

CHAPTER 12



Contact Between Cultures

What You Can Learn From This Chapter

- How discursive imperialism contributed to colonialism
- Diffusion and convergence processes
- Communication strategy of adapting to the receiver in the diffusion process
- Marketing of U.S. cultural icons
- Fears underlying cultural hegemony

In this chapter, you'll examine what happens when people from diverse cultures interact with one another. First, you'll focus on diffusion, or the spread of practices from one culture to another. You'll identify the roles in the diffusion process and the characteristics of those most likely to use new practices first. You'll see through examples that key to successful diffusion is adapting the new practice to the receiving culture.

Then, in contrast, you'll look at the most successful of U.S. marketing abroad: the marketing of U.S. cultural icons such as Coca-Cola and McDonald's. In contrast to other products, icons are minimally changed for the receiving culture. Finally, you'll look at cultural hegemony, or the fear of the influence one culture can develop over another.

COLONIALISM

Cultures of humans have been coming into contact with one another for untold centuries. The nature of that contact probably varied widely. However, for the purpose of better understanding the relations among peoples and countries today, an examination of contact between cultures must begin with colonialism.

Hawaii

In chants, legends, and *mele* (“vocal music”), Hawaiians trace the origins of the culture to daring seafarers who discovered and colonized the islands. Sometime around 1000 A.D., isolated from further outside influence, a unique culture emerged. Hawaii’s society was hereditary and composed of the *ali’i* (“ruling class”), *kahuna* (“priests” or “experts”), *maka’ainana* (“commoners”), and *kauwâ* (“slaves”). The society operated under a strict *kapu* (“restriction,” “consequence,” “separation,” or “forbidden”) system that dictated daily activity between the classes and between the people and nature and the gods. A culture of about 1 million people had developed a harmony with its isolated, island environment (Young, 1980).

Captain James Cook arrived in 1778. Edward Said (1978, 1981) describes the contact and subsequent linguistic construction of non-Western cultures as “Orientalism,” a process of labeling the peoples of “underdeveloped” cultures as insignificant “others.” Captain Cook and his men, for example, wrote of the Hawaiians as “savage or animal-like or heathen.” While the Hawaiians were labeled as savages, the Europeans interpreted the Hawaiians’ actions as deifying Captain Cook. The ship’s journals state that “they [the Hawaiians] venerated [Cook] almost to adoration,” looked upon Cook as “a kind of superior being,” honored him “like a god,” and “as far as related to the person of Captain Cook, they seemed close to adoration” (Obeyesekere, 1992). The Europeans labeled the Hawaiians not by any uniqueness but on the basis of what the Hawaiians were not (i.e., not civilized by European standards). Shome (1996) calls this **discursive imperialism** (also see Tanno & Jandt, 1994).

The dehumanization of the Hawaiians into “others” contributed to near destruction of the Hawaiian culture. A similar dehumanization occurred in Australia.

Australia

In a similar way, all that is known of the European contact with Australia’s Aboriginals is from the written journals and history of the Europeans.

Eighteen years after Captain Cook first arrived off the eastern coast of Australia, Captain Arthur Phillip arrived with 11 ships and their cargo of prisoners who established the British settlement on the shores of Sydney Harbor in January 1788.

Captain Phillip's view of the colonists as "guests" of the indigenous inhabitants and edict prohibiting molesting or killing Aboriginals was not long lasting. The Europeans occupied coastal hunting grounds and disturbed sacred sites of local Aboriginals, not having learned of their existence, much less importance. There were no large-scale wars like those with American Indians and New Zealand Maori. The Aboriginals resisted with spears and stone weapons in encounters that would later be called "guerrilla warfare."

In the book *Ancient Society* published in 1877, the Australian Aboriginal was described as "the living representatives of that worldwide primeval culture from which all other cultures had evolved." The Aboriginal was labeled as not evolved, an oddity, or semi-human.

As the Europeans moved further into the continent with farming and cattle raising, the Aboriginal population was decimated. Arsenic was mixed with the flour or inserted into the carcasses of sheep given to the Aboriginals for food. Numerous instances of large-scale slaughter have been documented, including the entire Aboriginal population of Tasmania (Isaacs, 1980).

DIFFUSION MODEL

One result of contact between cultures is that through interaction one culture may learn and adopt certain practices of the other culture. Perhaps the most significant example of adopting new practices resulted from Columbus's sailings linking two separate worlds into one. The Old World brought horses, cows, sheep, chickens, honeybees, coffee, wheat, cabbage, lettuce, bananas, olives, tulips, and daisies. The New World provided turkeys, sugarcane, corn, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, pumpkins, pineapples, petunias, poinsettias, and the practice of daily baths—a practice abhorred by Europeans.

This is the process of **diffusion**. Everett Rogers (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971) has studied the communication process by which innovations are spread to members of a social system. Since the early 1960s, communication researchers have investigated the agricultural, health, educational, and family planning innovations in developing nations. The communication model presented in Chapter 2 has been particularly robust in analyzing and planning innovation diffusion.

Roles

Opinion Leadership and Change Agents

Important roles in the diffusion process are opinion leadership and change agents. **Opinion leadership** is accomplished by individuals who are able to influence informally other individuals' attitudes or overt behavior in a desired way with relative frequency. A **change agent** is a person who influences innovation decisions in a direction deemed desirable by a change agency.

Adopters

The rate of adoption is the relative speed with which an innovation is adopted by members of a social system. Important to understanding the diffusion process are adoption categories or classifications of the members of a social system on the basis of innovativeness. In order of their adoption of a change they are innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards.

Box 12.1

WHAT IS TRULY AMERICAN?

The service of diffusion in enriching the content of individual cultures has been of the utmost importance. There is probably no culture extant today which owes more than 10 per cent of its total elements to inventions made by members of its own society. Because we live in a period of rapid invention we are apt to think of our own culture as largely self-created, but the role which diffusion has played in its growth may be brought home to us if we consider the beginning of the average man's day. The locations listed in the following paragraphs refer only to the origin points of various culture elements, not to regions from which we now obtain materials or objects through trade.

Our solid American citizen awakens in a bed built on a pattern which originated in the Near East but which was modified in Northern Europe before it was transmitted to America. He throws back covers made from cotton, domesticated in India, or linen, domesticated in the Near East, or wool from sheep, also domesticated in the Near East, or silk, the use of which was discovered in China. All of these materials have been spun and woven by processes invented by the Indians of the Eastern

woodlands, and goes to the bathroom, whose fixtures are a mixture of European and American inventions, both of recent date. He takes off his pajamas, a garment invented in India, and washes with soap invented by the ancient Gauls. He then shaves, a masochistic rite which seems to have been derived from either Sumer or ancient Egypt.

