

University of Montana

ScholarWorks at University of Montana

Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, &
Professional Papers

Graduate School

1998

Japanese nonconfrontational conflict strategies and their accompanying nonverbal behaviors

Richard P. Meres

The University of Montana

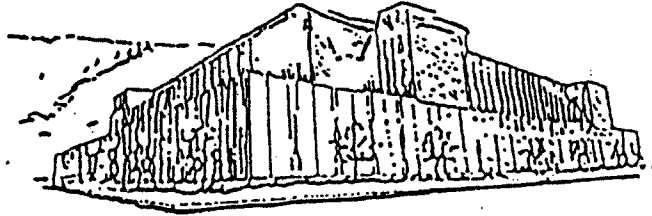
Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd>

Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation

Meres, Richard P., "Japanese nonconfrontational conflict strategies and their accompanying nonverbal behaviors" (1998). *Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers*. 5388.
<https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/5388>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact scholarworks@mso.umt.edu.



Maureen and Mike
MANSFIELD LIBRARY

The University of MONTANA

Permission is granted by the author to reproduce this material in its entirety,
provided that this material is used for scholarly purposes and is properly cited in
published works and reports.

*** Please check "Yes" or "No" and provide signature ***

Yes, I grant permission

No, I do not grant permission

Author's Signature

Maureen P. [unclear]

Date

2/26/98

Any copying for commercial purposes or financial gain may be undertaken only with
the author's explicit consent.

**JAPANESE NONCONFRONTATIONAL CONFLICT STRATEGIES
AND THEIR ACCOMPANYING NONVERBAL BEHAVIORS**

BY

RICHARD P. MERES

B.A., MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY, 1989

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirement

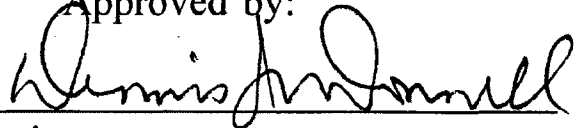
for the degree of

Master of Interdisciplinary Studies

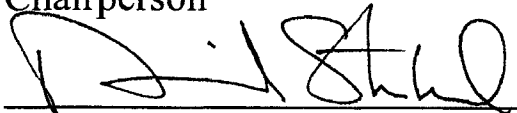
The University of Montana

1998

Approved by:



Chairperson



Dean, Graduate School

2-28-98

Date

UMI Number: EP40852

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI EP40852

Published by ProQuest LLC (2014). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

Japanese Interpersonal Nonconfrontational Conflict Strategies and Their
Accompanying Nonverbal Behaviors

Director: Dr. Dennis O'Donnell



This paper describes the avoidant strategies employed by the typical Japanese person when confronted with a situation presenting a conflict, as well as identifies the nonverbal behaviors that accompany the nonconfrontational strategies. First, literature is reviewed which describes Japan as a high power distance and highly collective culture. Japan is described as a culture which maintains status differences through the use of language and gestures. Japan is also described as a collective society that places an important cultural emphasis on the maintenance of group harmony.

Next, this paper examines the Japanese models of displaying and dealing with social conflict and public protest. A connection is made between the constraints of membership in a high power distance and highly collective culture and the unique Japanese method of nonaggressive behavior. Japanese interpersonal conflict avoidant behaviors are described with a strong emphasis on how individual actions effect group cohesion. Additionally, a comprehensive review of studies on Japanese nonverbal behaviors completes the image of Japan as an emotionally controlled society in which its members have a tendency to withhold negative expressions in order to continue functioning properly in a vertical and group-centered culture.

Finally, an original study of Japanese nonconfrontational, nonverbal behaviors advances a descriptive framework of Japanese emotionally controlled behaviors. Operationalized by coding the non-verbal behaviors of gaze aversion, smiling, and reaffirming head nodding during a scenario presenting a conflict, this study indicates that the Japanese have a tendency to mask their negative emotional responses and replace them with positive displays.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Chapter	
1. Japan as a High Power Distance Culture	6
2. Japan as a Collective Culture	14
3. Macrolevel Conflict in Japan (Social Protest)	22
4. Microlevel Conflict in Japan (Interpersonal Conflict)	33
5. Japanese Nonverbal Communication	45
A Study of Japanese Nonconfrontational, Nonverbal Behaviors	
Purpose	58
Subjects	62
Scenario	64
Assistants	65
Procedure	66
Results	71
Discussion	79
Appendix 1a	99
Appendix 1b	100
Appendix 2a	101
Appendix 2b	102
References	103
Bibliography	110

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Scenario Time Totals	72
Table 2	Percentage of Gaze Aversion	74
Table 3	Smile and Head Nod Totals	76

INTRODUCTION

An outsider looking into Japan might, on one hand, see a culture rich in history, steeped in ancient architecture, and full of traditions and rituals. On the other hand, that same person may just as quickly notice a culture ripe with Western, particularly American influences. Evidence of these influences can be found in the way the Japanese dress, the way they eat, what they watch on TV or at the movies, and even in some of the words they use. Both observations would be accurate, and the result is obviously a culture which is able to balance the old and the new, and as a result, is a country of seemingly endless choice and variety. Ironically, a country which thrives as a culturally pluralistic society is one which discourages intellectual pluralism.

There is a popular saying in Japan that goes, "*deru kui wa utareru.*"¹ This expression is commonly translated as, "the nail that sticks up will be pounded down." It is a very revealing expression regarding Japan's cultural attitudes toward status, harmony, and conformity. The same person who notices the cultural plurality of Japan's society may also be quick to notice the homogeneity of its members. Preserving group harmony and maintaining status differences are important considerations in the successful coexistence of the interdependent lives of many of the Japanese. In such a society one's relationship, commitment, and indebtedness to the group take priority over

concentrated attempts to foster individuality.

Recognizing Japan as a structured society in which its members go to great lengths to maintain harmony, one might be quick to conclude Japan is, therefore, a culture without as many instances of conflict, compared with, say America, where one's pursuit of individual goals is likely to interfere with the individualistic goals of others around him. Japan, in fact, like any other culture experiences its share of conflict. Underneath the surface of apparent harmony one would be challenged not to find some antagonism resulting from the pressures of conformity. Takie Sugiyama Lebra, a scholar of Japanese communications observes the following:

If the Japanese place more value, as I believe they do, upon social interdependence, cooperation, solidarity, or harmony than, say Americans, they are more likely to interfere with one another's actions. The norm of harmony may be precisely what makes people more aware of conflicts with others, conflicts between their self-interest and obligations, and so forth. Concerned with his own interest, the individual will find the imperative of sociability and harmony oppressive. In other words, the cultural value of harmony may intensify, instead of mitigate conflict. ²

Before getting into details regarding the distinct qualities of conflict in Japan, it is necessary at this point to define interpersonal conflict. Joyce Hocker and William Wilmot have combined the various interpretations of conflict and developed the following definition: "Conflict is an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce resources, and interference from others in achieving their goals." ³

In a conformist society like Japan, the expression of conflict is likely to differ greatly from the expression of conflict in the West. In such an individualistic culture like America, conflict may very well be expressed through competitive tactics where its members often carry a win-lose mentality. A confrontational expression of the struggle would not be uncommon. In Japan, however, there is a far more subtle expression of conflict and the strategies used are generally nonconfrontational.

As Hocker and Wilmot suggest, the conflict is between members who are interdependent. In Japan, a country which relies heavily on the successful functioning of the group, its members are unlikely to escape from the great weight of interdependent relationships. Each member's actions significantly effect those around him. When one member decides to act with the intention of benefitting himself, it is incompatible with the group's goals. Furthermore, members of Japanese society are existing in a web of status-based relationships. Functioning within this vertical structure means coping with arguably the scarcest of resources, power. The expectation in Japan is to have the division of power clearly established, which is a necessary part of the successful functioning of the group. In a country where age rather than ability, and years in service rather than aptitude commonly result in the advancement to power positions, low-status members are likely to perceive interference in achieving their goals.

There is no question that conflict exists in interpersonal relationships in

Japan; how conflict outwardly manifests itself is what needs to be examined. The specific characteristics of Japanese conflict suggest a repertoire of nonconfrontational behaviors ranging from outright avoidance to silent submission. If the expression of conflict is so subtle, then one might question how one is able to recognize its presence. If the Japanese nonconfrontational conflict strategies suggest a lack of verbalization in its expression, perhaps understanding the nature of Japanese nonverbal communication would aid in one's recognition and successful management of the conflict.

Nonverbal communication is a term with a great variety of interpretations. For the purpose of this thesis, the definition offered by Judee Burgoon and Thomas Saine seems appropriate. Their definition is as follows:

We consider nonverbal communication to be those attributes or actions of humans, other than the use of words themselves, which have socially shared meaning, are intentionally sent or interpreted as intentional, are consciously sent or consciously received, and have the potential for feedback from the receiver. ⁴

By understanding the specific aspects of Japanese nonverbal behavior, particularly the behaviors accompanying avoidant and harmony preserving strategies, one can reduce the risk of misinterpretations and better manage the situation. Helmut Morsbach, an intercultural communication specialist, explains the benefits of understanding Japanese nonverbal communication. He remarks:

I believe that many misunderstandings in cross-cultural communication between Westerners and Japanese are not only due to linguistic problems, but also to mis- or noncomprehensions of

nonverbal cues. It seems highly desirable that students of the Japanese language and culture should acquaint themselves with important aspects of nonverbal communication accompanying, supplementing, and/or replacing Japanese verbal communication. ⁵

This paper is intended to define Japan clearly as a hierarchical and group-centered culture. In doing so, it will provide a basis for understanding Japan's nonconfrontational attitudes and actions toward interpersonal conflict. After explaining in detail the specific Japanese conflict avoidant strategies, Japanese nonverbal patterns of behavior will be illustrated in order to help one better recognize and manage a Japanese conflict situation. Finally, an original study of Japanese subjects' nonconfrontational, nonverbal behaviors will be presented. The purpose of this study is to advance a descriptive framework of specific nonverbal behaviors that accompany Japanese nonconfrontational behaviors.

CHAPTER 1

JAPAN AS A HIGH POWER DISTANCE CULTURE

Status and the maintenance of power differences is an important factor in the understanding of Japan's negative attitude toward conflict. Hofstede has extracted the dimension of power distance along which cultures can be ordered.⁶ Power distance can be defined as the degree to which the less powerful members of a society expect and accept the unequal distribution of power. Evidence of a high power distance culture can be found throughout Japan. Generally speaking, the Japanese are very conscious of who holds the greatest amount of power or status in a communicative exchange, and what they say and how they say it reflects those differences. In effect, the very nature of a high power distance society places restraints on the members of that culture and severely limits their freedom of expression.

The Japanese are certainly no strangers to hierarchical ranking. Every day when they interact within their groups they are surrounded by the status differences which they have come to accept as inevitable. A Japanese historian would point out that this system of rigid hierarchy was very well in place during the Tokugawa period. (1603 to 1867). Mitsuyuki Masatsugu describes the situation in *The Modern Samurai Society* as follows:

The Tokugawa period was the age of politics. Under Tokugawa

rule, political unity and control were effected for the first time in Japanese history, and a rigid social order was devised to regulate the people. During 260 years of undisturbed peace, unparalleled in world history, the Tokugawa Samurai developed a bureaucracy and gained increased administrative capability.⁷

At the time, one's quality of life was determined by his heredity and class division. Of course, the Japan of today is a much more egalitarian society and it is not uncommon for status to be determined by one's educational background and academic achievements, which allow them to enter the most prestigious universities and secure the best positions. Nevertheless, evidence of a rank-conscious society can be found all over the country. Pervasive throughout Japan are countless groups in businesses, government, factories, schools and homes that are all organized by multiple layers of status.

In the workplace, for example, power is centralized and the division of status positions is clear. The interpersonal relationships that develop are naturally shaped according to the different levels of hierarchy within the group. It is often one's age and one's number of years in service to the company that determine one's status, often times without regard to specific qualifications. It is always clear within a group which member is the *senpai* (senior) and which member is the *koohai* (junior). This system can be better understood by visualizing a staircase. A new member of a group steps onto the staircase and instantly there is a line of people ahead of him ascending toward the top. He must refer to these members as his *senpai*. Eventually there will be other

people joining in behind him that he will refer to as *koohai*. No matter where this person exists on the staircase there will always be people either in front of him or behind him, and consequentially, his words and actions are determined according to that position. Chie Nakana describes this system further in her article entitled *Tate Shakai no Ningen Kankei* (Interpersonal Relationships in a Vertical Society).

The ranking of senior and junior is clearly established, and advancement generally follows this ranking. When one member of the same year-group is promoted over his fellows, all the others are inclined to say: "If it can happen to him, it should happen to us, too." There is great agitation when a junior is promoted over a senior. Personnel management based on merit thus operates under strong limitations.⁸

This status-preserving system of *senpai* (seniors) and *koohai* (juniors) is found not only throughout the Japanese workplace, but in the Japanese educational system as well. A junior student must always be aware of how he behaves and what he says when in the presence of a senior student. Also within the school system is another variable at work, that of the *han* system. Beginning in elementary school, students are broken into small groups of five to ten members which are called *han*. Each *han* has a leader who is called the *hanchoo*. These groups are taught to compete with each other and are rewarded for high marks and conforming to school norms.

Whether it is the rank-ordering of the school's *han* units or the vertical structure of Japan's workplace, the importance of hierarchy, age, and status are

always apparent, and the typical Japanese person is constantly at work preserving these relationships, both verbally and nonverbally. One of the most important nonverbal forms of communication in the hierarchy-conscious Japan is the bow. Many books have been written about the bowing ritual which demands very precise attention regarding the frequency, duration and degree of one's bow in relation to the status of the other party. Much consideration is given to the words and titles used when engaging in communication between members of different status. Even the seating arrangements at an office dinner party are carefully considered beginning with the head of the table right down to the very last seat near the entranceway. Edwin Reischauer further comments:

In a Japanese-type room the seat of honor is at the opposite end from the entrance and in front of the *tokonoma*, or alcove for art objects. As a result, entrance ways not infrequently get seriously jammed with people who, in either doubt or humility, insist on sitting in the place of least honor. ⁹

Anyone who has made a serious attempt to understand the Japanese language can attest that one very important way of recognizing and maintaining status differences is verbally, through the use of two very distinct forms the language, *keigo* (respectful language or honorifics) and *kenjoogo* (humble language). The degree of *keigo* used by the speaker towards the listener indicates his awareness of the vertical polarity in the interpersonal relationship. Likewise, his usage of *kenjoogo* when in reference to himself indicates his effort to maintain those status differences. Knowing which verb form to use in each

situation requires the speaker to be aware constantly of his vertical relationship to those around him. ... One could imagine this to be a burdensome task for the average native Japanese speaker, yet alone a student of the language. Robert Christopher in his book *The Japanese Mind* comments:

In fact, the most difficult aspect of spoken Japanese for foreigners to master is not borrowed from Chinese but reflects a distinctively Japanese phenomenon: an obsession with comparative status in all personal relationships. Confusingly, verb forms in Japanese - and even basic verb stems - alter sharply depending upon the speaker's hierarchical relationship to the person being spoken to. Thus, a man who wants to ask his younger brother or a subordinate whether he has already gone somewhere will say: '*Moo itta ka?*' But if he wishes to ask his boss the same question, he will employ totally different words: '*Moo oide ni naremashita (sic) ka?*'¹⁰

Calling this phenomenon an obsession is somewhat of an understatement.

