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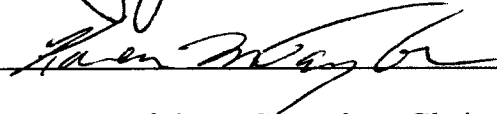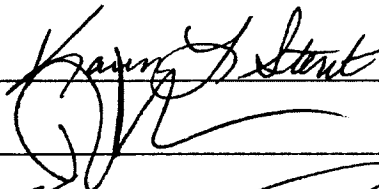
WHALING CONFERENCE AS TRANSNATIONAL PUBLIC SPHERE

By

Michelle R. White

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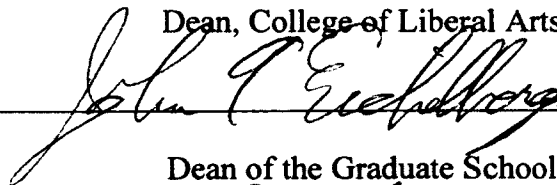Advisory Committee Chair
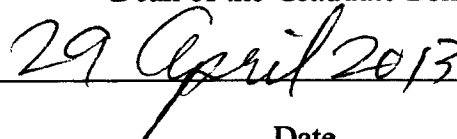
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COMMUNICATION UNDER PRESSURE: ANALYZING THE INTERNATIONAL

WHALING CONFERENCE

AS A TRANSNATIONAL PUBLIC SPHERE

A

THESIS

Presented to the Faculty

of the University of Alaska Fairbanks

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

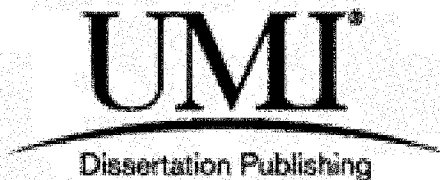Michelle Rene White, B.A.

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Abstract

Whaling has become one of the most popular international issues of our time. At the center of this controversy, the International Whaling Commission (IWC) is positioned to conserve and manage whaling policy. Annual reports of the IWC were analyzed along with communication theories for a textual analysis approach to the issue. The USA, Japan and Norway are often the center of the heated dialogue, which takes up time and limits reaching consensus or productive policy change. This research aims at understanding this conference and examining where tensions flair and what can be done to enhance our communication in this ever globalizing community.

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Acknowledgements

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Introduction

"The first man to raise his voice loses the argument."-Chinese proverb

Numerous studies on the rhetoric of the political arena have been conducted by communication researchers. In the USA, the infinite world of politics and the rhetoric that goes into these momentous events is constantly studied. Policies presented in the national sphere of the USA are influenced by polices that are voted on transnationally. Despite the notion that the world is becoming globalized, the rhetoric of the transnational policy making arena has barely been studied. This study was designed to attempt to understand intercultural communication that takes place in these global settings.

The International Whaling Conference (IWC) is one of the first arenas where persuasive communication has happened transnationally. The International Whaling Conference is transnational. It is also intercultural in communication acts. The policy of harvesting whales globally has been very contentious, especially in Japan and the USA, specifically. Americans, in general, view whales as sacred and majestic; they believe that they are endangered and must be protected. Whales play a pivotal role in the ecosystem. The Japanese also recognize whales as an important part of the ecosystem. They are a vital resource with the potential to sustain millions of people. The impassioned debate between Japan and the USA arises from their approaches to whaling policy. This project

is aimed at further understanding this conference by analyzing public government documents that pertain to whaling policy. Through the examination of persuasion tactics, primarily of the USA and Japan, more efficient and auspicious ground may be reached. While the focus of this paper is primarily on intercultural communication between Japan and the USA, Norway may provide further insight into this issue, providing a unique window through which intercultural communication during the IWC can be viewed.

Chapter 1 International Whaling Conference

1.1 History

In 1930 the Bureau of International Whaling Statistics was created to organize whaling catch statistics. This purpose was transformed by 1931, when regulation on the number of whales caught was suggested and signed by 22 nations (Lindhard, 2012, para.1). In 1948, the International Convention of Whaling was established to safeguard the natural resource of whales by regulating the whaling industry. The effectiveness of these regulations was questioned by multiple parties. Suggestions were ignored multiple times but change did not come until 1964 (Lindhard, 2012, para.2).

The International Whaling Commission website states that the IWC was officially signed into creation on December 2, 1964 with the purpose of regulating catch limits and whaling limits to be decided by a three-quarters majority member vote (Lindhard, 2012, para.1-4). The IWC also was given the power to fine and jail those who violated the regulations agreed upon by participating policy makers. Today the IWC regulates policies ranging from whaling to whale watching as it pertains to whale populations. It currently has 89 whaling, non-whaling and ex-whaling countries as members (Lindhard, 2012, para.8).

The first recognition of exploitation of whales occurred in 1925 by the League of Nations (Lindhard, 2012, para.1). Whaling as an industry started in the 11th century; at first just for sustenance and trade then eventually for oil and lighting. The whaling industry of the 19th century boomed due to the realization of steam ships and harpoon

guns, which made whaling a more efficient and profitable industry. The First World War expanded the market even further by introducing the use of explosives made from baleen whale oil (Lindhard, 2012, para.2).

In 1931, the first treaty was drafted by the Convention for the Regulation of Whaling. The treaty went so far as to list bowhead and right whales as endangered; and made them off limits to whaling, and also required whalers to use all parts of the whale. Calves, suckling whales, immature whales and mothers accompanied by calves were declared off limits. There were no catch limits set on other whales and no consequences for treaty violations. As a result, five of the whaling nations (the US, USSR, Japan Germany, Chile and Argentina) refused to follow these restrictions. In 1948, the International Whaling Convention or Conference was established and signed by most of the whaling nations. For the first 15 years the IWC did not change any policies. During this time, an astonishing number of whales were killed, including 640,000 in the 1960-1961 season. In 1986, the moratorium was amended. It defined the catch limits of all whales to be 0 until 1990, with expectations that the moratorium would help whale populations increase. The IWC has changed over the course of the 19th century to become the commission it is today.

1.2 Objectives of the IWC

The IWC has an office in Britain that is managed by a staff of 12. "It has an annual budget of about 370,000 GBP for administrative purposes and 50,000 GBP for scientific research" (Lyster, 1996, p.64). The office is responsible for conducting the

annual meeting as well as coordinating research and managing budgets. The first objective of the whaling commission is to conserve and protect whale populations. The IWC defines whales as cetaceans, distinguishing them from small whales, dolphins and porpoises. Most aquatic populations of non-cetaceans are not threatened by hunting. They become tangled in fishing nets, which is out of IWC jurisdiction (Lyster, 1996). To ascertain this purpose, coastal countries must cooperate with the IWC and participate in IWC meetings in order to be informed of, or petition to change IWC policies that affect their waters.

One representative from each nation is allowed to attend and vote in the conference. The representative may be accompanied by experts to council them in decision making. Non-government organizations (NGOs) are also allowed to attend if they have offices in more than three countries, but NGOs are not allowed to vote. Observers are also welcome from government and non-government organizations. Any party may be denied access based on a two thirds vote (Lyster, 1996).