Returning to the bedroom, he removes his clothes from a chair of southern European type and proceeds to dress. He puts on garments whose form originally derived from the skin clothing of the nomads of the Asiatic steppes, puts on shoes made from skins tanned by a process invented in ancient Egypt and cut to a pattern derived from the classical civilizations of the Mediterranean, and ties around his neck a strip of bright-colored cloth which is a vestigial survival of the shoulder shawls worn by the seventeenth-century Croatians. Before going out for breakfast he glances through the window, made of glass invented in Egypt, and if it is raining puts on overshoes made of rubber discovered by the Central American Indians and takes an umbrella, invented in southeastern Asia. Upon his head he puts a hat made of felt, a material invented in the Asiatic steppes.

On his way to breakfast he stops to buy a paper, paying for it with coins, an ancient Lydian invention. At the restaurant a whole new series of borrowed elements confronts him. His plate is made of a form of pottery invented in China. His knife is of steel, an alloy first made in southern India, his fork a medieval Italian invention, and his spoon a derivative of a Roman original. He begins breakfast with an orange from the eastern Mediterranean, a canteloupe from Persia, or perhaps a piece of African watermelon. With this he has coffee, an Abyssinian plant, with cream and sugar. Both the domestication of cows and the idea of milking them originated in the Near East, while sugar was first made in India. After his fruit and first coffee he goes on to waffles, cakes made by a Scandinavian technique from wheat domesticated in Asia Minor. Over these he pours maple syrup, invented by the Indians of the Eastern woodlands. As a side dish he may have the egg of a species of bird domesticated in Indo-China, or thin strips of the flesh of an animal domesticated in Eastern Asia which have been salted and smoked by a process developed in northern Europe.

When our friend has finished eating he settles back to smoke, an American Indian habit, consuming a plant domesticated in Brazil in either a pipe, derived from the Indians of Virginia, or a cigarette, derived from Mexico. If he is hardy enough he may even attempt a cigar, transmitted to us from the Antilles by way of Spain. While smoking he reads the news of the day, imprinted in characters invented by the ancient Semites upon a material invented in China by a process invented in Germany. As he absorbs the accounts of foreign troubles he will, if he is a good conservative citizen,

(Continued)

Box 12.1, Continued

thank a Hebrew deity in an Indo-European language that he is 100 per cent American.

The foregoing is merely a bit of antiquarian virtuosity made possible by the existence of unusually complete historic records for the Eurasiatic area. There are many other regions for which no such records exist, yet the cultures in these areas bear similar witness to the importance of diffusion in establishing their content. Fairly adequate techniques have been developed for tracing the spread of individual traits and even for establishing their origin points, and there can be no doubt that diffusion has occurred wherever two societies and cultures have been brought into contact.

SOURCE: Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, circa 1936, reprinted 1964, pp. 326-327. Reprinted by permission of Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

The diffusion process can also be observed within a culture as it adopts new technologies. Everett Rogers (1986), in his book *Communication Technology*, recounts the introduction and adoption of bank automated teller machines—ATMs.

For banks, ATM technology has many advantages: The machines seldom make mistakes, and they save on labor costs. Each ATM transaction costs banks 21 cents, whereas each transaction completed face-to-face with a human teller costs banks more than twice as much. With these advantages, it is not surprising that banks across the country installed some 70,000 ATMs in the late 1970s and early 1980s at a cost of some \$1 billion.

By 1985, only about one in three customers used them. The innovators, early adopters, and some of the early majority were users. As this 33% use seemed to be fairly stable, bankers began to speak of “smashing the wall”; that is, bankers began to try incentives to increase the percentage of customers using the ATM—or converting the late majority and laggards.

Who are the innovators? Studies of **adaptation potential**, or an individual’s possible success in adapting to a new culture, give us hints of likely innovators. Age and educational background are good predictors as innovators tend to be younger and better educated. Another characteristic of innovators is familiarity with the new technology or belief through previous contact, interpersonal contacts, and mass media. Personality factors, such as gregariousness, tolerance for ambiguity, risk taking, and open-mindedness, and other related factors are also good predictors of cultural adaptation and likely characteristics of innovators.

Change Agent Ethics

One final aspect of the diffusion process is **change agent ethics**. You might ask yourself the “pill question.” If you had a pill that could cure cancer, would you give it to a society? It would cure cancer, but the result would be the loss of jobs in health care. It might also cause people to live longer, thus putting a strain on the resources of that society. In response to that strain, that society may move to mandatory deaths of its citizens at age 70. Would you want that to happen?

What are the consequences of providing birth control information and technology to a developing country? What might be the consequences on family size? The role of women? Support for the elderly? It is this fear of the consequences of culture contact that is the reason why products are rejected.

Case Study: Quality Circles

In the following case study, you will see an example of the diffusion of management concepts from the United States to Japan and then from Japan back to the United States.

Post-World War II Japan had its industry destroyed. Japanese products of the time were popularly known as “junk”—they might last a day or two. “Made in Japan” meant the same thing as cheap and shoddy merchandise. General Douglas MacArthur asked Washington to send someone to help conduct a national census and assess Japan’s ability to rebuild. Dr. W. Edward Deming (1900-1993), a relatively unknown statistician for the U.S. government, was sent.

Beginning in 1948, he gave lectures for the Union of Japanese Scientists and Engineers (JUSE), eventually lecturing to representatives of virtually every major Japanese corporation. Deming’s message was that quality is the result of consistency, efficiency, and continual improvement. Deming believed that workers are intrinsically motivated to do well but that efforts are thwarted by incompetent, narrow-minded management. Deming stressed achieving uniform results during production rather than through inspection at the end of the production line. Deming’s message was empowering workers with quality control decisions, monitoring the results statistically, and systematic cooperation with suppliers and buyers. In 1951, the JUSE honored his services by establishing the Deming Award for Quality. His portrait in Toyota headquarters is larger than that of the company’s founder.

Later, Dr. Joseph Juran lectured in Japan on extending quality from just manufacturing to the entire process from product design to product delivery to

the customer. By 1956, there was a weekly radio series on quality, and in 1960, the government declared November “National Quality Month.”

From Deming’s and Juran’s work, Japan developed by 1962 the concept of the **quality circle**—a group of from 3 to 10 employees who meet on the job to discuss and solve quality problems (Ingle, 1982). This and other efforts had by the 1970s resulted in top-quality cameras, electronics, motorcycles, television sets, and radios.

Why did the quality circle as a concept succeed so well in Japan? The most important reason, as you’ve seen, is that the concept of working together in groups to benefit organization matched with the Japanese cultural value placed on group affiliation or homogeneity.

