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SOCIAL TASKS OF ADVERTISING

— attitudes to it of consumers and businessmen in Japan and America —

by

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1. Foreword

The social influences of advertising, both its merits and faults, are currently under sincere discussion by various circles of our society, with conclusions being diversified according to their standpoints. Prior to making a subjective judgement, however, it is always necessary to get an objective grasp on the extent of hold which advertising has on the human social life. What consciousness and recognition are being entertained by general consumers, the receiver of advertising? Aren't there any discrepancies between their recognition and the idea or expectation being held by men of business side, the sender of advertising? Is it possible to suppose such advertising that both sides of consumer and business approve and expect? And, if any, what contents does it contain?

In the United States several years ago a number of fact-finding surveys about the businessmen's idea and the consumers' attitude to advertising were conducted. At about the same time in Japan also an investigation was conducted taking for the theme the relations between so-called mass-communication and social life including opinions on advertising.

So in this paper the writer wishes, through comparing and contrasting some of the results of these surveys, to cast lights on the above-mentioned problems, and thereupon to inquire into the social tasks that advertising of tomorrow should perform.

2. *Businessmen and Advertising*

"What ideas are business managers are holding on advertising?" It was the early summer of 1962 that the result of the survey on this theme undertaken by the editors of Harvard Business Review was published on that journal.¹⁾

Is advertising indispensable to business? What influences does advertising work on the social economy? Is advertising anti-social? Can advertising maintain orderliness of its own? In essence these contents were included in the questionnaire sent to businessmen of various industries of America, mainly the subscribers to the Review. From among the results we shall pick up those with socio-economic relations in the below.

Let us begin with the businessmen's views on the economic effect of advertising. As Table 1 shows, answers admitting the role of advertising as a medium of communication and the effect of demand promotion (development as well as maintenance) count half the total. If to these are added those responses believing that advertising makes the driving force of American free economy and its development in view of the causal linkage of market cultivation—mass production—mass distribution, it is known that more than 60% of American businessmen are conscious of the social influence of advertising, not only its managerial aspect, when they speak of the economic effect. Summarizing such consciousness of businessmen, Borden & Harper put their view as follows. "Since advertising has in large part been associated with the promotion of new and differentiated merchandise, a substantial portion of advertising costs should be looked upon economically as growth costs. From the standpoint of social welfare these growth costs have been more than offset by the rise in national income which they have helped to make possible." Further, "There seems to be considerable evidence that advertising provides a kind of pump priming of motivation in society, helping to move toward constantly higher living standards. In this sense it feeds initiative into the economic process, starting a cycle of spiraling consumer demand and production."²⁾ A result interesting to note is that businessmen are unwilling to agree, in the context of the managerial effect of advertising, its contribution to product differentiation or its persuasive character.

Table 2 shows deeper questions about the advertising's socio-economic influences and answers to them. In the responses it is revealed that businessmen have a conclusion that advertising helps to raise the standard of living of the public, and to supply better products to consumers; and further that, were it not for advertising, introduction of new products would be impossible, and even as regards the marketing of existing commodities higher expenses for other means to replace for advertising would become inevitable, which would

1) Businessmen Re-Advertising: "Yes, but . . .", S. A. Greyser, Harvard Business Review, Vol. 40, No. 3, May-June 1962.

2) *ibid.*, N. H. Borden (Professor of advertising, Harvard Business School), M. Harper, Jr. (Chairman of the Board of Interpublic Incorporated).

Table 1. Advertising's Role in Our Economy

Types of Comments	Percent Responding
As a medium of communication	27%
Promotes demand, moves products, etc.	23
Makes possible mass production, distribution and other broad comments regarding the general economy	11
Tool for business	10
As an instrument of persuasion	8
Integrated into the total business process	6
Serving to promote product and brand differentiation	3
Antagonistic and negative general comments	7
Other unclassifiable comments	5

Source: Businessmen Re-Advertising: "Yes, but . . .", S. A. Greyser, H.B.R. May-June 1962, p. 24.

result in socially larger distribution costs than otherwise is the case. By contrast, as to the effect of advertising in recession period the judgement that expenses for advertising accelerate business recovery is not taken by them. But another statement (in an opposite form to the above) that reductions of advertising expenses promote business recovery is disagreed by almost all businessmen. Accordingly it may be said that at least in a negative sense the effect in adverse circumstances is realized. Again opinions are divided on the advertising's effect on prices, where proponents barely hold a majority yet on the other hand opponents account for one-third.

Table 2. Economic Issues

Influence of Advertising		Agree		Can't say	Disagree	
Issue	Wording	generally	partially		partially	generally
Effect on standard of living	Raise it	51%	34%	6%	3%	3%
Effect on products for the public	Better ones	47	30	6	9	8
Most efficient way to stimulate mass buying	Advertising	66	23	4	4	3
Introduction of consumer products	Advertising indispensable	73	17	1	5	4
Business recovery	Promotes it	18	36	14	13	19
Effect on prices	Lower prices	30	24	13	14	19

Source: Businessmen Re-Advertising: "Yes, but . . .", p. 28.

Classifying by the titles of respondents, so-called top-management and personnel taking charge of marketing are on the side of "agree" while administrative staff related with production, finance, accounting or production technique are generally "disagree." And again dividing by products, it is said that simi-

larly the distinction of the former (agree) and the latter (disagree) is found between administrators in final consumer goods industries and those in industrial goods. This point raises a very interesting problem if we take account of the managerial aspect of marketing, a modern characteristic feature. That is to say, the basic thinking of managerial marketing lies, so to speak, in the dynamic business idea which, instead of accepting markets as they are and therein exploiting the largest profit possible, endeavors to stimulate ever enlarging market opportunities (latent demands) by means of lower prices and better commodities and thus to raise up long-run profitability of investment. Insofar as such business idea defines the behavior of businessmen, advertising will provide the top measure of market cultivation, and at the same time will be so utilized that low prices may be realized in the end. And a society with businessmen holding such an idea as its leading part will be able to expect the realization of higher standard of living by medium of advertising.

Next let us turn our eyes to the businessmen's recognition about the social influence of advertising. In Table 3 we can see that businessmen, while positively admitting the economic effect of advertising, are not always content with its social effect.