It is, in fact, a necessity for the Japanese to utilize these various forms of the language if they wish to maintain these status differences. One very likely source of conflict is when one speaker inadvertently or intentionally fails to utilize the expected degree of honorifics. The consequences of such an action would likely have a resounding effect on the status relationships involved.

As tedious a task as this may seem, the Japanese have come to accept the maintenance of status differences, especially through language, as inevitable, inescapable and deeply rooted in their society. Masatsugu explains how this practice of adjusting one's speech in response to a member of higher or lower status was so important in the Tokugawa period:

Honorific words developed in abundance because everyone had to deal cautiously with superiors and cut his way through the rank-conscious jungle. Whenever two people met in the course of daily events, they had to decide on the spur of the moment who was superior and who was inferior. The superior could puff himself up and make much of his position while the inferior was expected to crouch down in humility and subservience. ¹¹

Obviously a lot has changed since then, yet countless traces of a high power distance culture remain.

Besides the use of honorifics and humble language, status differences can be defined through the use of a large variety of labels attached to the names of people in each group. Each address system reinforces the hierarchical relationship. In a school, for example, the teachers will have the title *sensei* attached to their names, and there are special labels for members of higher positions like principal (*koochoo-sensei*) or vice-principal (*kyooto-sensei*). In an office there will be titles like *shachoo* (company president), *buchoo* (head of a department), and *kachoo* (section chief). Even in the home there are titles like *ani* (older brother) and *otooto* (younger brother). It is not unusual for the same person to be called by different terms according to the differing standpoint of those people related to him. The usage of these numerous titles found all over Japan are an essential part of the status-preserving norm. Failing to address a person properly, just like failing to properly use the respectful language, can lead to a breakdown of group cohesion. In America it may seem strange to refer to the head of your department as Mr. Head of the Department or your

✓
SEE NEXT
PAGE

'Dr' West vs 'PL' I just call me 'George'

vice-principal as Mr. Vice-Principal, but the reverse can be said in Japanese society, where titles are carefully used in accordance with the various levels of hierarchy.

In a society high on power distance like Japan, proper usage of verbal and nonverbal channels are very likely to occur in order to avoid any threat to the social order. Verbally, the proper use of language and titles is likely to take place, while nonverbally the proper bowing technique as well as other appropriate social etiquette is likely to be employed. Any variation from this expected behavior is unlikely to be tolerated.

Describing Japan as a rank-conscious society rich with social constraints is not to say the status system is tyrannical or elitist. In fact, a strong argument can be made for the contrary. Those in high status positions are often looked upon as congenial and benevolent. This “friendly authoritarianism” manifests itself in many ways. First of all, there is likely very little resentment of those in high status positions simply due to the fact that most of those in the power positions got there due to their age and number of years of service, and many of the rest look forward to a similar reward. Additionally, the high-status members of Japan’s closely knit groups often act as parental type figures and take care of those under them in many ways that go beyond America’s concept of typical duties. For example, it is not uncommon to find a section chief acting as a go-between in the engagement and wedding preparations of one of his employees,

and to counsel that person in times of hardship.

This paternalistic concern and personal loyalty goes well beyond simple guidance counseling. Many times, when a member of the group does something which drastically causes that group to lose face, it is the leader of that group who voluntarily assumes the responsibility and resigns. One may recall the news story of the young junior high school student who was killed when her head was crushed by the gate of the school when one of the teachers slammed it shut. Consequentially, it was the principal of the school who accepted the responsibility and resigned. By Western standards this may seem extreme, but in Japan it is the accepted and expected behavior.

It is this kind of “friendly authoritarianism” that breeds personal loyalty among the wide stratum of group membership and binds the members regardless of status. As the following section will explain, the Japanese have a tendency to associate their individuality with their group affiliation, and it is the aforementioned status-preserving norms that keep the group functioning smoothly.

CHAPTER 2

JAPAN AS A COLLECTIVE CULTURE

As well as being a high power distance culture, Japan is a collective culture. ¹² As a collective culture, Japan emphasizes the needs of the group and the group's goals. Cooperation and conformity are two valued qualities that facilitate group harmony. Unlike an individualistic culture like the United States where personal goals are pursued and encouraged, in Japan, individual identification and satisfaction result from group affiliation.

It is not at all difficult to observe the pervasive impact Japan's emphasis on the group has had on the lives of the Japanese. Generally speaking, the Japanese person's individuality is established through group affiliation. Mutual dependence is preferred over individuality. Whether it is through one's place of employment, one's home, or one's school, each person's identity is inseparable from these contexts.

With so many people living together on so little land, perhaps mutual dependence becomes more of a necessity than a choice. Whatever the case may be, the main goal of Japanese society appears to revolve around the successful, harmonious operation of the group. Masatsugu explains the foundation of Japan's group mentality as follows:

The fundamental group unit in Japan is the family. All other

groups mimic the family and incorporate its cohesion, exclusiveness, and hierarchical structure. These groups also take on a psychological version of “blood ties” that unite a family. All institutions - factories, schools, and others - extend these psychological blood ties over their members, binding them together, helping them, relating them to each other, and finally, delimiting them. ¹³

On the outside it is very easy to see how these groups mimic the family model. For example, superiors in a workplace setting, as mentioned earlier, often play a parental role. Companies often advertise life-time employment and treat a new employee like a new member of their family. In schools, the teachers assume many of the responsibilities such as discipline and counseling that would be expected from a parent in the West.

On the outside it's not difficult to see the parallel between groupism and the family unit. Psychologically, however, the ties that bind the group together are a bit more difficult to explain. Perhaps the best way to elucidate the psychological phenomenon related to Japan's collective thinking is to describe the concept of *on* and *giri*. Although the two concepts have been explained in numerous ways, the following are few of the more precise descriptions.

On

- a blessing or favor handed down, not only by an invisible being, but also by a social or political superior. *On* carries with it the obligation on the part of the recipient to return something for that blessing or favor . . . *On* can never be completely repaid . . . *On* is the psychological shaft-to-wheel relationship



between management and labor. ¹⁴

- the word normally used to describe a favor - but which also, revealingly, means "a debt." ¹⁵

- a debt or credit, which may be moral, social, or economic, and which arouses gratitude and humility in the debtor or drives him/her toward immediate repayment simply to unload the burden off the back. ¹⁶

- benevolence by the superior. ¹⁷

Giri

- a duty or obligation of a person to behave in certain loosely prescribed ways toward another, to whom the person is indebted. ¹⁸

- a moral imperative to perform one's duties toward other members of one's group. ¹⁹

- the creation of kinship like ties between people; it is a relationship of interdependence brought about by *on* (a favor, or debt of gratitude as a result of receiving a favor). It is, according to the dictionary, also the proper moral duty of all Japanese. ²⁰

- the reciprocal sense of loyalty. ²¹

The interdependent relationship between *on* and *giri* effectively links the individual to others around him. In America it would seem many relationships are bound together by written contracts, but in Japan there is an unwritten and unspoken code of behavior that permeates all levels of social interactions. In

the vertical structure of Japan's society, members are inevitably caught up in a web of gratitude, guilt, and often frustration at the unending cycle of debt.

Regardless of the frustration involved, being a member of the group in Japan means being a vital part of the entire machine that relies on each member in order to continue functioning properly and to maintain cohesion. Reischauer best sums up this thought as follows:

The close solidarity of the group, the lingering sense of paternalistic concern on the part of those on top, and the personal loyalty on the part of those below give a feeling of warmth and intimacy across status-lines. And finally the sense of belonging - of achieving a self-identity through membership in the group - makes the individual more willing to accept his status, whatever it may be. ²²

Many Westerners hold a false perception of the Japanese group system, and see it as hard-lined, rigid, and unfriendly. This misconception may result from the fact that within the group, members are expected to conform and cooperate with one another, but when outside of the group are generally uninvolved and uninterested in others. All of the harmony-producing rules of behavior that are in effect when interacting within the group generally do not apply when stepping beyond the boundaries of those relationships. Interactions that take place inside the group are likely to involve positive, cohesion-producing emotions and lack negative emotions. David Matsumoto explains how these displays of positive emotions differ when the interaction takes place outside the group. "The Japanese," he explains, "are very likely to display less

of these emotions to outgroup members because they need not form cohesive bonds with them. This is a common experience among many 'outsiders' who attempt to gain entrance to established in-groups in Japan." 23

Conformity is an important aspect of maintaining the group harmony. Very valued personal qualities in the eyes of many Japanese are the correctness of mind, actions, and appearance. A newcomer to Japan would be quick to notice the similarity of business attire in the workplace or the number of white cars filling the lots outside the offices. Most Japanese public schools require their students to wear a school uniform so that all members within their group look the same, yet the uniforms themselves offer their group a unique identity as a whole by being different than the uniforms of other schools around them. Many of these schools also require their students to maintain the same hairstyles and carry the same back-packs. The students are taught how to stand at attention, how to bow properly and how to sit while listening to the principal's speech. Likewise, company employees must learn how to greet customers, how to address someone of higher status, and even how to exchange their namecard.

Any variation of this conformist behavior, whether it is an inappropriate use of language or an inappropriate action, is not only a threat to the harmony of the group, but it places the perpetrator at risk of ostracism. In fact, the Japanese have a word for the systematic and relentless excommunication of the members of the group who fail to conform. The word, *ijime*, which is often

translated simply as "bullying" ²⁴ carries much more weight than the Western image of simple school yard taunting. *Ijime* is clearly evident in the Japanese school system. Students throughout Japan are routinely being singled out for any manner of reasons, and once the process of banishment and isolation begins, it's not likely to stop for a long time. Teachers often turn a blind eye, and the momentum builds. Sachiko Sakamaki further explains the situation:

Perhaps the root cause of bullying lies much deeper than schooling. Japan is a largely homogenous society that is quick to marginalize the deviant, no matter how subtle their differences. An odd nuance of speech or appearance is enough to invite ostracism, and in a society where conformity is everything, no stigma weighs heavier than the curse of being different. Too fat or too short; too smart or too slow - all make inviting targets. ²⁵

The truth is, *ijime* reaches far beyond the Japanese school system. It would be rare to find an office somewhere throughout Japan that has not seen its share of *ijime*. A worker who asks too many questions, shows negative displays of emotions, or even one who demands his paid holidays is a possible target of exclusion. A Westerner trying to make advancements in a Japanese company is very likely to run into some problems completely fitting into the group. Even if he works the extra hours, uses the proper honorific language, and turns down his paid holiday time, sometimes just being a foreigner is all it takes. *

For the most part, if one follows the intricate unwritten code of behavior and works toward preserving the harmony of the group, he will steer clear of any trouble. The truth is, the way the group is set up, it allows its members, so

in negative ways

*

long as they are willing to be group players, to feed off the power of its collectivity. Yoshio Sugimoto lists four ways the high-status members of the group are able to help maintain harmony, cohesion, cooperation, and conformity.²⁶

1. (They) resort, wherever possible, to positive inducements rather than negative sanctions.
2. (They) portray individuals in power positions as congenial, cordial, and benevolent.
3. (They) propagate the ideology of equality and the notion of a unique homogeneity.
4. (They) rely upon joyful, amusing and pleasant entertainments such as songs, visual arts, and festivals.

An unproductive player is more likely to be shifted around in the system rather than terminated in Japan. As long as he is a group player, he will be considered a valuable part of the group. His loss by means of termination would likely threaten harmony. Group leadership, as described earlier, has a reputation of being fair, friendly as well as fatherly. Most members of the group feel those of authority are where they are because of their years of service to the group. They too feel they have a chance to move up accordingly. And finally, group spirit is often maintained through entertaining, group-centered rituals such as cultural festivals, year-end parties, and the like.

It is only when a member of the group behaves in a manner that goes against the norm of conformity that the threads of harmony are loosened.

Collective cultures are not as tolerant of wide ranges of individual variation, and it is this variation that is a source of potential conflict.

CHAPTER 3

MACROLEVEL CONFLICT IN JAPAN (SOCIAL PROTEST)

Japan has earned a reputation as a country whose members are group-oriented, place a great emphasis on consensus and social harmony and deeply value group membership and social solidarity. That is not to say, however, that conflict in Japan does not exist. It could be argued that it is the very norm of harmony that makes the Japanese people more aware of the existence of conflict. When the societal norm emphasizes self-sacrifice, self-interest becomes easily visible and less likely to be tolerated. Harmony, therefore, may be serving not as a mitigator of conflict, but rather as an intensifier.

Japanese society obviously has never been without conflict. Japan, in fact, has a long and storied history of conflictual events that have shaped the nation. What is significant, however, is the fact that conflicts in Japan contain distinct characteristics in common. The basic models of conflict styles and conflict resolution techniques are shared throughout the country. The basic question is therefore not whether or not conflict exists, because it is obvious it does, but rather what are Japan's specific characteristics of conflict.

It has already been established that Japan is a hierarchical society that places a great cultural emphasis on maintaining group harmony and group

consensus. As a result, the tendency in Japan is to minimize any type of direct, open confrontation. When society places such a great emphasis on the successful functioning of the group and identity through group affiliation as well as an emphasis on vertical loyalties, any disruption in the harmony by means of confrontation is extremely magnified.

As explained in the introduction, there are a variety of ways conflict can be expressed in any given situation. There are as many conflict styles as there are personality styles. In Japan, generally speaking, nonconfrontation is the socially preferred conflict style. Nonconfrontation can include anything from accommodation to outright avoidance. Krauss, Rohlen, and Steinhoff describe Japan's approach to conflict as follows:

Generally, the cultural ideal of harmony is more notable in Japan than in the West. Conflict is not considered natural there; rather, it is regarded as an embarrassment to be avoided whenever possible.²⁷

From a macroscopic perspective, Japan's avoidant conflict management styles are quite evident. First of all, by examining the court system of Japan, one is able to get a broad perspective of Japanese conflict management. After all, what better place to view a dispute than through the eyes of a judicial system. In America one may get the message that if one has a problem, one should take that person to court. But as Robert Ozaki explains, the situation in Japan is quite different. He writes, "The Japanese are not fond of solving their

disputes in court. They do everything possible to dissolve their conflicts extralegally.”²⁸ The Japanese see a conflictual situation from a larger viewpoint. Each member of the group is expected to assume some of the responsibility, and publicly debating who is right or wrong is a disruption of harmony. Just as the Japanese citizens are hesitant to involve their disputes publicly, the Japanese authorities and legal system are reluctant to get involved if at all possible. Their involvement would obviously have a tremendous negative impact on the group’s cohesion. It naturally follows, therefore, that arrests are not made and cases are not tried unless there are no other alternatives. It is only slightly amazing therefore, that in 1990, for example, the conviction rate in district and summary courts was 99.8%.²⁹

When a conflictual situation arises, obviously, a decision must be made. Among the options available, the person involved may choose to engage the situation or avoid it. For the Japanese, decision making is a social process.³⁰ In decision making the expectation is for a larger concern and involvement of the social group, allowing for a sharing of responsibilities and mutual dependence. The macrolevel decision making process in a conflictual situation in Japan involves a coping style characteristic of a collective society, one which takes into account and involves the social group. By making a closer examination of social conflict in the form of social protest in Japan, one can see how the social group involved in the situation typically decides to respond.

