

Perspectives

Japanese and American Television Commercials: A Cultural Study with TEFL Applications

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This paper suggests that Japanese and American television commercials reflect the values of their respective cultures and are therefore pedagogically useful in the EFL classroom. A preliminary examination of 200 commercials from Japanese and American television programs indicates that there are significant differences in the types of commercials shown, with 54% of the Japanese commercials surveyed appealing to emotion, compared with only 7% of the American, and 66% of the American commercials using logic as the central theme, compared with only 10% of the Japanese. As rich sources of both cultural information and natural language, commercials provide EFL teachers with a means for promoting learner awareness of the values of the target culture through communicative language use.

本論は日本とアメリカのテレビ・コマーシャルがそれぞれの文化を反映しており、したがって英語の授業に有用であると示唆する。日本とアメリカのコマーシャル200点を調査したところ、日本では54%が感情に訴えるものであるのに対し、アメリカでは感情に訴えるものは7%のみであり、中心的テーマとして論理を使うものが66%あった。日本では論理を使ったものは10%のみであった。文化情報と自然な言語の豊かなリソースとしてコマーシャルは学習者にコミュニケーション言語使用を通して目標文化の価値観に気づかせる手段となる。

Although understanding the values and beliefs of the target culture is of great assistance when learning a second/foreign language, these values and beliefs are often difficult for learners to discover. Therefore any resource which can vividly reveal cultural information should be considered valuable for teaching. This paper suggests that

television commercials are one such resource and examines 200 Japanese and American television commercials to show how they can reflect the values of their respective cultures.

Culture-Based Features of Television Commercials

In the twentieth century, advertising has become a part of the cultural landscape as well as a big business. With prime time commercials in the United States costing in excess of half a million dollars for one minute (Wells, Burnett, & Mociarty, 1995, p. 379), advertisers must know the most effective means to stimulate the viewer to buy the product. This means drawing on input from such diverse fields as psychology, sociology and anthropology—essentially, the culture of the viewer (Wells et al., 1995, p. 163). Advertisers who fail to communicate effectively risk wasting millions of dollars in a matter of minutes and therefore, because such huge sums are at stake, advertisers must ensure that their product, the commercial, produces the desired result.

The Culture-Oriented Model used by advertisers in strategic planning (Wells et al., 1995, p. 752) suggests that although people have common needs, these needs are met in different ways. Thus, it is understood that a commercial which entices an American viewer to buy a product will not necessarily cause a Japanese viewer to react in the same way. An important study conducted in 1990 by Alice, a French advertising agency and IPSOS, a French research group (described in Wells et al., 1995) illustrates this point. Commercials from six European countries were presented 100 consumers from each of the same six countries. The results indicated that country-specific advertising cultures existed. Furthermore, the most competitive commercials in each market were produced by the advertisers who geared their commercial to the specific values of the local culture. Similar to rhetorical patterns (Kaplan, 1966, 1987), it is suggested that commercials reflect culture-specific values and ways of communicating.

The following section presents a classification system for commercials and an examination of television commercials in Japan and the United States. It is suggested that such analysis can reveal important differences in the way Japanese and Americans think and communicate.

The Study

Method

One hundred TV commercials from Japan and the United States respectively were video recorded during February and March, 1996. These commercials were taped from major national television networks from 18:00-23:00. The first 100 commercials recorded on each tape were used for analysis.

Regarding the classification system used to code the recorded commercials, advertising mogul David Ogilvy (1983, p. 103-110) has identified 13 commercial types commonly used in American commercials (see Table 1): humor, slice of life, testimonial, demonstration, problem-solution, talking head (the head and shoulders of a pitch-person selling the product), characters (like the underworked Maytag repairman in US commercials), rational reason why, news, emotion, celebrities, cartoons, and musical vignette. Sommers, Barnes, and Stanton (1995, p. 606) more recently used terms similar to Ogilvy's, indicating that commercials, at least in a broad sense, have not evolved beyond the types that Ogilvy outlined in the early 1980s. Wells et al. (1995, p. 493-495) has classified commercials more broadly, using terms such as storytelling or sight and sound. However, these categories contain the commercial types identified by Ogilvy, suggesting that his classification remains valid today.