Table 3. Advertising's Social Influence

Issue	This Statement is...			If True this would be...		
	True	Don't know	False	Good	Don't know	Bad
Advertising often persuades people to buy things they shouldn't	78%	4%	18%	5%	15%	80%
Amount of attention paid to ads, greater than in past	60	21	19	57	29	14
Advertising as consumer influence, more effective today vs. 10 years ago	60	25	15	52	34	14
Advertising's effect on public taste, improves it	55	13	32	83	12	5
Advertising works healthy influence on children	22	24	54	70	18	12

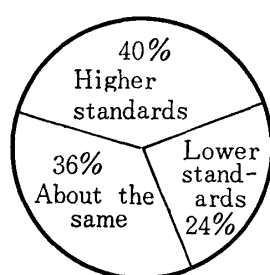
Source: Businessmen Re-Advertising: "Yes, but . . .", pp. 28, 34.

First as to the statement that "Advertising often persuades people to buy things which they shouldn't" (this is not always identical with a remark that it induces people to buy even what they won't), as much as three-fourths of businessmen take it true, and at the same time believe socially bad. This represents that they clearly recognize the persuasive power of advertising. Accordingly it is supposable that in the above-cited economic effect they have been reluctant to mention of the persuasive power of advertising (see Table 1) because of the value judgement they have on the social effect. In connection with the persuasive power, businessmen are conscious of the fact that both the attention consumers pay to advertising and the effect advertising works on con-

sumers' life are recently increasing. And they are believing that, although advertising often aids wasteful expenditures, on the whole it is not contrary to the public order and good habits of society; rather it is working toward promoting them. Lastly a noteworthy point is that among businessmen themselves there is a strong inclination to disagree the statement that "Advertising works healthy influence on children." That advertising by medium of mass communication exerts evil influence on children poses a serious problem also from the standpoint of future society. It of course requires self-awakening of businessmen, yet we cannot but strongly feel that it is now the time concrete measures to solve it should be sincerely considered.

N. H. Borden says most of malignant criticisms to advertising involve over-estimation of the advertising's influence on consumers and, on the other hand, under-estimation of consumers' ability of independent judgement. Indeed in the long-run advertising cannot sell coarse articles. This must be a matter businessmen themselves are well aware of. Hence by the result that, to the question about the standards of advertising as compared with ten years ago, there are more men believing its improvement than those believing deterioration, it may be said that advertising is being increasingly realized as a measure for business growth (see Table 4). In the ultimate, advertising is to be associated with innovational products that accord with the latent wants of consumers. Only where such products exist, the avowed truthfulness and reliability of advertising can have significance. In speaking of the above-said standards of advertising, the indicators of evaluation were truthfulness, clarity, conscience and so forth. That the standards have improved in this sense may be said to tell, if broadly, that numerous kinds of better-quality goods have come to be offered to the public consumers.

Table 4. Today's Advertising Standards* *Criteria for Standards:



Ads with invalid or misleading claims,
 Ads which themselves are in bad taste,
 Ads for objectionable products,
 Ads which insult the intelligence,
 Ads with little information,
 Ads which are irritating.

Source: Businessmen Re-Advertising: "Yes, but . . .", p. 36.

Notwithstanding such recognition of improving standards and increasing effect on consumers, there is a consciousness among businessmen of an evil effect that advertising promotes waste. This consciousness can be taken to suggest a fact that the problem of advertising's effect is becoming difficult to deal with independently in itself from the standpoints of both business and

society.

What should be done to overcome the social criticisms against advertising? The businessmen's answers to this problem will be discussed later in this paper. Prior to it let us review the attitudes of consumers, the taker of advertising.

3. Consumers and Advertising

As has been mentioned in the Foreword, the survey of the responses of the consumer public to advertising was conducted both in America and Japan at about the same period. We shall first examine that of America, next Japan, and then try comparison between these surveys.

(A) Survey in America

This is a survey titled "What do Americans think of Advertising?" taken by the Opinion Research Association in compliance with the request of the American Association of Advertising Agencies in cooperation with Harvard Business School and MIT on 1900-odd samples over the country in 1963-64.³⁾

Among the various aims of this survey, there is included investigation on the manner of general people in receiving advertising as a social institution. We shall review the result placing focus around this theme.

1) Advertising in living

To what an extent consumers are conscious of advertising in their living? The survey selected nine items related to Americans' living as social institutions or customs and, adding advertising, illustrated them to respondents to ask replies, as shown in Table 5. By the result, advertising is neither an important topic of talk in daily living, nor a matter on which people, either favorably or unfavorably, have strong opinions.

Likewise consumers entertain some complaints or dissatisfactions but not so seriously. Lastly as regards the statement that "Think need immediate attention and change," advertising holds a median rank among the ten items. From the above result it is found that the majority of American consumers do not look advertising so essential in social life, but some of them (one among seven persons) think it should be reformed immediately in some form.

2) Attitudes toward advertising

Next, what attitudes do consumers take toward advertising at large? In the survey first it was explained to respondents that some people favor advertising while others disfavor, and then the reasons for such opposite attitudes were asked. The result is shown in Table 6. Following this procedure the attitudes of respondents themselves were questioned. The result is tabulated in Table 7, which may be said to have the causal relations of Table 6 in its background.

3) What do Americans think of Advertising, S. A. Greyser, The Advertising Quarterly, No. 4, Summer 1965.

Table 5. The Salience of Advertising

Institution	Which 3 or 4 of these do you and your friends...				
	Talk about most	Talk about least	Have the strongest opinions about	Enjoy complaining about but not seriously	Think need immediate attention and change
Public opinion	41%	9%	33%	14%	41%
The Federal government	36	16	32	33	28
Labour unions	18	54	18	17	26
Bringing up children	58	11	43	12	20
Advertising	11 (rank 10)	40 (3)	7 (10)	20 (3)	15 (5)
Family life	49	9	35	14	12
Big business	13	44	8	16	11
Religion	47	21	52	6	10
Clothing and fashions	35	32	12	23	6
Professional sports	33	38	11	11	5
None, no opinion	2	3	5	21	17
Total	343	277	256	187	191

Source: What do Americans think of Advertising, S. A. Greyser, The Advertising Quarterly, No. 4, Summer 1965, p. 35, London, England.