But the story is not over. In the 1960s, the United States was beginning to lose its lead in manufacturing. In the late 1960s, Dr. Juran published stories describing Japanese quality circles. Companies such as Lockheed and Honeywell started similar pilot programs. By 1973, Lockheed’s programs were receiving wide publicity and wide imitation. Although many Fortune 500 companies began using quality circles, the programs did not have the same impact they had in Japan. Quality circles did not fit in well with the dominant U.S. value of individualism.

In the first part of this example, General MacArthur provided the opinion leadership and Dr. Deming was the change agent. In the second part of the example, Dr. Juran provided the opinion leadership for the United States. In the second part, quality circles coming to the United States, the innovator was a corporation: Lockheed was the innovator in using Japanese quality circles in the United States.

CONVERGENCE MODEL

There has been much criticism of the diffusion model, including its heavy identification with mass media channels. The model has been modified to treat communication as a process of convergence among members of interpersonal networks (Rogers & Kincaid, 1981).

In the **convergence** model, communication is defined as a process in which information is shared by two or more individuals who converge over time toward a greater degree of mutual agreement. Whereas the diffusion model focuses on what one individual does to another, the convergence model focuses on the relationship between those who share information. Thus, the level of analysis shifts from the individual to the dyad or on the macrolevel to groups and cultures.

Democracy in Bolivia and Botswana

In many ways, democracy can be considered an innovation. Democracy can be presented as it exists in the West. But one of the strengths of democracy has been its adaptability to local situations: Two millennia ago, democracy empowered only educated, upper-class White males; by the 20th century, diverse societies had adapted democracy. As such, the spread of democracy is an example of the convergence model.

Bolivia had a sophisticated culture that flourished 6 centuries B.C.E. However, in a 162-year period in the 19th and 20th centuries, Bolivia had 189 regimes. Today, the population is 65% indigenous.

The developing democracy in Bolivia is a blend of traditional ways with Western practices. Centuries ago, Bolivia's Aymara Indians elected a chief authority to oversee agriculture, religious rites, and clan coordination in clan-based groups called *ayllus*. Today, the *ayllus* elect local governments to run everything from schools to development projects. Other Indian groups do the same thing through family- or community-based groups.

In Botswana, Africa's most stable country, tribal traditions have blended with Western democratic practices. The traditional village councils, or *kgotla*, permitted everyone to speak as issues were discussed and consensus evolved. The village chiefs then pronounced decisions as made by the *kgotla*. Botswana's parliament preserves this tradition.

Its House of Chiefs has an advisory role on all legislation and resembles Great Britain's House of Lords. The government ignores the chiefs' advice "at its peril."

In both Bolivia and Botswana, the innovation of democracy merged or converged with local tradition. Its acceptance and success are more likely.

ADAPTING THE MESSAGE

As you've seen, key to the diffusion and convergence processes across cultures is adaptation of the message to the receiving culture. The key is to adapt to the local culture, localize thinking, localize the product, and localize the marketing strategy.

De Mooij (1998) has reviewed research and been able to relate advertising styles to Hofstede's dimensions: Japanese advertising reflects Confucian and collectivistic values. Concepts of face and harmony relate to an indirect communication style. It is said that the goal of Japanese advertising is to win the trust and respect of the consumer. Advertising is serene, mood creating, and

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subtle with much symbolism. Dependency, nature, and respect for elders can be seen.

Taiwan advertising generally links the product to the consumer's traditional Chinese values, such as family relations and respect for authority. The advertising is indirect and promises an ideal that may be reached through the use of the product. Spanish advertising is less direct than the advertising style of northern European countries because Spain's culture is more collectivistic. People are depicted in family and other groups. Feminine aspects of the culture are seen in the softer approaches and relatively low use of celebrity endorsements. The use of art, color, and beauty are related to a strong uncertainty avoidance.

U.S. advertising reflects assertiveness, the direct approach, and competitiveness, which de Mooij relates to a configuration of masculinity and individualism. Overstatement and hyperbole are typical, as are direct comparisons.

Two examples of message adaptation are the marketing of baby food worldwide and missionary work in New Guinea.

Marketing Gerber Baby Foods Worldwide

Gerber Products first entered Australia in 1959, Japan in 1960, and the Philippines in 1972 under the assumption that the world would like and buy what was popularly used in the United States. The company discovered that each country not only likes different foods but also has different baby-feeding practices. Gerber then established advisory committees in those countries to determine what products would be acceptable. Out of that came "lamb stock stew" for Australia, "rice with young sardines" for Japan, and "strained mango" for the Philippines.

In Japan and South Korea, there are pressures on mothers to make meals for the family from scratch. Here Gerber positions itself by marketing its products as part of a "scientifically based" feeding plan. The food containers are labeled as "lessons" to demonstrate that Gerber provides something that the mothers cannot make for babies.

Religious Missionary Work in New Guinea

Before reading how missionaries took Christianity to the peoples of New Guinea, understand that missionaries look for what is called a **redemptive analogy**, or something in the culture that can be compared to the gospel and hence makes the unknown knowable to the culture (Richardson, 1974).

One missionary came upon the practice of peace making between two villages. A man from each village handed over to the other village one of each village's babies to live among the other people. The people in New Guinea called these children *tarop tim*, or "peace child." According to the tradition, everyone in the village must then touch the peace child as a symbol of accepting the peace. As long as the children were alive, no fighting was allowed to occur between the villages.

The missionary built his message around the concept of the peace child. He explained how God gave his "peace child" to the world. In the local culture, fighting could begin again if the children died, but God's peace child is eternal because he rose from the dead and is still alive.

CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

The cultural imperialist approach to communication recognizes that mass media is not value free—the media also carry important cultural values (Nordenstreng & Schiller, 1979; Schiller, 1976). Countries with media able to capture and dominate international markets in this theory serve the originating country's intentions. The single largest export industry for the United States is not aircraft. It is entertainment. Hollywood films grossed more than \$30 billion worldwide in 1997. Hollywood gets 50% of its revenues overseas (United Nations Development Programme, 1999). Schiller (1976) points to the unrestricted flow of media from the United States having the effect of surreptitiously affecting other people's goals and aspirations. It was just that concern that led Canada to require that radio stations devote at least 30% of their programming to Canadian music.

One country in particular is symbolic in its concerns over cultural invasion. By 1757, the British had control over parts of India, and by 1857 virtually controlled the entire country. The British presence with its East India Company was a combination of political and commercial interests. India is one country that has on occasion responded to cultural invasion with protests and opposition from activists and politicians.