Ogilvy's classification (1983) was based on American commercials, and although it was found that the 100 American commercials used in this study fit his typology, it became apparent that the nature of Japanese commercials was somewhat different. Many Japanese commercials were based on appeals to the emotions of the viewers and precise terms specifying the type of emotion appeared wanting. Thus, Ogilvy's list was modified and broken into two broad divisions to emphasize the differences between Japanese and American commercials. The first division, Logic, includes those commercials which provide rational reasons for buying a product. The second division, Emotion, includes commercials which appeal to a viewer's sentiments. As an interesting aside, Ogilvy's firm, Ogilvy and Mather, failed in Japan both as a joint venture and on its own (Huddleston, 1990, p. 168).

Using the classification system presented below, the commercials were viewed a second time and coded into categories by the author and a second rater. This rater was an American teacher for the American commercials, and a Japanese research assistant for the Japanese commercials. Although the two raters had discussed the evaluation process, classifying commercials according to type was relatively subjective and

Table 1: Commercial Types

Logic (viewer is given a rational argument for buying the product)

1. Explanation – a voice-over describes the merits of the product
2. Slice of Life – two or more characters discuss the merits of the product
3. Testimonial – loyal users of a product testify to its virtues
4. Demonstration – a demonstration of how the product works or why it is good
5. Problem-solution – presents a problem then show how the product solves it
6. Talking head – a pitch-person extols the virtues of the product
7. Price – focuses on the value of the product
8. Comparison – compares the product to the competition

Emotion (viewer is led to associate the product with positive or high quality images)

1. Mood enhancement – creates a positive atmosphere around the product
2. Humor – attempts to amuse the viewer with images, dialogue, sounds, puns
3. Nostalgia – arouses feelings of nostalgia in tandem with the product
4. Celebrity – associates the product with a famous person
5. Musical vignette – a parade of fleeting images played to music
6. Animation – cartoons (almost always used in tandem with other methods)

(adapted from Ogilvy, 1983, pp. 103-110)

disagreement was bound to arise. For the American commercials, agreement between the two raters was 86%, with the first two dozen commercials showing the greatest disparity. Inter-rater agreement was only 75% for the Japanese commercials. This lower figure was probably due to the author's limited Japanese language ability as well as his lack of awareness of Japanese television celebrities.

An additional complication was the fact that many commercials combined elements of several types. For example, a commercial that used humor would also describe some merit of the product being advertised by means of a demonstration or explanation. Consequently, many commercials in the survey were classified as belonging to more than one type, for example, humor/demonstration, and were given two codes. For the Japa-

nese commercials, only 19 were assigned a single code and 81 commercials were placed in two or more categories. For the American commercials, 17 were coded within a single commercial type, while the remaining 83 were assigned two or more codes. Thus, when one-way chi square tests adjusted for continuity (Hatch & Lazaraton, 1991, p. 395) were used as a test of the significance of differences in the types of Japanese and American commercials, the statistical procedure could only be used for the logic/emotion typology, where the items in each cell were independent.

Results

The results of the survey, given in Table 2, agree with previous findings regarding the culturally specific nature of television commercials ("The Enigma," 1993; Huddleston, 1990; Mosdell, 1986; Reed & Kimura, 1990). A significant difference (χ^2_{crit} , 1 *df*, 3.84; χ^2_{obs} . 40.06,

Table 2: Logic-Emotion breakdown
of 100 Japanese and 100 American commercials

Heading	Criteria	Japan	US
Logic	Commercials with some element of logic	42%	93%
	Commercials that were completely logic-oriented	10%	66%
Emotion	Commercials with some element of emotion	89%	34%
	Commercials that were completely emotion-oriented	54%	7%

Breakdown of types that showed cultural significance

Type	Criteria	Japan	US
Humor	Commercials with some element of humor	37%	16%
	Commercials that were completely humor-oriented	6%	1%
Celebrity	Commercials with celebrities	42%	3%
Direct Comparison	Commercials mentioning their product's competition	1%	10%
Demonstration	Commercials showing some kind of demonstration	25%	23%
Animation	Commercials with some animation	15%	6%

$p < .05$) was observed between the number of emotionally based commercials for the two cultures, with 89% of the Japanese commercials containing emotional elements, and a full 54% being completely emotional in content. Similarly, significantly more American commercials (χ^2_{crit} , 1 *df*, 3.84; χ^2_{obs} , 50.99, $p < .05$) were logically-oriented; 93% had some elements of logic, and 66% were entirely logical. To explain this difference, three cultural features will be discussed: group vs. individual society, intellectual roots, and the role of silence in communication.