The schedule of the IWC is a list of jurisdictions that may be influenced during the annual meeting. This list includes:

A. protected and unprotected species

B. open and closed seasons

C. open and closed waters, including the designation of sanctuary areas

D. size limits for each species

E. time, methods and intensity of whaling (Including the maximum catch of whales to be taken in any one season)

F. types and specifications of gear, apparatus and appliances, which may be used

G. methods of measurement

H. catch return and other statistical and biological records (Lyster, 1996, p.65)

The IWC only makes amendments to this schedule based on evidence and scientific research presented to them at the annual meeting. An example of the IWC schedule comes from the 2005 IWC report. This conference took place from May 30th through the 24th in 2005. June 20th through the 24th was policy dialogue and voting. It included presentations by participatory countries and all workshops. The time period from May 30th through June 17th was used by the scientific committee and sub committees to meet and discuss research. Although it might seem like a long period of time, the bulk of discussions and actual policy making takes place over an average period of four to five days.

Many nations have enacted regulations of their own to parallel these amendments. A USA law specifically states that any ship registered with the USA, or any citizen of the USA may not engage in whaling. New Zealand has a similar law (Lyster, 1996). This is not always the case, however. Japan has used research as the rationale to catch whales in it's and other countries' waters. As a result Japan's actions appear to be in direct violation of the IWC moratorium.

One of the hunting grounds Japan frequently visits lies within USA waters. The value of the Japanese whale catch in USA waters is estimated at $50 million (Lyster, 1996). Because the Japanese objected to the IWCs moratorium in 1986, The USA used the Pelly Amendment to block the Japanese fishing industry, which is much more lucrative, from buying or selling, costing the Japanese $55 million (Lyster, 1996). This punishment was the beginning of the long USA and Japanese whaling feuds, which stemmed from the moratorium the IWC placed on whaling. The Japanese stopped objecting to the moratorium when Article VIII of the 1946 convention was realized, allowing for any country to catch and kill any whale for scientific research purposes. Article VIII also allows whale to be sold for consumption if caught for scientific research purposes (IWC, 2012 para. 60). One of the major concerns with the Japanese whaling from other IWC nations is the method of whaling they use.

1.3 Methods of Whaling

The first known methods of whaling began before the Middle Ages and included poison, net and aboriginal techniques (Estes, DeMaster, Doak & Daniel, 2007). Poison is characterized by the use of poison arrows to hunt whales. Net whaling is characterized by using fiber, steel or leather nets. Arctic aboriginals used skin boats, hand harpoons and lances, and eventually progressed to use of guns and explosives. Temperate aboriginals used dug out or skin boats and hand harpoons. Tropical aboriginals did not start whaling until the 1600s, and used open boats, harpoons, or large hooks (Estes et al., 2007). Later came the Basque style of whaling, which is "open boats, hand and sail propelled,

deployed from shore or from ships along shore, in bays or along ice edges. Whales [were] ether towed to shore for processing or stripped of blubber at sea with blubber stored on-board" (Estes et al., 2007).

American-style shore whaling started in the 1600s and involved whale boats, fire arms and explosives. American-style Pelagic started in the 1700s and acted as one boat being a home base for other boats to bring catches back to. They also used firearms and explosives. Norwegian-style shore whaling involved 'power boats operating from shore stations [and] deck-mounted cannons. Whales [were] towed to shore [and brought to] processing plants. [This also] includes experimental whaling to some extent" (Estes et al., 2007). Factory ship whaling started in the early 1900s; characterized by floating factories, which acted as a home base for smaller catcher ships, which were mounted with cannons. The last type is small-type whaling, which started in the 1870s, and is characterized by "powered catcher boats; deck-mounted harpoon guns and small cannons; whales [were] either flensed at sea or towed to shore for processing; coastal or semi pelagic" (Estes et al., 2007).

Japan started whaling in the year 900 A.D. using the temperate aboriginal style of whaling. Today, Japan hunts using the factory ship and small-type styles of whaling. The USA started whaling in 1650 using the American-Style Shore method of hunting. The USA ceased commercial whaling in 1941. The Alaskan arctic tribes of the USA began hunting before the Middle Ages, using the same technique they use today: Arctic aboriginal.

Norway began whaling in the 1600s using the poison method of hunting. Today, Norway uses the small-type whaling strategy (Estes et al., 2007). All three countries have used various forms of these techniques at one time or another but, for the purpose of this paper, the beginning of whaling and modern whaling techniques of each country are the most relevant. The whales hunted by these techniques have also varied throughout the years. It is important to understand what types of whales that are currently hunted and why.

Chapter 2 Whales

According to the IWC, the types of documented whales caught by member nations included fin, humpback, sei, byrde's, minke, sperm, bowhead and gray whales. The United States Fish and Wildlife Service Endangered Species list includes all but byrde's and minke whales. The nations that are currently reporting and hunting whales are Denmark, Iceland, Norway, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Japan, Korea, Russia and the USA. Of all whales reported, the minke whales were by far the most caught amongst all nations, with a total of 1193 minke whales caught in the 2011-2012 season. The next most frequently harvested whales where the gray whales, at 128 total whales caught in the 2011-20012 season (Lindhard, 2012). Minke whales are caught more than any other and they are not on the endangered species list.

According to the Australian Antarctic Division of the Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities, the minke whale is one of the smallest species of all baleen whale, weighing in at an average of ten tons. They cite the behavior and habitat of the minke to be:

> Minkes are the only baleen whale species which is still common in Antarctic waters and apparently the most ice adapted of the Antarctic baleen whales. They have been seen hundreds of kilometres into heavy pack ice in the middle of winter, and some of them obviously spend the winter there.

In summer, their favoured habitat seems to be open pack ice, that is, pack ice where there is quite a lot of open water among ice floes.

In very heavy ice, minkes breathe by sticking their pointed heads vertically out through narrow cracks in the ice. How they can find their way from one open crack to another before they run out of breath is a mystery.

Minkes are regarded as very inquisitive animals. They will often swim repeatedly around a small vessel, and go out of their way to approach a moving ship, before veering away at high speed. (2012, para. 1-4)

The greatest threat to the minke population is commercial whaling. However they are not on the endangered species list and have no conservation concerns (US Fish & Wildlife, 2012). Minke whales are the focus of this paper because they are the only whale discussed during the IWC and are primarily the only whales captured by Japan.

An important point to consider is Hamazaki and Tanno's (2001) study, which described the popular approval of whaling amongst six countries. They found that approval of whaling positively correlated with people who approved of the consumption of whale meat. The researchers used data previously collected by the Gallup public survey "Public Attitudes to Whales: Six-Country Survey," which examined knowledge and attitudes of whaling from 500 adults in Australia, UK, Germany, Japan and Norway. Then they collected 1,000 surveys in the USA for a total of 3,500 adults. They saw a positive correlation between those who disapproved of whaling to those who disapproved of whale meat consumption (Hamazaki &Tanno, 2001). Though these results were not

exactly country specific, Hamazaki and Tanno (2001) showed that public opinion in 2001 was split between the two sides. Hamazaki and Tanno (2001) showed that those who did not approve of whale meat consumption did not approve of whaling and vice versa. There was a disconnect of perceptions that occurred between these two variables which showed a lack of understanding by the general public that whaling was either a strictly positive or strictly negative thing. When coming from a whaling or anti-whaling background, there was bias that the opposing side was doing something that was not 'approved' of. Keeping that in mind, it is important that the reader considers both sides and the background of the issue.