Susan Pharr lists a Japanese collective formula for reacting to conflict.³¹

Goals

- conflict containment
- isolation of protesters
- marginalization of the protest

Early Stages

- conflict avoidance
- making minor concessions when avoidance fails
- use of soft, backstage methods of social control

Escalation

(when indirect methods fail)

- stonewalling
- undercutting
- baiting

Termination Stage

- delay
- preemptive concession to head off future protests

Social protest is obviously a very overt display of displeasure. Reacting to such displays in Japan generally means engaging in a variety of avoidant behaviors. In order to preserve harmony the goal is to contain the situation, isolate it, and marginalize it. The first response of authorities generally involves

minor concession-making and other soft, persuasive measures. Most conflicts in Japan are characterized by an initial period of long delays and non-committals by status superiors. Authorities may very well be aware that there is a problem for a great length of time, even over a year, and fail to intervene or discuss the problem in any way. Even when the protesters are forthright in their demands to communicate, early responses are generally excuses and evasions.

Also in the early stages of conflict there are often minor concessions made in order to control the level of conflict. The goal is not to resolve the situation rather to head it off indirectly and hope it will go away. As the conflict inevitably escalates, the function of minor concession making is to slow down the process with the hopes the situation will right itself. In a country that views conflict as painful and unpleasant, responses such as these are far more common than attempts to clear the air and engage in open discussion as the American culture may prefer.

One final characteristic of authorities responses in the early stages of conflict is the use of backstage methods to end the situation. Pharr describes these methods as “subtle verbal and nonverbal approaches that put psychological pressure on the protesters to desist.” And she continues, “such techniques play on the social power that authorities exercise over subordinates, reminding inferiors of their prerogatives; in that sense, they mirror the protesters’ own strategy of failing to display expected behavior.”³² This technique has proven

quite successful in containing the escalation of conflict. When a higher member of status authority says he expects someone to act prudently, in essence, he is sending the message that by not acting according to the expected behaviors of a high power distance and collective culture, that person is risking the stability of his group. The pressure to conform and act accordingly is often greater than the pursuit of goals that are not in line with the greater goals of group harmony.

There are times, of course, when the conflict simply will not go away. When the situation escalates, a very common response in Japan is stonewalling. When avoidance and minor concession making fail, the next stage is usually a form of stubborn, avoidant behavior, characterized by outright refusals to yield, and even refusals to meet to discuss the problem. This is often a very time consuming process that is likely to escalate the dilemma. When there is no dialog taking place, then the likelihood of reaching an agreement is slim.

Undercutting, like stonewalling, is yet another nonconfrontational conflict strategy used in Japan's macrolevel response to such situations. This approach may involve a silent treatment that sends the message the protesters are not worthy of attention. It may also involve the use of a third party, such as the media, to reinforce one's position, and put pressure on the other to preserve what's left of the group's cohesion. Lewis Austin in his book *Saints and Samurai: The Political Culture of American and Japanese Elites*, notes how in a society of unequal status, inferiors are not likely to complain directly or make

demands to superiors, and likewise, superiors who, in Japan's case, are supposedly benevolent and paternalistic, are thought to be in tune with the needs of those below them and would grant concessions that were deemed appropriate.³³ It follows that, in Japan, the process of undercutting is essentially reinforcing this concept by invalidating and denying the legitimacy of the protesters' requests because they are acting inappropriately.

One final response in the later stages of conflict in Japan is baiting. The goal of authorities is to continue the pattern of avoidance and silent treatment with the hopes that the other party will eventually overreact and engage in a behavior that will damage themselves.

When conflict reaches its final stages in Japan, once again, avoidance in the form of delay becomes the main response. High status members are basically willing and able to wait out the situation indefinitely hoping it will eventually burn itself out. One widely known example of this approach can be seen in the Narita Airport confrontation.³⁴ Farmers who owned the land upon which the airport was to be built protested the confiscation of their land. Student radicals also joined in the protest which lasted nearly two decades. Authorities simply continued to accept the presence of the protesters and their makeshift barriers and huts. They continued tolerating the protests while the airport was built and the media eventually lost interest. For the most part, this situation is typical of macrolevel responses in Japan, where authorities prefer to

avoid conflict rather than employ confrontational methods.

One final feature of the last stages of Japanese social conflict is the means by which authorities employ preemptive concessions to avoid any future protests. Typically once the conflict has finally subsided, authorities try to find a way to ensure a continuation of the harmony that has been reestablished. This is usually accomplished by ultimately addressing some of the concerns of the protesters and making sure the problem won't surface again.

What is consistent from the early stages of social conflict in Japan, all throughout, and to the end, is the pattern of nonconfrontational strategies that are most frequently utilized to diffuse the problem. Consistently, the goal is to minimize the overall negative social impact conflict has on a collective and vertical society.

Having described Japan's response to conflict as avoidant, it would now be appropriate to describe the methods the protesters use when engaging in conflict. Surprisingly, these methods too are nonconfrontational overall. The following is a repertoire of collective action taken by social protesters in Japan compiled by Susan Pharr. ³⁵

Early Stages

- requests for permission through existing channels
- challenges mounted through existing channels
- minor failures to engage in expected role behavior

- perfunctory performance of courtesy behavior
- low-level, nonverbal protests (mildly challenging looks, wounded expressions...)

Later Stages

- major failures to engage in expected role behavior
- failure to engage in courtesy behavior (not using respect language or bowing)
- sit-ins
- hunger strikes
- denunciation sessions
- hostile nonverbal behavior (angry looks, stomping, slamming doors)
- verbal abuse (using status reversal language)
- physical confrontation

It is evident from Pharr's first two points that the Japanese are willing to adhere to societal expectations and work through existing channels during the early stages of conflict. Most protesters start by pressing for change while meeting all their responsibilities amidst a vertical setting. They often start by taking up low-stake issues of little or no consequence and slowly progress toward more serious issues. These tactics usually work only briefly and eventually protesters move toward stronger tactics.

Eventually protesters begin intentionally to fail to behave as expected. As mentioned in the introduction, power is perceived as a scarce resource in most conflicts. In Japan, it is often the very imbalance of power that leads toward grievances. When status is clearly defined as is the case in Japan and behavior and language are all status-based, any failure to speak or act properly is not likely to go unnoticed. Thus, when someone fails to use the expected degree of honorific language or fails to bow properly, that person is consciously sending a powerful message of displeasure, while at the same time, not being overtly confrontational. Pharr notes, “a seemingly low-level conflict strategy at first glance actually represents a major escalation of the conflict over their early stages.”³⁶

As the conflict escalates, the protesters continue to choose actions that are generally consistent with the constraints of their culture. They generally have no desire to employ directly confrontational methods, but this of course, becomes increasingly difficult. Some of the most extreme forms of protest are in the forms of sit-ins and hunger strikes, both nonaggressive actions. As time passes and frustrations mount the language and the actions used become more extreme. For example, what was once a failure to use the proper honorific language has now become a status-reversal language. Status-inferiors choose to use the language expected of a superior. Meanwhile, the nonverbal behavior too becomes more intense with angry looks and stomping.

Only in the most extreme circumstances is the ultimate tactic of physical confrontation is resorted to. Pushing and shoving, exchanging blows and throwing things are usually more a result of pent up frustrations than planned confrontational behaviors, and when these actions take place, the consequences are often great.

For the most part members of the Japanese culture when engaging in and responding to conflict behave in a way consistent with the behaviors of a hierarchical and group-conscious society. With such a great cultural emphasis on harmony, courtesy behaviors as well as formal and informal expectations all entail a tendency toward nonconfrontation. As Susan Pharr sums up:

The notion that conflict is desirable - that, like bitter medicine, it is ultimately good for the soul, and for the state itself - is profoundly alien to Japanese, be they social theorists, politicians, or ordinary citizens. Rather than seeing conflict as creating bridges among disparate social interests or between society and the state, or as providing a crucial mechanism for change, the Japanese today still appear to adhere to the words of the seventh-century Prince Shootaku. 'Above all else esteem concord; make it your first duty to avoid discord.' Even protesters voicing social concerns are apt to see conflict as negative, disruptive, and regrettable. Perhaps no major nation in the world places a greater cultural emphasis on conflict avoidance. ³⁷

CHAPTER 4

MICROLEVEL CONFLICT IN JAPAN (INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT)

Many of the avoidant strategies explained in the last section that take place in a public setting also apply on an interpersonal level. In fact, the generalizations made regarding the Japanese preference of nonconfrontation are magnified when the focus is turned exclusively within the group. The Japanese society as a whole has been described as one which emphasizes group harmony, and when one looks at interpersonal relations inside Japan's vertical structure, this image is even more vivid.

One aspect of Japanese interpersonal relationships which is particularly noteworthy is the other-orientations of the group participants. As other-oriented members of a group, they are considerate of the roles each person plays, which is, of course, based on their strong desire for harmony. An article on equivocation in Japan compares this model with that of America.

The American cultural emphasis on talkativeness and self-assertion produces self-oriented people who are always ready to express their true feelings. In contrast, the Japanese cultural emphasis on reserve and caution creates an other-oriented person, one who is highly sensitive to the nonverbal cues of others and eager to take the other's position into consideration. Of course, Americans also prefer that their interactions be free of conflict, but this goal might be more quickly abandoned when it clashes with expression and self-assertion needs. ³⁸

The cultural emphasis on reserve and caution that was mentioned is a result of Japan's hierarchical consciousness as well as the group consciousness where consensus rather than debate is most valued. Diversity of opinion and individual ambition are considered selfish and inconsiderate traits in most eyes.

The reality for most Japanese if they wish to function properly within their group is they must learn how to manage their various relationships and bear the weight of an interdependent existence. Two very common idiomatic expressions in Japan are "*ishi no ue ni mo sannen*" and "*korogaru ishi ni koke musazu*"³⁹ They translate as, "sitting on a stone for three years" and "a stone that rolls gathers no moss." Both expressions emphasize the value of patience and perseverance. The first expression suggests that the endurance needed to sit upon a rock for three years is a virtue that will make one a better person. The second expression suggests that lacking patience and moving around a lot shows a lack of character. It should be noted that in the Japanese society, moss carries positive connotations and is associated with beauty. A stone that rolls gathers no moss, and likewise, a person that lacks patience lacks true character. Interestingly, the Western interpretation of this expression suggests one should keep moving lest he become stagnant and mired in acquiescence.

The concept of patience and endurance is deeply rooted in Japanese society. Robert Smith describes how the pressures to conform and exist as an other-oriented member of the group effect the lives of the Japanese.

A recurrent theme in novels, plays, and film is the exploration of the ways in which the young and strong-willed attempt to resolve conflicts that arise in the process of coming to terms with the demands of society. Those who fail to do so, whether because they will not or cannot, are the tragic heroes and heroines of fiction and the press, for whom the only solution is suicide. For ordinary mortals, however, there are in daily use many words that reflect recognition of the need to accommodate, to endure, to bear, to accept, and to relinquish - *gaman*, *shinboo*, *akirame* among them. All are words in daily use to children, kin, friends, and colleagues whom one is urging to come to terms and thereby demonstrating neither submissiveness nor passivity, but true maturity.⁴⁰

Gaman is usually translated as patience, *shinboo* as endurance, and *akirame* as resignation. All three words can be applied to Japan's obliging nature that results in avoidant and accommodating conflict styles.

Many outsiders have a difficult time understanding why the Japanese during interactions employ nonstraightforward communication, ambiguities, evasiveness, and noncommitals. Part of being an other-oriented culture is being a yes-directed culture. There is a strong tendency in interpersonal communications to avoid negative responses that could disrupt harmony. The listener's feelings must always be taken into consideration. One Japanese person notes that the pressures to avoid disagreement are so great that "you have to develop ways of saying one thing while meaning another."⁴¹ Among the substantial number of books written on this subject is one called *Never Take Yes for an Answer*⁴² which describes in detail sixteen ways of saying no without ever actually using the word.

The reluctance to directly confront differences is evident in the ambiguous nature in which the Japanese communicate in an interpersonal setting, often filling their expressions with positive reinforcements. It is not at all uncommon for a Japanese to respond, for example, to an American who, attempting to say something in Japanese, utters a few barely comprehensible words, with emphatic statements of praise such as “*Nihongo umai desu ne*” and “*joozu desu ne*” (Your Japanese is so good. You’re so skillful). One would be hard pressed to find someone in Japan who is willing to criticize forthrightly one’s foreign language skills, or lack thereof. In fact, under most circumstances not only do the Japanese prefer to avoid the use of the word “no” but also avoid any strong negatives and similar absolutisms in conversations.

The ambiguity of interactions is often quite perplexing to outside observers. Herbert Passin in an article entitled “Yes ka No ka” (Yes or No?) explains his frustration at trying to unravel the true meaning behind all the ambiguities he encountered while attending a meeting in Japan.

The moderator of the panel has just summarized the key issues in our discussion and he tells us that the time for decision has come. Make up your minds: should we do this or should we not do this? The discussion proceeds, as these affairs usually do, to its inconclusive conclusion, and I am still not sure whether a clear yes or no has been given. ⁴³

A large part of maintaining harmony is being sensitive to the feelings of others. One very positive result of the Japanese nonconfrontational and other-

oriented tendencies is the comparatively low rate of crime in Japan. In fact, in 1991 only three policemen in Japan were killed while performing their duties, and of those three, two were killed by an erupting volcano. Additionally, also in 1991, the number of articles that were handed in to the police, over four million, greatly exceeded the number of reported losses, less than three million. Among the articles found and handed over to police was 18.5 billion yen.⁴⁴ The Japanese personal restraint and consideration for others reinforces the strength of the group, and as a result, conflict engagement is far less likely to be tolerated.

On an interpersonal level especially, a Japanese person is not likely to risk a confrontation. As long as harmony, or the appearance of harmony is to be maintained, then avoidant strategies are likely to be employed. Takie Sugiyama Lebra from the book *Conflict in Japan* has managed to extract the seven main nonconfrontational strategies present in Japanese interpersonal conflict. All seven strategies exemplify the vast repertoire of avoidant behaviors the Japanese are willing to exhaust in order to maintain the group's cohesion. The seven strategies are as follows: anticipatory management, negative communication, situational code switching, triadic management, displacement, self-aggression, and conflict acceptance.⁴⁵

The first of the seven strategies, anticipatory management, refers to managing conflict in a preventative manner, in other words, heading off the

problem before it presents itself. This style requires a great deal of awareness and foresight. In America too, it is not unheard of for an employee, for example, to avoid going into the break room knowing another employee with whom he has a dispute is going to be there. What is unique, however, is the elaborate lengths to which the Japanese will go to avoid discomfort. A young Japanese woman, for example, knowing her family intends to arrange her marriage with someone she certainly doesn't care for, might make herself as undesirable as possible in the other family's eyes in order to avoid any possibility of being asked. Anticipatory management is often much more than simple circumvention of a confrontation. It is often accomplished at a great cost to the person employing the strategy. A husband working brutally longer hours than normal to escape returning home to a confrontation with his wife, a wife taking on fewer responsibilities with her children and more undesirable activities away from the house to avoid confrontations with her mother-in-law, an exceptionally intelligent student always pretending not to know the answer to avoid making the other students look less intelligent, are all examples which entail a great deal of self-sacrifice and even masochism.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, social protesters in the early stages of conflict sometimes engage in low-level, nonverbal protests such as mildly challenging looks. In interpersonal conflict, these nonverbal displays are quite common, however, rarely do they escalate in the manner of social protests. The

most common expression of negative communication is silence. In America one can easily picture a member of an interpersonal relationship giving the other the “cold shoulder” or the “silent treatment.” Immediately the other party would be able to interpret that treatment as a sign of that person’s displeasure. In Japan, however, there are often misinterpretations associated with this nonconfrontational strategy. It will be explained in detail in the following section on nonverbal communication in Japan how silence is a valued character trait in Japan. It is sufficient to say therefore that the “silent treatment” when utilized in Japan, is commonly interpreted as dutiful and accepting of the situation. A low-level status member of an office who never utters a word and simply goes about his business may very well be protesting his unfair workload, yet from the superior’s perspective he is seen simply as a dutiful employee.