Group versus individual society

Japan is often characterized as a group-oriented society while the United States is said to be based on the individual (Adler & Rodman, 1994, p. 51). It has been suggested that group societies are characterized by homogeneous populations with long, uninterrupted histories, this resulting in what anthropologist Edward Hall calls *high-context* communication (Hall & Hall, 1987, p. 8). Such communication tends to rely on non-verbal contextual elements to deliver a message. These include the way the words are spoken, the gestures and facial expressions that accompany the words (Tenhover, 1994, p. 86), the relationship of the speaker to the listener, and the situation in which the conversation occurs. These non-verbal features of communication are then interpreted by the listener/viewer. In fact, Hall (1983, p. 63) claims that when Japanese are confronted with the deductive methods used in a *low-context* communicative style, where the verbal element is paramount and contextual cues are of much less significance, they may feel as if someone is trying to get inside their heads to do the thinking for them. High-context communication, then, involves letting the communicators use contextual clues to process the meaning of the interaction for themselves (Adler & Rodman, 1994, p. 102).

One example of the high-context nature of Japanese communication can be seen in the thickness of *manga*, Japanese comic books. Because the context of the utterance is such an important part of Japanese communication, *manga* include a multitude of panels which set the mood of the story, taking more pages than what is common in English-language comics (McCloud, 1994, p. 80). Many of these panels are devoid of dialogue and may have no influence on the plot. Rather, they play to the reader's emotions. Comics in English tend to be much thinner because the focus is on the storyline; that is, they are goal-oriented (McCloud, 1994, p. 81).

Extending this idea into the genre of TV commercials, the significantly low number of logic-oriented commercials and high number of emotion-oriented commercials (Table 2) also suggest high-context communication. Japanese commercials tend to take an approach that avoids direct promo-

tion of the product (Huddleston, 1990, p. 181). Instead, they use visual images and oblique references. Overt explanations that logically describe the product, if used, may be secondary. Not surprisingly, this often results in commercials that are enigmatic to foreigners (*"The Enigma,"* 1993). However, such failure to comprehend can be expected by non-group members because of their lack of knowledge about Japanese culture.

Consider the following example. During the spring of 1996, a one-minute commercial for Nescafé, a brand of imported instant coffee, was seen on Japanese television. The audio portion of this commercial consisted of music interspersed with a voice-over that lasted for only 13 of the 60 seconds. The voice-over referred to the main figure, a relatively well-known Japanese artist, as a quality artist. Many of the visual sequences showed the main character walking through bamboo forests, or watching cherry blossoms fall. Only fleeting references were made to Nescafé. The viewer was meant to piece the images together to understand that Nescafé was associated with a person of high quality as well as with cultural icons such as bamboo and cherry blossoms which represent the essence of Japan. It has been suggested that Nescafé is one of the most successful foreign products promoted by Japanese advertising (Huddleston, 1990, p. 193), perhaps because of the advertisers' recognition of the Japanese preference for high-context communication.

Interestingly, three of the Japanese commercials surveyed had voice-overs which were almost entirely in English, again indicating the importance of image or mood over logical input. It has been suggested that the English language has become an important cultural symbol; it is not only a system of signs but is a sign in itself (Cheshire & Moser, 1994; Haarman, 1989), evoking the cultures where it is spoken as a native language as well as connotations associated with its use as an international language (Cheshire & Moser, 1994, p. 451). Undoubtedly, only a tiny segment of the viewership of these commercials would be able to understand the meaning of the English. The English content is not the point though; rather, it is the fact that English is being spoken. With the audio portion of these commercials incomprehensible, the average viewer is focused on the visual images. Again this is in tune with high-context communication.

Although Table 2 suggests that Japanese commercials are primarily emotion-oriented and American are logic-oriented, commercials using demonstration seem to stand out as exceptions because they are usually logic-oriented, yet both countries had similar percentages, 25% and 23%. However, demonstration commercials rely mainly on visual images and context, which is characteristic of high-context communication.

