flow is high, and one is expected to read other people's thoughts, intuit the state of their business, and even garner indirectly what government regulations are in the offing. For the French and other polychronic/high-context people, a tight, fixed agenda can be an encumbrance, even an insult to one's intelligence. Most, if not all, of those present have a pretty good idea of what will be discussed beforehand. The purpose of the meeting is to create consensus. A rigid agenda and consensus represent opposite goals and do not mix. *The importance of this basic dichotomy cannot be overemphasized.*

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KEY TERMS

high context
low context
polychronic
monochronic
time
space

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What kind of misunderstandings could occur between high- and low-context people?
2. What are some suggestions you might give to people who work together who have different orientations to time?
3. What are some common English sayings that reflect a monochronic time orientation (e.g., time is money, a stitch in time saves nine)?
4. What advice would you give French international students about time management at a U.S. university?
5. Would you characterize your communication with people whom you've known for a long time as more low-context or more high-context?

22

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF NONVERBAL EXPRESSIONS AS PORTRAYED BY KOREAN AND AMERICAN PRINT-MEDIA ADVERTISING

MIN-SUN KIM

Relationship Between Advertising and Culture

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A persistent debate continues about whether advertising in non-Western countries reflects primarily the indigenous culture or Western culture. It is the purpose of this study to shed further light on this issue.

Nonverbal Expressions as Cultural Context

Print advertising usually consists of verbal and nonverbal messages. According to Millum (1975, p. 24) nonverbal messages are clear at a glance, facilitate conscious recall, and carry subconscious messages most effectively. Research has strongly suggested that major cultural differences are invested in nonverbal behaviors, because they are

basic *core* values that are slow to change. Eisenberg and Smith (1971) argued that, as the symbols of language are structured into tight patterns, a *grammar* of nonverbal body language comes into being. Every culture has its specific set of *display rules* as to how and when its members may express themselves (Ekman, 1973). For instance, *boundary* is an important concept relating to people's mode of behavior. It refers to the way that people in a given culture cognitively divide up their worlds into separate areas. Cultures define boundaries temporally (days, microseconds), geographically (states, cities), and in terms of personal space (Arabs stand close to converse, whereas Americans stand three to four feet apart). Boundaries can be rigid (India's caste system) or flexible (America's egalitarian society) (cf., Durgee, 1986, p. 38). Watson and Graves (1966) found that Arabs confront each other more directly when conversing than do Americans, sitting closer to each other, and looking each other more squarely in the eye. Likewise, traditional Japanese culture requires two individuals to stand no closer than the distance permitting the customary bow (Kunihiro, 1980).

Nonverbal expressions of advertising models such as gestures, facial expressions, and postures are symbolic representations of cultural values. Goffman (1979) specifically examined ways in which men and women are pictured in advertisements. He found that women smile more often and more expansively than do men; and, similarly, men tend to be located at higher levels than women, symbolically confirming sexual stereotypes. Expression is considered to be socially learned and socially patterned. We take for granted our own modes of expression until we see them compared to those of another culture (i.e., nationality, ethnicity, or gender). Insights into the American mode of advertising expression and the fundamental cultural values by which the mode is influenced can be obtained by comparing American advertising to that of another culture.

Framework of the Study

The disagreement among researchers regarding the relationship between advertising and culture might be traced to the lack of a clear definition of *societal culture.* Most studies (Madden, Cabellero, & Matsukubo, 1986; Norman, 1965; Singh & Huang, 1962; Unwin, 1974) concentrate on differences and consistencies in the form of advertising expression—format, creative style, and information level—across cultures. Rarely is the relationship between advertising and culture studied in depth. For a fundamental understanding of the issue, a clear identification of the major values of a culture is essential, followed by a comparison of those values with the cultural content of advertising.