Coca-Cola was forced to leave India in 1977 after pressures from socialists who labeled the soft drink a new form of colonialism pushing the American culture. Coke returned to India in 1993. Kentucky Fried Chicken faced opposition to serving poultry with hormones and chemicals. Other U.S. companies that have met resistance in India are Pepsi, DuPont, Cargill, and Enron.

China was one of Coca-Cola's first overseas markets when bottling plants were established in Shanghai and Tianjin in 1927. Forced to leave in 1949 by



Mecca-Cola, a new soft drink and part of anti-American sentiment around the world.

China's Communist Party as a symbol of U.S. imperialism, Coke returned in 1979. There have been new movements in China to limit the growing sales of U.S.-made Coke and Pepsi to protect local beverages.

Barbie dolls are considered anti-Islamic and importing them into Iran is prohibited. Barbie's makeup and "indecent" clothes are considered Western cultural influences. An Iranian government-sponsored project designed Sara and Dara dolls. Sara wears long, flowing clothes and wraps. Her companion, Dara, is her brother, who comes with the long coat and turban of an Islamic cleric. Some Arabs and other Muslims boycott U.S. products over the U.S. backing of Israel. Sales of the Iranian soft drink Zam Zam Cola, with its name taken from a holy spring in Saudi Arabia, increased in 2002. Another, Mecca-Cola, sold in Europe, is marketed as a protest to U.S. foreign policy.

In Taiwan, some are talking about a "new colonialism" and one newspaper carried the headline, "Be Careful! Your Kids Are Becoming Japanese." Japanese television reaches 75% of Taiwanese households on cable. Japanese comic books and trendy fashion magazines such as *Non-Non* and *Check* are popular among teens, as are Japanese merchandise and pop singers. Teens say that Japanese popular culture is easy to relate to because the cultures are similar. Older people remember Japan's 50-year rule of Taiwan and have called

for a boycott of Japanese products to preserve Chinese heritage.

The counterargument to cultural imperialism is that there are no surveys showing that people are becoming more alike. While media flow globally, people receive and use the messages differently. Global marketing may symbolize the lifestyles that people aspire to, but there is evidence that local cultures have taken on a renewed significance as political movements promote local cultures and local identities. Finally, there is evidence that cultures do not only flow in one direction. Salsa music originated in the Caribbean but is now known worldwide, as are Ethiopian and Thai cuisines.

I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any.

—Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi, quoted in
United Nations Development Programme,
Human Development Report, 1999

CULTURAL ICONS

In his book *Mediamerica*, Edward Jay Whetmore (1987) writes of icons and artifacts as aspects of popular culture. An **icon** is a special symbol that tends to be idolized in a culture (Disney's Mickey Mouse is a good example); an **artifact** is an object less widely recognized. Icons of U.S. culture are so popular for the very reason that they represent U.S. culture.

Other cultures, as well, have representative icons. For example, English gardens, golf, English tea, Winnie the Pooh, Burberry, Laura Ashley, and the Body Shop represent British culture to many. Kangaroos, koalas, and boomerangs represent Australia to many.

A global brand carries the same brand name or logo worldwide. Its values and positioning are identical in all countries, and it has brand loyalty in all countries in which it is marketed. Marlboro is an example. It is positioned worldwide as an urban premium brand appealing to the desire for freedom and open physical space symbolized by the "Marlboro man" and "Marlboro Country." Global brands may be modified to meet local consumer needs and competitive requirements. For example, both Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola increase the sweetness in the Middle East where consumers prefer a sweeter drink. Other examples of global brands are Braun, Budweiser, Canon, Cartier, Club Med, Disney, IBM, KFC, Kodak, Levi's, McDonald's, Mercedes, Mitsubishi, Philips, and Sony. The majority of global brands are of U.S. origin and to many represent the U.S. lifestyle and culture (de Mooij, 1998).

Marketing Cultural Icons

In marketing the culture itself, adapting to the receiving culture is not an issue. In fact, adapting would defeat the purpose.

U.S. cultural icons are most important in motion pictures, travel and recreation, and franchising. For example, the owner/manufacturer of a popular U.S. icon may franchise the use of that icon in other markets to local companies. The owner receives payments for its use.

Coca-Cola and Pepsi

Without doubt, the most widely recognized U.S. icon worldwide is Coca-Cola. The company has marketed internationally since 1900. Today, Coke sells 1 billion servings daily in nearly 200 countries. Although U.S. residents drink 524 million servings daily, 80% of the company's operating income comes from outside the United States.

Beginning in 1992, Coke began its first global marketing campaign—six commercials broadcast at the same time all over the world. So it's not all that surprising that Coca-Cola wanted Chinese characters that "sounded like" its name in English. That's what it was selling.

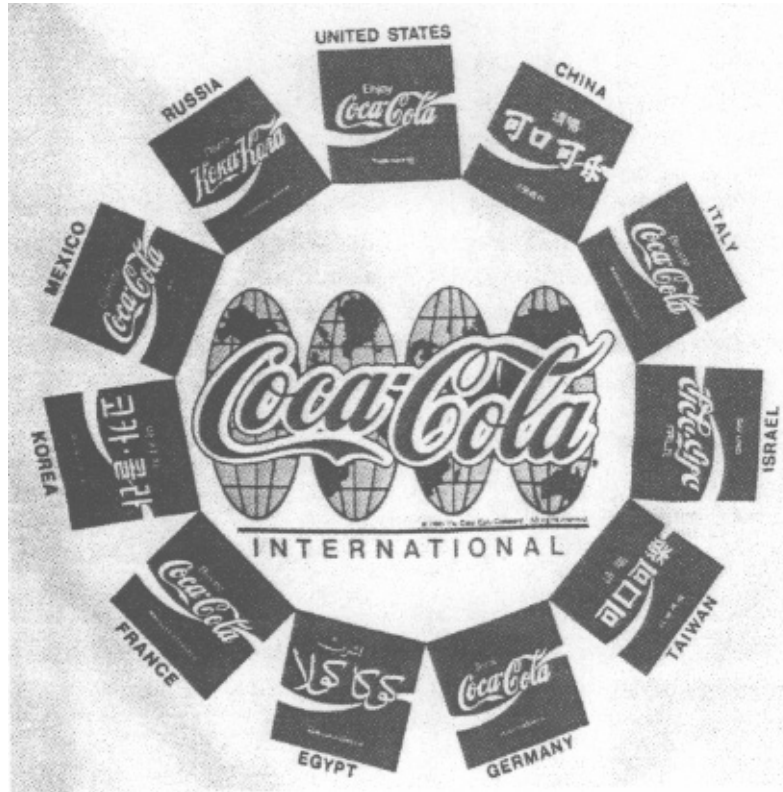
The first U.S. factory to open in Vietnam since the United States restored diplomatic relations in 1995 was Coke. Coke is seen as a status symbol. The Vietnamese pay 10% more for Coke than for a Vietnamese cola.