In contrast to the high context communication found in Japan, the United States is generally characterized by low-context communication (Adler & Rodman, 1994, p. 50; Hall, 1983, p. 8). Hall suggests that because Americans are members of a young country whose people have diverse backgrounds, they tend to prefer clarity and praise eloquence. With high mobility being a characteristic that dates back centuries to many Americans' European ancestry, the need to communicate with speakers of various languages has been a part of Euro-American culture and it is words alone that determine whether communication is successful (Tenhover, 1994, p. 85). Expressions like "What's the bottom line?" and "Get to the point" reveal the American desire for explicitly worded communication.

American commercials tend to reflect this low-context pattern of communication, with over 90% being logic-oriented and less than 10% being completely emotion-oriented. One American commercial viewed in this study clearly illustrates the value placed upon logical, audio input: The announcer in a car commercial could be heard gasping for air because he was talking so fast, trying to fill every second with information about the advertised car's attributes. A further example of the American desire for information over image is the "infomercial," a special type of long commercial which supplies the viewer with what appears to be a surfeit of information about a product.

Other elements suggested to characterize group culture are the expectation of conformity (Miyamoto, 1994; Mosdell, 1986, p. 19) and shared cultural knowledge and opinion. These elements are manifested in Japanese commercials through the abundant use of celebrities, who appeared in 42% compared with only 3% of the American commercials. For successful context-rich communication, it is considered important to keep the potential customer informed about the latest trends. Celebrities often act as opinion leaders who are on the cutting edge of what is in style. In this sense, celebrities are guides for the public to follow. The commercials for a number of products featuring the Los Angeles Dodgers pitcher from Japan, Hideo Nomo, in 1995 and 1996 are an example of the celebrity trend-setter genre.

On the other hand, American commercials suggest cultural values which are quite different. America describes itself as "the land of the free" and commercials such as one for Nike shoes urging viewers to "Just do it." A Ford commercial states, "We stand out." Such commercials reflect an American preference for individualism and the desire to do what one chooses without regard for what others may think. The low frequency (only 3%) of celebrities in American commercials is in keeping with Ogilvy's claim (1983, p. 109) that viewers tend to remember the

celebrity but forget the product being endorsed. Furthermore, other researchers (Wells et al., 1995, p. 691) have questioned whether American viewers really believe that the celebrity uses the product.

Perhaps in an individual-oriented society people do not wish to be followers, so seeing a celebrity endorse a product is not necessarily a guarantee that the product will sell. Naturally, there are exceptions to this general rule. In recent years, market research results have shown that sport and pop icons like Michael Jordan, Michael Jackson, and Madonna have been able to transcend the celebrity taboo.

Intellectual Roots

Although both Japanese and Euro-American cultures have many and varied intellectual influences, noted scholar and former ambassador to Japan Edwin O. Reischauer (1988, p. 204) suggested that the most profound influence in Japan has been Confucianism. In contrast, American intellectual traditions have been shaped by thought from ancient Greece. Of course, such a characterization is greatly oversimplified but some values of Confucianism such as harmony and modesty are apparent in Japanese commercials, whereas manifestations of Greek philosophy in American commercials are evident in their logically-based presentation of information and their rhetorically-dominated nature.

As mentioned, almost 90% of the Japanese commercials had some element of emotion. Emotional appeals have no rational influence on the purchase of a product; instead, they attempt to touch the viewer with feelings such as humor and nostalgia which incite positive feelings towards the product. Emotionally-oriented commercials avoid boasting about a product's merits or directly comparing the product with its competition. Advertisers evidently believe that in this way competitive harmony is maintained and that the viewer is not driven to feel uncomfortable about immodest claims. In the Confucian way of thinking, claiming that one's product is better than a competitor's is not only immodest, but it is meaningless as well because it is up to the consumer to decide which product is best (Mosdell, 1986, p. 10). Interestingly, only one direct comparison commercial was found in the Japanese sample; it featured a Pepsi product opposite a Coca-Cola product. This almost complete lack of openly competitive advertising in Japan, and the frowning upon it by some authorities (Huddleston, 1990, p. 161), suggests that the Confucian ideals of harmony and modesty are exemplified in many Japanese commercials.