The importance of visual images in advertisements as a cultural parameter has not been studied comprehensively. It is through the influence of culture that people learn to communicate nonverbally. Cultures differ in their manner of encoding nonverbal messages. The culturally defined nonverbal patterns of communication, therefore, constitute indispensable parameters for analyzing culture. Some studies (e.g., Choe et al., 1986) have dealt with facial expressions in advertising, but few have focused on such pictorial displays as gestures, degree of body exposure, tactile communication, and eye behavior.

This study seeks to determine (a) whether nonverbal expressions of models in Korean and American advertising are related to their cultural orientation, (b) whether nonverbal expressions in advertising are influenced by the gender of the models and the products being advertised, (c) the possible influence of product categories on nonverbal expressions of both Korean and American advertising models, and (d) how far, if at all, Korean advertising values have converged with those of the West.

Communication Patterns of Korean and American Culture

Although generalizations about entire cultures and their communication patterns are difficult and dangerous to make, nonetheless, it is possible to observe and report cultural differences. The ways Koreans and Americans communicate are based mostly on their basic philosophies. Korean perception of communication is anchored in

Buddhist philosophy, which is characterized by the inarticulate or prelinguistic process of the mind (Yum, 1987): Truth must be gained without trying and in every spoken truth the unspoken has the last word; words are approximations, sometimes helpful, sometimes misleading (Oliver, 1962, p. 143). In Western culture, however, people believe that words do, in fact, mean what they say. Aristotle insisted that clarity is the first virtue of good style (Oliver, 1962, pp. 142–143).

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. . . For purposes of this study, we limit the nonverbal aspects of culture mainly to facial expressions, hand and arm gestures, tactile communication, degree of body exposure, and communication between the sexes.

Facial Expressions

Everyday experience suggests that smiling is one of the most common nonverbal signals used for communication among humans. According to Ekman and Friesen (1971, pp. 124–129), happiness, generally indicated by a smile, is one of six human emotions said to be universally present and understood. Whereas a smile of happiness may be a universal expression, cultural, contextual, and personal influences can affect its meaning and frequency, as well as degree of expansiveness. Research has shown that general cultural rules about smiling (for example, frequency and expansiveness) are learned, and are significant in social interaction (Morse, 1982; Kraut & Johnston, 1979). Traditionally, Koreans are trained not to show their emotions. Because nonverbal expressions are associated mostly with the projection of emotional states, Koreans tend to avoid expressive nonverbal actions. Most Koreans do not, even in joyous humor, shout, laugh loudly, clap hands, jump up and down, tap the shoulders, embrace, or dance. Koreans who are angry try not to express their anger outwardly (Yim, 1970, p. 214). Among strangers, neutrality of expression is the rule in Korean culture. Adults, especially men, are not expected to smile frequently; it is a sign of weakness.

Hand and Arm Gestures

Hand and arm movement is another form of culture-specific expression. Clearly, there are differences among cultural groups as to what are considered appropriate frequency and style of hand and arm gestures. Whereas some people gesture broadly and often, others do so narrowly and seldom (Eisenberg et al., 1971, p. 100). A study of Waxer (1985), comparing nonverbal displays of emotion in American and Canadian television game show contestants, showed that American females use their hands more than do the Canadian females. In the Eastern view, adults who use many gestures when they speak are thought to be childish, because repression of overt bodily expression connotes self-control (Ramsey, 1984, p. 148). On the other hand, Western culture is likely to use strong expressive gestures to convey messages. One's ability to communicate is measured by his or her verbal and nonverbal expressive skills. These differences are assumed to be carried into nonverbal expressions used in print-media advertising illustrations.

Touching

Tactile communication is an important nonverbal expression that defines and differentiates cultural values. It is measured by the degree and extent of touch employed by people in the process of communicating with each other (Watson & Graves, 1966). Different cultures attach different meanings to distance and touch, consequently displaying different amounts and kinds of spatial behavior. Like Hedieger (1961), who divides animal species into *contact type* and *distant type*, Hall (1963, p. 1005) deals with *contact* and *non-contact* cultures. In contact culture, touch is common and acceptable as part of everyday life. Consequently, social members in that culture interact more closely with one another and touch one another more than do members of the noncontact group. The contact group is composed of Arabs, Latin Americans, and Southern Europeans; Asians, Indians, Pakistanis, and Northern Europeans make up the noncontact group.