2.1 Purpose of This Study

A common misconception is that the Japanese are hunting whales that are endangered. This is not the case, for minke populations have either been steady or on the rise since the moratorium was enacted. Understanding the whales caught and the background of the IWC allows for a more appropriate analysis of literature. This analysis involves information about nations that hunt these whales, as well as arguments presented for and against policy changes. The policy makers of the IWC come from diverse backgrounds and cultures that do not always see eye to eye. In the USA, only one perspective is seen in the media and pop culture: whaling is bad (Hamazaki & Tanno, 2001). Many in the Western culture are convinced of Japan's wrong doing for research whaling. Opening up the eyes of both easterners and westerners through reporting what actually happens during the International Whaling Conference might help to lift these

notions and reveal new perspectives. To understand this conference deeper, lenses must be worn to interpret the data. The lenses in this study are cultural communication theories.

Chapter 3 Theory

3.1 Transnational Public Sphere

The theory that is overarching in this study is Habermas' (1991) theory of public spheres. Public sphere theory is defined as a space where individuals of a diverse nature come together to negotiate and collaborate in the interest of influencing policies, forming public opinion or generating movements. A paradigmatic example of this is the women's suffrage movement in the USA. Many women of varying class and cultures came together throughout the USA to eventually form an organized movement that changed laws to allow women to vote. Nancy Fraser (1990), a well versed scholar in public sphere theory, performed an analysis of Habermas'(1991) initial definition of the public sphere. Habermas (1991) defines the public sphere as being open and accessible to all, stressing social equality and participatory parity. She disassembles these components, citing historical inaccuracies as well as arguing that the earlier public spheres were not actually accessible to women, and makes suggestions to open up what the original works of Habermas (1991) indicated.

She suggests that Habermas'(1991) work implies a form of dominance by men, but that many of these movements are not initiated by majorities but by minorities. She exemplifies this through movements that have been brought from the private sphere to the public. Fraser (1990) states that abused women who were once thought to be a minority were suddenly a majority when brought into the public sphere by advocates and

the media. Fraser (1990) writes "what will count as a matter of public concern will be decided through discursive contestation" (p.129).

Whaling was once an issue most societies did not think happened anymore. If you were not floating in the ocean on a regular basis, you might not know that whales were endangered. Until social movements such as Green Peace and the Save the Whales campaign made this an issue of public sphere, the average person had not been concerned about whales. With more recent TV shows like *Whale Wars* and documentaries like *The Cove*, whaling became a globalized phenomenon. Globalization (in this example through the mechanism of mediascape flows) is forming a new encompassing culture, and policies are evolving from a single nation to across nations. The public sphere is also evolving into a forum for contesting and creating global public opinion. However, the public sphere is not the only sphere in which communication operates.

Goodnight (1999) further rhetorically defines spheres, describing them as:

Members of 'societies' and 'historical cultures' participate in vast and not altogether coherent superstructures, which invite them to channel doubts through prevailing discourse practices. In the democratic tradition, we can categorize these channels as the personal, the technical, and the public spheres. (p.253)

These spheres are where various forms of rhetoric take place. Personal or private spheres develop in a small environment such as a home. The punishment of a child for taking cookies past bedtime usually happens in a private sphere. The punishment is between a parent and a child and needs no hard evidence to take place. During the IWC a private

sphere can be as large as a home culture or country. Japan, for example, is a private sphere in the comparison to the transnational public sphere of the IWC. In a technical sphere, one would have to prove guilt with reasonable evidence. Pictures of the child with their hand in the cookie jar, witnesses collaborating the story, the stomach contents of the child all classify as valid arguments in the technical public sphere. This happens at the IWC during the meeting of the scientific committee. During the scientific committee meetings, scientific evidence is presented and discussed. Some of the statements presented are also brought into the policy meetings as evidence for or against petitions.

If the child's antics were put on YouTube and picked up by mainstream media then the issue would be put into the public sphere. In the public sphere the community or nation would be able to discuss the proper punishment of the child. These are the three spheres in which rhetoric can exist according to Goodnight(1999). Although the technical sphere is a large part of the scientific committee that meets at the beginning of the IWC, the primary decision making happens within a transnational public sphere.

I believe that the transnational public sphere is a form of colonization of culture where nations who assimilate to the globalized culture can develop claims that are more persuasive in a globalized community. As Arjun Autor Appadurai (1996) puts it, "The diasporic public spheres that such encounters create are no longer small, marginal or exceptional. They are part of the cultural dynamic of urban life in most countries and continents, in which migration and mass mediation co-constitute a sense of the global as modem and modern as global" (p.24). An example of a transnational public sphere comes

in the form of the IWC, where many nations come together to discuss policies and influence change globally. In this common culture countries that are considered more masculine and higher in uncertainty avoidance, like Japan, tend to disapprove of this colonization of culture, which leads them to enhance cultural differences in order to preserve the unique culture they've had for centuries. For a more operationalized look at culture Geert Hofstede's (2001) cultural dimensions should be considered.

3.2 Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions

3.2.1 Uncertainty Avoidance.

According to Geert Hofstede (2001), the term "uncertainty avoidance" refers to the recognition that "national cultures possess norms for (in) tolerance or ambiguities that are independent of norms for dependences on authority." (p.151) Uncertainty avoidance relies on the fact that some cultures avoid or are made uncomfortable by situations that are not a part of their culture's norms. For example, an American, whose cultural norm is that a dog is a pet, is made uncomfortable and avoids eating their beloved friend. Japan is ranked as seventh, meaning out of 53, countries they are seventh highest in uncertainty avoidance. Norway is ranked 38, which means they are low in uncertainty avoidance, and the USA, similar, at 43 (Hofstede, 2001, p151). This means that Norway and the United States are both culturally more likely to accept foreign customs and less likely to avoid uncertain data. The USA has many restaurants from all over the world, allowing them to partake in other cultures in a positive way, while Japan takes westernized things like McDonalds and turns them into a Japanese version of Western food. Western countries

were primary in forming this workshop and Japan's uncertainty about the nature of the dialogue in the workshop causes them to distance themselves by not providing data and physically walking out of the conference. While uncertainty avoidance is shown many times throughout this conference, individualism and collectivism are also prevalent as overarching concepts.

3.2.2 Individualism and Collectivism.

Individualism and collectivism scales refer to cultures whose emphasis is either on an individual or group scale (Hofstede, 2001). A culture that is individualistic will put focus on the individual. David Mitchell, the author of Cloud Atlas, provides a perfect metaphor for individualism when he says "My life amounts to no more than one drop in a limitless ocean. Yet what is any ocean, but a multitude of drops" (p.501). This means that an individual can make a difference in a sea of individuals or one has the power to influence all. This is a very American concept, as the USA ranks number one in individualism. Other metaphors, like "every vote counts," also describe this individualism. Individualism also refers to the belief in our ability to control our own destiny and the belief that if one works hard enough she or he can obtain their dreams. A person from an individualistic culture often introduces themselves with their name first. Other details about family or work status are confidential until brought into a conversation through question or divulged for information purposes. By contrast collectivism focuses on the ways in which an individual's achievements are not their own but part of a larger group (Hofstede, 2001). For example, an employee gets a major

account at their advertising agency. The employee is not individually rewarded or promoted because of this, but instead takes pride in his company for training him well enough to get the account, and in his country for providing him the skills and knowledge needed to gain the account. A person from a collectivistic background frequently introduces themselves with their company first, position, and then name; because what is the individual without the group association? Geert Hofstede (2001) describes this dimension as;

> [The] relationship between the individual and the collectivity that prevails in a given society. It is reflected in the way people live together- for example, in nuclear families, extended families or tribes- and it has many implications for values and behavior. In some cultures individualism is as a blessing and a source of well being; in others, it is seen as alienating. (p.209)

The USA is listed as the number one most individualistic country out of 53. Norway is listed as thirteen and Japan is listed as between 22 and 23, meaning it is more collectivistic than individualistic (Hofstede, 2001). This collectivism is what Japan perceives as its private sphere, meaning that although this one representative is making the decisions, he is doing so for his 'group' or his country. If he makes a good decision it is not him alone but 'Japan' that makes the decision. If he chooses not to participate, it is 'Japan' who chooses not to participate. The USA's delegate would be perceived as being a skillful individual in the USA by negotiating well as an individual. He will be praised for representing the USA well via his individual skill set. The pressure put on Japan's

delegate to represent his country is seen through bills like aboriginal hunt allotment, where the delegate argues for a long time and as skillfully as possible to help his 'group'. The delegate of Japan also exhibits his country's very high rating on the masculinity scale in order to defend his 'group'.