Pepsi is second to Coke worldwide except in Pakistan, parts of the Middle East, and in Quebec where Pepsi leads 2 to 1. Pepsi had been using U.S. ads translated into French in Quebec. Then its advertising agency started using a comedian with caricatures drawn from stereotypical *Quebécois* characters, such as a bizarre ice hockey player who could not pronounce *Pepsi* correctly. Sales soared.

McDonald's

The McDonald brothers operated a hamburger stand in San Bernardino, California, that offered a limited menu and used "assembly-line" procedures for cooking and serving food.

Ray Kroc first visited it in 1954 and in the following year, in partnership with the McDonald brothers, opened the first restaurant (Ritzer, 1993). By 1998, McDonald's had about 25,000 restaurants in more than 110 countries. In a 1986 survey, 96% of the schoolchildren surveyed were able to identify Ronald McDonald—second only to Santa Claus in name recognition.



Coca-Cola markets an international T-shirt showing the various spellings of its name. Note that the trademark ribbon, part of Coke's logo, is always present.

SOURCE: Coca-Cola is a registered trademark of the Coca-Cola Company. Permission for use granted by the Company.

In each country, it faces the challenge of adapting its menu to local tastes without weakening its appeal as a U.S. icon.

When McDonald's opened its first restaurant in Singapore in 1982, it quickly became the largest-selling McDonald's in the world. In early 1990, McDonald's opened its first restaurant in Moscow. One journalist described it as the "ultimate icon of Americana." Russians were unaccustomed to eating finger food, and Russian workers were unaccustomed to smiling and looking customers directly in the eye. McDonald's knew it was selling U.S. popular culture and kept much of the product the same. In 1992, McDonald's opened its largest restaurant at that time in Beijing with 700 seats, 29 cash registers,



McDonald's placemat in Malay.

SOURCE: Permission for use granted by McDonald's.

McDonald's in Great Britain, France, Germany, and Brazil serve beer and wine. The McDonald's in Brazil has "happy hours" with salsa bands. McDonald's found that adaptations to local tastes can go too far: The McPloughman's sandwich, a version of the British pub staple featuring bread, cheese, and pickle, was not popular nor was the forced "Thank you, please call again."

By 1992, McDonald's had 882 outlets in Japan. These offer soup and fried rice to cater to Japanese eating habits, but the golden arches are there. McDonald's competitor in Japan is Japanese-owned MOS (Mountain, Ocean, Sea). Ironically, the MOS burger is based on the one made at Tommy's, a famous Los Angeles hamburger franchise.

What "message" representing the United States does McDonald's communicate to the world? Ritzer (1993) identified the principles of the fast-food



McDonald's now stresses its ties to local economies. The KiwiBurger™ packaging features New Zealand icons.

SOURCE: Permission for use granted by McDonald's.

restaurant that are coming to dominate more and more sectors worldwide. He calls this the “McDonaldization of society.”

- *Efficiency.* The McDonald's fast-food model offers an efficient method of satisfying many needs.
- *Quantification.* Time is quantified in terms of how quickly one is served, and quantity (“bigger is better”) becomes more important than quality.
- *Predictability.* The food McDonald's serves in Baltimore is essentially identical to the food it serves in Houston. It offers no surprises.
- *Control.* Employees are trained to do a very limited number of things, and customers as well are controlled through limited options.

Kentucky Fried Chicken

Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) was a leader in the international market. Today, it has more than 10,000 restaurants in 78 countries, including some 1,000 outlets in Japan. Original Recipe™ is sold in every KFC restaurant



Japanese fast food courtesy of the KFC Colonel.

SOURCE: Tokyo Friends.

around the world. The KFCs in Japan adapt to the Japanese palate by making the cole slaw a little less sweet than the U.S. version of the popular side dish. The Colonel still smiles at every purchase.

In 1987, KFC opened the first Western fast-food restaurant in China in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. KFC meals became a political statement at the prodemocracy demonstrations there. Since then, some 500 restaurants have been built in 120 cities. The target is 5,000 restaurants within two decades. As a result, KFC is the most recognizable international icon of any kind in China.

Budweiser

Anheuser-Busch launched Budweiser beer in China in summer 1995. More than 800 breweries compete for the Chinese market. Other international

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competitors coming into China are San Miguel of the Philippines, Fosters Brewing Group of Australia, and Denmark's Carlsberg and Heineken. Anheuser-Busch's successful international strategy has been to form partnerships with leading local brewers around the world through joint ventures or licensing agreements. The local partners know the local market and the local distribution system.

Budweiser is known for having the same taste worldwide. In focus groups conducted in China, it became clear that the Chinese knew nothing about the name Budweiser. So Anheuser-Busch will market Budweiser with the U.S. value of personal independence, the freedom to do what you want to do, along with popular sports and the outdoors.

Other Icons

Other U.S. icons with worldwide recognition are Kodak, Disney, IBM, and Pepsi-Cola. In Sweden, "ukla" sweatshirts are a sought-after product. Who makes the "ukla" brand? UCLA, of course. Tex-Mex food offered by the U.S. restaurant chain Chi-Chi's has become popular. (Its menu explains how to make fajitas, and servers explain that bread is not served.) And 2001 marked the 20th anniversary of MTV now seen, with its Western images of cars, clothes, and relationships, from Senegal to Russia and that claims to be the largest television network in the world.

What's in a brand name? A look at Table 12.1 shows which ones are readily known worldwide and which are important to those living on the West Coast in the United States.

Remember, what is being sold is the U.S. cultural icon, so only minor adaptations are made. For example, in Thailand, Pizza Hut puts pineapple on its pizza. KFC offers "hot and spicy" chicken, Burger King promotes chicken sandwiches, and Hard Rock Cafe's waiters don't sit with customers when taking orders (the Thai don't sit with servants). Hard Rock has kept the word *cafe* even though it means "brothel" in Thailand.

Another U.S. product being marketed internationally today as a cultural icon is cigarettes. According to the World Health Organization, 25 years ago the industrialized West led the world in smoking; today, poor countries lead the list. Cigarette advertising in developing countries shows glamorous scenes of life in the United States. Smoking is advertised as sophisticated and cosmopolitan to match the way many of its audience see the United States.