Table 6. Why Favor or Disfavor Advertising

In case advertising:	is informative and of educational value, or is comfortable and of amusement nature	} favorable attitude
	is false and misleading, or is too frequent,	
		} unfavorable attitude

Table 7. Attitudes toward Advertising

Favorable	41%
Mixed	34
Unfavorable	14
Indifferent	8
Unclassifiable	3

Source: What do Americans think of Advertising, p. 36.

3) Socio-economic roles of advertising

What roles are being conceived on advertising generally? The survey asked answers to eight items in the form of agree-or-disagree questionnaire (Table 8).

First to the general problem of whether or not "advertising is essential" to social life, "generally disagree" accounts for only 9% of all responses. As to the statements concerning economic roles (2, 3 and 4) still more respondents agree the effect of advertising excepting lower prices. It is to be noticed that

Table 8. Advertising's Institutional Elements

Issue	Agree	Partially agree	Can't say	Partially disagree	Disagree
① Advertising is essential	62%	16%	4%	9%	9%
② Advertising helps raise our standard of living	47	24	16	5	8
③ Advertising results in better products for the public	52	22	12	9	5
④ Advertising results in lower prices	22	18	15	17	28
⑤ Advertising often persuades people to buy things they shouldn't buy	39	26	4	13	18
⑥ Most advertising insults the intelligence of the average consumer	15	28	14	18	25
⑦ In general, advertisements present a true picture of the product advertised	18	23	6	30	23
⑧ Today's standards of advertising are higher (58%), lower (10%), about the same as ten years ago (18%), no opinion (14%).					

Source: What do Americans think of Advertising, p. 37.

those who deny that advertising leads to cheaper prices are more than those who approve it. In these particular statements small numbers of both polar opinions are observable, which tells that the statement "Advertising is essential" has been judged not simply by the economic aspects alone. On the other hand, in the items concerning the social aspects it is obviously seen that the negative effect of advertising is on consciousness. For as much as two consumers among three think "Advertising persuades people to buy what they shouldn't, in other words, it fosters waste." It seems that hereabout underlies one of the essential causes which make advertising liable to conceptual attacks. And this has a close relation with the next item regarding the truthfulness of advertising. To the statement "In general advertisements present a true picture of the product advertised", in other words, an item concerning the claims of advertising, "generally agree" is shown only by 18% of total American consumers.

It is to be marked, however, that notwithstanding such distrust to advertising and dissatisfaction about its claims, the majority of consumers, 58%, admits recent improvement in the standards of advertising. Our question is whether people concluded on the same criteria by which businessmen answered to the same question (as above mentioned), or they placed focus on particularly on the truthfulness, or they emphasized the nature of amusement. This point is not clarified in the survey.

Thus by a synthetic review of Table 8 it may be possible to infer as follows. The American consumer public are critical about the social influence of advertising and holding appreciably strong doubt and dissatisfaction in its claims, yet they are fully appreciating its economic effect excepting that on prices. Accordingly it is supposed that the public approve the necessity of advertising as social institution particularly referring to economic contribu-

tions. To add a note, by the analysis on this survey up to date there has been found no extreme bias of opinion or attitude due to the answerers' speciality in the demographic characteristics.

(B) Survey in Japan

The survey in Japan was taken by the Public Information Room, Prime Minister's Office, in October 1963, as "Opinions Survey on Advertising" covering 3,000 persons older than 20 years, both male and female, over the whole country, selected by stratified multiple sampling. The survey comprises 28 questions including people's attitudes toward advertising at large as well as appreciation on its economic and social effects. In this sense it is comparable with the American survey to some extent.

1) Social and economic effects of advertising

Whether "Advertising is useful to consumers"; this item accords with one in the American survey, "Advertising is essential." The result is shown in Table 9. In the survey this question about overall evaluation was asked coming after other questions exhibited in the table. So it is supposable that respondents in deciding yes or no to the "useful" took into account various economic, social and cultural aspects. And it seems that such consideration brought about the result, i.e., general agreement of 18% and partial agreement of 64%. For, to the questions concerning the economic effect—popularization of knowledge, guide for selection of articles—affirmative responses are numerous (88% for the former question, 86% for the latter), while proponents to other questions, although similarly affirmative, are relatively small (below 70%). This tells that consumers put the overall appreciation adding various social influences to the economic effect, although the latter made the main point.

There are other important problems such as the effect on prices in the economic context and the relation with waste in the social context. These problems were left untouched in this survey. So we must depend on another study.

Preceding one year to the survey of Prime Minister's Office, in September

Table 9. Overall Appreciation of Advertising

Issue	Proportion of Respondents who				
	Generally agree	Partially agree	Don't know	Partially disagree	Generally disagree
Advertising is useful	18%	64%	10%	7%	1%
Advertising helps popularization of knowledge on articles	55	33	8	4	4
Advertising helps selection of articles	51	35	6	8	8
Advertising informs modern culture	45	31	15	9	9
Some advertisements are enjoyable to look	34	39	8	19	19
Advertising tells truth generally	65			35	

Source: Opinions Survey on Advertising, Public Information Room, Prime Ministers Office, pp. 3~9.

1962 the Second Committee for Synthetic Research on Newspapers conducted a survey with a theme what influences are exerted on the attitudes of the public interrelatedly by the two top mass media, television and newspaper majorly for Osaka Prefecture and adjacent areas.⁴⁾ Therein were included some issues related to the attitude toward advertising. Out of them, questions about prices and waste were as shown in Table 10. Thus combining Tables 9 and 10, we could to some extent infer the reason for the high percentage, over 70%, of those consumers who agree partially the statement "Advertising is useful."

Table 10. Advertising's Relation to Prices and Waste

	Agree	Can't say. No Reply	Disagree
Advertising results in cheaper prices	38.2%	33.1%	28.7%
Advertising promotes waste	27.7	36.8*	35.5**

* Can't say; ** includes negation, don't know, and no reply.

Source: Citizen Life & Mass Media, pp.172, 173.

2) Consumers' attitudes toward advertising

Returning to the Prime Minister's Office's survey, Table 11 presents the attitudes of the Japanese public to advertising. It is known that the criteria which respondents considered as the factors to form their attitudes are almost the same with the case of American survey.

Table 11. Attitudes toward Advertising

Favorable	59%
Can't say	12
Unfavorable	7
Indifferent	22

Source: Opinions Survey on Advertising, p.7.

4. *Comparison between Surveys*—how views are diversified by standpoints and countries

Now, consolidating the above-observed surveys, let us examine how people's views are diversified between Japanese and Americans, between businessmen and consumers, and by differences of circumstances. At the same time we should notice the point that, despite the differences of standpoints or circumstances, human views on a social institution are remarkably resembling.

Table 12 compiles for the sake of comparison those items common to the three surveys. In the below we shall try some comments on the comparison.

4) Shimin Seikatsu to Mass Media (Citizen Life and Mass Media), Second Committee for Synthetic Research on Newspapers, ed., Japan Productivity Center, 1965.

Table 12. Comparison between Three Groups of Respondents

		Generally agree	Partially agree	Can't say	Partially disagree	Generally disagree	No reply
Japan America America B ¹⁾	Advertising is useful to consumers Advertising is essential Advertising brings about social prosperity	18% 62 70	64% 16 (25)	0% 4 0	7% 9 5	1% 9 0	10% — 0
Japan America America B	Advertising helps wider knowledge and selection of goods ²⁾ Advertising results in better goods Advertising gives better goods to the public	53 52 47	34 22 30	— 12 6	— 9 9	6 5 8	7 — —
Japan America America B	Advertising promotes waste Advertising often persuades people to buy what they shouldn't	27.7 39 78	27.7 26 78	36.8 4 4	— 13 —	— 18 18	35.5 ³⁾ — —
Japan America America B	Advertising results in lower prices	38.2 22 30	38.2 18 24	— 15 13	28.7 17 14	28.7 28 19	33.1 — —
Japan America America B	Advertising tells truth generally Generally advertising presents a true picture of the product advertised Invalid or misleading advertisements have decreased as compared with ten years ago	65 18 38	65 23 38	— 6 29 ⁴⁾	35 30 33	35 23 33	— — —
Japan America America B	Some advertisements are enjoyable to look Most advertisements insult consumers' intelligence Intelligence-insulting advertisements have increased as compared with ten years ago	34 15 46	39 28 46	8 14 29 ⁵⁾	19 18 25	19 25 25	— — —

1) American businessmen. 2) Includes the average of responses to two questions (popularization of knowledge on articles and selection of articles.) 3) Includes negation, don't know, and no reply. 4) Represents responses "similar with ten years ago." 5) do.

1) The statement "Advertising is essential to the general public" is strongly supported by consumers of both Japan and America. American businessmen are confident that advertising makes a condition of prosperity for society, not to speak of its necessity to business.⁵⁾

2) As the counterpart to the American statement "Advertising results in better goods," we placed Japanese statement "Advertising helps wider knowledge and selection of goods" for convenience's sake. If this correspondence is allowable, it is seen that this proposition is accepted by all the three persons—Japanese and American consumers as well as American businessmen.

3) As to the relation of advertising with waste, only a small portion of Japanese consumers agree it, while in America the majority is conscious of it. Furthermore to be noticed, as much as 78% of businessmen support this statement.

4) As for the effect on prices, barely 54% of businessmen agree it, and consumers in both countries are substantially doubtful that advertising brings about lower prices. An essential difference between the two countries, however, is that in Japan there are numerous "non-reply, or don't know" respondents whereas in America those distinctly disapproving lower prices make up as high as 45%. Taking account of the fact that even among businessmen nearly 20% show general disagreement to the connection between advertising and lower prices, we could take that this suggests existence of a still more fundamental problem, say, the difference in socio-economic structure between Japan and America, or the difference in the pattern of intra- and inter-industry competition.

5) As regards the truthfulness of advertising there is seen an opposition of opinions between Japanese and American consumers. In Japan the truthfulness is agreed by 65% of consumers. By a question which restates this problem into a subjective form of "trust or distrust" to advertising, it is seen that 56% of consumers hold trust and 25% distrust. By contrast in America 53% (incl. partial disagreement) are opposed to the truthfulness, far above the agreement of 41% (incl. partial). Direct comparison with the case of businessmen is impossible since no similar questions were presented to them. They think, how-

Table 13. Distrust to Advertising (Japan)

Have distrust	25%
To all advertisements	4
To some ones	19
Can't say all or some	2
No distrust	56
Don't know	19

Source: Opinions Survey on Advertising, p.12.

5) In the table "partial agreement" is put into blocks because this figure is the residual from 100% of strong agreement of 70% and weak disagreement of 5% shown in the Harvard Business Review.

ever, that in comparison with ten years ago, today invalid or misleading appeals have been improved, if to a small extent. (See Table 13.)

6) Whether advertising insults the intelligence of general consumers or not; in Japan more than 70% take that advertising is enjoyable generally speaking; but in America opinions are diversified. It is interesting that businessmen themselves are conscious of the fact that there are increasing advertisements that may insult consumers' intelligence.

7) Placing focus on consumers, we can see in Japan as well as in America they recognize importance of advertising in social life. In concrete, however, Japanese consumers do not pay full attention to the monopolistic nature that advertising potentially has, and their consciousness of waste is relatively of low degree. By contrast, American consumers seem to be conscious how to guard themselves from waste. In this sense, Japanese consumers should more closely watch the utilization of advertising in a good sense and the truthfulness. As may be seen in Table 14, which summarizes the attitudes of both nations, Japanese consumers are more favorable to advertising than Americans, and in addition the "indifferent" group is numerous. Furthermore, the smallness of "can't say" (this means an answer standing on synthetic judgements on merits and faults, so is different from "don't know") being combinedly taken into account, it may be said that a characteristic feature of Japanese consumers is the low degree of independent judgement or concern on advertising.

Table 14. Japanese and American Consumers toward Advertising

	Favorable	Can't Say	Unfavorable	Indifferent
Japan	59%	12%	7%	22%
America	41	37	14	8

5. On the Ethical Control over Advertising

In the case of Japan data on the businessmen's side comparable with the consumers' side are lacking, but in America both data are available as we have seen. American consumers are displaying appreciable concern and dissatisfaction to advertising through concrete problems such as prices, waste or reliability, although their attention to it may be weaker than to other social institutions. Then the question is to what extent businessmen are understanding such concern or dissatisfaction. Here among others we will take up the ethical aspect. The largest problem lies in the mental discomfort advertising gives to general consumers and the truthfulness of contents. As has been shown in Table 12, a substantially large number of American consumers (43%) mention the anti-intellectual nature of advertising, yet on the other hand, those who negate it account for exactly the same rate. By contrast, as to the truthfulness of advertising the majority holds a negative view (53%). And, as we have seen already, consumers are keeping eyes on the nature of waste promo-

tion. Waste is caused not necessarily by false advertisements but is more closely associated with those that involve invalid contents or that draw consumers' attention to a wrong direction. So if the concept of truthfulness is a little widened to include invalid or misleading contents, we could conceive that American consumers have deep doubt and dissatisfaction to the truthfulness in the above sense, not only the anti-intellectual nature and the inclination to derive mental discomfort.⁶⁾

What are American businessmen's views on this point? Before going into this, look at Table 15 in which are shown differences between present and ten years ago which businessmen answered. What they point out as recently increasing tendencies are the vulgarism of contents, the overmuch frequency and further the discomfort given by these to consumers, rather than the truthfulness. True in the response to the statement "Advertising insults intelligence" 51% of businessmen, a majority, recognize it as their own personal feeling, not from the standpoint of public. Since 40% of answerers, i.e., businessmen, have the highest school career—graduate of post-graduate course of university—their judgement that these points will pose serious problems in the future seems to be not without reason.

Table 15. Categories of Advertising Content

Comparing with ten years ago, would you say that there is a smaller, a greater, or about the same proportion of...	Smaller proportion	About the same	Greater proportion
Ads with invalid or misleading claims	38%	29%	33%
Ads which themselves are in bad taste	36	25	39
Ads for objectionable products	29	39	32
Ads which insult the intelligence	25	29	46
Ads with too little information	25	45	30
Ads which are irritating	21	27	52

Source: Businessmen Re-Advertising: "Yes, but . . .", p. 41.

A similar problem is "Advertisements which are irritating," which has a relation with the intensification of repetitious advertising. Seventy-five per cent of businessmen agree that "recent advertising is changing from a creative to a repetitious nature." It is said "Often among bothering advertisements there are most effectively commercial ones," but the businessmen's responses to this are not always affirmative; equal agreement and disagreement. And to another contrastive idea, i.e., the statement "So-called soft-sell advertising (cool,

6) By the survey of the Prime Minister's Office, among the consumers' dissatisfactions and views the elimination of fallacy and discomfort rank top, both counting the same number (for example, too large number of advertisements, gaudy ones, interruption of TV programs by commercial message). The business sort inviting distrust to the highest degree is medical supplies, followed by textile goods and real estate. By the media, distrust is overwhelmingly large to advertising leaflets or folders, while only a little to the so-called mass-communication media such as newspaper, magazine or television.

or not stimulative, or non-oppressive)" can actually sell goods, an overwhelmingly majority supports it. We could see hereabout a dilemma about advertising on the part of business. Businesses make big expenditures for advertising and are liable to fall into a "push and push" mood, but on the other hand they are going to arrive at a phase where full consciousness becomes inevitable about the increasing high-handed advertising and its limit.

We think, however, the problem consists in the point that businessmen are taking this dilemma too superficially and anxious simply about such a worry as "By what a way can consumers' mental resistance be reduced and the brand be established?" and since they place this on the forefront in improving advertising's ethics, a gap of viewpoint is widening against what consumers most sincerely expect, that is, "truthfulness, or improvement of invalid or misleading claims."

The answerers to the Harvard's survey (businessmen) have suggested that some self-reflection to such a gap is arising. Table 15 shows merely businessmen's recognition of the "fact" of changes in the claims of advertising during the past ten years. Hence even if we can see some responses that a specific item has shown a change (especially one producing a minus result on advertising) larger than other items, this does not imply that the respondents are thinking such an item as requiring immediate remedy, more immediately than others. Furthermore, if persons answering that invalid or misleading advertisements have decreased count a little more than who do not, neither is it because such faults were few in the past, nor does it mean that there is no need of or room for improving them. Rather advertising should be taken to have developed too far to a direction that invites consumers' discomfort, being moved by the push-and-push mood. In fact to a question "What should advertising do to overcome criticism," businessmen have put forward "More truth" strongly. (See Table 16.) In Table 16 answers were requested on both ideal directions and realistic ways toward improvement. By the table it is seen that the view

Table 16. What should Advertising do to overcome Criticism?

Comments	Ideally	Realistically
Establish a code of ethics, self-policing, stricter regulation	15%	19%
Strong code, czar, vigorous enforcement	5	5
More truth in advertising	35	31
More truth and taste	11	13
Do its job better for business*	15	13
and/or consumers	14	14
Should do nothing	5	5

Source: Businessmen Re-Advertising: "Yes, but. . .", p. 183.

* The purport of this idea is as follows. Major blames to advertising are derived from its misuse, and the cause of misuse is a feeling that advertising will somehow produce result (sale), in other words, distinct grasp of its effect is impossible. So if the more exact measurement of the effect become possible, misuse will be reduced and the value of advertising will better be admitted.

"More truth" in ideal terms is finding a sort of compromise in "Self-policing" or "Ethics code" in real terms. This idea of establishing a code of ethics was agreed as appropriate in principle by as many as 84% of all respondents. (As the person to enforce the code, they conceive autonomous enforcement by individual business, or committee comprising businessmen of the industry, or group consisting of businessmen and other social members; only 5% hope direct control by governmental organs.) That, while the basic importance of "truthfulness" being recognized it is difficult in the reality, means that the problems of advertising cannot be solved within the bound of its own: any fundamental solution cannot be found unless they are ultimately leveled up to a problem how to develop "innovation-mindedness" (that is, orientation to innovation, or the above-mentioned dynamic business idea), or a problem of building a competitive socio-economic mechanism that may promote businesses' orientation to innovation. In this sense it may be said that the supreme responsibility of improving advertising rests on the shoulders of top-management.