Southeast Asians do not ordinarily touch during a conversation, especially one between oppo-

site sexes, because many Asian cultures adhere to norms that forbid public display of affection and intimacy. Pares (1985) offered her impressions on the relationship between sexes:

> Contact between the two groups (men and women) seems to be slight: communication, be it serious or light-hearted, is confined to the immediate circle who, almost invariably, are of the same sex. To a Korean this doubtless seems proper and normal, but to a Westerner . . . the apparent indifference of sexes to each other can be somewhat disturbing. (p. 38)

One of the five harmonies of Confucian philosophy, the division of sexes still affects relationships between men and women. Even in modern times, embracing and kissing in public, winking at others, or engaging in intimate touch are regarded as uncivil (Yim, 1970).

Eye Behavior

The adage "eyes are the window of the soul" reflects the importance of eyes as a gauge of emotion (Watson, 1970, p. 48). Gaze, or visual behavior, refers to an individual's looking behavior, which may or may not be directed at another person. Mutual gaze refers to two interactants looking at each other, usually in the region of the face (Knapp, 1978, p. 276). Eye behavior also varies according to social norms. Hall (1963, p. 1012) mentioned some cross-cultural differences in eye contact. Navahos, for instance, are taught not to gaze directly at another person during a conversation. Watson (1970) performed the most extensive study of cultural differences in gaze. Subject dyads consisting of foreign students were observed conversing in their native language. A coding system for gaze behavior showed that Arabs, Latin Americans, and Southern Europeans focused their gaze on the eyes or face of their conversational partner. In contrast, Asians, Indians, Pakistanis, and Northern Europeans tended to show *peripheral gaze* (indirect gaze, oriented toward the other without looking directly at the face or eyes) or no gaze at all. Interestingly, no relationship has been found between gaze behavior and time spent overseas, suggesting that gaze patterns are unlikely to change with environmental social influence.

The Confucian tenet of division of the sexes is symbolically represented in Koreans' perception of direct eye contact among people of different ages or sex. In Korea, direct eye contact among unequals connotes competition, constituting an inappropriate form of behavior. On the other hand, Americans expect direct eye contact when they talk to each other. Many Americans think a person who shuns eye contact is shy or lacking in self-confidence.

Clothing and Degree of Body Exposure

The forms of nonverbal expressions discussed so far, such as facial expressions, hand and arm gestures, and tactile communication, involve bodily movements. Not all nonverbal communication is carried out with such signals. Cultural norms and values are also projected through style of dress. The way one dresses may represent "deep-seated psychic intentions" (Eisenberg & Smith, 1971, p. 105). Dress style hints at our self-image and the image we seek to project to others. Clothing is an important nonverbal parameter in conveying messages. The Japanese, whose culture is based upon group-centered identification, are notorious for uniformity in clothing: the stereotypical *salaryman* (businessman) wears a dark suit, dark tie, shiny black shoes, and company lapel pin. Japanese tourists baffle their foreign hosts with their uniformity in dress, buying habits, and group spirit, doing everything together in the same way (Condon & Yousef, 1975, p. 138).

The degree of body exposure in dress styles indicates some values of a cultural group. Each culture has its own understanding of which parts of the body may be exposed or should be covered, and of the significance of bodily display to social acceptance (Pares, 1985, p. 56). Because degree of body exposure is related to the function of clothes in matters of propriety and attraction, cultural norms and values in relationships between people determine the parts and degree of body exposure of societal members. In traditional Oriental philosophy, people have their place in nature as well as in society. Indeed, their social roles are as

important as their roles as individuals. Manner, dress, etiquette, and behavior all assume considerable significance. The desire for propriety and the interest in social appearance have produced a tradition of the clothed, rather than unclothed, treatment of the human form in Korea (Pares, 1985, pp. 57–59).

In contrast, Americans have a higher tolerance for body exposure than Koreans. For instance, bared shoulders, legs, and backs are acceptable. However, American tolerance for body exposure is not uniform. The fundamental attitudes in Western Christian society toward nudity, shaped by its equation with sinfulness and by the Greco-Roman appreciation of the human form as the measure of nature, have engendered a tension and vitality that go far in explaining the Western preoccupation with the nude form (Pares, 1985, p. 57).

Although social rules governing nonverbal expressions in Korea are changing as a result of close and frequent contact with foreign countries, particularly the United States, the foundations of traditional values that gave rise to display rules remain.

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Methodology

The research design used in this study was content analysis, which involves critical analysis of the advertising illustrations in terms of the parameters previously defined. In accordance with this technique, the study analyzes the manifest nonverbal parameters portrayed in Korean and American advertising illustrations.

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To make advertisements comparable across cultures and to obtain a wide range in readership, two general interest magazines and one women's magazine published in each of the two countries were selected. The magazines targeted for the general audience were *Time* and *Newsweek* (American), and *Shin-Dong-Ah* and *Wol-Gan-Choson* (Korean). The two women's magazines were *Good Housekeeping* (American) and *Yeo-Sung-Jung-Ang* (Korean). The magazines dated from January 1985 through December 1986.

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The magazines used in this study were weeklies and monthlies. For the weekly magazines, the following issues were selected: (1) the first weeks' issues of January, May, and September; (2) the second weeks' issues of February, June, and October; (3) the third weeks' issues of March, July, and November; and (4) the fourth weeks' issues of April, August, and December. For the monthly magazines, every other month's issues were included. The procedure used in sampling the weekly and monthly magazines was designed to minimize any weekly or seasonal variations that might affect advertising content. This sampling procedure yielded 118 issues (May 1986 and September 1986 were not available for *Yeo-Sung-Jung-Ang*).

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The criteria for selecting advertising illustrations were as follows:

1. Only full-page or double-page ads were used. Such illustrations can clearly portray nonverbal expressions and are easier to analyze than smaller ones.
2. Only advertisements that contained both adult males and females as main characters were included, because such ads portray real-life social interaction, showing the cultural value orientations of a given society more readily than single-sex ads. Family scenes with children were excluded.

A total of 400 ads from the six magazines were analyzed to provide a clear picture of nonverbal expressions presented and were considered to be an adequate number to satisfy the objectives of the study.

Operational Definition of Nonverbal Expressions

Five nonverbal parameters were selected because they were considered to describe fully and to differentiate nonverbal expressions in advertising illustrations of the magazines. Categories of

these parameters range from very conservative to highly expressive.

Facial Expressions Facial expression was measured through categories of smiling, which were derived primarily from Kraut's and Johnston's (1979, p. 1542) smiling feature classification: (1) neutral face or blank expression (very conservative), wherein the mouth is relaxed; (2) hint-of-smile (conservative), which is characterized by corners of the mouth being turned up with the lips together, or the mouth being relaxed with lips slightly parted; (3) half-smile (expressive), wherein corners of the mouth are turned up and lips are parted to show teeth; and (4) full-smile (highly expressive), in which corners of the mouth are turned up and upper and lower teeth are parted.

Hand and Arm Gestures Hand and arm gestures were classified as (1) nonuse (very conservative), wherein arms and hands are held downward, or wrists are raised; (2) narrow use (conservative), wherein movements of hands are limited to below the elbow area; (3) mild use (expressive), in which hands are raised above the elbow but below the shoulder line; and (4) broad use (highly expressive), in which hands are raised above the shoulder line.

Degree of Body Exposure This category provides for the degree and kind of body exposure, including (1) nonexposure (very conservative), describing the models who show only face, neck, hands, lower arms, and areas below the knee; (2) slight-exposure (conservative), which includes exposure of the upper arm, knee, and cleavage; (3) half-exposure (expressive), describing models who expose their thighs and shoulders; and (4) full-exposure (highly expressive), showing chest, belly, back, or total nudity.

Tactile Communication Tactile communication was measured by the degree of touching between male and female models: (1) nontouch (very conservative), which does not involve any type of bodily contact; (2) shoulder-to-shoulder touch (conservative), wherein models stand side-by-side touching each other's shoulder; (3) moderate touch (expressive), wherein models are shown holding hands, shaking hands, touching a shoulder by hand, locking arms, patting on the back, and touching chest-to-shoulder; and (4) intimate touch (highly expressive), which includes embracing, face-to-face hugging, hugging from the back, caressing, face-to-face touching, and kissing.

Communication Between the Sexes Through Eye Behavior The analysis of communication between men and women was based upon the type of visual contact between them: (1) noncommunicative (very conservative), wherein models do not gaze at each other, rather they look down or gaze into space; (2) indirectly communicative (conservative), in which models look at a third object, having the other person within the field of vision; (3) one-way communicative (expressive) defined as only one—either male or female—model gazing at the other; and (4) highly communicative (highly expressive), in which both male and female models focus directly on each other's eyes.

Product Categories

In addition to these nonverbal parameters, the types of products advertised were also coded. It was assumed that the types of products might induce a different degree of nonverbal expression in advertising illustrations. Product categories were classified into primary goods and secondary goods. The criterion for the classification was how basic were the needs those products served. Primary goods include clothes, food, and household goods such as televisions, refrigerators, furniture, and telephones. Secondary goods include cosmetics, jewelry, beer, liquor, cigarettes, and services such as banking, insurance, resorts, hotels, and transportation.

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Discussion of Findings

Relationship Between Nonverbal Expressions and Cultural Orientation

. . . A significant relationship between nonverbal expressions shown by advertising models and

their cultural orientations was found to exist. The findings generally support the expectation that Korean models use more conservative, traditional modes of nonverbal expression than do the American models. On the other hand, the American models reflect their open cultural values, showing more expansive nonverbal expressions than do the Korean models.

Hypothesis 1.1 A significant difference in the frequencies of facial expressions between the American and Korean models was noted. . . . the greatest difference between the two cultural groups was in the full-smile category (highly expressive). . . . The general pattern shows that Korean models were less expansive in facial expressions than their American counterparts.

Hypothesis 1.2 Analysis of the relationship between hand and arm gestures and culture . . . shows . . . differences in the hand and arm gestures between the American and Korean advertising models were striking, with the majority of the American models showing wide, open hand use, while the Korean models remained passive, rarely using exaggerated hand or arm gestures (most of the Korean models with broad hand usage were teenagers).

Hypothesis 1.3 The results of the analysis of the degree of body exposure . . . illustrate that the American models showed a greater degree of body exposure than the Korean models. . . . American models scored fairly high percentages of body exposure in all three categories: slight-, half-, and full-exposure (19.3% combined). On the other hand, only 10.4% of the total Korean models were classified under these three categories.

Hypothesis 1.4 This hypothesis was analyzed through the type of touch that occurred between male and female models. . . . there is a strong relationship between the degree of expression in the touching behavior of Korean and American couples shown in ads and their cultural orientation. . . . Overall 58.3% of the 181 Korean couples were depicted as not involved in any type of bodily contact (nontouch/very conservative), while only 45.9% of the American couples were thus shown. Among other categories, American advertising models showed fairly high percentages . . . in the intimate touch (highly expressive) category as contrasted with relatively low percentages . . . among Korean models. American models showed more intimate and closer bodily contact than Korean models; touching by Korean models tended to be limited to hand contact.

Hypothesis 1.5 Degree of nonverbal expression through communication between the sexes was analyzed through eye behavior between males and females shown in advertising illustrations. The findings . . . illustrate that advertising does reflect the cultural orientations of the two countries. . . . Thirty-two percent of the American couples were classified in the highly communicative category (highly expressive—couples looking at each other), compared to only 13.9% of the Korean models in that category. On the other hand, more Korean couples . . . were classified in the noncommunicative category (couples not looking at each other) than were their American counterparts. . . .

Relationship Between Nonverbal Expressions and Gender of Models Within Cultural Groups

The relationship between nonverbal expressions and gender was analyzed on the first three parameters; namely, facial expressions, hand and arm gestures, and degree of body exposure. The results of the analysis yield strong support for gender differences in nonverbal expressions within cultural group, except for hand and arm gestures as shown by American models.

Hypothesis 2.1 In comparing facial expressions between Korean male and female models . . . , more Korean females fell into half-smile (expressive) and full-smile (highly expressive) categories than did their male counterparts. On the other hand, male models portrayed neutral faces . . . more often than did females. . . .

American female models also had higher percentages in half-smile (expressive) and full-smile (highly expressive) categories than did American male models. . . . The results of this analysis demonstrate that facial expressions of advertising

models depend upon the gender of the models in each culture. . . .

Hypothesis 2.2 . . . Korean female models were more conservative in hand use than Korean male models (44.8% vs. 31.4%). Examined in more detail, Korean males were depicted more frequently with broad use of their hands . . . than were the Korean female group. . . . In the case of American advertising models . . . , interestingly enough, the American female models exhibited a far higher percentage of broad use . . . than did their male counterparts. . . .

Hypothesis 2.3 . . . Korean female models exposed their bodies more frequently than did Korean male models in all three exposure categories (slight-, half-, and full-exposure). . . . There were also highly significant differences between American male and female models and degree of body exposure. . . . the American female models show relatively higher percentages in all three exposure categories (slight-, half-, and full-exposure) than do male models. . . .

Relationship Between Nonverbal Expressions and Product Categories Within Cultural Groups

The results of the comparison between product categories and nonverbal expressions shown by Korean advertising models demonstrate that only female facial expressions, female hand and arm use, and communication between the sexes were dependent upon the types of products advertised. . . . None of the other nonverbal parameters yields strong differences across primary and secondary products. In terms of facial expression, . . . Korean female models showed a higher score (13.5%) in the full-smile classification for primary goods such as clothes and food, while only 7.1% for secondary goods. . . . As to hand and arm use, Korean female models showed far more broad use . . . in primary goods than in secondary goods. . . .

In the case of American advertising models, only facial expression was dependent upon the product categories advertised among five nonverbal parameters. . . . The most striking difference in male facial expression across product categories was found in the full-smile classification, where American male models scored 31.3% for primary goods ads, but only 9.8% for secondary goods. . . . It was also found that the female models followed almost the same trend as their male counterparts: more full-smile classifications in primary goods ads, and more neutral face classifications in secondary goods. All the other parameters, such as hand and arm use, degree of body exposure, touch, and communication between the sexes, yielded no significant relationship between product categories advertised and models' nonverbal expressions.

In sum, among the five nonverbal parameters, only that of facial expression was dependent upon the product categories advertised in both American and Korean advertising models: regardless of culture, more models fit the full-smile classification in primary goods ads and the neutral face classification in secondary goods ads.

Discussion

It was found that the five nonverbal expressions were important cultural parameters, which served as determinants of the different cultural orientations in Korea and America. The cultural parameters effectively describe and differentiate nonverbal expressions between Korean and American models. The findings show that nonverbal messages transmitted by models in Korean and American magazine advertisements are generally reflective of their cultural orientations. Korean models tended to smile less frequently, use their hands and arms less frequently, and expose their bodies less frequently than did American models, thus reflecting each culture. Male and female models in American advertising tended to touch each other more frequently and look at each other more frequently than their counterparts in Korean magazines.

Regarding gender differences, female models in both countries smiled more and exposed their bodies more frequently than did their male counterparts. These findings conform to the social norms of both societies. As far as these two cultural parameters are concerned, gender differ-

ences seem to be similar regardless of the cultural setting. In terms of hand and arm use, Korean female models showed less expressive hand gestures than their male counterparts, as was expected. For American models, however, the trend was the opposite: female models showed a far higher percentage of broad use of hand and arm gestures than did males. These findings somewhat limit cross-cultural generalizations or stereotypes of males using relaxed gestures (open, expansive, and frequent use of arms) and females using tense hand gestures (narrow and infrequent use of arms).

Another important finding is that facial expressions vary across product categories in both Korean and American advertising illustrations. Different products may require different degrees of facial expression, because models in both countries had more full-smile classification in primary goods ads and more neutral face classification in secondary goods ads. For primary goods, models try to show product satisfaction through smiling expressions, while for secondary products they strive to create a mood that does not necessarily require a full smile.

Theoretical Implications

The foregoing literature has revealed that there are three basic arguments about the relationship between culture and advertising. The first begins with the premise that advertising primarily reflects the unique indigenous culture, be it Western or non-Western. To prove this argument, the cultural content of advertising in Korea should contain primarily Korean elements of expression, and, likewise, in America, American elements. Consistent with this position, nonverbal expressions shown by models in Korean and American magazine advertisements were found to be highly related to their cultural orientations. Korean models tend to be more conservative than expressive in nonverbal modes, such as facial expression, body exposure, touch, hand and arm gestures, and eye behavior, than do American models.

The second position declares that advertising in non-Western countries is not a product of those cultures, but is primarily Western in character. This position is clearly negated by the results of the study. The findings obtained in the content analysis show that Korean advertising primarily reflects its own cultural values rather than Western values, at least in the context of nonverbal expressions.

The third position asserts that advertising in non-Western countries does not reflect solely the indigenous cultures, but a mixture of those cultures with some selected Western cultural traits. These researchers have reported the trend of countries to move toward a global, predominantly Western culture. This position is not consistent with the current data. Nonverbal expressions shown by Korean advertising models still basically reflect their indigenous cultural traits.

To summarize, the results of this study are consistent with the first position, which claims that advertising reflects primarily the indigenous culture, be it Western or non-Western. The strong relationship between advertising and cultural orientation observed in the present study may be due, in part, to the focus on nonverbal behaviors, which are fundamental core values that are hard to change. People's unconscious nonverbal cues are truer than their conscious verbal cues. Thus, nonverbal cues may constitute deeply hidden messages that are less susceptible to foreign influence. Advertising and culture can have a symbiotic relationship in the sense that culture influences advertising, which, in turn, engenders a way of life that becomes a part of that culture (cf. Marquez, 1973). Future research should examine how, with increasing interdependence among nations, nonverbal expressions shown in advertising change over time.

The major concern of this research is the cultural aspect of advertising. Advertising has an overt function—to sell things; however, the inner structures of advertising communication bear important cultural meanings and connotations that must be uncovered in order to make clear the full meaning of advertising messages. In the United States, the study of advertising communication has occurred mostly within a paradigm shaped primarily by the interests of the business community and defined as *consumer behavior* (Schultze, 1981, p. 371). This paradigm emphasizes consumer demographics and advertising appeals. Advertising communication should be studied in a

broader cultural context in order to improve our understanding of international advertising.

Practical Implications

International marketers are often faced with the problem of whether, and to what extent, they should alter their advertising messages from one country to another (see Britt, 1974; Hornick, 1980; Munson & McIntyre, 1979; Ricks, Arpan, & Fu, 1974; Whitelock & Chung, 1989). Multinational companies that market their products on a worldwide basis are faced with the decision of whether to standardize their messages across countries, or to individualize their messages in each country. Traditionally, it has been more or less accepted that nationalistic differences prevented the use of similar copy and themes on a multinational level (Ryans, 1969). However, the apparent success of various companies, including Coca-Cola and Exxon, with its "Tiger" campaign, along with the benefits of using a standardized approach, are leading other companies to examine the feasibility of universal advertising themes (see Whitelock & Chung, 1989). Advertising standardization is not a simplistic concept and should be considered in terms of degree of uniformity rather than in absolute terms (see Peebles, Ryans, & Vernon, 1978). In general, however, the findings suggest limitations to the universal approach to advertising, because significant differences in nonverbal expressions exist between nations. One may suspect that a foreign model would be permitted to violate local norms; however, use of foreign models in Korean advertising was almost nonexistent. Overall, the current findings suggest that expressive nonverbal cues shown by American advertising models may be less effective in Korea because their appeal runs counter to Korean cultural values.

In the past, language was considered to be an important constraint to advertising standardization and posed the most difficult obstacle to universal standardization of advertising messages (Thackray, 1985). Incorrect translation of an advertisement into clumsy or embarrassing wording can cause adverse reactions (e.g., Nova means "no go" in Spanish). Similar problems often arise from failure to understand nonverbal idioms in a culture. Domestic success is no guarantee of predictable performance in a different environment (Ricks et al., 1974). Different nonverbal idioms may render many businesses' normal procedures inapplicable or untransferable.

There seems to be little doubt that culture plays an important role in the perception and use of advertising. Certain fundamental differences across cultures make imperative the use of sensitized advertising appeals when advertising abroad. Ricks et al. (1974) found that most international advertising blunders occur because of a failure to understand the foreign culture and its social norms. The importance of having an adequate cultural sensitivity on the part of advertising practitioners involved in international operations may be the major determinant in the success of an international business venture. It is particularly cogent for them to scrutinize and choose the correct cultural expectations in which advertising will appear. Only when the cultural rules of different cultural groups are identified will advertisers be able to get across their messages, reach the hearts and minds of the targeted group, and successfully promote their products in a foreign market.

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KEY TERMS

cross-cultural comparisons
advertising
Korea
nonverbal communication

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How do the philosophy and religious beliefs in Korea influence nonverbal behavior? Do you think religious beliefs in America influence nonverbal behavior?
2. Kim investigated the effects of nationality and gender on nonverbal behavior. What are other factors that may influence nonverbal behavior?
3. Based on Kim's findings, how would television advertising in Korea differ from television advertising in the United States?
4. How might a critical researcher conduct a study of print advertising in Korea and the United States?
5. How might Kim's findings be different if the analyzed advertisements were from different magazines (e.g., *Ebony, Rolling Stone*)?

23
PLACES FOR SPEAKING IN TEAMSTERVILLE

GERRY PHILIPSEN

The significance of speaking as a domain within a culture varies across speech communities. Not only do bearers of different cultures speak differently one from another but, more importantly, they hold different assumptions about the value, purposes, and significance of speaking as a mode of human experience. Like religion, politics, and law, so speech, the principal medium of creating meanings in social interaction, itself holds different meanings for the various peoples whose views of the world afford it a place.

This essay reports in part the meanings which speech has in a community I labeled Teamsterville. It builds upon a previous essay[1] by developing further my answers to two questions: When the people of Teamsterville look out on the world or conjure up some image of it, what does the world look like to them, and what do they envision as the place of speaking within it? Does Teamsterville's view of the situated appropriateness of speaking implicate something about the meaning and significance of speaking to its people? Answers to such questions, in this study and others like it, provide the descriptive materials from which to construct a theory of the place of speaking in cultures.

Attention to at least the most salient and accessible features of Teamsterville's outlook on speaking was facilitated by using Hymes' schema of components of speech events.[2] The idea behind

[1] Gerry Philipsen, "Speaking 'Like a Man' in Teamsterville: Culture Patterns of Role Enactment in an Urban Neighborhood," *QJS,* 61 (1975), 13–22.

[2] Dell Hymes, "Models of the Interaction of Language and Social Life," in *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication,* ed. John J. Gumprez and Dell Hymes (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1972), see particularly pp. 58–71.