunt – 1
Bossy/bully – 8	Complacent – 2	Bold – 1
Fair – 8	Controversial – 2	Brash – 1
Prejudice/Racism – 8	Champions of	Breaking promises – 1
Free speech – 7	freedom/help weaker	Bush – 1
Impulsive – 7	country get peace – 2	Capable – 1
Open/open-minded – 7	Conceited – 2	Capitalistic – 1
Busybody – 6	Decisive – 2	Careful – 1
Efficient – 6	Diplomatic – 2	Casual – 1
Influential – 6	Dirty – 2	Cautious – 1
Manipulative – 6	Economic – 2	Challenging – 1
Bias/-ed – 5	Equality – 2	Changing – 1
Confident – 5	Fake – 2	Charismatic – 1
Deception/deceivers – 5	Flashy – 2	Coercive – 1
Political/politics – 5	God Bless America – 2	Colorful – 1
Secretive/secrets – 5	Helpful – 2	Condescending – 1
Control/-ling – 4	Human rights – 2	Confrontational – 1
Corrupt/-ed – 4	Hypocritical – 2	Confused – 1
Democracy – 4	Imposing – 2	Conquering – 1
Demanding – 4	Indecisive – 2	Cowboyish – 1
Firm – 4	Individualistic – 2	Creates unnecessary
Good – 4	Intrusive – 2	problems – 1
Greedy/materialistic – 4	Just – 2	Cruel – 1
Inefficient – 4	Mean – 2	Daring – 1
Irrational – 4	Noisy – 2	Delusional – 1
Power-hungry – 4	Overpowering – 2	Determined – 1
Rash – 4	Patriotic – 2	Direct – 1
Rich – 4	Self-righteous – 2	Disruptive – 1
Scandal/-ous – 4	Shrewd – 2	Drama – 1
Superpower – 4	Skeptical – 2	Dynamic – 1
United – 4	Stable – 2	Not very democratic – 1
Authoritative/-arian – 3	Stereotype – 2	Eager – 1
Big/Colossal – 3	Superior – 2	Elite – 1
Chaotic – 3	Supremacy – 2	Enterprising – 1
Dictator/-ship – 3	Tough – 2	Enthusiastic – 1
Discriminatory – 3	War – 2	Experienced – 1

Expressive – 1	Logic – 1	Self-interest – 1
Extreme – 1	Loud – 1	Self-involved – 1
Fancy – 1	Male-dominated – 1	Sensational – 1
Federal – 1	Marketing-oriented – 1	Sensitive – 1
Fight – 1	Meddlesome – 1	Shadowy – 1
Flexible – 1	Messy – 1	Short-sighted – 1
Force – 1	Mighty – 1	Sickening – 1
Freedom of opinion – 1	Military – 1	Sly – 1
Full of bullshit – 1	Militaristic – 1	Snobbish – 1
Futuristic – 1	Misunderstood – 1	Straight-forward – 1
Generous – 1	Money-minded – 1	Stand-offish – 1
Global – 1	Monopoly – 1	Strategic – 1
Good welfare for the people – 1	Nasty – 1	Staunch – 1
Great place to live – 1	Needs to improve – 1	Strict – 1
Gutsy – 1	Neo-imperialistic – 1	Strong-headed – 1
Hardworking – 1	Non-compromising – 1	Stupid – 1
Haste makes waste – 1	Not media savvy – 1	Stupid white men – 1
Headstrong – 1	Not understanding – 1	Supportive – 1
Heroic – 1	Obtuse – 1	Surprises – 1
Hide the facts – 1	Oil-driven – 1	Tactless – 1
High – 1	Opportunities – 1	Talkative – 1
High-handed – 1	Opportunist – 1	Tolerant – 1
Honor – 1	Optimistic – 1	Too religious – 1
Horny – 1	Over self esteem – 1	Transparent – 1
Ignorant – 1	Organized – 1	Unbending – 1
Impartial – 1	Outspoken – 1	Uncertain – 1
Impatient – 1	Paranoid – 1	Unconvincing – 1
Imperialism – 1	Propaganda – 1	Unethical – 1
Impetuous – 1	Pretentious – 1	Unjust – 1
Impressionists – 1	Persuasive – 1	Unreliable – 1
Inconsistent – 1	Puritanical – 1	Unrestrained – 1
Influenced – 1	Pioneers – 1	Untrustworthy – 1
Initiative – 1	Partial – 1	Untruthful – 1
Insensitive – 1	Protective – 1	Versatile – 1
Intelligent – 1	Reciprocal – 1	Vindictive – 1
International – 1	Reflective – 1	Violent – 1
Intimate – 1	Reliable – 1	Vocal – 1
Kiasu – 1	Religiously-driven – 1	Wastes money – 1
Layered – 1	Respectful – 1	Weapons of mass destruction – 1
Leaders of the World – 1	Responsible – 1	World domination – 1
Liars – 1	Reputation – 1	World's godfather – 1
Liberated – 1	Rigid – 1	World's watchdog – 1
Libertarian – 1	Security – 1	
	Seedy – 1	

*Question: "What three words would you use to describe the United States government?"