Other subtle nonverbal displays such as sulking, sighing, shaking one’s head, or a mildly challenging look are less likely to go unnoticed. Similarly, they are less likely to be misinterpreted and also less likely to be employed. Negative expressions are a threat to harmony and risk isolation for the person using such expressions. This also will be explained in more detail in the following section.

Situational code-switching refers to the process of acting in accordance to the expected group norms when others are present, but reverting back to displays of displeasure when the situation allows. If silence, as is often the

case, is the chosen display of displeasure, then those displays may very well be abandoned when in the presence of other members of the group. This phenomenon does not appear to be unique to Japan. In America, for example, a husband and wife who are at odds might argue constantly when they are alone, but if they have company or are in public they will behave in an appropriate fashion. In Japan the situation is even more complex. With the elaborate verbal and nonverbal restraints of a collective and hierarchical society, expectations to function accordingly are far greater than in the West. Thus, situational code-switching becomes virtually a necessity if one is to be responsible.

Third party intervention is a common practice in conflict resolution. As Hocker and Wilmot explain, “the goal of all intervention is to assist in a transformation of the conflict elements. The transformation may take many forms. For example, intervention may alter the power balance, change the expression of conflict, help parties change their goals, or change perception of scarce rewards, interdependence, or interference.”⁴⁶

In Japan, at the first signs of any trouble, other members of the group are likely to want to help resolve the situation as quickly as possible. Triadic management refers to the involvement of a third party in the dispute, often a friend of both parties. By involving a mutual acquaintance in Japan, the situation becomes a bit more complex. Both members of the conflict must

respect their friend's position, and ultimately must agree to reconcile because the reputation of their mutual friend is at stake. As Hocker and Wilmot explain, by Western standards the goal of intervention is to transform the conflict and move toward its resolution. In Japan the solution is not likely to be as permanent and conclusive. The real issues of the conflict are usually not addressed and instead are simply swept under the rug in order to save the face of their mutual mediator friend. There are, of course, cases in which the mediator sincerely tries to find a real solution to the problem, but doing so is no simple task as Reischauer explains. "To avoid confrontations and maintain group solidarity, the Japanese make extensive use of the go-betweens. In delicate transactions a neutral person scouts out the views of the two sides and finds ways around obstacles or else terminates the negotiations without danger of an open confrontation or loss of face on either side."⁴⁷

Displacement is a nonconfrontational conflict strategy that has many degrees of intensity. In Japan, as well as America, for example, if a person is frustrated by a situation at work, he or she may spend hours away from his or her job venting the frustration on a friend who is willing to lend a sympathetic ear. On the most extreme and unfortunate level displacement might take the form of physical violence, where an uninvolved party is victimized by the frustrations of one of the conflicting parties. In Japan the key to displacement is to focus the displeasure on another party who is not involved in the dispute

and is a safe and comfortable distance from the group within which the conflict is taking place. If aggression is involved in displacement then the aggressor must be certain that the victim's possible retaliatory response will not effect his in-group relations with the other members of the involved group and disrupt harmony. Going home and destroying an innocent feather pillow is acceptable because the pillow is unlikely to retaliate. Having a problem with your boss and taking out your frustrations on a co-worker, however, is not acceptable in Japan because the delicate balance of group harmony is jeopardized by doing so.

Guchi, the Japanese word for personal laments is no stranger to the ears of uninvolved members of disputes. An interesting aspect of displacement in Japan is the supernatural aspect of praying to a deity or ancestor to alleviate frustrations. Lebra explains, "It is only natural that the individual comes to identify himself with his ancestors as he gets older. But even in ancestor worship among the elderly one can detect a strategic management of conflicts through displacement."⁴⁸ Unless one believes in the possibility that the spirit of an ancestor is able to somehow engage the opposing party of the conflict and alter his behavior, this too is an example of Japan's preference of nonconfrontation.

As explained earlier, Japan's other-orientations generally result in a lack of aggressions toward others. Unfortunately, much of the aggression is channeled inward and much of the negative emotions that the Japanese keep

bottled up inside them manifest themselves eventually as acts of self-confrontation. On one end of the spectrum, self-aggression may simply be in the form of exaggerated compliance. A child may spend all his free time studying, even when he is allowed or expected to relax, simply because his mother chided him for not being a good enough student. This form of over-compliance is expected to arouse guilt in the other party at a great cost to the self. On the other end of the spectrum is the most extreme method of self-aggression which is, of course, suicide. When being a member of the group carries as much weight as it does in Japan, breaking from the group through conflict or being isolated from the group severely damages one's identity. Mitsuyuki Masatsugu explains how this problem effects many typical members of Japanese society.

Suicide among the middle-aged in Japan seems to occur when, frustrated on all sides, the victim cannot find anyone who understands him well. The group-oriented Japanese tend to head in the direction of suicide when they lose a relationship with colleagues or a family member who will comfort them in their weakness and provide psychological support. A part of the self gives way when this support is withdrawn or denied, and suicide often follows.⁴⁹

The combination of frustration and the will to instill guilt on the other party are often a lethal combination with such unfortunate results.

A final strategy of Japan's interpersonal nonconfrontational conflict methods is the acceptance of the situation. Rather than disrupting the harmony

of group relations by engaging the conflict, many Japanese instead choose simply to accept it. They persuade themselves, or are, in effect, forced by the social constraints, to tolerate the situation. This concept of fatalism or predestination is widely accepted throughout Japan. The word *innen*, or fate, is an everyday reality to many Japanese who spend each day starkly aware of what role they play in the vertical and group-centered world around them.

Expressions such as “*Shoo ga nai*” and “*Shikata ga nai*”, “that’s life” and “there’s nothing one can do” are used with regular frequency.⁵⁰ Another expression, “*Manaita no ue no koi*,” usually translated as “a carp on the cutting board,” meaning that one is at the mercy of fate, indicates the Japanese strong sense of futility.⁵¹ The one small concession for the Japanese who struggle with the stresses of acceptance is that they can rest assured knowing that many of those around them are feeling the same way.

In an interpersonal arena, with the pressures to conform and function as a team player, there is bound to be a great deal of frustration and repressed hostility. The other orientations and yes-directedness of the Japanese, basically a result of maintaining harmony, limit the options for them to express conflict, or in the very least raise the stakes tremendously for those who chose to engage. As a result, nonconfrontational strategies, particularly avoidance and accommodation are the norm in Japan.

CHAPTER 5

JAPANESE NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION

As previously mentioned, the Japanese generally tend to favor the use of ambiguities and noncommittals when communicating with others in order to avoid disagreement and any possible onset of conflict. Verbally, the Japanese preference for ambiguity is painfully evident, especially to a foreigner attempting to decipher the language. Subjects of sentences are routinely omitted, for they are thought to be understood. Verbs are inflected at the end of the sentence allowing the speaker to abandon or alter his thought if necessary, causing the listener to pay particular attention not only to what is being said, but also to how it is being said. Additionally, emphatic negative expressions are generally avoided, as Herbert Passin explains:

A direct negative often appears rude and hostile, and . . . their tendency is to dampen down direct negatives. One sees this in all aspects of interpersonal relations in Japan, a tendency to avoid direct confrontation of any kind and resort to indirection, ambiguity, evasiveness, or even outright flight from the situation.⁵²

The pattern of nonstraightforward communication that exists in the Japanese spoken language is also present in the non-spoken language.

Nonverbal communication, as explained in the introduction, is often misinterpreted as a simple grouping of all the gestures and body language that

accompany speech. Of course, Japanese culture like any culture has its share of unique gesturing. The Japanese word, *temane*, directly translated as “hand imitation,” encompasses most of these stereotypical manifestations of nonverbal communication.⁵³ Judee Burgoon, a leader in field of nonverbal studies, offers a more comprehensive formula for determining what is and is not regarded as communication. She describes such communications as “those behaviors that form a socially shared coding system; that is, they are behaviors that are typically sent with intent, used with regularity among members of a social community, are typically interpreted as intentional, and have consensually recognizable interpretations.”⁵⁴ This formula is very useful in describing the unique aspects of Japanese nonverbal communication.

In Japan a social community, the specific group to which a Japanese adult belongs, has a much stronger implication than that of a typical Western social community. Most members join their primary group in their early adult life and belong to that group until their retirement. Each member is able to become so familiar with the other that they are very sensitive to the other’s behaviors. Each member is able to detect subtle changes in demeanor and interpret messages that may be absent of any verbal channels. Also, members are more likely to be able to communicate messages with fewer words and correctly interpret each other’s nonverbal communication with greater ease and regularity. Some have argued that this model of interpersonal familiarity can be expanded

and applied to the Japanese culture as a whole. As Helmut Morsach writes:

Combined with the isolated island nature of Japan, this racial homogeneity, undisturbed for over 1400 years, allowed a culture to develop which is remarkably uniform in many of its major aspects for a modern nation numbering more than 100 million. This, in turn, makes for good interpersonal understanding in numerous situations. ⁵⁵

Nonverbal communication, referring back to Burgoon's formula, does not necessarily need to involve gestures, as long as the behavior is sent with intent and the other members of the group are able to interpret it. Whether it is due to the homogeneity of the culture or the solidarity with the group, a large aspect of communication in Japan is nonverbal, yet nongestural. This concept is what the Japanese refer to as *haragei*. The following is a list of definitions.

- The "art of the belly," . . . the meeting of minds, or at least the viscera, without clear verbal interaction. ⁵⁶
- It refers, in one simple sense to a visceral communication among Japanese that defies Western logic. ⁵⁷
- Intuitive decision making, going on a gut feeling, negotiating without the use of direct words. ⁵⁸
- Communication by intuition, an established mode of communication between husband and wife, daughter-in-law and mother-in-law, children and parents . . . nonverbal, nongestural, intuitive communication . . . the masterpiece of Japan's particularly emotional brand of human interaction. ⁵⁹

- Literally, belly play, the art of wordless communication of gut feelings . . .

One should be able to understand what the other person has in mind before he has finished saying it, and even if he doesn't put it into words at all . . . So quite obviously nonverbal language is as important in communication as verbal language itself. ⁶⁰

Each example refers to *haragei* as a method of communication in which messages are implied rather than spoken directly. Particularly in communications between members of different status, the lower status member must be able to correctly "read the mind" of his superior to avoid any unfortunate misunderstandings. The superior, of course, expects the status-inferior to be able to interpret his message correctly, often with as few words as necessary. Dean Barnlund explains, "the emphasis is on listening rather than speaking, on intuition rather than explanation, on synthesis over analysis." ⁶¹ A person who is thought to be adept at *haragei* is said to be in harmony with the other members of his group, and therefore, meaning is able to be expressed more with the mind than through verbalization.

The Japanese use of vague expressions and non-negative phrases combined with the unspoken, implicit nature of *haragei* give the impression of a concise method of communication both verbally and nonverbally. In an interpersonal relationship, with all the accumulated experiences and codes of behavior, it would be likely that the members are able to predict one another's

behaviors. Robert Christopher explains how *haragei* impacts communication among the Japanese.

The essence of *haragei* is that because of the racial homogeneity and almost identical social and cultural conditioning of the Japanese people, it is often possible for one Japanese to determine the reaction of another to a particular situation simply by observing the second man's facial expressions, the length and timing of his silences and the ostensibly meaningless grunts he emits from time to time. Among Japanese of the same generation and occupation, this process can become so sophisticated that words are expended only on courtesies and badinage, and the art of direct verbal communication almost atrophies. ⁶²

Another aspect of Japanese nonverbal communication that is closely associated with *haragei* is the presence of silence. As Robert Christopher hints in his commentary of *haragei*, Japanese speech is often intertwined with meaningful moments of silence. While Westerners have a tendency to associate silence in conversation with signs of conversational incompetence and regard lulls as awkward, the Japanese generally are at ease with pauses that are a natural part of communication, and do not feel the need to fill those pauses with idle talk. Silence from a Western perspective generally is considered to be a lack of conversation while for the Japanese it is a significant part of it.

Frequently in communication between Americans and Japanese, it is not uncommon for the American to feel obliged to fill the moments of silence or misinterpret the silence as a sign of uninterest on the part of the Japanese. What the American has interpreted as disinterest could very well be an

indication of reassurance or confirmation. Likewise, Japanese sometimes feel the stress of having to keep pace in a conversation with Americans. One Japanese scholar notes his struggles with the American aversion to silence.

I could not help feeling that Americans hate silence, whereas Japanese can sit together comfortably without saying a word to one another. To tell you the truth, even though I no longer feel the pinch of the language barrier now, it is still a strain for me to keep pace with Americans during a social evening. ⁶³

Silence in Japan is even a matter of misunderstanding between Japanese. It may be signaling thoughtfulness, awe, embarrassment, reassurance, anger or any number of emotions. The text, *Communication in Japan and the United States* has extrapolated four significant functions of silence in Japanese society. ⁶⁴ They are as follows:

1. Truthfulness or sincerity are credited to the silent speaker or to the unexpressible inner state of the self. In contrast, deceptiveness is attributed to the spoken word or to the glib talker.
2. It provides discretion or caution to gain social approval or avoid social penalty.
3. It provides a shelter for the embarrassment of verbalizing one's true feelings.
4. It acts as an expression of defiance or an outright expression of hostility, which is resorted to more by the status-inferior.

Each expression of silence plays a significant role in the function of Japanese

nonverbal communication, but at the same time there is the possibility of misinterpretation. As mentioned earlier, silence, when displayed as a sign of frustration and hostility, is often misunderstood as compliance. Whatever the role of silence in conversation, it is considered a virtuous communication skill nonetheless. Fischer and Yoshida have made a study of Japanese values by analyzing popular Japanese proverbs, and their conclusion was essentially that the most popular message is to keep silent. They cited expressions like, “A mouth is to eat with, not to speak with,” “One treats one’s mouth like a guarded jar,” and “To say nothing is a flower” as examples.⁶⁵

Controlling one’s emotions through silence is an important aspect of Japan’s nonverbal communicative styles. It also hints of another major aspect of Japanese nonverbal communication, which is the controlled nature of Japanese emotional displays. A text written by Alan Goldman on intercultural communication between Americans and Japanese compared a number of nonverbal behaviors between the two cultures.⁶⁶ Goldman extracted a number of qualities associated with a typical Japanese person which he referred to as J-Type Communicator. Among the qualities of a typical Japanese person are gestures that tend not fully to involve the shoulders. The tendency is to make less full, smaller, less aggressive gestures. Nonverbal communication, he found, tends to be more controlled and not exaggerated. He also noted the typical Japanese tends to not make direct eye contact in dyads, small groups, or while

making speeches.