6. *Remaining Problems*

By the above observation we have found that general consumers as well as businessmen are agreeing that advertising has a large economic role and its social influential power is increasing. And as to the minus aspects of advertising, they point out the close relation with the "lack of truthfulness." In particular businessmen are realizing that the slow pace of leveling up the truthfulness is connected with the remarkable increase in such advertisements that give discomfort to consumers and inflict their intelligence. Thus, we think, some improvement centering on truthfulness is necessary and the primary responsibility to perform it rests on the top-management of individual businesses. Hence the improvement of advertising tomorrow is not a simple matter of technique or method of mental manipulation; it must be developed placing focus on consumers and in combination with technological innovation and product development.

Next, let us consider "evil effect on children," one of the social influences that businessmen are anxious about. The exact question in the Harvard's survey was as shown in Table 17. To the statement "Advertising exerts healthy influence on children" a decisively large number of businessmen take it false, but to another statement in an inverse form, that is, "unhealthy influence," their

Table 17. Advertising and Child

Issue	Effect	This statement is...			If true, this would be...		
		True	Don't know	False	Good	Don't know	Bad
Advertising's influence on children	Healthy	22%	24%	54%	70%	18%	12%
	Unhealthy	41	14	45	1	12	87

Source: Businessmen Re-Advertising: "Yes, but. . .", p. 34.

response is that it is not always true. In the latter case, their feeling of self-defence or self-persuasion is observable, which suggests their mental restlessness on this problem.

What are meant by the terms "healthy" and "unhealthy" in the above question? In terms of commonsense these are conformity and disconformity to the value norm of an established society (more strictly, its governing group). Regardless of whether the public are clearly conscious of it or not, in the capitalist society what constitutes the base of social structure is the free and competitive relations, and hence the governing group is businessmen. And among businesses those that conduct such advertising that may work wide influences by mass communication are so-called big businesses. So big business is not only the champion of the industry but also the leader in the society. So the value concept of top-management administering big businesses sits at the apex of social value, or at least exerts great effect on it. It is conceivable that the conclusion "Advertising works unhealthy influence on children" has been made by the respondents to the Harvard's research, who include many persons of top or near-top managerial positions, because most advertisements (or their claims) cannot satisfy the value concept governing them or the major motive prevailing among them.

Then what is the value concept or motive governing typical businessmen represented by top-management? On this point we owe much to McClelland, a psychologist of the same Harvard University.⁷⁾

Human behavior is underlain by various needs (or wants) that stimulate it. Beginning with the work of William James, *Principle of Psychology* (1890), the studies of behavioral psychologists have proved that most of what are called the instinctive actions of human beings are experimentally and socially learned ones rather than being inherent. At the same time interrelations between social environments and instinctive actions have been emphasized by sociology and cultural anthropology, until today the concept of needs is replaced for that of instincts. The needs imply a lack of something that fosters the welfare of organic bodies. Thus the instincts considered to be inherent are defined as physiological needs, and those considered as learned ones as social needs. The term needs is sometimes used synonymously with characteristic "drive" or "motive." It is said that the needs comprise various types and strata, among which there are involved those with a close relation with human economic living such as industry of business, that is, "achievement need" or "need for achievement." In *A Comprehensive Dictionary of Psychological and Psychoanalytical Terms*, 1958, England, the achievement motive is defined as "characteristic inclination to engage energetically and persistently in something that is considered essential."

7) For the his theory we referred the following literature. *The Achieving Society*, D. C. McClelland, Van Nostrand Co. Princeton, N. J., 1961. *Business Drive and National Achievement*, D. C. McClelland, Harvard Business Review, July-August, 1962. *Motivation and Productivity*, S. W. Gellerman, American Management Association, Vail-Ballou Press Inc., 1963.

The achievement need incidently drew attention of McClelland et al. after World War II when they were trying to prove how the motive analysis of human behavior can utilize the Thematic Apperception Test, an experiment method to infer human characters, innovated by Henry A. Murray of Harvard by the 1930s. McClelland et al. selected the achievement need as the type of motive easily applicable to verifying the effect of TAT, but in the process of analysis they arrived at an interesting conclusion that the achievement need has a close relation with people's orientation to business and success therein. They proved by way of the TAT method that the study of achievement need is serviceable to the prediction of economic behavior and success in the actual life of human beings. That is to say, it was recognized that the achievement need is not merely mental existence such as fantasy or imagination that has no relations with actual human life; instead people who have it as fantasy are at the same time the strivers abundant with entrepreneurship in the actual life.

By the McClelland's research, men with strong achievement need generally have the following characters.

a) They always search for moderate achievement goals and calculated risks. Their concern is focused on how to achieve their goals rather than to evaluate them. So they always seek new goals, but they do not favor such ones that are extremely difficult to achieve or extremely easy. For in either case there is involved no enjoyment of "achieve."

b) They want to solve problems by their own hands (that is, by own responsibility, ability and efforts). They are not satisfied with success or achievement by accidental chance. They are foreign to gamblers in substance.

c) They wish to know concretely the result of their efforts. They wish "concrete feed back" on their success.

d) They put a high value on time; are sensitive to passing of time. They are conscious of future to hand, and have forecasts and long-run views on it.

e) In solving problems they expect advices of other able people in the process to the solution, although they take responsibility for final decision. This is their philosophy on organization, which means orientation to a functional organization based on ability, namely an efficient organization (clear definition of responsibility and competence), rather than one based on human relations.

f) They contemplate the way to problem solution energetically and constantly. This makes the driving force to innovation.

g) Optimism. Even in case a problem itself or the possibility of its solution is unobvious, they somehow expect a solution and take a bullish attitude. When a problem becomes definite, they fully make calculation of its risks, and reasonably judge whether it has any propriety for challenge. In other words, they are bullish to an unknown world but rather cautious to a known problem, which makes one of the characteristic features of men with strong achievement need.

h) Profit does not provide firsthand aim to them. Since a high degree of profitability is often connected with hard work and gives a large stimulus, apparently they seem to be motivated by remunerative motives, but in the reality

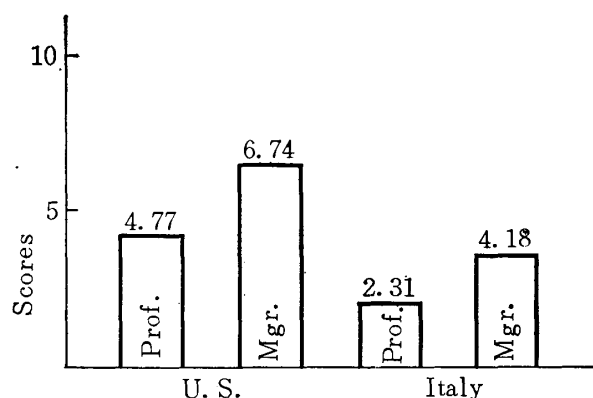
profitability constitutes only one of the measures of achievement. Rather a forecast of overmuch profitability may possibly weaken their sense of achievement.

i) They are thus to be called a type of aggressive realism, which purports also an entrepreneur-, frontier-, competitor- or growth-industry type.