Marlboro is among the most advertised foreign products in China. The "Marlboro man" can be seen on billboards in China even though the government has banned cigarette advertising. In Hong Kong, the Marlboro man is

Table 12.1 Ten Most Powerful Brand Names, 1990**Worldwide**

1. Coca-Cola
2. Sony
3. Mercedes-Benz
4. Kodak
5. Disney
6. Nestlé
7. Toyota
8. McDonald's
9. IBM (International Business Machines)
10. Pepsi-Cola

U.S. West Coast

1. Disney
2. Campbell's
3. Levis
4. Coca-Cola
5. Black & Decker
6. Kodak
7. Pepsi-Cola
8. NBC (National Broadcasting Corporation)
9. Crest
10. GE (General Electric)

SOURCE: Landor Image Power Survey in the *Los Angeles Times*, September 13, 1990, p. D2. Copyright © 1990, Los Angeles Times. Adapted with permission.

presented as a clean-cut man of property who lives in a big ranch house and rides a white horse—a symbol of good luck. U.S. cigarettes have associated themselves with a social and political message that says freedom, modernity, and luxury. The unofficial cigarette of protest at Tiananmen Square was Marlboro. In Russia, cigarettes are advertised with images of U.S. good life: L&M cigarettes were superimposed on a photo of the Golden Gate Bridge with the slogan “Date with America.”

Marketing has led to the development of a global pop culture. Coca-Cola is sold in more countries than the United Nations has members and it is claimed that “Coke” is the second most universally understood term in English after “okay.” Levi’s jeans are sold in more than 70 countries. German game shows and a Brazilian soap opera are popular on Cameroon television. International

Table 12.2 Top U.S. International Restaurant Chains, Ranked by 1998 International Sales

| <i>International Chain</i> | <i>Total Units</i> | <i>Percentage of Units Outside the United States</i> | <i>International Sales (\$1,000s)</i> |
|------------------------------|--------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| McDonald's | 12,328 | 49.7 | 17,856,000 |
| KFC (Kentucky Fried Chicken) | 5,291 | 50.8 | 4,207,000 |
| Pizza Hut | 3,814 | 31 | 2,250,000 |
| Burger King | 2,316 | 22.7 | 2,237,000 |
| Tim Horton's ^a | 1,567 | 94 | 835,000 |
| Wendy's | 657 | 12.3 | 700,000 |
| Domino's Pizza | 1,730 | 27.8 | 700,000 |
| Subway | 2,006 | 14.8 | 530,000 |
| Dairy Queen | 792 | 13.5 | 400,000 |
| Hard Rock Cafe | 59 | 62.8 | 390,000 |

SOURCE: *Restaurant Business*, November 1, 1999.

a. Coffee and baked goods. Founded in Canada and named after Toronto Maple Leaf hockey player. Merged with Wendy's in 1995.

students from Kenya are relieved to discover that KFC is available in the United States too (see Table 12.2 for top U.S. international restaurant chains). And Wal-Mart stores in Mexico display signs stating "Proudly Mexican."

CULTURAL HEGEMONY

Some nations, like the United States, are major exporters of their own cultures. Although some societies are excellent markets for U.S. icons, other societies may resist adopting these ideas because they fear the changes that may accompany the new ideas. Some societies may perceive the increasing popularity of those icons as a form of cultural **hegemony**, or the fear of the predominant influence that one culture can develop over another.

It is believed that what is being transmitted are the values of the culture. The receiving culture can unconsciously, or perhaps uncritically, absorb the values. Cultural dependency is the belief that a receiving culture becomes accustomed to cars from Japan or movies and TV from Great Britain or the United States and that it is natural that they come from there, thus discouraging local businesses.

The introduction or rejection of an innovation has consequences for a society. As was indicated earlier, all the parts of a culture are interrelated. One change can have repercussions in other areas. Not all of those consequences can be anticipated.

It is important to recognize that the adoption—or rejection—of any innovation has consequences for the society. Introducing axes to the indigenous Australian tribes by missionaries (the change agents) resulted in an improved standard of living for the tribes but also contributed to the breakdown of the family structure, the rise of prostitution, and “misuse” of the axes themselves. Axes made hunting possible, which required men to live apart from their families, and axes could be used to kill humans as well as animals.

Examples

Disneyland Paris

The first Disneyland outside the United States opened in 1983 in Tokyo totally owned by Japanese companies. Disney’s \$4.4 billion Euro Disney opened outside Paris in April 1992. Some European intellectuals labeled the park a “cultural Chernobyl.” Some were concerned how the park would affect French culture.

Disney made an attempt to “Europeanize” its attractions and products and downplayed the U.S. culture. Souvenir shops carried sweatshirts with small, discreet Disney logos. Rather than only fast-food restaurants, Euro Disney offered table-service restaurants. Disney’s objective was to attract people from all over Europe and thus hired multilingual workers from all over Europe.

The French have had little experience with theme parks. The French often dedicate Sunday—and only Sunday—to family outings. Most French do not snack and insist on eating at 12:30. This could create enormous and hostile bottlenecks at park restaurants. And French employees have an aversion to providing the smiles and friendly greetings so expected at any amusement park.

Food, merchandise, and hotel business was weak: Europeans brought bag lunches and left early—not spending money at the park’s gourmet restaurants and showcase hotels. Some European investors complained about a rigid, myopic U.S. management style.

At one point the park was losing \$1 million a day, forcing Disney to bring in a Saudi prince as a major investor and rename the park Disneyland Paris.

Disney had discounted its own value as a U.S. icon, which is just what the French wanted to experience. Frontierland was just as popular as Discoveryland. French visitors to the park didn’t want a leisurely, sit-down

lunch; they wanted fast food. European visitors to the park didn't want discreet sweatshirts; they wanted sweatshirts with huge letters and big pictures of Mickey Mouse. After these changes, the park made its first small profit in the fiscal year ending in 1995. It has now become the most popular tourist attraction in France.

Box 12.2

A VOICE AGAINST DISNEYFICATION

A vote against pink-castellated Disneyfication, Lesley Garner in London is disappointed with a world where plaster fish, puppets and mechanical elephants are preferred to the real thing.

There were the prettiest advertisements in British papers recently showing a fantastical castle with blue turrets set against a deep pink sky.

"Imagine . . ." it said. "Imagine what it would be like if Disneyland was right here in Europe . . . Just a dream?"

Not just a dream: just an irresistible offer to become a shareholder in Euro-Disneyland.

Anyone who has been to Disneyland knows that the place is less a dream machine than a device for extracting money.

Even the sanest people leave in Minnie Mouse T-shirts or wearing hats with Goofy ears.

The boredom of snaking in those endless queues can only be alleviated with candy and popcorn and ice cream. And the mistaken idea that the rides are free—the cost of entry for three of us more than two years ago [1987] was \$90 (\$60 even at today's [1989] rates)—leads to crazed behaviour.

Hysterically sobbing children are forced on to rides as night falls because parents are determined to wrest every drop of pleasure from their outlay.