Table 4*Words Used to Describe the American People**

Friendly/kind – 112	Overconfident – 3	Accepting – 1
Open-minded – 50	Positive – 3	Active – 1
Arrogant/conceited – 29	Rude – 3	Adaptability – 1
Opinionated – 25	Sensitive – 3	Anti-social – 1
Prideful/proud – 23	Spontaneous – 3	Articulate – 1
Loud/Vocal – 23	Straight-forward – 3	Assertive – 1
Freedom/liberty – 19	Stubborn/Tenacious – 3	Assuming – 1
Liberal – 17	Stylish/Trendy – 3	Blinded by faith – 1
Individual/-ism – 16	Uncultured – 3	Boastful – 1
Ignorant – 14	Wealthy/Rich – 3	Brainless – 1
Independent – 14	Wild – 3	Brash – 1
Selfish – 14	Advance – 2	Can-do attitude – 1
Confident – 13	Caring – 2	Candid – 1
Creative – 13	Cheerful – 2	Carefree – 1
Generous/helpful – 12	Cool – 2	Competent – 1
Fun/Funny – 11	Crazy – 2	Contrast – 1
Patriotic – 10	Cultured – 2	Cordial – 1
Racist – 10	Demanding – 2	Corrupt – 1
Violent – 10	Dependent – 2	Courteous – 1
Intelligent/Smart – 8	Direct – 2	Democratic – 1
Optimistic – 8	Entertaining – 2	Destructive – 1
Snobbish – 8	Fashionable – 2	Determined – 1
Big/huge/tall – 7	Food lovers – 2	Diligent – 1
Daring/daredevils – 7	Frank – 2	Diplomatic – 1
Diverse/diversity – 6	Free-spirited – 2	Discriminating – 1
Expressive – 5	Hedonistic – 2	Dominant – 1
Materialistic – 5	Greedy – 2	Dynamic – 1
Bold – 4	Gullible – 2	Easy-going – 1
Idealistic – 4	Hardworking – 2	Economic – 1
Liberated – 4	Leader – 2	Educated – 1
Loyal – 4	Lovely – 2	Elegant – 1
Aggressive – 3	Mature – 2	Eloquent – 1
Approachable – 3	Myopic (culturally) – 2	Emotional – 1
Bias – 3	Obsessive – 2	Empowered – 1
Blunt – 3	Outgoing – 2	Excessive – 1
Condescending – 3	Overbearing – 2	Exciting – 1
Confused – 3	Polite – 2	Extravagant – 1
Contradictory – 3	Prejudice – 2	Extreme – 1
Enthusiastic – 3	Rights – 2	Fair – 1
Extroverts – 3	Rowdy – 2	Fake – 1
Fat – 3	Sexist – 2	Family oriented – 1
Freedom of speech – 3	Strange – 2	Flamboyant – 1
Humorous – 3	Strong – 2	Flexible – 1
Innovative – 3	Superficial – 2	Freestyle – 1
Interesting – 3	Talkative – 2	Freewheeling – 1
Naïve – 3	Tolerant – 2	Gentle – 1