A poignant example of Japanese controlled emotional displays is the frequent use of smiling. Rather than drawing from universal displays of emotions such as sadness, anger, fear or disgust,⁶⁷ the typical Japanese manages to mask those expressions with a smile. Lafcadio Hearn, an early scholar of Japanese culture offers an historical perspective of the controlled nature of Japanese emotional behavior as seen during the Tokugawa period. In his book of 1904 entitled, *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*, he writes:

Demeanor was most elaborately and mercilessly regulated, not merely as to obeisance, of which there were countless grades, varying according to sex as well as class - but even in regard to facial expression, the manner of smiling, the conduct of the breath, the way of sitting, standing, walking, rising. Everybody was trained from infancy in this etiquette of expression and deportment. At what period it first became a mark of disrespect to betray, by look or gesture, any feeling of grief and pain in the presence of a superior, we cannot know . . . but there was gradually developed . . . a most elaborate code of deportment which exacted very much more than impassiveness. It required not only that any sense of anger or pain should be denied all outward expression, but that the sufferer's face and manner should indicate the contrary feeling. Sullen submission was an offense; mere impassive obedience inadequate; the proper degree of submission should manifest itself by a pleasant smile, and by a soft and happy tone of voice.⁶⁸

Later, in the 1970's researchers Paul Eckman and Wallace Friesen conducted a study that indicated the Japanese continue to invariably mask their negative emotions with smiles when in the presence of people of a higher status.⁶⁹ They concluded that although there are universal displays of

emotions, there are also culturally-learned display rules which dictate the modification of facial expressions depending on the social circumstance. In the case of Japan, they noted, smiles tend to replace negative displays.

One of the behaviors characteristic of the early stages of conflict in Japan, as previously mentioned, are low-level nonverbal protests such as mildly challenging looks or wounded expressions. These negative emotional displays have been characterized as a threat to group cohesion and thus, because of the pressures of conformity, are unlikely to be displayed. Instead, the Japanese are more likely to mask these disharmonious emotions with a smile. Donald Richie describes a typical scene of a Japanese businessman missing his subway and covering his disappointment with a smile.

The smile does not mean happiness. No one is happy to have missed a subway. It does, however, mean cheerful acceptance. From an early age, the Japanese is taught to express no emotion which might disturb a sometimes precarious social harmony. Though scowls or even temper tantrums in the subway would not, in fact, upset society's equilibrium, this beautiful smile blooming in the teeth of disappointment does indicate that many taught gestures can become pseudo-involuntary; if social pressure is strong enough.⁷⁰

Richie suggests that from a very young age Japanese are taught to summon inner strength and control outward signs of unpleasanties. A recent study entitled "Japanese and United States Preschool Children's Responses to Conflict and Distress" published in *Child Development* concluded:

Japanese children were observed to show strong emotional control

and to state that they would feel happy during conflict and distress. Denial of negative emotion in the face of interpersonal conflict and replacing it with an opposite positive emotion may itself reflect both avoidance and caring.⁷¹

They argue that anger and aggression are incompatible with the social norm of harmony and that likely would lead to mothers in Japan discouraging aggressive behavior as well as encouraging positive emotional displays.

Not only has it been shown that the Japanese overall tend to use fewer displays of emotion, it has also been suggested that they are, in fact, worse than Americans at recognizing negative facial expressions.⁷² One argument is along the line that since the Japanese are taught at a young age to control their negative emotions, then the frequency of negative displays is decreased and as a result the Japanese are not as likely to recognize such displays. A more likely argument is that the Japanese are, in fact, able to recognize the negative facial expressions, but due to the social pressures and potential sanctions involved in the use of negative emotions, even the recognition of such displays is looked down upon. David Matsumoto suggests:

The fact that the Japanese were worse at perceiving the negative emotions highlights the importance of group and collectivist issues in the vertical society of Japan. In Japan, the display of negative emotions is discouraged, as they disrupt the social and cultural rubric that underlies all social interactions. The lower accuracy scores for the Japanese suggest that not only is the display of negative emotions discouraged, but so is the perception of these emotions. In this model, display and perception go hand in hand in maintaining social order.⁷³

One interesting observation that might be made when examining the repertoire of Japanese *temane*, or hand gestures, is that, unlike most Western cultures which invariably contain a rich assortment of derogatory and offensive displays, the Japanese have no such graphic and negative gestures.⁷⁴ This simply serves as one more piece of evidence that the Japanese nonverbal communication style is controlled, indirect and passive. By masking negative emotions with positive display, or by simply maintaining a “poker face” the Japanese have shown to possess a unique style of body language. Helmut Marsbach explains how Japanese society has reinforced this brand of self-control and gestural restraint.

Self control, thought of as highly desirable in Japan, demands that a man of virtue will not show a negative emotion in his face when shocked or upset by sudden bad news; and if successful, is lauded as *taizen jikaku to shite* (perfectly calm and collected), or *mayu hitotsu ugokasazu ni* (without even moving his eyebrow).⁷⁵

The second expression, “without even moving an eyebrow,” is of particular interest when examining Japanese nonverbal behavior. It indicates that the Japanese are painfully aware of the facial control necessary to preserve group harmony. Eckman and Friesen have described how the body and face are a source of inner-emotional leakage, which is a nonverbal act of revealing a message that otherwise is being concealed.⁷⁶ There is another Japanese expression that goes, *me wa kuchi hodo ni mono o iu* (the eyes say more than the mouth).⁷⁷ Knowing that the eyes are a potential source of leakage, it

comes as no surprise that controlling one's emotions and even gaze aversion are standard practices in Japan. In America, if one does not maintain eye contact during an interaction he may be thought of as uninterested, inconsiderate, or even suspicious. In Japan, however, averting one's eyes at the appropriate times is an important part of interpersonal relations. In a subway, for example, Donald Richie notices, "there is almost no eye contact among the passengers. Each studiously ignores the others" ⁷⁸ and Helmut Marsbach notes, "Japanese children are taught in school to direct the gaze at the region of their superior's Adam's apple or tie knot." ⁷⁹

The constant weight of the responsibilities to preserve harmony and avoid negative expression through nonverbal leakage has taken its toll on some members of Japanese society. Herbert Passin explains:

It will therefore come as no surprise to you to learn that there is a neurotic syndrome, which many psychiatrists feel is uniquely Japanese, found particularly among university students and adolescents, 'fear of eye-to-eye confrontation.' It is a form of what psychiatrist Morita Shooma called *taijin kyoofushoo* (people-phobia). Studies of the emotional problems of university students show a significant percentage suffering from this fear of eye-to-eye confrontation. The individual is afraid to look at other people, and he is afraid to be looked at. Being looked at so disconcerts him that he does not know how to behave. ⁸⁰

Conscious eye contact and aversion, controlled facial expressions and gestural restraint, masking negative emotions with smiles, silence, and implicit communication combine to form the Japanese repertoire of nonverbal

communication. This repertoire is consistent with the Japanese nonconfrontational strategies associated with a high power distance and collective society. Dean Barnlund concludes:

Differences in emphasis upon nonverbal channels of communication arise from cultural attitudes toward conflict. Although there is a communicative etiquette in Japan that disapproves of noisy argument, critical rebuttals, and blunt disagreements, one suspects that behind this sense of propriety lies a deep concern for the destructive potential of conflict. Among the Japanese, it is said, the preservation of harmonious relations is more highly valued than pursuit of the "truth," particularly if such pursuit might irreparably damage relations with people on whom one depends. ⁸¹

A STUDY OF JAPANESE NONCONFRONTATIONAL, NONVERBAL BEHAVIORS

PURPOSE

This experiment is an attempt to investigate the nonverbal behaviors that accompany nonconfrontational conflict strategies in Japanese subjects and advance a descriptive framework of those behaviors. Japan is frequently described as a high power distance and highly collective culture. (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961, Mead 1967, Triandis 1972, Hofstede 1980).

Members of a high power distance culture have been shown to be very status-conscious and to hold a negative view of conflict. Status is maintained both verbally and nonverbally in high power distance cultures such as Japan. Members of such cultures who are of low status often conceal their negative emotions. Negative emotions are sometimes replaced with positive emotions, particularly a smile. (Hearn 1904)

Members of collective cultures tend to act in a manner that is consistent with the needs of the group. Members tend to value compliance and avoid engaging in conflict, which is considered a threat to group harmony. Members of collective cultures such as Japan tend to suppress emotional displays, particularly negative emotions.

Based on the communicative behaviors of members of a high power distance and highly collective culture, the following research question has been

posited:

RQ: *Do Japanese subjects display nonconfrontational behaviors when faced with a scenario that presents a conflict?*

Nonconfrontational behaviors are defined in this study as controlled emotional responses and positive behaviors that mask negative emotional responses. Nonconfrontational behaviors are operationalized by the following three nonverbal behaviors: a) *gaze aversion* b) *smiling*, and c) *reaffirming head nods*.

a) *GAZE AVERSION*

In a status-based relationship in a high power distance culture like Japan, low-status members are likely to avoid direct eye contact with high-status members. (Passin 1980). Students are taught in elementary school in Japan to avoid direct eye contact with their teachers. (Morsbach 1973). There is a neurotic syndrome unique to the Japanese culture in which members fear direct eye-to-eye confrontations. (Kasahara 1970). It is therefore expected that Japanese subjects in a status-based relationship, as low-status members when faced with a scenario presenting a conflict, will avert their gaze to the high-status member more than engage their gaze.

b) *SMILING*

Japanese subjects have been shown to use smiles to mask their negative feelings when in the presence of members of higher status. (Eckman 1972 and Friesen 1972). Japanese children have been shown to control negative emotions and replace them with positive emotions. (Zahn-Waxler, Friedman, Cole, Mizuta, and Hiruma 1996). It has also been suggested that smiling is a social duty in Japan that should be performed during adverse conditions to protect group harmony and preserve status differences. (Hearn 1904, Asch 1952, Richie 1992, Matsumoto and Kudoh 1993, Nagashima and Schellenberg 1997). It is therefore expected that Japanese subjects when faced with a scenario presenting a conflict will use smiles to cover their negative emotions.

c) *REAFFIRMING HEAD NODS*

As previously mentioned, the Japanese have a tendency to replace negative emotions with positive ones. (Hearn 1904, Asch 1952, Matsumoto and Kudo 1993, Zahn-Waxler, Friedman, Cole, Mizuta and Hiruma 1996). A reaffirming head nod may be interpreted as a positive emotion displayed during a scenario that presents a conflict, that is masking other negative emotions. Other than various personal observations, there is little empirical or anecdotal evidence to support this suggestion. It is expected that Japanese

subjects in a status-based relationship, as low-status members, when faced with a scenario presenting a conflict, will control their negative responses and replace them with positive reaffirming head nods.

SUBJECTS

Eighteen Japanese students from the University of Montana were selected to participate in the procedure. Each subject was a native Japanese speaker. Five of the participants were male and thirteen were female. The subjects ranged in age from 19 to 30 years old. The average age of the participants was 22.6 years old. The most common age of the subjects was 21 (5 of 18). The subjects were chosen from among the population of Japanese foreign students at the University of Montana. According to the Office of Foreign Students Services there are currently about 100 Japanese students attending the University. (Spring 1998). It would have been preferable to use subjects with whom neither I, nor the two assistants who participated (both native Japanese students) were unfamiliar, but due to the considerably large percentage of the total Japanese student population used in this study (nearly 20%), this could not be accomplished. Even by using a snowball sampling technique, that is, preferring to have acquaintances find acquaintances of theirs to participate, most of the subjects were familiar to some degree with either myself or the assistants. It should be noted that none of the subjects, however, was aware of the specific purpose of the study until after he or she was debriefed following his or her participation. The subjects have lived in the United States for an average of

10.6 months. The subjects ranged in time spent in the United States from 5 to 30 months.

SCENARIO

The subjects were asked to participate in a role-playing situation that might take place in a typical Japanese college setting. The conversation was conducted entirely in Japanese. By providing a Japanese setting and using the Japanese language, it was intended to create a context of a high power distance and highly collective culture. The conversation that took place was between a professor (the confederate) and a student (the subject). This was intended to create a status-based relationship with the subjects in the low-status position.

In the scenario, the student (subject) is enrolled in a class that he or she is very interested in. The student has just finished the first class of the new school semester and has thoroughly enjoyed it. The student has found the first class to be exciting and useful. Furthermore, the student is looking forward to rest of the semester as a member of the class. Finally, immediately following the completion of the first class, the student is informed that the instructor (confederate) would like to have a word with the student and the student is asked to briefly remain after class. It is from this point that the situation is role-played.

ASSISTANTS

Two assistants were used during the experiment. One assistant, a 28 year old Japanese male (the confederate), posed as the professor in the experiment. He was given six hours of instruction regarding his role as a high-status member in a dyadic exchange. Matters such as degree of status language, eye contact, posture, as well as specific information relating to the scenario were thoroughly practiced prior to running the experiment. (This will be explained in detail in the Procedure Section).

The second assistant was a 26 year old Japanese female. Her role was to greet the subjects outside the classroom as they arrived in fifteen minute increments for their participation in the study, administer the consent forms, and explain the scenario to the subjects prior to their participation. (This will be explained in detail in the procedure section). She received four hours of instruction regarding her role in the study.

PROCEDURE

Subjects were scheduled every fifteen minutes to arrive outside a college classroom. In order to make the scenario more realistic an actual classroom on campus was reserved for the procedure. When the subject arrived he/she was greeted by the female assistant outside the classroom. The greeting in Japanese was intended to immediately create a Japanese context. The assistant first administered the consent form to the subject. (See Appendix 1a). The consent form was made in Japanese to reinforce the atmosphere of a Japanese setting as well as to avoid any misunderstandings. (For an English translation of the consent form see Appendix 1b). The consent form guaranteed anonymity as well as voluntary participation. It clearly stated the subjects would be involved in a role-playing situation and that the scenario would be videotaped. It was also made clear that the conversation would be performed in Japanese. Furthermore, the consent form made it clear that the situation would take place in a Japanese college setting with a Japanese instructor. The consent form informed the subject that the situation is about a class which they just attended for the first time and enjoyed very much. Furthermore, it is a class which they feel will be useful and exciting. Finally they were informed through the consent form that the instructor has asked to speak to them after class.

After signing the consent form, the assistant spent a few minutes with the subject reinforcing the information about the scenario that was provided on the

consent form. The assistant made it clear to the subject that he/she was about to begin a role-playing situation that is intended to take place immediately following the first class of the semester with a new instructor. The assistant built up the notion that it is a class the student really enjoys and finds very useful. When the subject sought information regarding specific reasons the instructor has asked him/her to stay after, the assistant would reply that she did not know.

Once the subject had completed the consent form and the conversation with the assistant, he/she was told to enter the classroom and begin the role-playing. The confederate (instructor) was seated at a table at the head of the classroom. Across the table from the instructor was a chair for the subject. The instructor immediately thanked the student for staying after class and asked him/her to be seated. A video camera was set up on a tripod at an angle behind the instructor near the front-left corner of the classroom. The camera looked over the instructor's shoulder and was focused on the face of the subject. The camera was recording a close-up facial shot of the subject. From the position of the camera, the subject's eyes could be seen either gazing at or away from the confederate. Additionally head nods and smiles were easily detectable.

The conversation between the teacher and student began with a series of friendly exchanges of little significance. The confederate was careful to use expressions and questions that were friendly and easy to respond to. The

confederate then asked the student how he/she liked the first class. Each subject invariably responded that he/she enjoyed it very much. This was an indication that the subjects understood the scenario and were able to role-play successfully. A few more exchanges regarding the subject's positive feelings toward the class followed. After the confederate had confirmed the subject's attitude toward the class and allowed sufficient time to get comfortable role-playing, the confederate made a brief pause, and informed the student that he/she cannot take the class. The announcement was made abruptly and consistently with each subject. An English equivalent of the confederate's announcement was as follows: "By the way, you cannot be in this class. You cannot be in this class because there are too many people in it, one person must drop out, and I'm afraid that person will have to be you."

Following the announcement, the confederate continued to insist that the student drop the class. In the event the subject asked why the person to drop the class must be he/she, the instructor consistently provided no reasonable answer other than the fact that the class was too full and he/she is the one that must drop.

The confederate was instructed to continue insisting the subject drop the class while offering no sufficient reason why it must be that particular student who must drop. When the student agreed to drop the class, the confederate would then reconfirm the student's intention to drop by saying the Japanese

equivalent of, “So you understand you must drop this class, right?” When the subject responded affirmatively the confederate would conclude with saying the Japanese equivalent of, “Then be sure to go to the registration center by tomorrow to drop this class. Okay?” When the subject agreed, the confederate would dismiss the subject and that would conclude the role-playing. In the event the confederate was unable to persuade the subject to drop the class, the confederate would finally tell the student to leave his classroom which would conclude the role-playing.

Immediately after concluding the role-playing, the subject was given a brief questionnaire to be used as a manipulation check. (See Appendix 2a). The questionnaire was also in Japanese. (For an English version of the questionnaire see Appendix 2b). Upon completion of the questionnaire the subject was debriefed. During the debriefing session, the experimenter (myself) and the confederate explained in as much detail as the subject was interested in hearing, the purpose of the study. The subject was also asked if they have witnessed or experienced any similar unfair treatment by an instructor and were offered to share any comments regarding their experiences. They were encouraged to ask any questions relating to the experiment. They were asked to keep the nature of the study a secret if they had any acquaintances waiting to participate in the experiment. They were given information on how to go about obtaining information on the results of the study once completed. Finally, they

were thanked for their participation and released.

RESULTS

Of the 18 subjects in the study, 14 of them ultimately accepted the instructor's decision and agreed to drop the class without a reasonable explanation according to the scenario. Four subjects remained consistent in their opposition to the instructor's decision and refused to drop the class, thus leaving the scenario unresolved.

The total time of the scenario from the time the instructor informed the student he/she could not be in the class to the time the subject either agreed to drop it or was told to leave the classroom because he/she refused to accept the decision was recorded. The initial "warming up" portion of small-talk at the beginning of the scenario is not included in the time. (See Table 1 for the time totals).

Overall, the average time to complete the scenario was 2 minutes and 26 seconds (2:26). The average time for those who accepted the situation was 2 minutes and 3 seconds (2:03). For those who would not accept the scenario the average time was 3 minutes and 46 seconds (3:46). The scenario which was the quickest to resolve was 52 seconds (0:52). The scenario which took the longest to complete, which was left unresolved, was 4 minutes and 31 seconds (4:31).

TABLE 1
SCENARIO TIME TOTALS

SUBJECT	GENDER	TOTAL TIME (MIN./SEC.)	ACCEPT
S-1	F	2:09	Yes
S-2	F	2:22	Yes
S-3	F	3:04	No
S-4	F	1:59	Yes
S-5	M	3:13	Yes
S-6	F	1:40	Yes
S-7	M	3:41	No
S-8	F	1:21	Yes
S-9	F	0:52	Yes
S-10	M	3:01	Yes
S-11	M	1:40	Yes
S-12	F	1:39	Yes
S-13	F	4:31	No
S-14	F	2:11	Yes
S-15	M	2:55	Yes
S-16	F	1:31	Yes
S-17	F	3:48	No
S-18	F	2:07	Yes

The female participants took an average of 2 minutes 15 seconds (2:15) to complete the scenario. The male participants' participation totaled an average of 2 minutes and 54 seconds (2:54). Of the 13 female subjects, 10 of them ultimately accepted the instructor's decision. 4 of the 5 male participants accepted the situation and agreed to drop the class.

Of the three nonverbal behaviors coded in this study, *gaze aversion* did not appear to accompany nonconfrontational behavior consistently as expected. 16 of 18 of the low-status members in this study fixed their gaze on the high-status member more than they averted their gaze. (See Table 2 for the gaze percentages). In order to calculate the percentage of eye contact made by each subject, a stop watch was started when gaze of the subject was fixated on the confederate and stopped when gaze was averted away from the confederate. The total amount of time the subject's eyes were fixated on the confederate was then divided by the total amount of time of the scenario from the time the instructor informed the student he/she could not attend his class. It must be noted that the position of the video camera over the confederate's shoulder and facing the subject did not allow an exact determination of whether the subject's eyes were fixated on the confederate's eyes or elsewhere on the confederate's face. While instances of more obvious gaze aversion were easily detectable, subtle shifts in eye movements were more difficult to code. The stop watch procedure was repeated numerous times depending on the amount of difficulty.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF GAZE AVERSION

SUBJECT	GENDER	% OF GAZE AVERSION	ACCEPT
S-1	F	.12	Yes
S-2	F	.27	Yes
S-3	F	.08	No
S-4	F	.29	Yes
S-5	M	.28	Yes
S-6	F	.16	Yes
S-7	M	.35	No
S-8	F	.57	Yes
S-9	F	.23	Yes
S-10	M	.28	Yes
S-11	M	.43	Yes
S-12	F	.65	Yes
S-13	F	.32	No
S-14	F	.15	Yes
S-15	M	.17	Yes
S-16	F	.26	Yes
S-17	F	.12	No
S-18	F	.13	Yes

in recording the subtle amounts of eye movements. In the event more than one record was made for a particular subject, an average was made from the total number of records.

The average percentage of gaze aversion in all subjects was 27%. This percentage is much lower than the anticipated 50%. The average percentage of gaze aversion for the female subjects was 26%. This did not differ greatly from the average percentage of gaze aversion for the male subjects, which was 30%. For those subjects who accepted the situation and agreed in the scenario to drop the class, the percentage of gaze aversion was 29%. For the subjects who refused in the scenario to drop the class, their average percentage of gaze aversion at 22% was slightly lower than those who accepted.

As expected, *smiling* behavior frequently accompanied nonconfrontational behaviors of Japanese status-inferiors in this study. 16 of 18 of the subjects were recorded displaying multiple instances of smiling in a scenario that was presenting an unpleasant situation. (See Table 3 for smile totals). The coding process for calculating the total number of smiles of each participant involved tallying the smiles from the point in the scenario when the subject was informed he/she must drop the class to the completion of the scenario. Some smiles differed in duration and degree of intensity and all smiles were calculated equally. The average number of smiles among all subjects was 5. It should be noted that the total time to complete the scenario differed from subject to

TABLE 3**SMILE AND HEAD NOD TOTALS**

SUBJECT	GENDER	SMILES	NODS	ACCEPT
S-1	F	4	32	Yes
S-2	F	10	32	Yes
S-3	F	6	74	No
S-4	F	7	31	Yes
S-5	M	7	26	Yes
S-6	F	0	21	Yes
S-7	M	11	34	No
S-8	F	4	17	Yes
S-9	F	3	17	Yes
S-10	M	0	39	Yes
S-11	M	2	11	Yes
S-12	F	13	29	Yes
S-13	F	2	24	No
S-14	F	5	63	Yes
S-15	M	6	54	Yes
S-16	F	4	29	Yes
S-17	F	4	36	No
S-18	F	9	34	Yes

subject. The total number of smiles among males and females, those who accepted the unfair situation and did not accept the situation, did not differ greatly.

As expected, reaffirming head *nodding behavior* frequently accompanied the nonassertive behavior of low-status Japanese subjects throughout the scenario. While consistently being told they could not attend the class and consistently offered no reasonable excuse regarding why they were singled out to drop the class, Japanese subjects continued invariably acknowledging the confederate's words with reaffirming head nods. (See Table 3 for nod totals).

Similar to the procedure for recording smiles, head nods were tallied from the point in the scenario the subject was informed he/she could not attend the class to completion of the role-playing. Due to the frequency and subtlety of some of the head nods, the coding procedure in some cases was repeated as many times necessary to correctly calculate the totals. In these instances, an average number was calculated from the totals. Subjects averaged 34 head nods from the time they were told they must cancel the class to the end of the scenario. It should be noted individual time of completion varied among the subjects. Those who did not accept the unfair situation average more reaffirming head nods than those who accepted the situation, however, they also averaged considerably more time to complete their scenarios. Males and females did not differ greatly in their nodding totals.

Overall, Japanese subjects, when faced with a scenario presenting a conflict, displayed nonconfrontational behaviors as evidenced by more controlled emotional responses and positive behaviors masking negative emotions.

DISCUSSION

Japanese subjects, as reported, accepted the unfair scenario far more often than they did not accept the situation. Surprisingly, other than the total length of time to complete the scenario, the behavior of those subjects who did not accept the situation did not differ greatly from those who accepted the situation. Interestingly, throughout most of the scenarios of those who did not accept the unfair situation, the subjects consistently displayed similar nonconfrontational behaviors employed by those who accepted. In fact, these subjects displayed more of the positive behaviors on average than those who accepted. The most reaffirming head nods recorded (74) belonged to a subject refusing to accept the scenario.

As Takie Lebra explains, conflict acceptance is just one of seven Japanese nonconfrontational conflict strategies (Lebra 1984). While four subjects in this study refused to accept the unfair situation, they still maintained their nonconfrontational behavior throughout most of the role-playing. It was obvious, however, that when these nonassertive behaviors failed to yield them their desired result, some of them resorted to more aggressive behaviors. Three of the four subjects who refused to accept the situation displayed the negative expression of shaking their heads. Not one of the subjects who accepted the situation displayed that particular gesture. Furthermore, three of the four subjects who did not accept the unfair situation interrupted the instructor's

speech. Of the fourteen subjects who accepted the situation only two did so. Finally, two of the four subjects who did not accept the situation noticeably raised their voices toward the end of the scenario. There were no instances of such behavior among the students who accepted.

The presences of uncontrolled emotional responses and obvious negative expressions in the four subjects who did not accept the situation, makes the lack of such behaviors in the fourteen subjects who did accept seem more significant. Furthermore, of the four subjects who refused to accept the situation, one reported during the debriefing session that she has taken an American university course in conflict, and is more aware of the Western tendency to view conflict as way to move a process forward and “clear the air.”

The smiling and head nodding behaviors of the Japanese subjects indicate a partial repertoire of nonconfrontational nonverbal behaviors. It is obvious from the results that those behaviors occur frequently during a situation that presents a conflict. Besides simply acknowledging their existence, it is also useful to observe where and when in a dyadic exchange they take place. The following is a complete transcription of one of the exchanges between the instructor (confederate) and student (subject). The three nonverbal behaviors (gaze, smiling, nodding) have been coded and included in the transcript. This particular subject was chosen as an example because the gender of the subject (female) is representative of the majority of participants, the fact that she

accepted the situation is also representative of the whole, and the total time of role-playing (2:11) is close to the group average (2:26). Additionally, the subject's age (21) was the most common age reported.

Nonverbal Codes

- = Subject's gaze fixated on Confederate
- o Subject's smile
- + Subject's reaffirming head nod

Other Codes

- S subject
- C confederate
- J Japanese
- g gaze
- s smile
- n nod
- E English

(Note: the nonverbal coding begins following the small-talk)

- 001 C: J Suimasen ne. Anoo, kurasu owatta ato ni, chotto
g
s
n
E Sorry about that. Thanks for taking a little time
- 002 J jikan totte moratte desu ne. Anoo, chotto hanasu
g
s
n
E to stay after class. It's important I have a
- 003 J hitsuyoo ga arimashite desu ne. Chotto oyobi
g
s
n
E word with you, and that's why I called on
- 004 J shita n desu kedo mo. Anoo, kyoo chotto kurasu ne,
g
s
n
E you to stay after class. So, about today's class,

- 005 J saisho no kurasu datta to omou n desu kedo mo
g
s
n
E our first class, what did you think of it?
- 006 J ikaga deshita? Anoo, omoshirokatta desu ka?
g
s
n
E Did you find it interesting?
- 007 S: J Hai. Tanoshikatta desu.
g
s
n
E Yes. It was fun.
- 008 C: J Aa, soo desu ka.
g
s
n
E Oh, really?
- 009 S: J Hai.
g
s
n
E Yes.
- 010 C: J Nanika kyoomi no aru benkyoo nan desu ka kore wa.
g
s
n
E Is this a field which you're interested in?
- 011 S: J Hai.
g
s
n
E Yes.

- 012 C: J Haa, naru hodo ne. Nanika watashi mo kyoo
g
s
n
E Oh, I see. Well, it was the first day of
- 013 J saisho no koogi datta n desu kedo no nee.
g
s
n
E class for me too.
- 014 J Nakanaka kurasu mo, anoo, gakusei shokun de
g
s
n
E The class, ah, was pretty full of students, huh?
- 015 J umattemashita shi ne. Nanika ninki ga aru no ka
g
s
n
E Really, I don't know whether or not this class
- 016 J yoku wakaranai desu kedo. Hijooni minna seishin ni koogi o
g
s
n
E is popular, but anyway, the students sure were
- 017 J kiitari shite ne. Nanika isshooken mei benkyoo o shite iru
g
s
n
E attentive to the lecture. It seemed like the students were
- 018 J yoo na kanji ga miukeraremashita nee. Nakanaka ii
g
s
n
E studying pretty hard. I'm pretty

019 J koto da to omou kedo ne.
 g
 s
 n
 E happy about that.

(Small talk ends. Coding begins here).

020 C: J Ano ne, tokoro de, anou, anata watashi no kono
 g
 s
 n
 E Well, by the way, um, about my class,

021 J kurasu o nee, kyanseru shite morawanakereba naranai
 g
 s
 n +
 E You're going to have to drop it.

022 J koto ni natta n desu yo. De, taihen mooshiwakenai n
 g
 s
 n +
 E I'm really sorry about that but,

023 J desu keredomo, jitsu wa kurasu ga kyoone, kite
 g
 s
 n +
 E the truth is, today when you came to class,

024 J itadaite mite wakatta to omou n desu ga, are dake
 g
 s
 n + +
 E you saw how crowded it was, and there were

- 025 J chotto kurasu ni hito ga afureru gurai ni haite imashite
g
s
n
E some who couldn't even fit in the classroom.
- 026 J desu ne. Chotto kongo no kurasu o susumete iku uede
g
s
n + +
E So, you know, there's a problem for me to
- 027 J chotto sashisawari ga demasu n desu ne. De, anoo, dooshitemo
g
s
n +
E continue this class. I'm afraid I'll have to single
- 028 J ano naka kara hitori dake kurasu no kyanseru o sasenakereba
g
s
n
E out one student from among the class and have
- 029 J ikenai koto ni narimashite desu nee. De, maa, iroiro
g
s
n + +
E them cancel it. Well, um, I say this
- 030 J to chotto kangaeta sue ni desu ne. Taihen konkai wa
g
s
n +
E after some consideration. I'm very sorry,
- 031 J mooshiwake nai n desu ga, anata ni chotto kyanseru o
g
s
n + ++
E but I want you to be the one to cancel

- 032 J onagai shitai to omoimashite. Hai, doo ni ka gorikai
g
s
n +++
E this class. I hope you can understand.
- 033 J itadakitai n desu ga, ikaga desu ka nee.
g
s
n + + +
E What do you think?
- 034 S: J Dooshite desu ka?
g
s o
n
E Why me?
- 035 C: J Hai. Maa, chotto iroioto maa, sokora hen wa watshi
g
s
n
E Yes, well, for this reason and that, I've
- 036 J mo kangaeta n desu keredomo, anoo, dooshite mo kurasu.
g
s
n + +
E thought a lot about it, you see, and there are
- 037 J aredake hitoga ninzuu ookute desu nee. Anoo, maa,
g
s
n +
E just too many people in the class.
- 038 J dooshitemo aredake iru to iu koto de, maa, hitori dake
g
s
n +
E There are so many that, well,

- 039 J darekashira ga kyanseru shinakereba naranaitte iu
g
s
n
E the situation is such that someone must
- 040 J jookyoo nan desu ne. De, soko no tokoro o kangaete de
g
s
n + ++
E drop. I've thought about the situation, and,
- 041 J maa, donata ni tte iu koto demo nai n desu kedo mo.
g = =
s
n + +
E well, I'm not trying to single out anyone.
- 042 J Maa, anoo, taihen mooshiwakenai n desu kedomo to iu
g
s
n
E Well, um, I'm really sorry about
- 043 J koto ni natta n desu yo.
g
s
n + +
E all of this.
- 044 S: J Doo iu fuu ni kimerareta n desu ka?
g
s o
n
E How did you decide?
- 045 C: J Un. Maa, chotto iroiro to ne. Sokora hen wa are nan
g
s
n
E Hmm. Well, for this reasons and that. It's

- 046 J desu keredomo, anoo, maa, darekashira ga, maa,
g
s
n + +
E just that we're in the situation where somebody
- 047 J kyanseru o shinakereba ikenai to iu jookyoo no naka de
g
s
n
E has to drop the class. You know, for example
- 048 J desu ne. Maa tatoeba, anata ja nakattara ba hoka no
g
s
n + +
E if you don't cancel then someone else would
- 049 J hito no dareka ga kyanseru shinakereba ikenai to iu
g
s
n + + +
E have to cancel, and that's the situation
- 050 J yoo no jookyoo nan desu yo. De, tatoeba, sonoo,
g
s
n + +
E we're in. And, for example, you see,
- 051 J minasan, maa, anata mo toozen soodeshoo kedomo darekashira,
g
s
n + +
E all of the students taking the class, yourself included,
- 052 J maa, kurasu o totte iru hito wa minna, anoo, kyoomi o
g
s
n +
E of course, um, are really interested in

- 053 J hijoo ni motte tte ne, anoo, kurasu o totte iru wake desu ne.
g
s
n + +
E my class.
- 054 J De, sokono tokoro o iroiro, maa, watashi jishin o
g
s
n
E And, well, I've really put a lot of thought in
- 055 J kangaemashite desu ne. Anoo, maa, hijoo ni kokoro gurushii
g
s
n +
E to this matter. Um, well, I feel really bad
- 056 J tokoro de wa aru n desu keredomo ne, maa, chotto konkai wa
g
s
n +
E about this but, well, I've decided you
- 057 J tte iu koto ni nattan desu ne . . . Un, gorikai
g
s
n + + o + +
E should drop the class . . . So, I want you
- 058 J itadakitai n desu ne.
g
s
n +
E to understand.
- 059 S: J Hai.
g
s
n
E Yes.

- 067 J shite kudasai.
g shite kudasai
s
n +
E drop my class.
- 068 S: J Hai. Wakarimashita.
g Wakarimashita
s
n +
E Yes. I understand.
- 069 C: J Hai. Hai. Kyoo wa doomo.
g Kyoo wa doomo
s
n +
E Yes. Well, thanks for staying after.
- 070 S: J Arigatoo gozaimashita.
g Arigatoo gozaimashita
s o
n
E Thank you.

One very revealing observation of the subject's smiling behavior indicates the subject smiled both times while asking the instructor a question. This relationship between smiling and asking a question repeated itself in most of the subjects. A very commonly asked question by the subjects was "Why me?" Most of these questions were delivered with a smile. Perhaps, in a status-based relationship, when the low-status member chooses to question the decision-making process of a high-status member, the low-status member covers the impropriety with a positive expression.

Among the subjects, the smiling behavior seemed to occur at similar moments during the scenario. For example, as can be seen from the sample transcript, the subject smiles at the end of the exchange. The subject has just been told she cannot attend the class and was clearly treated unfairly. Yet, at the end of the exchange, after accepting the instructor's decision, she smiles and thanks him. This pattern of controlling negative emotions and replacing them with positive displays is common among most subjects. The subject in the sample transcript also smiles while saying "*Shikata (ga) nai*" or "That's life." This expression was repeated frequently from subject to subject, and often was said with a smile or pleasant look. In the context of a high power distance culture, resignation and pleasant acceptance is not uncommon. Surprisingly, in one instance, a subject (one of the four that did not accept) uttered, "*Shikata ga nakunai deshoo*" or "That's not life."

The smiling behavior between the male and female subjects differed quite noticeably. Although the males smiled at similar points in the exchange as female subjects, the emotional range of the smiles was quite different. While the women's smiles were generally pleasant and controlled, three of five of the male subjects displayed a far greater range of facial expressions while smiling. For example, when one Japanese subject smiled while asking the Japanese equivalent of "Why me?", the smile appeared more sarcastic accompanied by a scrunched forehead and a gaping mouth. In fact, the observation that the male subjects displayed less emotional control when smiling can be generalized to contend that the emotional behaviors overall were less controlled than the behaviors of the female subjects. For example, the male subjects overall displayed far more self-adaptive type gestures such as scratching their face or hair, wiping their nose or adjusting their posture while seated. Furthermore, most of the male subjects were far more casual in their posture and engaged no forward body-lean while in conversation with the confederate, while the female subjects invariably sat upright. And finally, four of the five male subjects emitted the vocalic, non-language sounds of sucking air through their teeth when conversing with the confederate during the scenario.

Personal experience allows for one final observation regarding the smiling behaviors of the Japanese subjects. Anyone with experience observing or interacting with Japanese females would note their tendency to cover their

mouth while smiling. Of the 71 smiles emitted by the female subjects that were coded from the time the instructor informed them they could not attend his class to the completion of the scenario, only one smile involved the subject covering her mouth. During the debriefing session following this participant's completion of role-playing and filling out the questionnaire, the subject apologized for breaking character during the role-playings. Furthermore, this subject was one of only two subjects who, according to the questionnaire administered immediately following the role-playing, felt she did not act naturally. Ironically, it would seem that by emitting a smile and covering it with her hand because she felt it was inappropriate, she has offered a very natural example of one type of Japanese smiling behavior. This raises possibility of the idea that there is one type of natural smiling behavior among Japanese females that is controlled in certain situations when deemed inappropriate, while there is another type of smiling behavior that is contrived in the same situation when deemed appropriate. The fact that all but one of the female subjects did not cover her mouth while smiling indicates that this type of smile is artificial when it occurs in such a context, and offers more evidence that Japanese subjects replace their negative emotions with positive ones.

Referring back to the coded transcript of one of the subjects, it is clear that reaffirming head nods, 63 in all, are frequent in the exchange. This particular subject fit into a pattern very similar to about half of the participants,

in that her nodding behavior often occurred in spurts with two or more nods occurring together. Other subjects offered more emphatic nods but did not combine one nod with another. Regardless of the particular nodding style of the subject, a common factor among them is the fact that all subjects did, in fact, nod and most of the nods occurred at the end of a confederate's sentence or at natural breaks in the sentence.

It seems safe to assume that a head nod is a positive indication of attentiveness. The question remains, however, whether or not the reaffirming head nod is a conscious positive display used to cover negative emotions and indicate acceptance, or an unconscious and involuntary act that is absorbed by existing in a harmony-preserving society. The nodding behavior did not differ noticeably from the point in the scenario where the subject was involved in small talk to the end of the scenario where the subject was involved in a conflict. It is possible that the subject, during the point in the scenario he/she is involved in the conflict, is covering negative emotions by replacing them with positive reaffirming head nods. A more likely explanation, however, is that the subjects' nodding behavior is the result of a conditioned response where the subject reacts naturally at breaks in a sentence and at the ends of sentences of their speaking partner. During the small-talk portion of the scenario, the subjects invariably nodded when the confederate finished a sentence, and this did not differ from the later part of the scenario when the subject was involved

in a conflict. Even the three subjects that displayed the negative head-shaking behaviors nodded shortly before and soon after such displays.

The gazing behavior of the subjects, as reported, indicated that the participants exhibited far less gaze aversion than expected. According to the scenario, with the subjects acting as low-status members of a dyadic exchange, they were expected to avert their gaze to high-status members more than engage it. Contrary to expectations, most participants maintained eye contact with the confederate much more than they averted their eyes. One possible explanation is the Japanese subjects have been immersed in American culture for an average of 11 months and the American cultural norm of maintaining eye contact has impacted their actions. This seems, however, unlikely due to the fact that excessive efforts were made to create a Japanese context and overall, other than gaze, expectations were met.

A more likely explanation is the fact that the camera position did not allow for detection of subtle shifts in eye positions where the subject's gaze may have been averted from the confederate's eyes to somewhere else on the confederate's face. Additionally, it is conceivable that the camera position, essentially in the face of the subject, caused the subject to focus his/her attention more closely on the confederate while role-playing in order to avoid looking into the camera.

The notion should not be dismissed, however, that in a scenario where

the low-status member is meeting the high-status instructor for the first time, eye contact is thought of as a positive behavior. As likely as this might seem by Western standards, prior literature, however, would tend to discredit this notion based on a Japanese cultural context.

Overall, the subjects displayed controlled emotional behaviors while role-playing a scenario that presented a conflict. The greatest indication of this is the subjects' responses when suddenly told, after a series of pleasant exchanges, that they must drop the course. The experiment was specifically designed to create an expectancy violation and record the subjects' responses to the surprising bad news. There was not one example among all the participants of a negative response. There is, however, clear evidence that shows the subjects were, in fact, surprised by the confederate's announcement. Some subjects displayed a startled, yet controlled, blinking response, some subjects smiled, others let out an abbreviated and quickly controlled vocal expression, and others remained perfectly stoic.

There is no question that the majority of Japanese subjects, when faced with a scenario presenting a conflict, displayed emotionally controlled nonconfrontational behaviors. In the future it would be interesting to recreate this scenario with American subjects and an American instructor, done in a Western context in order to make a cross-cultural comparison.

APPENDIX 1a

同意書

これは日本人のコミュニケーションの研究です。この研究の目的は、ある日本人のコミュニケーションにおける態度の学習を通して、私が支持する理論を更に深めることです。私はあなたに対しロールプレイ（ある一定の役になりきること）をお願いいたしますが、状況としては、日本の典型的な大学で起こりうるケースです。あなたは大学生で、大変興味を持っているクラスを履修しているとします。あなたはたった今、その最初の授業を終え、クラスについて大変満足しているところです。あなたはこの授業が大変刺激的、かつ有益なものである、と感じています。そしてあなたは、今semesterにおけるこの授業の残りを受講することを大変楽しみにしています。最初の授業終了後、その授業の担当教授があなたに、少し話したいことがあるので残ってほしい、と頼みました。

あなたのインストラクター（教授役）との会話は日本語で行われます。
できるだけ自然に対応してください。
会話はビデオに録画されます。

会話終了後、簡単なアンケートの記入にご協力いただきたく存じます。

10分以内にすべて終了する予定です。あなたの参加は完全に任意なものです。あなたはいつ何時でも（インタビューへの）参加を取りやめることができますし、アンケートについては特定の質問に対する回答を拒否することも可能です。ビデオに収録されたものやアンケートについては、番号により認識しますので、あなたの名前が表にできることはありません。

ご協力まことにありがとうございます。

（上記の内容にご同意いただける場合）サインをお願いいたします。

収録したビデオの一部を、修士論文発表の際に使用してもよろしいでしょうか？

はい いいえ （いずれかを○で囲んでください。）

APPENDIX 1b

CONSENT FORM

This is a study of Japanese communication. The purpose of this study is to advance a descriptive framework of certain Japanese communicative behaviors. You will be asked to role-play a situation that might take place in a typical college setting in Japan. In this situation you are enrolled in a class that you are very interested in. You have just finished your first class and you feel very good about it. You feel this class will be very exciting and useful to you. You are really looking forward to the rest of the semester in this class. At the end of the first class, the professor has asked you to stay after for a moment to have a word with you.

Your conversation with the instructor will be in Japanese.
Please act as naturally as possible.
The conversation will be videotaped.

After the conversation has been completed, you will be asked to fill out a very short and simple questionnaire.

The entire procedure will take less than ten minutes. Your participation is entirely voluntary. You may terminate your participation at any time and you may refuse to answer any specific question on the questionnaire. The information collected on the videotape and questionnaire will be identified only by a subject number. Your name will not be used.

Thank you very much for your participation.

Please sign here: _____

May I present portions of the video during my thesis defense?
YES or NO (Please circle one)

APPENDIX 2a

アンケート

1. 年 齢
2. 性 別（男・女）
3. アメリカにはどのくらいの期間滞在していますか（何ヵ月、何年、等）？
4. インタビューに対するあなたの態度が自然なものであったと思いますか？

（はい・いいえ）

5. インタビューに対するあなたの態度は、教授（インタビュアー）の言葉を受け入れられない（反抗、抗議した、など）ようなものであったと思いますか、それとも素直に教授の言う通り受け入れたと思いますか。

受け入れられなかった

受け入れた

ご協力ありがとうございました。

APPENDIX 2b

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Age
2. Gender (Male/Female)
3. How long have you been in the U.S.? (months/years)
4. Do you feel as though you acted out the scenario naturally? (Yes/No)
5. Do you feel your actions in the scenario were confrontational overall or nonconfrontational?

Confrontational

Nonconfrontational

Thank you for your participation.

NOTES

1. Maynard, Michael L. and Maynard, Senko K. (1994). *101 Japanese Idioms*. Lincolnwood: NTC Publishing Group. 182
2. Lebra, Takie S. (1984). 'Nonconfrontational Strategies for Management of Interpersonal Conflicts.' in *Conflict in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 56
3. Hocker, Joyce L. and Wilmot, William W. (1995). *Interpersonal Conflict*. Dubuque, IA: Brown and Benchmark. Fourth Edition. 21
4. Burgoon, Judee K. and Saine, Thomas. (1978). *The Unspoken Dialogue: An Introduction to Nonverbal Communication*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 9-10
5. Morsbach, Helmut. (1973). 'Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in Japan.' *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*. Vol. 157 No. 4. 276
6. Hofstede, G. (1980). *Cultures Consequences*. Beverly Hills: Sage. In Matsumoto, David. 'Cultural Influences on Facial Expressions of Emotions.' *The Southern Communication Journal*, 1991, 130-131
7. Masatsugu, Mitsuyuki. (1982). *The Modern Samurai Society*. New York: AMACOM. 29
8. Nakane, Chie. (1967). *Tateshakai no Ningen Kankei*. Tokyo: Koodansha. In *Guides to Japanese Culture*. Tokyo: Tokyo International, 1977, 82-83
9. Reischauer, Edwin O. (1995). *The Japanese Today*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 154
10. Christopher, Robert C. (1983). *The Japanese Mind*. New York: Linden Press. 40
11. Masatsugu, Mitsuyuki. (1982). *The Modern Samurai Society*. New York: AMACOM. 30

12. Mead (1967). Kluckhold and Strodtbeck (1961), Hofstede (1980), Triandis (1972). In Matsumoto, David. Cultural Influences on Facial Expressions of Emotion. *The Southern Communication Journal*, 1991. 130-131
13. Musatsugu, Mitsuyuki. (1982). *The Modern Samurai Society*. New York: AMACOM. 89
14. Musatsugu, Mitsuyuki. (1982). *The Modern Samurai Society*. New York: AMACOM. 79
15. Christopher, Robert C. (1983). *The Japanese Mind*. New York: Linden Press. 171
16. Lebra, Takie S. Culture, Self, and Communication in Japan and the United States in Gudykunst, William B. *Communication in Japan and the United States*. (1993). Albany: State University of New York Press. 63
17. Reischauer, Edwin O. (1995). *The Japanese Today*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 156
18. Smith, Robert J. (1983). *Japanese Society: Tradition, Self and the Social Order*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 45
19. Befu, Harumi. Gift-Giving in a Modernizing Japan. In Lebra, Takie S. and Lebra, William P. (1986) *Japanese Culture and Behavior*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 162
20. Masatsugu, Mitsuyuki. (1982). *The Modern Samurai Society*. New York: AMACOM. 89
21. Reischauer, Edwin O. (1995). *The Japanese Today*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 156
22. Reischauer, Edwin O. (1995). *The Japanese Today*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 158
23. Matsumoto, David. (1991). Cultural Influences on Facial Expressions of Emotion. *The Southern Communication Journal*. 131

24. Friedman, Laura. (1995). 'Bullied to Death in Japan.' *World Press Review*. March, v 42. 25
25. Sasamaki, Sachiko. (1993). 'Fates Worse Than Death.' *Far East Economic Review*. Feb. 29, 1993. 39
26. Sugimoto, Yoshio. (1997). *An Introduction to Japanese Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 246
27. Krauss, Ellis S., Rohlen, Thomas P. and Steinhoff, Patricia G. (1984). *Conflict in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 11
28. Ozaki Robert. (1978). *The Japanese: A Cultural Portrait*. Tokyo: Tuttle. 232
29. *The Economist*. (1994). 'The Secret of Japan's Safe Streets.' April 16. Vol. 331. 39
30. Radford, Mark H.B. et al. (1993). Differences Between Australian and Japanese Students in Decisional Self-Esteem, Decisional Stress, and Coping Styles. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, Vo. 24, 285-287
31. Pharr, Susan J. (1990). *Losing Face*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 149
32. Pharr, Susan J. (1990). *Losing Face*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 153
33. Austin, Lewis. (1975). *Saints and Samurai: The Political Culture of American and Japanese Elites*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 25-30
34. Apter, David E., and Sawa, Nagayo. (1984). *Against the State: Politics and Social Protest in Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
35. Pharr, Susan J. (1990). *Losing Face*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 111
36. Pharr, Susan J. (1990). *Losing Face*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 116

37. Pharr, Susan J. (1990). *Losing Face*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 207
38. Tanaku, Keiko M. (1996). 'Equivocation in America and Japan: A Cross-National Comparison of the Effects at Situational Conflict and Status.' *Communication Research*, Vol. 28. 267
39. Maynard, Michael L. and Maynard, Senko K. (1994). *101 Japanese Idioms*. Lincolnwood: NTC Publishing Group
40. Smith, Robert J. (1983). *Japanese Society: Tradition, Self, and Social Order*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 98
41. Befu, Harumi. (1973). 'Japan and America: How We See Each Other: *United States-Japan Trade Council*. Washington, D.C. 6
42. Imai, Masaaki. (1975). *Never Take Yes for an Answer: An Inside Look at Japanese Business for Foreign Businessmen*. Tokyo: Simul Press
43. Passin, Herbert. (1980). 'Yes ka No ka' in *Japanese and the Japanese*. Tokyo: Kinseido. 135
44. *The Economist*. (1994). 'The Secret of Japan's Safe Streets. April 16. Vol. 331. 38-40
45. Lebra, Takie S. (1984). 'Nonconfrontational Strategies for Management of Interpersonal Conflicts.' In *Conflict in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 42-57
46. Hocker, Joyce L. and Wilmot, William W. (1995). *Interpersonal Conflict*. Dubuque: Brown and Benchmark. 214
47. Reischauer, Edwin O. (1995). *The Japanese Today*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 137-138
48. Lebra, Takie S. (1984). 'Nonconfrontational Strategies for Management of Interpersonal Conflicts.' In *Conflict in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 47
49. Masatsugu, Mitsuyuki. (1982). *The Modern Samurai Society*. New York: AMACOM. 57

50. Barnlund, Dean C. (1989). *Communicative Styles of Japanese and Americans*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing. 156
51. Maynard, Michael L. and Maynard, Senko K. (1994). *101 Japanese Idioms*. Lincolnwood: NTC Publishing Group
52. Passin, Herbert. (1980). 'Yes ka No ka.' in *Japanese and the Japanese*. Tokyo: Kinseido. 139
53. Morsbach, Helmut. (1973). 'Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in Japan.' *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*. Vol. 157. No. 4. 266
54. Burgoon, Judee K. (1985). 'Nonverbal Signals' in Knapp, M.L. and Miller, G.R. *Handbook of Interpersonal Communication*. Beverly Hills: Sage. 348
55. Marsbach, Helmut. (1973). 'Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in Japan.' *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*. Vol. 157. No. 4. 262
56. Reischauer, Edwin O. (1995). *The Japanese Today*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 136
57. Matsumoto, Michihiro. (1989). *The Unspoken Way*. New York: Kodansha International. 18
58. Maynard, Michael L. and Maynard, Senko K. (1994). *101 Japanese Idioms*. Lincolnwood: NTC Publishing Group. 111
59. Masatsugu, Mitsuyuki. (1982). *The Modern Japanese Samurai*. New York: AMACOM. 52
60. Passin, Herbert. (1980). *Japanese and the Japanese*. Tokyo: Kinseido. 112
61. Barnlund, Dean C. (1989). *Communicative Styles of Japanese and Americans*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing. 128-129
62. Christopher, Robert C. (1983). *The Japanese Mind*. New York: Linden Press. 43-44

63. Doi, Takeo. (1973). 'The Japanese Patterns of Communication and the Concept of AMAE.' *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*. Vol. 59. 182
64. Gudykunst, William B. (1993). *Communication in Japan and the United States*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 76-77
65. Fischer, J.L. and Yoshida, T. (1968). 'The Nature of Speech According to Japanese Proverbs' and 'Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in Japan.' *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*. Vol. 157. No. 4. 1973. 263-264
66. Goldman, Alan. (1988). *For Japanese Only: Intercultural Communication with Americans*. Tokyo: Japan Times. 36-45
67. Eckman, P. (1972). 'Universals and Cultural Differences in Facial Expressions of Emotions' in 'American-Japanese Cultural Differences in the Recognition of Universal-Facial Expressions.' *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*. Vol. 23. No. 1. March 1992. 72-73
68. Hearn, Lafcadio. (1904). *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*. London: MacMillan Company. 191-192
69. Eckman, P. and Friesen, W. (1971). 'Constants Across Cultures in Face and Emotion.' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 17. 124-129
70. Richie, Donald. (1992). *A Lateral View*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press. 76
71. Zahn-Waxler, Carolyn, Friedman, Ruth J., Cole, Pamela M., Mizuta, Ichiro, and Hiruma, Noriko. (1996). 'Japanese and United States Preschool Children's Responses to Conflict and Distress.' *Child Development*. Oct. Vol. 67. No. 5. 2475
72. Matsumoto, David. (1992). 'American-Japanese Cultural Differences in the Recognition of Universal Facial Expressions.' *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*. Vol. 23. No. 1. March. 72-84
73. Matsumoto, David. (1992). 'American-Japanese Cultural Differences in the Recognition of Universal Facial Expressions.' *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*. Vol. 23. No. 1. March. 80-81

74. Richie, Donald. (1992). *A Lateral View*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press. 81
75. Morsbach, Helmut. (1973). 'Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in Japan.' *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*. Vol. 157. No. 4. 270
76. Eckman, P. and Friesen, W. (1974). 'Detecting Deception From the Body or Face.' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. Vol. 29. No. 3. 288
77. Passin, Herbert. (1980). *Japanese and the Japanese*. Tokyo: Kinseido. 116
78. Richie, Donald. (1992). *A Lateral View*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press. 83
79. Morsbach, Helmut. (1973). 'Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in Japan.' *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*. Vol. 157. No. 4. 269
80. Passin, Herbert. (1980). *Japanese and the Japanese*. Tokyo: Kinseido. 115
81. Barnlund, Dean C. (1989). *Communicative Styles of Japanese and Americans*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing. 129

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Apter, David E., and Sawa, Nagayo. (1984). *Against the State: Politics and Social Protest in Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Asche, S.E. (1952). *A Lateral View*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press.

Austin, Lewis. (1975). *Saints and Samurai: The Political Culture of American and Japanese Elites*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Barnlund, Dean C. (1989). *Communicative Styles of Japanese and Americans*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing.

Befu, Harumi. (1973). 'Japan and America: How We See Each Other: *United States-Japan Trade Council*. Washington, D.C.

Befu, Harumi. Gift-Giving in a Modernizing Japan. In Lebra, Takie S. and Lebra, William P. (1986) *Japanese Culture and Behavior*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. ✓

Burgoon, Judee K. (1985). 'Nonverbal Signals' in Knapp, M.L. and Miller, G.R. *Handbook of Interpersonal Communication*. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Burgoon, Judee K. and Saine, Thomas. (1978). *The Unspoken Dialogue: An Introduction to Nonverbal Communication*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Christopher, Robert C. (1983). *The Japanese Mind*. New York: Linden Press.

Doi, Takeo. (1973). 'The Japanese Patterns of Communication and the Concept of AMAE.' *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*. Vol. 59.

Eckman, P. (1972). 'Universals and Cultural Differences in Facial Expressions of Emotion in Matsumoto, D. (1991) 'Cultural Influences on Facial Expressions of Emotion.' *The Southern Communication Journal*. 128-136. ✓

Eckman, P. and Friesen, W. (1971). 'Constants Across Cultures in Face and Emotion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 17. 124-129 ✓

Eckman, P. (1972). 'Universals and Cultural Differences in Facial Expressions of Emotions' in 'American-Japanese Cultural Differences in the Recognition of Universal-Facial Expressions.' *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*. Vol. 23. No. 1. March 1992. 72-73

Eckman, P. and Friesen, W. (1974). 'Detecting Deception From the Body or Face.' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. Vol. 29. No. 3. 288

Fischer, J.L. and Yoshida, T. (1968). 'The Nature of Speech According to Japanese Proverbs' and 'Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in Japan.' *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*. Vol. 157. No. 4. 1973. 263-264

Friedman, Laura. (1995). 'Bullied to Death in Japan.' *World Press Review*. March, Vol. 42. 25

Friesen, W.V. (1972). 'Cultural Differences in Facial Expressions in a Social Situation' in Matsumoto, D. (1991). 'Cultural Influences in Facial Expressions of Emotion.' *The Southern Communication Journal*. 128-136.

Goldman, Alan. (1988). *For Japanese Only: Intercultural Communication with Americans*. Tokyo: Japan Times. 36-45

Gudykunst, William B. (1993). *Communication in Japan and the United States*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Hearn, L. (1904). *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*. London: MacMillan Company.

Hocker, Joyce L. and Wilmot, William W. (1995). *Interpersonal Conflict*. Dubuque, IA: Brown and Benchmark. Fourth Edition.

Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's Consequences*. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Hofstede, G. (1980). *Cultures Consequences*. Beverly Hills: Sage. In Matsumoto, David. 'Cultural Influences on Facial Expressions of Emotions.' *The Southern Communication Journal*, 1991, 130-131

Imai, Masaaki. (1975). *Never Take Yes for an Answer: An Inside Look at Japanese Business for Foreign Businessmen*. Tokyo: Simul Press

Kasahara, Y. (1970). 'Fear of Eye-to-Eye Confrontation Among Neurotic Patients in Japan' in Lebra, T.S. and Lebra, W.P. (1986). *Japanese Culture and Behavior*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Kluckhohn, F. and Strodtbeck, F. (1961). *Variations in Value Orientations*. Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson.

Krauss, Ellis S., Rohlen, Thomas P. and Steinhoff, Patricia G. (1984). *Conflict in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Lebra, Takie S. (1984). 'Nonconfrontational Strategies for Management of Interpersonal Conflicts.' in *Conflict in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 56

Lebra, Takie S. Culture, Self, and Communication in Japan and the United States in Gudykunst, William B. *Communication in Japan and the United States*. (1993). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Marsbach, Helmut. (1973). 'Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in Japan.' *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*. Vol. 157. No. 4. 262

Masatsugu, Mitsuyuki. (1982). *The Modern Samurai Society*. New York: AMACOM.

Matsumoto, Michihiro. (1989). *The Unspoken Way*. New York: Kodansha International.

Matsumoto, David. (1991). Cultural Influences on Facial Expressions of Emotion. *The Southern Communication Journal*. 131

Matsumoto, David. (1992). 'American-Japanese Cultural Differences in the Recognition of Universal Facial Expressions.' *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*. Vol. 23. No. 1. March. 80-81

Matsumoto, D. and Kudoh, T. (1993). 'American-Japanese Cultural Differences in Attributions of Personality Based on Smiles.' *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior*. Vol. 17 No. 4. Winter. 231-243

Maynard, Michael L. and Maynard, Senko K. (1994). *101 Japanese Idioms*. Lincolnwood: NTC Publishing Group. 182

Mead (1967). Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), Hofstede (1980), Triandis (1972). In Matsumoto, David. Cultural Influences on Facial Expressions of Emotion. *The Southern Communication Journal*, 1991. 130-131

Mead, M. (1967). *Cooperation and Competition Among primitive People*. Boston: Beacon.

Morsbach, Helmut. (1973). 'Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in Japan.' *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*. Vol. 157. No. 4. 270

Musatsugu, Mitsuyuki. (1982). *The Modern Samurai Society*. New York: AMACOM.

Nagashima, K. and Schellenberg, J.A. (1997). 'Situational Differences in Intentional Smiling: A Cross-Cultural Exploration.' *The Journal of Social Psychology*. Vol. 137 No. 3 June. 297-302

Nakane, Chie. (1967). *Tateshakai no Ningen Kankei*. Tokyo: Koodansha. In *Guides to Japanese Culture*. Tokyo: Tokyo International, 1977, 82-83

Ozaki Robert. (1978). *The Japanese: A Cultural Portrait*. Tokyo: Tuttle. 232

Passin, Herbert. (1980). *Japanese and the Japanese*. Tokyo: Kinseido.

Passin, Herbert. (1980). 'Yes ka No ka' in *Japanese and the Japanese*. Tokyo: Kinseido. 135

Pharr, Susan J. (1990). *Losing Face*. Berkeley: University of California Press. ✓

Radford, Mark H.B. et al. (1993). Differences Between Australian and Japanese Students in Decisional Self-Esteem, Decisional Stress, and Coping Styles. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, Vo. 24, 285-287

Reischauer, Edwin O. (1995). *The Japanese Today*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Richie, Donald. (1992). *A Lateral View*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press.

Sasamaki, Sachiko. (1993). 'Fates Worse Than Death.' *Far East Economic Review*. Feb. 29, 1993. ✓

Smith, Robert J. (1983). *Japanese Society: Tradition, Self, and Social Order*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sugimoto, Yoshio. (1997). *An Introduction to Japanese Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 246

Tanaku, Keiko M. (1996). 'Equivocation in America and Japan: A Cross-National Comparison of the Effects at Situational Conflict and Status.' *Communication Research*, Vol. 28. 267

The Economist. (1994). 'The Secret of Japan's Safe Streets.' April 16. Vol. 331.

Triadis, H.C. (1972). *The Analysis of Subjective Culture*. New York: Wiley.

Zahn-Waxler, C., Friedman, R.J., Cole, P.M., Mizuta, I., Hiruma, N. (1996). 'Japanese and United States Preschool Children's Responses to Conflict and Distress.' *Child Development*. Oct. Vol. 67 No. 5.