3.2.3 Masculinity and Femininity.

The Masculinity and Femininity scale is the last of Hofstede's (2001) dimensions that is relevant to the theory of this study. While this scale is listed by gender, it is actually describing the cultural systems a nation lives by. A more masculine nation places its goals in career or money while a more feminine nation places an emphasis on "relationships, helping others and the physical environment" (p.279). Hofstede (2001) shows that Japan is listed as number one, meaning the most masculine or the most emphasis placed on money or career goals. The USA is listed as 15, which is still pretty high on the masculinity scale but also has some feminine characteristics. Norway is listed 52 out of 53, meaning it is the second most feminine country of all studied. While these dimensions explain what happens culturally at the IWC, it is important to also look at how Japan sheds many of these cultural norms by framing its rhetoric to the transnational sphere. For this, a better understanding of framework theory must be achieved.

3.3 Framing

Framework theory is used in communication to study rhetoric or the media using primarily humanistic or social scientific methodologies. Framing is a multifarious theory,

using distinctly defined boundaries for examples of discourse in this study is essential. The boundaries of framing that I am using are described by Jim A. Kuypers (2006):

> Framing is a process whereby communicators, consciously or unconsciously, act to construct a point of view that encourages the facts of a given situation to be interpreted by others in a particular manner. Frames operate in four key ways: they define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. Frames are often found within a narrative account of an issue or event, and are generally the central organizing idea. (p.7)

The various approaches to framing or framework theory are a testament to how flexible the metaphor of framing is. Framing simultaneously accomplishes a multitude of things. A good frame for a painting, for example, draws the eye through the image to the focus and meaning of the painting, thus defining it. A frame signals a form of credibility and puts in boundaries for a painting. Similarly, framing or framework theory in communication functions to create boundaries, defines the point or central issue to be considered and gives context. For the purposes of this thesis, I will rely on Kuypers's definition of framing, which lays out four functions of framework. The function of framing as boundary-work is consistent with considering the importance of silences that Habermas and other critical theories demand of scholars, and thus will also be considered.

Kuypers' approach to framing has the advantages of being frequently used in other research, and being clear in its description of frames. Other framework theorists certainly could have been used like Burke (1969) and his tragic/comedic framing, or

Nisbet & Mooney (2007) and their list of ten media frames. However, the importance in the IWC conference of Japans' framing falls most neatly into the framing Kuypers has described.

Framing in this study would be recorded by noticing frequency and placement of words or phrases that qualify the IWC or member nations. For example, Japan uses the term "unfair" many times in regards to the USA. If Japan attempted to have the USA removed for its unfairness, then that would be an example of a frame that Japan uses to get the USA defined as outside of the boundaries. The USA being removed from the conference would mean a successful use of framing. Alternately, if Japan were to wait after all other representatives to comment on a proposal and then refer to it as "unfair," that positioning of claiming the "last word" is a form of framework, and can be used to strengthen their framing. Japan may also use face saving to communicate and frame during the IWC.

3.4 Face Saving

The theory of "Face" is an interdisciplinary and cross-cultural phenomenon that is most eloquently described, consecutively, by Erving Goffman (1999) and Ting-Toomey & Kurogi (1998). Goffman (1999) describe the concept as:

> [The] social value a person claims for himself in an interpersonal contact, depends on a line, a pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts by which he expresses himself; face-work counteracts the threats to face by avoidance or corrective processes. Face-work can also be used aggressively, i.e., through modesty aimed to induce

praise. Face-work utilizes cooperation and ritual. The universality of some type of rituals preserving or restoring face demonstrates their necessity for organized social activity. (1999, p.306)

As facework is a multifaceted theory, it is helpful to have more than one definition on hand for analysis. Similarly to Goffman (1999), Ting-Toomey & Kurogi (1998) describe face as:

a claimed sense of favorable social self-worth that a person wants others to have of her or him. It is a vulnerable identity-based resource because it can be enhanced or threatened in any uncertain social situation. Situations such as conflict management, business negotiation and diplomatic negotiation entail active facework management. Specific interpersonal relationship development situations such as initial interaction and relationship-building also involve culture-sensitive facework communication. (1998, pp.187-188)

Living in Japan myself, I can say that face saving is of utmost importance in the culture. Almost every interaction in Japan is a form of face. From interacting with your friends to negotiating a salary, everything is about face in Japan. It is greatly frowned upon to purposefully cause someone to lose face by confronting them or being direct. Randy Hirokawa describes Japanese face saving as:

Deliberate ambiguity of communication between Japanese employees can often be attributed to their desire to display humbleness and tolerance when dealing with other members of their organization, such ambiguity can also be attributed to

their desire to avoid embarrassing both themselves and others. The Japanese appear to be particularity sensitive to the concept of 'face' and thus make every effort to avoid or prevent the 'loss of one's face' (i.e., the loss of self-respect and dignity resulting from public humiliation and embarrassment). So powerful is this desire to "save one's face" that it is not uncommon for an individual to voluntarily resign from a company (or in extreme instances, take his/her own life) rather than live with the shame of 'losing one's face.' (1987, pp. 146-147)

In the USA there is also the concept of face. Face saving in the USA is more a model for what is polite and impolite. For example, if a person is out with a child and they see a person of size and yell loudly, "That person is fat!" the child has caused the person of size to lose their face and the parent scolds the child for doing so. By scolding the child in public, the parent has also caused the child to lose face. This punishment is effective because of the embarrassment the child feels at having lost face in public. The parent scolds the child publicly to save face, for if they did not, they would lose face. One does not go to the extent of suicide or quitting their job to avoid the fact that they have lost face as commonly as in Japan. However, it is prevalent in the culture of the USA in terms of having feelings hurt. The concept of face is very important in terms of negotiating across cultures in Japan especially with a country as direct as America.

3.5 Direct and Indirect Speech

Another aspect of face saving is direct and indirect speech. In Japan, indirect speech is the norm. For example, the word *mendokusai* refers to a situation that is

annoying, uncomfortable, something you do not want to do, someone who is hard to deal with, etc. The closest translation of this word in English is *troublesome* but it does not cover all of the nuances of *mendokusai*. It is common in Japanese to be able to say more while speaking less, while in the USA it is more common to speak more and be understood than speak less. In Japan, one would not directly say "No" or *iie* to something. They use non-verbals and the word *eto...* to imply that the answer is no. In the USA "No" is a common word and acceptable culturally to directly answer "No" to a question. Using the word *iie* in Japanese would cause the person who asked the question to lose face.

There is also the addition of *kuuki* or 'atmosphere' in Japanese language, which refers to "the feeling, mood or atmosphere in other words, a mental phenomenon, which exerts a pervasive pressure on meaning" (Tsujimura, 1987, p.124). If one can read the *kuuki,* then one can face save a lot easier. A term in Japanese that does not exist in English is *kuuki yomenai* or someone who cannot read the atmosphere. This is often abbreviated to KY and can either be a funny thing or a negative thing depending on the person or situation. The fact is that Japanese is a more subtle language and as a culture is very sensitive to nonverbal communication such as *kuuki*.

These intercultural theories have been chosen to help better understand the communication and behavior during the IWC. Cultural markers allow evaluation of the effectiveness of the IWC and its impact on whale populations. This brings me to the research questions for this project:

RQ: What, culturally, interferes with the communication during the IWC?

To discover the answers to this research question, an analysis of text would be the best method. As a text, it is a fixed public record, which eliminates the problem of improper fact recall. A textual analysis would be the most efficient method of research for this study, and would result in the most valid and reliable data, given the limited possibility for studying the conference directly. The text deliberately speaks to multiple stake holders, showing traces of negotiated complexity. Although textual analysis was the format of the final product of this study, the original design was actually observation based.

Chapter 4 Methods

The original method of study was going to be an observation based qualitative analysis of the IWC. The plan was to attend the 2012 meeting of the IWC in Panama where I would gain observer status and report my findings on communication from this conference. The largest barrier to this study was the IWC's lack of transparency. While the IWC places a lot of emphasis on transparency, it is actually not as easy as it may seem to gain observer status. I filled out the online application for observer status via the IWC's website. After waiting for about a month I was given permission to observe the IWC's proceedings for the price of $800 USD. For many this might not be a high cost, however, for a graduate student this was unfeasible. When I asked if they had any form of researcher or student discount I was told this was not possible. I also asked if there was a discount for just attending the last week of the conference. The answer was still no. No matter what, the price was $800. For being such a transparent organization, this high fee seems very steep for the average world citizen. I then tried to gain access as a translator from English to Japanese as translators are paid for their services and do not have to pay the fee. As expected, though, the delegates and NGOs themselves speak English so well they do not need a translator. I also tried to gain access as a second member of an NGO as that was a cheaper fare. The AEWC (Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission) did not return my request and the Makah nation representative informed me that they would not be attending the IWC that year. I was also turned down by Greenpeace (as they had many

members already observing this conference) and Washington State. The hotel the conference was held in was also very expensive. Staying in a hostel or another hotel seemed feasible, but there were issues of safety with these cheaper yet still expensive options.

In the end I was accepted for a grant from the Provost of University of Alaska Fairbanks, however the $1000 USD was not enough to cover all expenses for me to pay the conference observer fee, get a hotel and per diem. The flight could have been scraped together from airline miles thanks to my generous committee members; however, the cost of everything else was not feasible for me as a graduate student. While observing this conference first hand would have been amazing, we had to re-conceptualize the study into something even more longitudinal and removed such as a textual analysis.

This is a textual analysis study organized through coding based on the theories outlined above. In this case, critical theory is used as the dominant epistemological approach. The realist/normative theories are used as a set of tools to help illustrate more systematically the functioning of power, which otherwise tends to remain invisible and subtle. The tools in this case are drawn from theories of cultural dimensions, face work, and framing. The texts analyzed were searched for signs of the operation of face saving, framing, indirect, direct, masculinity, femininity, individual and collectivism. Instances were highlighted then copied and pasted into a word document organized by year. Over 1,200 pages of documents were read and summarized. During and after reading, the documents were coded for these theories. Over fifty hours and over 2,000 pages of

interesting, dramatic and tiring background research and primary coding was done by myself to result in this project. The gathering of the data was, needless to say, the easy part.

The materials being used are of public record and have been drafted between the period of 1985 and 2005, pertaining to international whaling from three counties: the USA, Japan, and Norway. This time period is directly after the moratorium, and significant changes were brought on by the IWC. This period encompasses the implementation of many whaling laws, and eventually the moratorium on whaling. Limiting the year to 2005 allows focus on actions that have mostly been completed, therefore enhancing the validity of the study in present day. Studying more current years would mean bumping up against policies and projects that are still in the process of becoming reality and the repercussions from these actions are still uncertain. Studying only the information between these years would achieve the most comprehensive study with the most validity. Limiting the research window to three of the participating IWC nations also allows for a more thorough study.

The countries that were chosen were the USA, Japan, and Norway. These countries play pivotal roles in the IWC. All three countries have participated and are still participating in international whaling and are members of the IWC. The USA has aboriginal tribes that participate in whaling for consumption. Japan participates in whaling for research purposes; in order not to waste meat the whale is allowed to be sold for consumption after research. Norway is in defiance of the moratorium and is allowed a

certain number of whales to hunt every year for consumption. In order to obtain the data necessary about how these similar, but different, countries operate during the IWC, a systematic search of documents was conducted.

4.1 Systematic Searches and the Public Sphere

In order to find the materials to use for my research, I used my intermediate Japanese as well as enlisted a credible friend to help me search for the information I needed. First, I went to the Japanese Government website and googled the Japanese translation of whaling (捕鯨) and found four links. Three of the four were published in 2010-2012 and the last one was published in 2007. Not all were qualified for this study. I then googled the Japanese equivalent (according to Google translate) of the International Whaling Conference (国際捕鯨会議). This search turned up three articles. All were exempt from the study.

After consulting a good friend who is a Japanese native, we came up with these key words to search for more documents on google.jp:

"International   Whale   Commission   Japan   1985"

"国際クジラ 1985" (International   Whale   1985)

"国際捕鯨委員会 1985"   (International   Whale   Commission)

"水産庁 国際捕鯨" (Fisheries Agency international whale fish control)

I then took these translations and did another search of Google and found five more articles that were, alas, not related to my study. I did, however, find the information

for the representative of the Japan Whaling Association but never received a response when I requested data pertaining to this issue. Then I turned to the issue of finding Norwegian articles.

I turned to my old roommate in college, who is fluent in Norwegian and English. She also had family who worked for North Atlantic Marine Mammal Commission (NAAMCO), which is where I found ten articles, three pertaining to my study, already translated into English.

In early data collection, a summary of the 1999 meeting of NAMMCO included Norway, the Faroe Islands, Greenland, Iceland and Japan. The purpose of this meeting was to discover a humane and efficient method of hunting whale. In this meeting, substantial disagreement and argumentation occurred between all countries except Japan, who was last to discuss whaling methods and was not noted to have interacted in the many lively discussions. Although they did describe their whaling methods, they did not interact with the other countries, and no policies were put in place to control the Japanese whaling despite their mention of inefficient and inhumane whaling methods. After discovering the NAAMCO documents, I then searched for information from the USA.

The articles from the USA are from the Fish and Wildlife service website and used the keywords International Whaling Commission. This yielded thirteen results, which did not meet the criteria for data. I also went to the commission's website and found a database with annual reports from 1988-2005. The IWC annual reports from their website are only legible (due to poor quality of uploads) from 1999-present, so I have

analyzed from 1999-2005 for this study. A discussion of the above presented data is represented in the next section outlining the theory behind the data set. As many of these events repeat themselves, citations of the International Whaling Commission's reports will be done by year and year ranges. Before getting into the data analysis, it is important to understand a little bit about me, the researcher, and how my perspective may have shaped this study.

4.2 Researcher Positionality

This study is of particular interest to me because for over twelve years of my life I have been studying Japanese culture and language. I lived in Japan during the year of 2009 and have become familiar with the culture. I grew up in a family that was not entirely of 'American' mentality. I was read Chinese children's stories and sung French children's songs growing up. My mother and father taught me things many American children lack, like humility, forgiveness, realism, respect and caution. They gave me unwavering self-discipline, which has allowed me to partake in opportunities that many Americans pass over.

Growing up, I was captivated by marine biology and whales in particular. I had many text books that I would read through excitedly and am fairly confident I could have passed a college level marine biology course at the age of ten. Although my interests have changed, whales, orcas especially, have remained as an interest and their image holds certain nostalgia for me. After watching the movie *The Cove*, which briefly

described the conflict between the USA and Japan during the International Whaling Conference in 2009, I became very interested in this deep conflict.

As I've grown up and have been influenced by pop culture and the culture of those around me, I have realized that I am different and have gravitated towards those who have a familiar background to me such as Hispanic or Asian Americans. This interest of other cultures eventually led me to the study of Japan and Japanese culture from the age of thirteen, formally starting language study in high school. I continued this interest throughout my undergraduate degree at Western Washington University and participated in a study abroad program, which brought me to Nagoya University of Foreign Studies. In Nagoya, I studied Japanese language and culture for a year and became very close with many Japanese people. One of my friends, in one of my proudest moments, said to me that when she speaks to me she forgets that I am an American and not a Japanese person.

Having grown up in the American culture and being culturally competent in Japanese makes me uniquely qualified to observe both cultures. I think it is also important to mention my Quinault nation heritage, and the fact I have conducted this study in Alaska where one develops a strong understanding of whales as sustenance for the Native Alaskan people. I also have connections with Senator Murkowski's office, which has fought hard to keep whaling a part of Alaskan Native life.

Because of the popularity of this documentary as well as TV shows such as *Whale Wars* and the environmental campaign "Save the Whales," whaling has become an issue

that is not just a matter of international policy, but has entered living rooms and communities. The popularity of this issue creates conflict not just between policy makers but also amongst neighbors and friends all over the world. This controversial global phenomenon makes a great subject for studying intercultural communication as it is recorded diligently by multiple governments and organizations. Understanding my background, the results of this study, starting with Japan's agility in the transnational public sphere can be observed.

Chapter 5 Results

The evidence analyzed is essential in understanding why the negotiation of whaling policy is so difficult. Discussion in this section will demonstrate that Japan is very active and involved in the transnational public sphere created during the IWC and is quick to adapt to a Western debate style. Japan is direct in its responses, using quick and powerful statements to defend its position. Western countries tend to use hedging when bringing up alternate viewpoints, a very clear effort of countries like the USA to save face for others as well as themselves. During the conference, Japan demonstrates its rating on the masculine scale (Hofstede, 2001) in this arena, fighting to keep its private sphere untouched by the larger transnational public sphere (Appadurai, 1996) symbolized by the IWC. Norway lends to Japan's confidence as it has a clear track record of supporting Japan's positions and following Japan's votes while the USA supports primarily English speaking countries but shows its mastery of the public sphere to defend Alaskan Eskimo and Makah aboriginal whaling rights. The data shows how all the theories listed above add to the understanding of the intercultural communication of the IWC. The first theory that was clearly evident was Japan's uncertainty avoidance when speaking about a subject new to the IWC: small cetaceans.

5.1 Uncertainty Avoidance

Japan was caught off guard when New Zealand put forth a petition for a small cetacean "working group" because the issue is fairly new to the IWC. A working group is where members of the IWC come together to share data. In this instance the data would

be shared on small cetaceans. The unexpected petition surprised Japan, which caused its delegate to exhibit complete uncertainty avoidance. He immediately commented that Greenpeace has harassed him about the issue. He also, expressed concern about sharing data causing more problems for Japanese citizens from private groups like Greenpeace.

Japan walked out of the conference, continued to refuse to participate in workshops involving small cetaceans and continued expressing the belief that the issue is outside of the competence of the IWC. Uncertainty avoidance causes Japan to react within other cultural norms in order to control the atmosphere. Using direct speech and refusing to participate is an example of Japan demonstrating its control of the atmosphere and masculine style of communication, which also comes into play when research whaling permits are discussed.

5.2 Collectivistic and Masculine Dimensions

Research whaling permits are discussed in the middle of most IWC meetings. Despite protest by many non-whaling and anti-whaling countries, Japan always manages to acquire these scientific whaling permits. In the data, the USA directly comments on Japan's data being inconclusive and unnecessary. New Zealand defends non-lethal whale research for most of the data the Japanese do collect. Japan, however, convinces the scientific committee every year that non-lethal whaling would not be the best way to research stomach contents and so is granted its permits (IWC, 1999-2005).

Japan argues that their need for research whaling is strictly related to the belief that whales either consume commercial populations of fish or they are in competition for resources with commercial fish populations. Masayuki Komatsu, Japan's fisheries

diplomat stated that "Minke whales are cockroaches of the sea" (Darby, A., 2001 para.1). This deliberate usage of the term cockroaches suggests speed and "everywhere"-ness. It is also suggestive of a species that is dirty and unwelcome by humans even though it shares "our" ecosystems closely. This seems relevant when regarding the whaling research and the conviction that these whales eat the Japanese fish supply. It also exemplifies the disdain the Japanese delegates have for sanctuaries. Japan views whales as enemies to their cultural staple food, which is fish. Whales then are perceived as directly impacting Japanese culture and the Japanese reserve the right to study these destroyers of ecosystems and consume them, as they are also good for subsistence. This view gives Japan motivation to control the atmosphere at the conference.

As a masculine culture, there is an emphasis on protection (Hofstede, 2001) and the delegates appear to be perceived as the protectors and providers of their nation's people. By protecting people and food from the "cockroaches" and by conducting research whaling, they are fulfilling their duties to their country. As a collectivistic country, duty to their nation is of utmost importance (Hofstede, 2001). The delegates have efficiently adapted to a culture not their own in order to protect the private sphere of Japanese culture. Japan also uses its mastery of face saving to protect its cultural private sphere by causing other countries to lose face during Japan's aboriginal hunt allocation amendment.

5.3 Face Saving

Japan's four coastal communities rely on small-type whaling as an industry. Every year Japan asks the IWC for there to be allotted a catch limit of fifty minke whales

for these communities (IWC, 1999-2005). Japan cites that whaling is a cultural activity for these communities as well as a stable source of jobs and economy for the small towns. They often compare it to aboriginal whaling from the Alaskan Eskimo tribes in the USA.

As the USA is one of many countries that never support Japan's petition, Japanese delegates pinpoint the aboriginal hunt allotment issue as cultural and economic, two culturally important issues to many Western countries. Japan thus sets up their argument for a perceived double standard when it comes to Western countries like the USA and makes the USA specifically seem contradictory to its purposes internationally. The USA is then forced to save face by explaining that while they value cultural traditions, they cannot support the petition. When scientific permits are later discussed, Japan will bring up the fact that it is not allowed to whale commercially and that the convention frequently denies these cultures' valuable subsistence. This method of face work sets Japan up for success in the transnational public sphere. They also achieve the goal of protecting the Japanese private sphere. Achieving this goal is no light matter. Protecting cultural tradition is a burden weighed not just on Japan but also on Norway. The pair work together in order to protect their right to whaling by framing the conference.

An aspect that lends to Japan framing the IWC and protecting its private sphere is seen by Norway's constant support of Japan's positions and objections. While standing alone, Japan might not be a force to be reckoned with no matter how well it frames the conference. Norway's support gives Japan confidence by being a strong ally in the issue

of international whaling. This alliance during IWC is what makes the NAAMCO workshops run so much more smoothly.

Not only do the countries participating in NAAMCO conventions have the leisure of consensus on most issues, they also do not have the issue of non-whaling and anti-whaling nations to deal with as they are not invited to participate. The NAAMCO conferences run smoothly, with Japan sharing data freely when asked and contributing to conversations even when delegates cannot make the conference. The NAAMCO conferences and workshops are often referenced in the IWC workshops when discussing whale killing methods.

The whale killing methods workshop during the IWC is generally tense, with anti-whaling nations questioning every piece of data presented. Often Japan does not present all data, stating that it is used primarily for non-whaling and anti-whaling nations to misconstrue and use against them in other parts of the convention. Japan's delegates for NAAMCO conferences are entirely different people than in IWC. In NAAMCO they are cooperative and supportive; they use fewer face saving tactics and contribute openly to discussion. There is not direct language, there is more politeness and there is less uncertainty avoidance.

An important factor for these results from the NAAMCO reports is that only three articles were studied from NAAMCO conferences compared to the much larger seven studied from the IWC reports. While this information might have been true for the few times Japan participated in the NAAMCO workshops, it does not exactly compare to

the annual commitment Japan has to the IWC. Refocusing on the IWC, face saving is also used to protect Japan's private sphere during the secret ballot proposal.

The first subject that is often tackled by the IWC is a proposal put forth annually by Japan to vote by secret ballot. As this violates the issue of transparency the conference strives for, it is denied every year with very little discussion. This is an example of Japan's attempt to save face. Often the votes of each country are published, opening Japan up to criticism by anti-whaling NGOs.

During a 1999 conference Japan asked that Greenpeace be removed as an observer NGO due to the fact that Greenpeace had caused damage to one of their whaling vessels when it was docked. New Zealand and France said that Japan over dramatized the situation and that what Greenpeace does is nothing but publicity stunts. The USA agreed. They said it was a non-violent action far short of sabotage or terrorism by Greenpeace, which had offered assistance at another time to Japan in an emergency. Japan made a point to say that Greenpeace violated international laws and that the issue is simple and clear (1999, IWC). Japan refused to provide data during the whaling methods workshop portion of the conference. Japan states that it provides data to those looking to improve whaling and not to conventions like this that trying to use it to stop whaling (IWC, 2004), making a very clear stance. Japan chooses to keep its data private, as to not be harassed by the NGOs. They save face by not sharing data that could be used against them. Another way Japan attempts to protect what is culturally Japanese in the private sphere is by framing the IWC as an organization that is outdated and unnecessary.

5.4 Framing

Japan uses framing to show that the IWC has lost sight of its goal and is no longer necessary or effective. Japan uses phrases like "outside the competence of the IWC", "not backed by scientific research" and, "only supporting anti-whaling nations" to define the problems of the IWC. The implied remedy to these problems is to disassemble the IWC or to lift the moratorium on whaling.

Japan often states that there is not enough scientific research to back up various petitions, specifically those for the Southern Ocean Sanctuary. Japan's representative said that if one looked at the scientific research on sanctuaries only one view is clear: "There is no scientific basis for sanctuaries" (IWC, 2001, p.31). The argument here is that a sanctuary is redundant while a moratorium is in place. Showing that the IWC lacks respect for science, when other IWC rhetoric and decision-making is focused on scientific evidence, frames the IWC as irrational. This is an attempt to show that the IWC lacks competence in making scientifically sound and rational decisions. The many proposals Japan puts in to abolish or limit the Southern Ocean sanctuary, when put to a vote, fail.

The Japanese regularly bring in supporting evidence from the scientific committee and their own whaling research to these meetings. Japan is confusing what is a transnational public sphere for a technical sphere. This brings up another potential problem for the IWC as the scientific committee often meets separately from the policy makers, separating the technical sphere from the transnational public sphere. Japan is

then free to argue, once again, that the IWC's lack of 'technical' (or scientific) evidence is proof that this organization should be disbanded.

In 1999 further discussion regarding the sanctuary caused Japan to question scientific evidence multiple times (IWC, 1999). In 2001, "Japan saw the technical committee turning down respect for science and, since the second amendment was also based on science it withdrew its request for a vote on the proposal to save time" (p.10). Japan pulling the second amendment is an attempt to show that the IWC does not respect science, therefore, if one scientifically sound amendment is denied then any amendment that is scientifically logical will not pass. Withdrawing amendments due to "lack of time" also seems like an attempt at proving the IWC's schedule to be inadequate for the subjects discussed.

Citing a 'lack of time' adds to an atmosphere of hurried decision making. By showing the IWC's inefficiency, the Japanese can make the claim that the IWC takes up too much time for petitions that manage sanctuaries and secret ballots. Japan's goal is to attempt to frame the IWC as being disorganized and inefficient. Proving this leads to its overarching point that the IWC has lost its ability to control this subject and should be disassembled. This would allow Japan to resume commercial whaling without the strict supervision of the IWC. These petitions get in the way of whaling petitions and therefore the IWC is not achieving its primary purpose, which is the regulation of whaling.

Time management has become an issue multiple times during the conference, one of these times being when Japan gave a presentation on future sustainable whaling. The

UK responded that the agenda was already too crowded for this and that it should be something they deal with during breaks or over coffee (IWC, 2004). Another example of inefficient time management was when Japan proposed an amendment to supervision requirements. Other countries complained that the document was last minute and that they did not have the chance to look over the revisions requested (IWC, 2000). Many new discussions and proposals are tabled for future conventions while petitions that are over proposed take up the bulk of the IWC's time. Another example of the problem of time management is described in the 1999 IWC report, when delegates were discussing the issue of small cetaceans, "Japan stated it would not enter into discussion on this matter since it considers small cetaceans to be outside the competence of the IWC" (p.11). The fact that Japan continues to put in these and many other petitions over and over again, despite their failing is an attempt to show the world that the IWC is not effective at time management. They use this to show the IWC that the moratorium petitions are taking up too much time during these conferences and that, in order to manage whaling, the moratorium should be lifted.

The final piece of this frame is the solution Japan proposes, which is to lift the moratorium on whaling. "Japan considered that in this context, the moratorium, which Japan had never considered to be reasonable, was even more unreasonable since it appeared to be risking local ecosystem balance" (IWC, 2000, p.12). During the 2005 conference, Japan finally released its plan to continue commercial whaling, which was not put into action. Although the Japanese delegate's continuous issuance of petitions and amendments seems like an attempt to delegitimize the IWC, this is only what seems to be

happening from a perspective of framing. It is also important to take note of other cultural factors and observations that could be coming into play during these conferences.

English is the primary language spoken at the conference. This puts any non-English speaking country at a disadvantage culturally and linguistically. It could be part of the reason Japan comes in prepared for a battle. The committee chairs of these conferences have been from England and Sweden, which are perceived as anti-whaling nations by Japan. Although the chair is in place to primarily facilitate discussion, there have been times where favoritism has been shown by English speaking countries for English speaking countries. An example of this was the 2002 IWC, when the USA petitioned for an extension of its aboriginal whaling allocation for five years. Japan and Norway argued against this causing it to fail and leaving the USA without any whaling allocations. The USA promptly petitioned the chair as other English speaking nations expressed their regrets that some of the people of Japan and Norway do not have means, other than whaling, to sustain themselves. After a two-day discussion and two private meetings, with the chair of the convention the USA was granted its petition without discussion and the conference moved on. All of this taking place during the limited policy making portion of the conference.

An interesting shift from an English chairperson to a Swedish chairperson may clarify future proceedings. English speaking countries have a rapport that presents itself as bias. One could assume those who speak Nordic languages may show a similar rapport with each other. A Swedish chair may have cultural and linguistic ties to Norway. Although the moratorium has not been lifted since the Swedish chairperson took over, the

convention has become more organized in terms of management. Under Sweden's chairperson, a proposal to lift the moratorium on whaling was also heard, which differed from previous conventions. This study has demonstrated the political ties between Norway and Japan. Shifting the chairpersonship to Sweden could be the change toward whaling Japan needs to actualize its goal of resuming commercial whaling.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

According to the data and history presented in this study, Japan has been a master at adapting to the transnational public sphere. The delegates can frame a debate well; they take western cultural values and manipulate dialogue around them to use against western delegates who oppose them. Norway's support of Japan provides reinforces the frames Japan's delegates have put in place. Because of this strong debate style, masculine and collectivistic cultural values and strong tendency toward uncertainty avoidance, Japan's cultural background sheds light on how their representative communicates during the

IWC.

The most interesting finding is that the cultural labels put on people are not always the whole picture. In fact, people from different backgrounds can shed what is their cultural norm in order to gain power or set the agenda in an intercultural setting. Hofstede's (2001) scales have merit as general descriptors of language and behavior, but they do not apply to every individual of one culture or another. Like the representative of Japan at the IWC, people can interact with each other through learning cultural norms, or through persuasive speaking training. The Japanese delegate successfully sheds and takes on cultural norms during this convention in order to gain success in an English dominant sphere. This proficiency in the transnational public sphere makes Japan a force to be reckoned with. Researchers tend to view Hofstede's (2001) cultural dimensions as operational definitions and assume that those from these cultures will behave according to these defined norms. I have shown that people cannot assume a 'cultural norm' to always be true. This violation of expectations was exciting to discover and serves to

highlight the importance of studying the transnational public sphere. This sphere is portrayed as a communicative space that is influenced by cultural norms but is simultaneously separated from the individual cultural communicative norms that representatives follow. In order for the IWC to be prepared for the agile frames that Japan has set up for, a few suggestions should be followed.

6.1 Suggestions for the IWC

The IWC's workshop for whale killing methods is where a majority of conflict occurs. Whaling and anti-whaling nations debate about whether or not whaling is ethical which takes time away from other, more effective discussions. The first suggestion I have for the IWC is to comprise the workshop for killing whales with only past and current whale hunting nations. This takes away the need to go in defending procedures and allows for a more constructive dialogue to emerge. This is already the case with NAAMCO, which allows only whale hunters into their workshops. Inviting hunters from all over the world to share their techniques would result in a more informed decision and minimize defensiveness. A practitioner's perspective could also prove to be very educational. Practitioner dialogue should be the emphasis of this workshop. As it is now, the IWC organizes this workshop based on policy issues. This is not all negative, but any anti-whaling discussion makes whaling nations uncomfortable and unwilling to share helpful data. Using a practitioner model also puts Japan in the spotlight by allowing its hunters to be an example of Japan's national pride. Japan would not be forced into a corner by countries that do not have local whaling practices and instead a more productive discussion would be permitted to take place.

A problem with this suggestion is that anti or non-whaling nations would not be allowed to participate in the workshop, which goes against transparency touted by the IWC and blocks a large contingency of the IWC providing input. To offset this, there should be a presentation by the government representatives about this workshop that should allow for substantial input from non or anti-whaling nations. Policy should be discussed after this presentation. This also saves time as the whaling workshop would not have to be completed during the actual IWC meeting, which is known for having a limited time for dialogue.

Japan frames the IWC as incompetent by showing its lack of time management capabilities. This theme of 'not enough time' was present throughout six years of data analysis. To control dialogue in the best interest of time, the frequency of petitions submitted should be limited, possibly to every two years. This will limit not just Japan's petitions on secret ballots for its four coastal communities, which notoriously take up time, but also limit other countries' attempts to add sanctuaries. Limiting petitions could enhance IWC's time management as well, which means that more productive dialogue and workshops can replace the hostility of voting on repetitive amendments. These suggestions could help the IWC become a more peaceful and productive atmosphere. While well researched, there are, of course, limitations to this study and what can be done with a textual analysis.

6.2 Limitations

There were many limitations to this study. The most devastating was the inaccessibility of Japanese records regarding the IWC. Despite having contacted various

university libraries and Joint Aquatic Research Permit Application (JARPA), I was unable to access the Japanese records that would have really given this research study the perspective it needed. Instead of being able to look at the Japanese opinion from the Japanese perspective, I was forced into examining the Japanese perspective from an English speaking perspective. This limited the study, as I was unable to examine the primary culture that contributes most to this conference from its own perspective.

If I were to conduct this research again, the first thing I would do is find someone to assist me abroad in collecting Japanese language data. I would suggest having someone who is studying at a university in Japan go through relevant records in their own language or contact JARPA. I am sure the reason I was not given a response from JARPA was because of my non-native Japanese language ability. Having an actual Japanese person helping in this study could have solicited a response from JARPA, as well as provide some deeper perspective into some of the Japanese statements during the IWC. Interviewing also could have provided a deeper understanding into this intercultural phenomenon.

Another limitation to this study is that I was not able to actually attend these conferences, and, therefore, unable to interview representatives in person. I think there is a lot of potential insight that can be gained from individuals directly. Adding interviews to this study would have enhanced it and given another perspective on this organization to examine. However, the lack of access to these conferences makes this very difficult. One must either have a lot of funding or access to a gate-keeper or participants of the conference. So although interviews would have been a great addition to this study, the

IWC's lack of transparency in regards to observers makes that very difficult. If one does decide to replicate or extent this study, I can provide insight as to what one may expect.

6.3 Future Research and Expectations

To help improve the atmosphere of international policy negotiations, more research on the communication of the IWC is needed. Although conferences are closed to the public, the IWC's stated commitment to transparency means that documents are easy to access and study via the IWC website. A logical next step would be to examine documents leading from 2005 to present time. Doing this would be useful for tracking the progress of the IWC and to note shifts in the ever-changing transnational public sphere. Over the six years that were examined in depth in this research, the IWC has gone from discussing only large cetaceans and primarily focusing on hunting whales, to discussing environmental conditions related to whale populations in general. There was also the addition of small cetacean research and in 2005 hearing a plan to lift the ban on commercial whaling. In more current analyses, I'd expect to see an increasing emphasis on environmental factors contributing to whale population statistics and possibly more countries putting in petitions for research whaling. This and many other international policy debates continue to become more common in our world. A deeper look into the communication of Eastern countries like Japan and Western countries like the USA may shed light on how our globalized society can interact more constructively.

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