Globalistic – 1	Isolated – 1	Right – 1
Glutton – 1	Judgmental – 1	Selective – 1
God Save Americans – 1	Laid back – 1	Self-reliant – 1
Good – 1	Lazy – 1	Show off – 1
Gradual societal degradation – 1	Libertarian – 1	Sophisticated – 1
Harmony – 1	Likable – 1	Status conscious – 1
Headstrong – 1	Loving – 1	Stereotyping – 1
Honorable – 1	Modern – 1	Stupid – 1
Hopeful – 1	Motivated – 1	Suave – 1
Horny – 1	Multi-racial – 1	Superiority complex – 1
Hospitable – 1	Narcissistic – 1	Supportive – 1
Hospitality – 1	Nationalistic – 1	Tacky – 1
Human rights – 1	No manners – 1	Talented – 1
I am the greatest – 1	No proper control – 1	Trashy culture – 1
Idiots – 1	Oblivious – 1	Unaware – 1
Immature – 1	Obnoxious – 1	Understanding – 1
Impulsive – 1	Over-estimated – 1	Unenlightened – 1
Indecisive – 1	Passionate – 1	Unfocused – 1
Indifferent – 1	Peaceful – 1	Unhelpful – 1
Indomitable – 1	Poor – 1	Uninformed – 1
Industrious – 1	Powerful – 1	Unique – 1
Inquisitive – 1	Practical – 1	United – 1
Intimidating – 1	Presentable – 1	Untrusting – 1
Intolerant – 1	Racial discrimination - 1	Weird – 1
Intuitive – 1	Realistic – 1	White – 1
Inward looking – 1	Rebellious – 1	Wonderful – 1
Irresponsible – 1	Remarkable – 1	
	Respect – 1	

*Question: "What three words would you use to describe the American people?"

Table 5*U.S. Television Programs & Movies Recalled**Specific Programs/Networks Named:

American Idol – 83	NYPD Blue – 2
Friends – 66	Roswell – 2
Survivor – 32	Scrubs – 2
CSI – 31	Seventh Heaven – 2
The Bachelor/-ette – 24	Southpark – 2
Charmed – 17	Temptation Island – 2
Fear Factor – 17	The Agency – 2
CNN – 14	The Dead Zone – 2
Smallville – 14	20/20 – 2
Ally McBeal – 11	WWE – 2
The Practice – 11	Academy Awards – 1
Discovery Channel – 8	America's Top Model – 1
Alias – 7	AMI – 1
Are You Hot? – 7	Angel – 1
MTV – 7	AXN – 1
Oprah – 7	CSI Miami – 1
Seinfeld – 7	Earth Visions – 1
Sex and the City – 7	Erin Brockovich – 1
The Amazing Race – 7	ESPN – 1
Wheel of Fortune – 7	Futurama – 1
Days of Our Lives – 6	Hollywood Squares – 1
That 70's Show – 6	JAG – 1
The Simpsons – 6	Jeopardy – 1
Boston Public – 5	Joe Millionaire – 1
Dark Angel – 5	Kingdom Hospital – 1
Gilmore Girls – 5	Monk – 1
Law and Order – 5	Murder One – 1
Buffy The Vampire Slayer – 4	Paradise Hotel – 1
ER – 4	Party of Five – 1
Everybody Loves Raymond – 4	Queer Eye for the Straight Guy – 1
Felicity – 4	Reba – 1
Frasier – 4	Saved By The Bell – 1
HBO – 4	Seven Days – 1
The Late Show with David Letterman – 4	Star Movies – 1
Baywatch – 3	That's My Bush – 1
National Geographic Channel – 3	The Osbournes – 1
60 Minutes – 3	Third Watch – 1
Whose Line is it Anyway? – 3	Two Guys and a Girl – 1
America's Funniest Home Videos – 2	Two of a Kind – 1
Dharma & Greg – 2	X-Files – 1
Drew Carey – 2	West Wing – 1
FOX – 2	Who Wants to be a Millionaire? – 1
King of Queens – 2	
Larry King Live – 2	BLANK – 76

NOTE: Instead of particular show titles, many students wrote categories or types of programming that they recalled.

Categories/Types Named:

Sitcoms – 32
Movie – 29
Reality shows – 21
Dramas – 17
News – 9
Entertainment – 7
Comedies – 6
Game Shows – 6
Variety shows – 6
Serials – 5
Cartoons – 4
Documentaries – 4
Talk shows – 4
Soap Operas – 3
Award ceremonies – 1
Children's programs – 1
Politics – 1
Travelogues – 1

*Question: "Do you ever see U.S. television programs? Which programs?"

Table 6*U.S. Television Programs & Movies Liked**Specific Programs/Networks Named:

American Idol – 29	Frasier – 1
Friends – 17	Good Times – 1
CSI – 13	Grammy Awards – 1
Fear Factor – 10	Guess Who's Coming to Dinner? – 1
MTV – 5	ID4 – Independence Day – 1
Sex and the City – 5	JAG – 1
Survivor – 5	John Q – 1
The Bachelor – 5	Joy Luck Club – 1
The Simpsons – 5	Judging Amy – 1
Charmed – 4	Kate & Leopold – 1
Lord of the Rings – Return of the King – 4	Men of Honor – 1
Wheel of Fortune – 4	Monster Ball – 1
Gilmore Girls – 3	Moulin Rouge – 1
American Pie – 3	MTV Jackass – 1
Oprah – 3	Mystic River – 1
The Practice – 3	NYPD Blue – 1
20/20 – 2	Perfect Strangers – 1
Buffy The Vampire Slayer – 2	Pirates of the Caribbean – 1
CNN – 2	Prozac Nation – 1
ER – 2	Pretty Woman – 1
Fresh Prince of Bel-Air – 2	Quantum Leap – 1
Law & Order – 2	Sanford & Son – 1
Seinfeld – 2	Saved By The Bell – 1
Seven – 2	Scooby Doo movie – 1
Six Feet Under – 2	Seven Days – 1
The Last Samurai – 2	Seventh Heaven – 1
The Matrix – 2	Smallville – 1
A Time to Kill – 1	Speed – 1
A Walk to Remember – 1	Superman movies – 1
Alias – 1	Supermodel – 1
America's Funniest Home Videos – 1	Sweet November – 1
American Bandstand – 1	The Grey Owl – 1
American Beauty – 1	The Late Show with David Letterman – 1
Are You Hot? – 1	The Message – 1
Boys Don't Cry – 1	The Patriot – 1
Brady Bunch – 1	The Real World – 1
Cold Mountain – 1	Touched by an Angel – 1
Dances With Wolves – 1	Two Guys and a Girl – 1
Dark Angel – 1	Who's The Boss? – 1
Different Strokes – 1	Whose Line Is It Anyway? – 1
Everybody Loves Raymond – 1	Without a Trace – 1
Felicity – 1	WWE – 1
For Love Or Money – 1	
Forrest Gump – 1	BLANK – 86
Fox News – 1	NONE – 8

NOTE: Instead of particular show titles, many students wrote categories or types of programming that they liked.

Categories/Types Named:

Hollywood Movies – 19

Comedies – 8

Dramas – 4

Reality shows – 4

Sitcoms – 4

Documentaries – 2

Detective shows – 1

Game shows – 1

Travel shows – 1

*Question: "Are there any entertainment television programs or movies from the United States that you particularly like? Please explain."

Table 7*U.S. Television Programs & Movies Disliked**Specific Programs/Networks Named:

The Bachelor/-ette – 31	Just Shoot Me – 1
Fear Factor – 14	Kill Bill – 1
Survivor – 13	MTV – 1
Temptation Island – 8	MTV Jackass – 1
Are You Hot? – 6	Oprah – 1
Paradise Hotel – 6	Punked – 1
American Idol – 5	Rambo – 1
Friends – 4	The Last Samarai – 1
Days of our Lives – 3	The Tom Green Show – 1
Sex & The City – 3	Titus – 1
The Jerry Springer Show – 3	U-571 – 1
Baywatch – 2	WWE – 1
Joe Millionaire – 2	
Meet The Folks – 2	BLANK – 177
Ally McBeal – 1	NONE – 18
The Amazing Race – 1	
America's Funniest Home Videos – 1	
Black Hawk Down – 1	
Drew Carey – 1	
Everybody Loves Raymond – 1	
Fantasy Island – 1	
For Love or Money – 1	
FOX – 1	
Independence Day – 1	

NOTE: Instead of particular show titles, many students wrote categories or types of programming that they liked.

Categories/Types Named:

Reality shows – 14
 Soap operas – 3
 Violent movies – 2
 Promotion of materialism – 1
 Propaganda – 1
 Talk shows – 1
 War movies – 1
 Western movies – 1

*Question: "Are there any entertainment television programs or movies from the United States that you particularly dislike? Please explain."