For a future shareholder this suggests profits as glittering as Tinkerbell's trail.

For a moment I was tempted. Then reason took over.

Not only do I find the place sinister, I think the very concept of Disneyland is a threat to civilisation as we in Europe know it. Forget the pink turreted castles and the power of the word "imagine."

Disneyland is not about imagination and adventure at all. It is about control.

I learnt this when I went straight to the world of Disney from Boston. In Boston we had marvelled at the stunning column of glass in the New England Aquarium that enclosed a coral reef.

The reef swarms with hundreds of spectacular fish. As we stood pressed against the glass, sharks and rays seemed to whirl about our heads in hungry perpetual motion.

In Disneyland there is a ride called something like 20 Thousand Leagues Under the Sea. You go in a submarine beneath the aquamarine waters of a clear coral-reefed lagoon. Fresh from our experience in Boston, we looked down at the red and golden coral in the blue water and queued eagerly for another glimpse of tropical magic.

What we got was sinking disappointment. We found ourselves face to face with a plaster fish on a piece of wire.

Now the creators of Disneyland may declare this was not a rip-off because they never pretend anything in Disneyland is real. Indeed, as far as I can see, they go to enormous lengths to see that it is not.

Fake pirates yo-ho-ho at you in Pirates of the Caribbean (apparently Michael Jackson's favourite ride). Fake elephants squirt water over themselves in the lakes.

Nevertheless, presented with a plaster fish hovering on a length of wire, I defy anyone not to feel that they have been had. Avoidance of reality in Disneyland is as whole-hearted as the pursuit of the Holy Grail.

It is a bastion of the family outing, and, on the days I was there, much appreciated by nuns. There is much to admire. There is no litter, no alcohol, no unpleasantness.

Americans who go to Disneyland escape from the squalor of motorised urban living.

Their towns are approached by miles of motels, petrol stations and fast-food joints.

In Disneyland they find Main Street, just as grandpa knew it, except that cute shops sell Mickey Mouse T-shirts and the Disneyland parade, with its maddening tune, regularly stomps along it, followed by cheery sweepers to clean up.

No dirt is allowed on a Disneyland street. Peter Pan may have said that to die would be an awfully big adventure but for terminally ill American children the adventure is a known quantity. In the last stages of their illness they get taken to Disneyland. It is the nearest place to Paradise that America knows.

Only a sour person could object to this, you might say, but in Europe we still have some of the real magic that Disneyland can only caricature.

There is something totalitarian about the unrelenting imposition of this vision. The plaster fish, the puppets, the mechanical elephants are preferred to the real thing because they can be controlled. So can the people. The crowd control in Disneyland is awesome. Visitors are so snaked about that they never comprehend the real despairing length of their queue.

The writer Bill Bryson, in his very funny new book *The Lost Continent*, encountered the same queuing phenomenon in colonial Williamsburg. "I don't think I had ever

(Continued)

Box 12.2, Continued

seen quite so many people failing to enjoy themselves,” he wrote. “The glacial lines put me in mind of Disney World, which was not inappropriate since Williamsburg is really a sort of Disney World of American history.”

What Bryson also observed was the lobotomising effect of this unreal experience, the process I call Disneyfication. Disneyfication leads in America—and why not in Europe—to small, preserved ghettos of cloying cuteness while the rest of the world goes mad. What does it matter what becomes of our world as long as there is Disneyland?

Bryson hit it on the nail when he said: “You would think the millions of people who come to Williamsburg every year would say to each other, ‘Gosh, Bobbi, this place is beautiful. Let’s go home to Smallville and plant lots of trees and preserve fine old buildings.’ But in fact that never occurs to them. They just go back and build more parking lots and Pizza Huts.” So I am not sending for a Euro-Disneyland “mini prospectus.”

I am voting against the ghettoisation of magic and for keeping imagination in the real world, where it belongs.

SOURCE: “A Voice Against Disneyfication,” *Daily Telegraph*. Copyright © The Daily Telegraph plc, 1989. Reprinted with permission.

German Reunification

One outcome of World War II was a divided Germany. For nearly 50 years the two Germans lived apart. Nowhere was the division more obvious than in Berlin where the 100-mile-long concrete and barbed wire wall erected in 1961 divided the city. Although almost no physical trace of the wall remains, there is still a wall of cultural differences.

West Germany worked an economic miracle and became the world’s third strongest economy. The contrast could even be seen in automobiles: The West Germans had the Mercedes Benz; the East Germans had the Trabant, with its two-stroke, 26-horsepower motor and resin and cotton matting body. West Germans believed that East Germans lived under a neo-Stalinism that stifled personal initiative, scorned self-promotion, and suppressed individual thinking.

Then in late 1989, the wall fell with shouts of “*Wir sind ein Volk!*” (“We are one people!”). East and West Germans danced together atop the Berlin

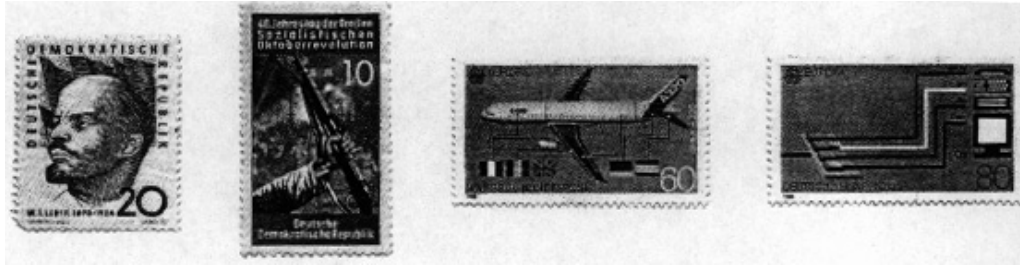


East and West Germans came together on the Berlin Wall at Brandenburg Gate, November 9, 1989.

SOURCE: German Information Center.

Wall. Hugs, waves, and honking horns were shown on television across the world. October 3 is now celebrated as German Unity Day. After unification, Germans learned that, indeed, two separate cultures had developed. Chancellor Kohl admitted, "We have drifted much further apart than we thought," or as a floor leader for the Social Democrats said, "One nation, two different worlds." One-third of those polled in both parts of Germany almost 10 years after reunification said that "in essence we will always be two separate countries" (Dornberg, 1999). Unification caused a collision between the individualistic, confident, open, upfront West Germans and the introverted, passive, loyal, and withdrawn East Germans.