Although it has been noted that emotion-oriented advertising is both common and effective in the United States (Ogilvy, 1983, p. 109; Wells et

al., 1995, p. 280), most of the American commercials in this study tended to be based on elements of logic and rhetoric. The need for information to support one's idea or decision is a cultural tradition derived from Greek philosophy. Plato advocated the dialectic, or debate, in which conflicting information is used in an effort to reach a conclusion. Advertisers recognize that many American viewers require such information in order to make a decision (Adler and Rodman, 1994, p. 102). This suggestion is somewhat supported by the data presented here. Ten percent of the American commercials used direct comparison, where the advertised product was presented beside its competitor and claimed to be superior, compared with only 1% of the Japanese commercials. One American commercial advertising a pain medicine actually lined up its product beside the three other market leaders, which could be identified by pill shape and logo. The pitch-person, while identifying one of the competitors, said that his product "just works better." Such immodest claims are commonly seen in American commercials. In the absence of a deep-down belief in Confucian harmony, Americans appear to respond positively to competition (Stewart and Bennett, 1991, p. 79).

Silence: In *The Silent Language* (1959), Edward Hall presented the idea that perceptions of time and space differ from culture to culture. It has been suggested (Nanda, 1994, p. 81) that Americans consider time and space as things to be filled. Time must be filled by some activity, and if space is not filled, it is thought of as empty or wasted (Nanda, 1994, p. 81). For Japanese, however, both space and time have intrinsic meaning. If there is silence during a conversation, the silence does not indicate emptiness; rather, it communicates a message.

In their use of sound, commercials can convey a sense of how a viewer understands aural messages. A common feature of Japanese commercials is their relative lack of a voice-over (Huddleston, 1990, p. 161). Instead, there is often simply music or sometimes silence. The value of silence in Japan can be related to Zen Buddhism, which can be loosely described as a way of learning which requires the student to master a skill by following formalized rituals (Hori, 1996, p. 26; Gotz, 1988). Herrigel (1953) writes that a Zen master shuns "long-winded instructions and explanations, (and the Zen teacher) contents himself with perfunctory commands and does not reckon on any questions from his pupil" (Herrigel, 1953, p. 45). Within the Zen tradition, words play only a minor role while silent communication is the essence of learning. In contrast to American culture, where stress is placed on using words to convey meaning (Stewart and Bennett, 1991, p. 157), Zen requires the

student to eliminate rational thought and operate on a different plane. It should be noted, however, that although silence is an integral part of Zen, there are other explanations for the value placed on silence in Japanese culture (Matsumoto, 1988). Silence played an important role in feudal Japan, where subordinates were mostly silent in the presence of their superiors in recognition of the strict social hierarchy. Likewise, Japanese often speak of *isshin denshin* (Matsumoto, 1988, p. 48) or "heart to heart communication," where words are unnecessary because both speaker and listener are members of a tightly-knit, high-context culture and can understand non-verbal messages.

Regardless of the exact nature of its source, silence in Japan may carry deep feelings (Hall, 1983, p. 99) or may simply give listeners a chance to gather their thoughts or reflect on what has just been said. In Japanese commercials, silence is used to build a positive atmosphere around a product and Japanese viewers intuitively understand such use. In contrast, Levine and Adelman (1993, p. 71) note the American tendency to fill every space in a conversation with words. For Americans, silence is associated with awkwardness, misunderstanding, tension, shyness, disagreement (Tenhover, 1994 p. 156) or "dead air" (Hall, 1983 p. 99), all generally negative qualities. In English, silence is contrasted with eloquence, a highly desired quality since the time of the ancient Greeks. In the fourth century B.C. Isocrates described speech as follows:

By speech we refute the wicked and praise the good. By speech we educate the ignorant and inform the wise. We regard the ability to speak properly as the best sign of intelligence, and truthful, legal and just speech is the reflection of a good and trustworthy soul If I may sum up on this subject, we shall find that nothing done with intelligence is done without speech. (Adler & Rodman, 1994, back cover)

The predominance of logic-oriented commercials with a strong rhetorical base serves as testimony to Isocrates' quote. The Japanese Nescafé commercial, whose minimal voice-over hardly mentioned the product, and the American Ford commercial, where the announcer was talking so fast his inhaling could be heard, are representative cases of the contrasting use of sound for communication in Japanese and American commercials.

Commercials as a Teaching Resource

While cultural icons such as food, sports, and even TV commercials are considered the exposed part of culture, underlying themes such as group versus individual values, intellectual roots, and silence as a form of com-

munication are suggested to be part of culture's hidden nature (Levine and Adelman, 1993, p. xviii). This covert culture is very important for foreign language learners. However, unlike the surface or overt culture, which includes the language functions familiar to all language teachers, covert culture is more difficult to teach. It is like the proverbial iceberg, with only a small portion available for easy analysis. Teachers can explain the deeper values that govern the behavior of those who speak the target language. However, such explanations often remain inadequate because many students may be only vaguely aware of the deeper cultural values that govern their *own* behavior. Therefore, any pedagogical resource that can reveal to learners in a vivid way their own covert culture as well as the culture of the target language should be utilized.