Table 8*Brands of Products/Services Recalled**

Nike – 92	Intel – 2	Fifth Avenue – 1
McDonald's – 76	Jello – 2	Ford Mustang – 1
Coca-Cola/Coke – 63	Johnson & Johnson – 2	FOX – 1
Levi's – 44	Lay's – 2	Gibson – 1
Microsoft – 33	Louis Vuitton – 2	Glamour – 1
Guess? – 21	MTV – 2	Gucci – 1
GAP – 18	Penthouse – 2	HBO – 1
Ford – 11	Pizza Hut – 2	Hanes – 1
KFC – 11	Popeye's – 2	Harley-Davidson – 1
Pepsi – 10	Sketchers – 2	Hershey's – 1
Starbucks – 9	Subway – 2	Honey – 1
Wal-Mart – 9	Vans – 2	Hugo Boss – 1
Apple – 8	Wendy's – 2	Hungry Jack – 1
Marlboro – 8	Xerox – 2	Hurley Int. – 1
Abercrombie & Fitch – 7	3M – 1	Hustler – 1
Adidas – 7	A&W – 1	Jack Daniels – 1
IBM – 7	ABC – 1	Jack-In-The-Box – 1
Victoria's Secret – 7	AC Nielsen Research – 1	Junior Mints – 1
Polo/Ralph Lauren – 7	Company – 1	Kleenex – 1
Disney/-land – 6	AIA – 1	K-Mart – 1
DKNY – 6	America Online – 1	Kraft – 1
Tommy Hilfiger – 6	Amway – 1	Kung Fu Records – 1
Bath & Body Works – 5	AOL – 1	Laura Ashley – 1
Chevrolet – 5	Arby's – 1	Lee – 1
DHL – 5	Baby Phat – 1	Leo's Barbecue – 1
FedEx – 5	Ben & Jerry's – 1	Lexmark – 1
Hewlett-Packard – 5	Big Dog – 1	Macy's – 1
iMac/Mac – 5	BMI Music – 1	Mango – 1
Krispy Kreme – 5	Boeing – 1	Manolo Blahnik – 1
Burger King – 4	Cadbury – 1	Marvel Comics – 1
Maybelline – 4	Campbell's soup – 1	Mastercard – 1
Procter & Gamble – 4	Canon – 1	Microsoft Xbox – 1
American Express – 3	Chanel – 1	Miss Sixty – 1
CNN – 3	Chrysler – 1	New York Times – 1
Old Navy – 3	Citibank – 1	Northwest Airlines – 1
Reebok – 3	Clinique – 1	NuSkin – 1
Universal Studios – 3	Compaq – 1	Oakley – 1
AT&T – 2	Cornflakes – 1	Oreo – 1
Banana Republic – 2	Crest – 1	Oshkosh B'Gosh – 1
Caltex – 2	Davidoff – 1	Paul Frank – 1
Calvin Klein – 2	Donna Karan – 1	Pillsbury – 1
Converse – 2	Elizabeth Arden – 1	Playboy – 1
General Motors – 2	Elle – 1	Playgirl – 1
Haagen-Dazs – 2	Ericsson – 1	Post cereal – 1
Hallmark – 2	Esprit – 1	Prada – 1
Heinz – 2	Fender – 1	Prime Shuttlevan – 1

Ray's Pizza – 1	Stila – 1	U.S. Army – 1
Reese's – 1	Superman – 1	USA Hostels – 1
Roccamwear – 1	Timberland – 1	Usana – 1
Roland – 1	Time – 1	Versace – 1
Roxy – 1	Timex – 1	Von Dutch – 1
Sony – 1	Topshop – 1	Warner Brothers – 1
Sony Playstation 2 – 1	Toys R Us – 1	
Spectral Records – 1	United Airlines – 1	BLANK – 38
St. Ives – 1	UPS – 1	NONE – 13

*Question: "When you think of the United States, what three brands of products or services come to mind?"

Table 9
*U.S. Brands Liked**

Nike – 49	Fender – 1
Levi's – 30	Ford – 1
Coca-Cola/Coke – 20	Fox – 1
McDonald's – 14	FUBU – 1
GAP – 11	Gibson – 1
Abercrombie & Fitch – 10	Hewlett-Packard – 1
Victoria's Secret – 10	Hurley Int. – 1
Microsoft – 9	IBM – 1
Bath & Body Works – 6	Jane – 1
Guess? – 6	JC Penney – 1
Disney – 5	Johnson & Johnson – 1
Banana Republic – 3	JoJo – 1
DKNY – 3	Krispy Kreme – 1
Pepsi – 3	M•A•C – 1
Adidas – 2	Marlboro – 1
Apple – 2	Miller Lite – 1
Burger King – 2	MTV – 1
Calvin Klein – 2	New Balance – 1
Chevrolet – 2	Northwest Airlines – 1
Hallmark – 2	Oakley – 1
Hershey's – 2	Oreo – 1
iMac/Macintosh – 1	Origins – 1
KFC – 2	Paul Frank – 1
Marvel comics – 2	Polo/Ralph Lauren – 1
Nine West – 2	Pontiac – 1
Old Navy – 2	Popeye's – 1
Post Cereal – 2	Roxy – 1
Starbucks – 2	Sony – 1
Wal-Mart – 2	Squaresoft – 1
AMD – 1	Stila – 1
Barnes & Noble – 1	Subway – 1
Ben & Jerry's – 1	Target – 1
Big Dog – 1	Tiffany – 1
Border's – 1	Timberland – 1
Budweiser – 1	Tommy Hilfiger – 1
Cadbury – 1	Vans – 1
Caltex – 1	Vertigo comics – 1
Columbia – 1	Von Dutch – 1
Converse – 1	USA Hostels – 1
Davidoff – 1	
DC Comics – 1	BLANK – 69
Dockers – 1	NONE – 48
Enix – 1	

*Question: "Which U.S. brands do you like the most?"

Table 10
*U.S. Brands Disliked**

McDonald's – 9
Nike – 6
Tommy Hilfiger – 5
GAP – 4
Marlboro – 4
Microsoft – 4
Coca-Cola – 3
Guess? – 3
Levi's – 3
Starbucks – 3
Pepsi – 2
Pizza Hut – 2
Abercrombie & Fitch – 1
Fast food chains – 1
FedEx – 1
Fifth Avenue – 1
Ford – 1
KFC – 1
Kenny Rogers Roasters – 1
New Balance – 1
Procter & Gamble – 1
Real Audio – 1
Reality shows – 1
Sketchers – 1
Umbro – 1
 NONE – 150
BLANK – 117

*Question: "What was the first thing that came to your mind when you viewed these video segments?"

Table 11*Regression Model Summary*

ANOVA

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	5.210	2	2.605	16.333	.000*
	Residual	50.722	318	.160		
	Total	55.933	320			

Predictors: (Constant), MEDIAUSE, ATTAD

Dependent Variable: attam

Multiple R = .305, $R^2 = .093$, Adjusted $R^2 = .087$, SE = .3994**Table 12***Regression Coefficients of Variables*

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	2.029	.172		11.794	.000*
	ATTAD	.303	.063	.259	4.816	.000*
	MEDIAUSE	3.172E-03	.001	.135	2.502	.013*

Dependent Variable: attam

Table 13*Regression Model Summary*

ANOVA

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	9.546	6	1.591	10.874	.000*
	Residual	43.454	297	.146		
	Total	53.000	303			

Predictors: (Constant), Q30, Q79, Q52, Q35, Q72, Q81

Dependent Variable: attam

Multiple R = .424, $R^2 = .180$, Adjusted $R^2 = .164$, SE = .3825**Table 14***Regression Coefficients of Variables*

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	2.199	.113		19.433	.000*
	Q30	.107	.026	.220	4.066	.000*
	Q79 (Mag)	2.888E-03	.001	.183	3.165	.002*
	Q52	5.903E-02	.025	.126	2.316	.021*
	Q35	7.325E-02	.025	.157	2.885	.004*
	Q72 (TV)	2.258E-03	.001	.155	2.628	.009*
	Q81 (Comics)	-1.413E-03	.001	-.122	-2.168	.031*

Dependent Variable: attam

Table 15*First Impression of Shared Values Initiative Commercials**

TOTAL COMMENTS	328	100%
<u><i>Muslim Life in the United States</i></u>		
How Muslims live in the United States	33	
Muslims are respected/accepted/free in America	28	
Muslim life after 9-11	10	
Muslims can practice religion freely	7	
Happy Muslims in the United States	7	
Muslims like the United States	2	
Muslims have social values	1	
TOTAL	88	26.8%
<u><i>Image of the United States</i></u>		
Acceptance/respect of other cultures and religions	27	
Efforts to improve image after 9-11	11	
Opportunities/freedom	6	
Positive image of United States/"best behavior"	4	
Kind/caring people	1	
TOTAL	49	14.9%
<u><i>Positive Reactions</i></u>		
Friendly/good/cool/awesome/interesting	10	
Appropriate for situation	10	
Promote peace	3	
TOTAL	23	7.0%
<u><i>Negative Reactions</i></u>		
Propaganda/public relations/persuasion	72	
Not true/fake/suspicious/staged	19	
Misleading/one-sided	18	
Skeptical/unsure/curious	15	
Why were the videos made?/How were they used?	7	
Racism	3	
Iraq war	2	
Waste of time	1	
TOTAL	137	41.8%
<u><i>Other</i></u>		
Surprised	11	
Blank (No answer)	9	
Changed my view of the United States	6	
Don't know/No comment	3	
None of my business	1	
Too long	1	
TOTAL	31	9.5%

*Question: "What was the first thing that came to your mind when you viewed these video segments?"

Table 16*Main Message of Shared Values Initiative Commercials**

TOTAL COMMENTS	328*	100%
<u><i>Muslim Life in the United States</i></u>		
Muslims are treated equally/accepted/free in America	135	
How Muslims live in the United States	22	
Happy Muslims in the United States	10	
Muslims can practice religion freely	7	
TOTAL	174	53.0%
<u><i>Image of the United States</i></u>		
Acceptance/respect of other cultures and religions	79	
Efforts to improve image after 9-11	18	
Americans are fair/caring/friendly	9	
Positive image of United States	8	
Opportunities/freedom	7	
Trying to restore ties with Muslims	5	
Americans are not fighting against Muslims	2	
American people v. government	1	
TOTAL	129	39.3%
<u><i>Negative Reactions</i></u>		
Not true/fake	2	
Skeptical/unsure	2	
Condescending	1	
TOTAL	5	1.5%
<u><i>Other</i></u>		
All Muslims are not terrorists/bad people	11	
Blank (No Answer)	6	
Don't know/No comment	2	
Entertaining	1	
TOTAL	20	6.1%

*Question: "In your own words, what is the main message that these video segments are trying to communicate to you?"

Table 17*Most Liked Elements of Shared Values Initiative Commercials**

TOTAL COMMENTS	328*	100%
<u><i>Tone/Point of View/Style</i></u>		
Objective/realistic/genuine	42	
“Normal” people/diverse, different occupations	35	
Friendly/happy/peaceful/uplifting	31	
Soothing music	5	
TOTAL	113	34.5%
<u><i>Overall Concept and Information Content</i></u>		
Good effort/good idea/well done	17	
Interesting information/content/learning	14	
Sharing personal experiences	9	
TOTAL	40	12.2%
<u><i>Information About Muslims</i></u>		
About successful Muslims/positive light	23	
Equality/acceptance/respect for Muslims	17	
Muslims free/free to practice Islam	13	
Will help ease Muslim life after 9-11	6	
The teacher/classroom	3	
Fluent in English	2	
Appropriate for Muslim countries	1	
The student TV reporter	1	
The doctor	1	
TOTAL	67	20.4%
<u><i>Information About the United States</i></u>		
U.S. tolerance/respect	25	
U.S. opportunities/freedom	10	
Changed U.S. image	4	
TOTAL	39	11.9%
<u><i>Other Comments</i></u>		
Nothing/No comment	45	
Blank	21	
Too short	3	
TOTAL	69	21.0%

*Question: “What do you like about the videos?”

Table 18*Most Disliked Elements of Shared Values Initiative Commercials**

TOTAL COMMENTS	328*	100%
<i><u>Lack of Believability</u></i>		
Too good to be true/too positive	38	
Fake/misleading/not real	36	
One-sided/biased	28	
Skeptical	3	
Hypocritical	2	
People seem like actors	1	
TOTAL	108	33.0%
<i><u>Strategy/Approach/Format</u></i>		
Seems like propaganda/public relations/advertising	26	
Too much talking	4	
TOTAL	30	9.1%
<i><u>Specific Content</u></i>		
Only about Muslims/Islam	22	
Only a small sample/minority of Muslims	10	
Only about successful/wealthy Muslims	6	
Lack of Caucasian Muslims	2	
Text/supers in video are hard to read	2	
Only about religion	1	
People speak only in English	1	
Need more attractive characters	1	
Need better video production	1	
TOTAL	46	14.0%
<i><u>Other Comments</u></i>		
Nothing/No comment	80	
Blank	46	
Boring	9	
Very long	8	
Too short	1	
TOTAL	144	43.9%

*Question: "What do you dislike about the videos?"

Table 19*Confusing or Hard-to-Believe Elements of Shared Values Initiative Commercials**

TOTAL COMMENTS	328*	100%
<u><i>Lack of Believability</i></u>		
Americans and Muslims living in harmony/respect/friendship	41	
Inconsistent with memories of prejudice/hate crimes after 9/11	35	
Too positive/perfect/unrealistic	19	
People seem too happy	4	
People seem like actors/too rehearsed/polished	3	
Surprise/no restrictions on Muslims	2	
TOTAL	104	31.7%
<u><i>Strategy/Approach/Format</i></u>		
Seems like propaganda/public relations/advertising	9	
Too fake/unrealistic	5	
America is at war with Iraq	1	
TOTAL	15	4.6%
<u><i>Specific Content</i></u>		
Only successful/wealthy Muslims are shown	16	
Hard to believe Muslims can reach these positions in America	2	
Lack of American opinions shown	2	
People only speak English in the videos	1	
People aren't smiling in the videos	1	
Closeness of male and female Muslims is not realistic	1	
Teacher wearing head scarf in American school	1	
Student reporter given on-air opportunities	1	
TOTAL	25	7.6%
<u><i>Other Comments</i></u>		
No/Nothing/No comment	132	
Blank	46	
Unsure	6	
TOTAL	184	56.1%

*Question: "Is there anything in the videos that is confusing or hard to believe? If so, what is it?"

APPENDIX C
IRB REVIEW FORM

Oklahoma State University
Institutional Review Board

Protocol Expires: 7/16/2004

Date : Monday, January 05, 2004

IRB Application No AS0393

Proposal Title: REACTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' TO PRO-AMERICAN MASS
COMMUNICATION CAMPAIGNS

Principal
Investigator(s) :

Jami Armstrong Fullerton
OSU-Tulsa 700 N. Greenwood
Tulsa, OK 74106

Reviewed and
Processed as: Exempt

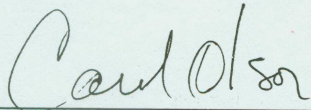
Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s) : Approved

Modification

Please note that the protocol expires on the following date which is one year from the date of the approval of the original
protocol:

Protocol Expires: 7/16/2004

Signature



Carol Olson, Director of University Research Compliance

Monday, January 05, 2004

Date

Approvals are valid for one calendar year, after which time a request for continuation must be submitted. Any modifications to the research project approved by the IRB must be submitted for approval with the advisor's signature. The IRB office MUST be notified in writing when a project is complete. Approved projects are subject to monitoring by the IRB. Expedited and exempt projects may be reviewed by the full Institutional Review Board.

VITA

Matthew Dean Hamilton

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

Dissertation: GLOBALIZATION AND ANTI-AMERICANISM:
A STUDY OF SINGAPOREAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

Major Field: Higher Education

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Lawton, Oklahoma, on September 24, 1969.

Education: Received Bachelor of Arts degree in Mass Communications from Oklahoma City University in May 1991. Received Master of Business Administration from the University of Missouri-Columbia in May 1993. Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Education degree with a major in Higher Education at Oklahoma State University in May 2005.

Experience: Employed by Oklahoma City University, Department of Mass Communications as an assistant professor, 1997 to present. Prior to teaching, employed by Ackerman McQueen advertising agency in Oklahoma City as an account executive, 1995 – 1997. Also employed by DDB Needham advertising agency in Dallas, Texas, as an account executive, 1993 – 1995.

Professional Memberships: American Advertising Federation (10th District – Faculty Advisor), Oklahoma City Advertising Club

Name: Matthew Dean Hamilton

Date of Degree: May, 2005

Institution: Oklahoma State University

Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: GLOBALIZATION AND ANTI-AMERICANISM:
A STUDY OF SINGAPOREAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

Pages in Study: 184

Candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Education

Major Field: Higher Education

Scope and Method of Study: The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between Singaporean college students' attitudes toward America and three mass mediated inputs (U.S. entertainment, U.S. multinational advertising and U.S. government sponsored communication). Participants in the study were 328 undergraduate students at the Management Development Institute of Singapore. Each student completed a questionnaire containing several attitudinal scales and demographic questions. The students also viewed five television commercials produced by the U.S. Department of State in a pre-post experiment of advertising effectiveness. ANOVAs, *t*-tests, Pearson's *r*, multiple regression and qualitative analysis were used to analyze data and provide answers to 20 research questions.

Findings and Conclusions: Overall, Singaporean college students held slightly negative attitudes toward America. However, the students felt more negative toward the U.S. government than the U.S. people. The students consume a large amount of U.S. entertainment (movies, TV shows, magazines, comics, etc.). Exposure to American media is positively related to attitudes toward America.

The students held slightly negative attitudes toward advertising overall. However, they felt positively about the economic effects of advertising for their nation. Positive attitudes toward advertising were positively correlated with attitudes toward America.

The students had mixed reactions to U.S. public diplomacy advertising. After viewing the five commercials, significant positive changes in attitude were found toward the U.S. government, U.S. people and how fairly Muslims are treated in America. However, qualitative analysis revealed many criticisms of the commercials, especially their one-sided, propaganda style format. Students expressed how much they admire the American culture and people but dislike the U.S. government and its foreign policy.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: Dr. Jami Fullerton