New, what kinds of occupations are suitable to men of these characters? Some work of scholarly or scientific study may satisfy them, for example, academic innovation, challengeable themes, thinking required for logical solution and so forth. However, according to a study it cannot be said that people engaged in research work, including scientists honoured with the Nobel Prize, generally have stronger achievement need than the social average. At least men with a very strong achievement need have not been found among scientists, scholars or other so-called professional classes. It is said that a reason for this is that scientific researches are often lacking in "concrete feed back." It takes too long for scientific researches to bear fruits, and it is difficult in the process of a study to ascertain whether its direction is right. Furthermore, a result conceived good is not always net of room for objective criticism.

Then how is it about the world of so-called business? By the study of McClelland there is seen a high correlation between the achievement need of college graduates and their occupational wish and success in the business world. The wish toward business-related occupations shows a larger proportion among students with stronger achievement need than among weaker ones, and the rate of success is higher in the former group. Such an inclination is seen not only with the motive and behavior of individual persons but also with a society as a whole. As is shown in Figure 1, the average achievement need of people with business-management job is appreciably higher than that of engineers or other professionals.

Figure 1. Average Need-for-Achivement Scores of Managers and Professionals



(Business Drive and National Achievement D. C. McClelland, Harvard Business Review, July-August, 1962, p.102.)

Thus from the characteristic features of strong achievement-need men we can suppose to some extent the relation between the need and the business. But let us consider this point a little further.

In the business world—especially when it is led by the idea of marketing-

oriented or dynamic enterprise—there are always seen pursuits of latent market opportunities and challenges to realistic goals borne thereby. The said challenge means, in another expression, actions based on long-run, predictive, planned and systematic principle, in which are involved also substantial risk and manager's responsibility. And the results of such actions are fed back as changes in the enterprise's profit, sales or competitive position in the market concentratively, concretely and incessantly. Thus it is an understandable fact that business leadership or entrepreneurship affords a very attractive field of activity to those with strong achievement need. In modern wording, it may be said that among the features of business what most impressively attracts these people is marketing. In his study on the achievement need and occupation, McClelland has said, "The most general conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is that only the men involved in sales and marketing tend to have higher need for achievement in the business community. Such a result does not come as a great surprise since the marketing role certainly requires to an unusual degree the kind of entrepreneurial activity that we here found to be characteristic of high need for achievement." (The Achieving Society, 1961, p. 267.)

It is said that as a recent trend marketing is rooting increasingly deeper in the top-management class of business. Since they are the leaders of business their mode of thinking will not only govern the industrial world, but also greatly affect the norm of value in the whole society. And if their sense of achievement need is implicitly as well as explicitly strong, and if it is established as the principle of their activity, such a way of thinking will inevitably be reflected in advertising.

Views are diversified on whether advertisement messages are prepared fluttering to the expectation and value-concept of audiences or they precede to their changes, affecting, formulating and controlling the Weltanschauung of receivers.⁸⁾ It should be taken, however, that the relation between advertising (or mass communication at large including advertising) and the prevailing social value is not one-way actions by either one; both develop themselves under mutual influences. The "control hypothesis" has been negated by the positive studies of Inglis and Albrecht.⁹⁾ But their studies do not finally conclude the invalidity of this hypothesis, but do verify the complexity of the interrelation between advertising and social value because the so-called dependent effect of advertising is widely accepted.

Advertising messages are creations of the offerers of advertising. It is generally said that ideas or actions created by human beings are the reflection of personality to some extent. Unlike political propaganda or novels, advertisements

8) Maletzke G., *Psychology des Massenkommunikation*, 1965, Japanese version pp. 124-26.

9) Albert R. S., *The role of mass media and the effect of aggressive film content upon children's aggressive responses and identification choices*, Genetic Psychology monographs, 55, 1957. Albrecht M. C., *Does literature reflect common values?* American Sociological Review, 21, 1956. Inglis R. A., *An objective approach to the relationship between fiction and society*. American Sociological Review, 3, 1938.

are prepared not personally by offerers themselves but by advertising agencies, creators or other production-related persons. Thus the messages cannot be said to reflect genuinely the offerer's personality, but it must be expressed through the creative work of related men.

Men of strong achievement need endeavor also to guide children toward stronger achievement motive in their education and discipline. So isn't it possible to suppose that the businessmen's judgement on the unhealthy influence on children implies a criticism that the contents of advertising are not so formed that children's achievement need may be promoted.

Psychologists say the formation of motives, that constitute human personality, is almost completed by the ages between childhood and early boyhood. The main sources of influence in this period are discipline by parents and public school education, principally elementary school. Today, however, a third source has appeared, that is, mass communication, especially television. Television is regarded to work very strong influence on children prior to school age, side by side with parents.

As the study on the effect of television on children we have wide-scope analyses by the group of H. T. Himmelweit, A. N. Oppenheim and P. Vance, by the group of W. Schramm, J. Lyle and E. B. Parker, and by J. T. Klapper in foreign countries. In Japan researches and investigations on this theme have been conducted since about 1955. In particular with the increase in the so-called misdeed youths criticisms from this aspect have been emphasized.¹⁰⁾ It was not, however, until the publishing of the result of the survey by Arata Yoda and his group, taken by the request of the National Association of Commercial Broadcasters in Japan (Nihon Minkan Hōsō Remmei), that comprehensive data about the mental changes of youths by television became available.¹¹⁾

- 10) H. T. Himmelweit et al., *Television and the Child*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1958. W. Schramm et al., *Television in the Lives of Our Children*, Stanford Univ. Press, 1961. J. T. Klapper, *The Effects of Mass Communication*, The Free Press, 1960. In 1960 NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) decided to deport murder and violence scenes of television and suspended several programs. At about the same time in Hiroshima Prefecture the Violence Deport Committee checked murder and violence programs of television and required self-reflection of private broadcasting corporations. Refer literature below. Japan Private Broadcasting Association, *Televi Akudamasetsu eno Rironteki Kōsatsu* (Theoretical Consideration on the Televi-Rogue Argument), 1963. Ditto, *Televi to Hikō Shōnen* (Television and Juvenile Delinquency), 1st report 1961, second report 1962. Ditto, ed., *Senzai Hikō Shōnen to Televi Shichō* (Latent Juvenile Delinquency and TV Receiving), 1962. Institute of Sociology, Tōyō University, *Televi no Seishōnen ni ataeru Eikyō to Seishōnen Hikō to no Kankei no Kenkyū* (A Study on the Television's Influence on Youths and their Misdeeds), 1960.
- 11) Arata Yoda ed., *Televi no Jidō ni oyobosu Eikyō* (Television's Influence on Children), Tokyo Univ. Press, 1964. In this survey children living in Tokyo aged 10 to 14 were divided into two groups, TV group and contrast (TV controlled) group to analyze mental differences in various aspects of child's life. The bases of this grouping were such indicators as have-or-not of home TV set, stable-or-unstable habit of TV receiving, and total hours of receiving, with other living environments being arranged to be matched to the two groups.

Among the items of this survey what seems to concern with this paper is the influence worked by television on the view of life of children. By the survey the difference between the experiment (TV-uncontrolled) group and the TV-controlled group is most remarkable with this point. In short, the TV-uncontrolled group involve more numbers of "self-imposing" type children—that is, wishing a life adapted to own nature, rather than to become rich or socially great—while in the controlled group there are more "honour" type children—wishing to be notorious and great by earnest study. Such a distinction between the two groups, however, diminishes with the increase in age. This is considered to be derived from the influence of the general value concept in the Japan's society of today which comes to affect with the growth of children (in other words, the process of self-socialization) irrelevant to whether they see television or not. In this context television is playing part of promoting children's self-socialization.

The said self-imposing and honour types compose a category of different dimension from the achievement need. Within each type we can consider both strong and weak need (Figure 2). However, the study by Yoda group does not involve the aspect of need. So on this point we must wait another study.

Figure 2.

	Self-imposing type	Honour type
Achievement motive		
Affiliation motive		

Since the characteristics of two groups are greatly affected by the social strata of parents, principles of education and other social environments around children, we cannot take television as the soul cause of the distinctions. Yet the fact that the two groups, which are matched to environments of living, show little difference as regards many aspects such as friend and family relations or understanding of social life, whereas a remarkable distinction is seen with the aspect of "ways of thinking" reveal the existence of

television's influence at least with this point. Further analysis on this will serve to clarify the effect on children's motives.

McClelland has shown the correlation in the long run between the strength of a nation's achievement need and its economic development illustrating numerous examples. If in an area (country) children are placed under environments suitable to promote their achievement need, its economy is expected to show rapid growth when they become mature. Mass communication, centering on television, makes an important factor of children's environments. And under the liberalistic system of America or Japan mass communication is managed mainly on the commercial base; it is not too much to say mass communication is being beared by advertising. We can say herein lies the socio-economic role of advertising in the sense of long run. Advertising in mass communication, especially television that has a strong influential power on children, should be reexamined with respect to its contents from this viewpoint. A matter to be noticed is that the said reexamination of advertising does not simply refer to

the bounds of commercial messages but is to include the programs to which commercial messages are attached (or programs attaching to commercial). For example, the television's influence on children is derived from the TV programs which commercial sponsors and mass media jointly adopt, rather than by commercial messages themselves, so we think.

7. *Summary*

The above descriptions will be summarized in the below as our conclusive words.

a) That improvement is necessary on the social aspects of advertising is being recognized not only by consumers but also strongly by businessmen.

b) In this context the focus of discussion consists in its ethics.

c) A problem of advertising's ethics is the truthfulness of claims, which in a wide sense involves elimination of invalid or misleading advertisements.

d) For the aim of leveling up the truthfulness, simple efforts by advertising agencies or business's men taking charge of advertising are not sufficient; it is impossible to attain unless businesses themselves are innovation-mindedly managed. At the same time it is necessary that there exist numerous business with such dynamic entrepreneurship, and again socially there must be constituted a dynamic, competitive mechanism through innovation.

e) Another problem regarding advertising's ethics is its influence on children.

f) Most of businessmen themselves do not consider that advertising works healthy influence on children. Combining this judgement with what seems to make their basic motive, we can suppose that businessmen themselves are holding a dissatisfaction (if latent) that current advertising does little to intensify or stimulate children's achievement need.

g) Human personality is formed almost completely in the ages of childhood.

h) Mass communication, majorly television, exerts strong influence on the personality formation of children at about school-entry ages. And in our society mass communication is mainly charged on the existence of advertising and advertiser.

i) Taking television for example, we can say children are more strongly affected by the contents of programs provided by sponsors, rather than commercial messages themselves.

j) Accordingly children will be provided with environments favorable to intensify their achievement need, if businesses, the advertiser, offer the so-called achievement-oriented programs in cooperation with mass media and producers of advertisement and improve advertising so that higher healthfulness may be involved.

k) Economic development of a nation is attained as a result of favorable combination of various factors. The main body of such factors is not confined to capital, equipment or technological level which has hitherto been mentioned. Therein must exist human willingness to use these, so to speak, physical con-

ditions, or to overcome the shortage of them in order to make a start toward development. This willingness is named the achievement need, and the more it is intensified among people of a society, the more is promoted its economic development.

l) Hence it is supposable that intensification of children's achievement need has an appreciably close connection with economic development in long terms.

m) If the healthfulness of advertising is considered by businessmen from the standpoint of achievement need, rather than as the so-called ethical norm, the improvement of advertising in this sense will be connected with the economic growth of society. We think herein lies a field of advertising's task in the free society in which we are living.