West Germans complained about higher taxes. However, East Germans' lives have undergone complete change. Guaranteed jobs and low, fixed rents were gone. Schools and curricula were reorganized. The banking, health, and



Stamps from East Germany (left) honor the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth and the storming of the Winter Palace. Stamps from West Germany (right) honor transport and communication.

legal systems all had to be transformed. Roads, the telephone system, and buildings had to be repaired and modernized. Everything changed (Schneider, 1991).

After unification, East German women argued that reunification had taken away rights. The women found it harder to get a job, child care, a divorce, an abortion, or birth control. East German divorce required one court appearance. Under West German law, a couple had to be separated a year for an uncontested divorce; a contested divorce required a 3-year waiting period. East Germany had free child care, birth control, and abortions in early pregnancy. Under West German law, abortions were forbidden except in unusual circumstances such as rape. In 1995, the laws were reconciled by compromise: Abortion is officially illegal, but women who receive counseling will be allowed to have an abortion up to the 13th week of pregnancy.

Because of the housing shortage in East Germany, extended families tended to live together in one flat (apartment). West Germans lived as separate nuclear family households. Because of this and the proliferation of nursing homes for elderly people in West Germany, many East Germans felt that the West Germans had lost any sense of family obligations.

During the period of separation, the German language in the East and West began to diverge. Each had developed different words for some things such as "grocery bag." West Germans had adopted many English words such as "leasing," "cash," and "surfboard." In the East, the government had modified the language along socialist lines, so East Germans used words meaning "year-end winged figure" for "Christmas angel," "waving element" (*Winkelement*) for "flag" (*Fahne*) because the people were expected to wave them at parades, *Kader* in place of the West German *Personalchef* ("personnel chief"), and *der antifaschistische Schutzwall* ("antifascist protective wall") for the Berlin Wall.

New words developed after unification: For example, *Ossie* and *Wessie* differentiate eastern from western Germans. New newspapers and magazines developed in the East and supported a separate *Ossie* identity. East Germans carried “how to” articles on obtaining work, on self-salesmanship, and on fighting depression. The book *Wendewut* about a middle-aged East German woman’s problems in adjusting to her changed life became a bestseller in the East sector but was largely unnoticed in the West.

Stereotypes arose: The term **Ossie** means naive, confused, inexperienced; **Wessie** means slick, arrogant, know-it-all. Politicians use the pronouns “we” and “they” and refer to the East sector as “over there.” West Germans refer to the former East Germans as “silly *Ossis*,” and East Germans refer to former West Germans as “Besserswessie” or “know-it-alls.”

There is now a contrast in nonverbals: Westerners characterize Easterners as provincial and incomprehensible and as people who avoid direct eye contact. Easterners characterize Western acquaintances as aggressive people whose direct eye contact is irritating. Values are different: Easterners are more likely to place a higher value on group solidarity rather than individual achievement, to reject the importance of money in relationships, and to value friendship over competition and passivity over assertiveness.

Differences in decision making can be seen in Parliament. Western members attack ideas; new Eastern members ask if it is permitted to ask a question.

The irony of unification is that it has produced an Eastern identity that decades of Communist propaganda failed to achieve: *Die Mauer ist weg, aber es gibt eine neue Mauer in den Köpfen.* (The wall is gone, but there is a new wall in people’s heads.) Products made in the East sector are experiencing a revival as a way to assert a separate identity. F6, a cigarette brand left over from Communist days, is the leading cigarette in the East. T-shirts there have the phrase “I Want My Wall Back.” The invisible wall that now exists will take generations to fall because the redevelopment of a homogeneous society takes time. One of the forces contributing to that redevelopment began as the Berlin Wall was coming down: Coca-Cola immediately began trucking its drinks into what had been East Germany and as soon as possible bought all four soft-drink bottling plants there.

Another divided country watches German reunification. Korea has been divided for more than 50 years. Koreans on both sides of the demilitarized zone (DMZ) share ethnicity and language but now share little else. Perhaps one-seventh of the population have relatives on the opposite side with whom they have had no letters or telephone calls. The economic disparity is far greater than what existed between East and West Germany. West Germans were about 4 times richer than East Germans; the income disparity between

South and North Koreans is about 16 to 1. The annual sales of just one Korean conglomerate, Daewoo, exceed the entire gross domestic product of North Korea. The collapse of the Soviet Union and droughts, floods, and tidal waves since 1995 have severely weakened North Korea's economy and created widespread malnutrition. In 2000, reconciliation talks began and resulted in some limited family reunions. Later tensions resulted from growing demands for reunification.

FROM THE INTERCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

When cultures have contact with each other they often learn new ideas and practices from each other. There are two models of how ideas travel from one culture to another: the diffusion model and the convergence model.

Diffusion happens when a culture learns or adopts a new idea or practice. There are two important roles that help a new idea or practice to diffuse into a culture. The first role is opinion leadership. Opinion leadership is held by individuals who can influence other people. These people help change people's behavior and attitudes about the innovation (new idea). The other role is change agent. Change agents have influence over innovation decisions; that is, they help decide whether or not to use a new idea. When a new idea or practice is adopted, some people begin to use it very quickly, whereas others are slow to change. People who use the new idea can be divided into groups depending on how quickly they decided to use the idea. They are innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards. Innovators are often young, well-educated, risk takers, open-minded, and already familiar with the change.

The diffusion process can be seen in the development of quality circles in Japan. The idea of quality circles (a technique for quality control in manufacturing) was developed by a man from the United States. Japanese manufacturing companies borrowed the ideas and successfully adapted the process to Japanese culture. U.S. businesses saw how successful Japan was in using quality circles and decided to use quality circles, too. However, because U.S. businesses did not try to change the practice to fit the U.S. culture, quality circles did not succeed very well (even though quality circles were originally a U.S. idea). It is important, therefore, for the change message (innovation) to be adapted to the new culture.

The convergence model describes a process of sharing information. Over time, individuals from the different cultures come to a greater level of agreement with each other. An example of this is how the idea of democracy was adapted to traditional customs in Bolivia and Botswana.

Although an important part of diffusion is adapting an idea to a new culture, there are times when this is not desirable. For example, in marketing cultural icons (symbols of a culture like “Mickey Mouse” or “Coke”) to other cultures it is not desirable to change the idea. What is actually being sold is a “piece” of culture.

When contact occurs between cultures, change can occur in any part of the cultures. This is why many countries do not want too much contact with other cultures. They fear cultural hegemony or the influence that other cultures may have on their own culture. To avoid hegemony, many cultures do things like limiting the kinds and amounts of products from other countries. For example, India did not allow Coke to be sold in its country from 1977 to 1993.

KEY TERMS

adaptation potential
artifact
change agent
change agent ethics
convergence

diffusion
discursive imperialism
hegemony
icon
opinion leadership

Ossie
quality circle
redemptive analogy
Wessie