TV commercials from the target culture serve as one such resource because of their pervasiveness, their meaning-focused use of the target language, and their rich cultural content. The data from the present study suggest that many commercials reflect important communicative values. However, most students are unlikely to be aware of the covert culture presented by commercials from their own culture, nor are they likely to be able to understand how commercials from America reflect its covert culture. Therefore, contrasting Japanese and target culture commercials as a communicative classroom activity can be illuminating to students who have only seen the surface message that a commercial displays. When introducing commercials to students at lower proficiency levels of the target language, teachers can begin by explaining some of the major cultural themes discussed above. Then they can show commercials from the learners' culture and the target culture which reflect these themes as transparently as possible. As a second step, or at higher proficiency levels, teachers can show commercials from both cultures and ask students to find deeper cultural values on their own, in an effort to develop critical thinking skills. (See the Appendix for a more detailed lesson plan.) To see familiar images in a completely new light can often leave a powerful impression on students.

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**Appendix: Sample Lesson Plan
for Teaching Cultural Values using TV Commercials**

The following is a description of a 90-minute introductory EFL class in Japan using commercials to teach cultural values. Because many of the ideas presented are likely to be new to the students, much of the lesson is in the form of a lecture or demonstration.

Part One: As an introductory activity, the teacher asks students to write a definition of the word "culture." If this is too difficult, they can be asked to make a list of things which represent Japanese culture. After eliciting answers, the teacher draws an iceberg on the board and writes the students' answers in the appropriate sector of the iceberg, overt for the visible tip of the iceberg and covert for the submerged portion. To represent overt culture, students often refer to art, music, food, fashion, etc. The teacher should explain that covert culture, including communication style, beliefs, attitudes, values, and perceptions (Levine & Adelman, 1993, p. xviii), is the foundation upon which much of overt culture rests.

Part Two: As this is an introductory lesson, only one covert theme should be discussed. It is suggested that "group versus individual culture" is the most apparent when comparing Japanese and American commercials and, therefore, the most easily taught. Some simple examples of how group and individual cultures are manifested in daily life in Japan and the United States should be provided. For example, it could be pointed out that Japanese infants usually sleep in the same room as their parents for several years before getting their own room (Reischauer, 1988, p. 144), and so develop a stronger feeling of being a group member. American children, on the other hand, usually have their own room shortly after birth (Levine and Adelman, 1993, p. 172), a practice which instills independence from an early age.

The students then receive Worksheet 1, which presents the theme, outlines the thematic characteristics of the cultures, and lists the way in which these characteristics might be manifested in commercials. As the concepts are difficult, it is suggested that the worksheet be bilingual. The teacher reviews the contents of the worksheet with the students and discusses the concepts. The students will use this worksheet to help them understand commercials.

Part Three: The teacher shows two or three representative commercials, pointing out the cultural characteristics revealed. The students use the written information from Worksheet 2 to guide their analysis.

Part Four: The teacher shows several more commercials from each culture and the students work individually or in groups to analyze the commercials' representative characteristics, then complete Worksheet 2.

Worksheet 1

Theme	Characteristics	CM Manifestation
Group society (Japan)	high-context communication modesty harmony village culture strict code of conformity inspires need to escape desire to conform	fewer verbal explanations few hard sell cms few direct comparison cms no need to explain animation many celebrities (show viewers how to be part of the group)
Individual Society (the United States)	low- context communication focus on clarity harmony is less important competitiveness is good	explanation-oriented (using words) information oriented boastful CMs / direct comparison CMs direct comparison CMs focus on price

Note: CM, from "commercial message," means "commercial" in Japanese.

Worksheet 2

Commercial	CM's Characteristics	Cultural Significance
car (US) Part 3	focus on price full of explanations	competitiveness is good low-context communication
coffee (Japan) Part 3	mentions competitors mostly silent few references to product celebrity	harmony is less important high-context communication modesty / vagueness desire to conform
Part 4:	<i>(Completed by students)</i>	<i>(Completed by students)</i>

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Part 4:

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Part 4: