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Silence and avoidance: Japanese expatriate adjustment

Yosei Sugawara

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SILENCE AND AVOIDANCE:
JAPANESE EXPATRIATE ADJUSTMENT

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
Interdisciplinary Studies

by
Yosei Sugawara
June 1993
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ABSTRACT

This research examined the possible relationship between the common Japanese communication strategy, tatemae, and the documented absence of maladjustment's adverse effects upon the Japanese expatriate population. Questionnaires soliciting informational, behavioral and attitudinal responses were sent to Japanese and American workers in 658 Japanese-held companies in Southern California.

The results indicated that the Japanese expatriate population in Southern California has indeed isolated itself from the wider American culture, and that isolation has prevented them from successfully adjusting to life away from their home country. There were implications that the lack of adjustment has had a negative impact on their ability to interact effectively with their American coworkers.

It was suggested that the cause underlying the failure to adjust is rooted in the Japanese cultural dimension of uncertainty avoidance. Further, there were indications that the communication strategy, tatemae, had prevented Japanese firms from both recognizing the extent to which their expatriate personnel is affected by maladjustment, and realizing the potential of intercultural communication training in terms of maximizing the cost-effectiveness of their expatriate management program.

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INTRODUCTION

In a recent survey of 264 Japanese executives (U.S. News & World Report, July 6, 1992), only twenty percent of the respondents said that their U.S. subsidiaries were paying off. As March (1992) has pointed out, one of the reasons behind nonprofitability is the cost involved in maintaining large expatriate workforces. It has been suggested that this will force Japanese multinationals to begin to rely more often upon local management; however, in order for the integration of locals to take place, effective intercultural communication is prerequisite.

The following study presents evidence that this is particularly difficult when that communication is between the Japanese and the Americans. It will be suggested that one of the most serious barriers to communication between the two groups involves a pervasive tendency for the Japanese to avoid interaction with Americans. A historical overview of Japan and her relations with the United States will provide a context for a discussion and comparison of cultures and communication patterns, both inside and outside of Japanese and American organizations, in order to explain the Japanese avoidance.

While this avoidance has been seen to be indicative of a failure in the adjustment process and of widespread Japanese
maladjustment, other research suggests that Japanese expatriates do not experience the negative effects of cultural maladjustment with the frequency predicted. It is suggested by the author that the absence of the usual adverse effects has allowed Japanese companies to avoid implementing communication and cultural training which would ease expatriate adjustment.

Research designed to investigate possible causes for the apparent absence of the usual effects of maladjustment in the Japanese expatriate population will be presented. Based upon the findings of that research, it will be suggested that many Japanese expatriates are, in fact, suffering the effects of maladjustment; however, the effects are not the ones traditionally associated with maladjustment and can not easily be examined using traditional research techniques.
CHAPTER ONE
The Historical Context

Communication predicated on economic interests has typified the relationship between the U.S. and Japan since Commodore Perry steamed into Tokyo Bay in 1853. Unfortunately, since Perry and his "black ships" first entered Japanese water, communication breakdowns between the two nations have marked most major contacts, sometimes causing inconvenience and sometimes, as in the case of World War II, tragedy. In order to provide a context for the discussion of cultural and communication patterns which will follow, this chapter will present a brief overview of Japanese history with particular reference to Japan's contacts with the United States. It will become apparent that many of the misunderstandings disturbing the relationship between the United States and Japan today are reflections of misunderstandings that occurred in the past.

From Isolation to the Collapse of the Shogunate

Since its prehistory, Japan has been a homogeneous society. Archaeological research indicates that the initial inhabitants of the islands were from a single Asian culture, the Jomon. Between the time of first settlement and the beginning of the historical period in the fifth century A.D., wet paddy agriculture was brought in by later immigrants from
continental Asia. It is speculated that this may have led to the formation of the Japanese state; however, the immigrants themselves were quickly absorbed into the native population. There is no archaeological evidence to suggest that any significant immigration took place after this period.

The centralized feudal system that developed during the Tokugawa period institutionalized the national homogeneity. In Tokugawa Japan, the samurai accounted for only six percent of the population; merchants, craftsmen, priests and performers were approximately fourteen percent; the remaining 80 percent of the population were peasants.

In Europe and continental Asia, the aristocracy and peasants formed very distinct, hierarchically arranged status groups. In Japan, the samurai, unlike the upper classes in feudal England, Europe, India and China, were not landowners or merchants. Although samurai status was hereditary, samurai families were paid a salary (in rice) which varied according to the value of their services. Nakane (1973) likens them to modern Japanese bureaucrats.

In the villages, where eighty percent of the population resided, there were no significant differences in wealth or status. Individual ranking, rather than class stratification, was the basic organizational pattern of Japanese agrarian society.

Under the rule of the Tokugawa Bakufu, Japan was
effectively isolated from the rest of the world. The rationale behind this isolation was complex. The government felt that Catholic converts did not believe in the Bakufu’s absolute authority. There were fears that a common interest in Christianity might unite other warlords hostile to the ruling Tokugawa clan, and there was apprehension about the growing importance of the European powers in Japan’s economy.

In response to these potential threats, the Bakufu proscribed Christianity, limited foreign traders to specific ports, and prohibited the Japanese from traveling overseas. The isolating measures continued. By 1641 only the Chinese and Dutch were allowed access to Japanese markets and that access could come only through Dejima, a small island in the southern port of Nagasaki.

On November 24, 1852, Matthew Perry embarked with three steamers, four sailing ships, and three supply ships for Japan. His official mission was threefold. He was to get permission for American ships to obtain food, water, coal and needed repair work on one of the islands of Japan. He was to get some sort of official agreement about the treatment of American seamen who might shipwreck in the Japan Sea. Lastly, he was to negotiate for American ships to be able to enter one or more ports in order to sell or barter their cargo.

Arriving at Uraga Bay, the outer edge of Tokyo Bay, on the evening of July 8, 1853, Perry was immediately notified by
the Japanese that he and his accompanying ships must sail south to Nagasaki. He refused. In fact, Perry informed the officials in Uraga that someone should leave for Edo (now Tokyo) to inform the court of his presence and of his desire to present an official letter from U.S. President Fillmore. When he was informed that it was a national regulation that all diplomatic communications must first be received in Nagasaki, Perry said that in three days he would either present the letter at Uraga to a suitably high official or he would sail into Tokyo Bay and land in Edo itself in order to present the letter there. The messenger was dispatched.

While waiting for a response from Edo, Perry began measuring the depths of Uraga Bay. Japanese officials informed him that such measurements were against the law but the Commodore countered that they were required by U.S. law. He also warned that he would fire on the Japanese patrol ships sent to stop him unless they left immediately. Reluctantly, Edo decided to accept the letter at Uraga, primarily in order to stop Perry’s activities inside the Bay.

The ceremony to accept the letter was initially successful from the Japanese point of view. The letter from President Fillmore had been received with honor and Perry appeared to be satisfied. Immediately afterward, the relieved Bakufu dispatched a letter to Perry which said, in effect, that since the letter from the President had been accepted, it
would be best if Perry departed immediately.

Although the letter was couched in the most polite terms possible, Perry correctly interpreted the Japanese response as an indication that the Bakufu had not agreed to the requests made in the President's letter. The acceptance of the letter, far from being the acceptance of the President's terms that it had appeared to the Americans to be, now was seen by Perry as a mockery. Angered by what he perceived as Japanese arrogance, the Commodore ordered all the ships accompanying him to move deep inside Tokyo Bay to demonstrate the strength of the American position. After three days, Perry and his troops left; however, before his departure, he informed the Bakufu that he would return.

Perry did indeed return in 1854, the following year. This time his purpose was to forge an official treaty with the Bakufu. When the Japanese protested his entrance into Tokyo Bay and suggested that the negotiations be held at Uraga as had been done previously, Perry countered that, if the Bakufu resisted his wishes, he would force entry into Tokyo. He stated that he could summon 100 U.S. ships and count on their arrival within 20 days. The Japanese stalled direct answers to his demands, finally building Treaty House in Uraga and imploring Perry to be satisfied with this location. Growing impatient with the delays and having been somewhat mollified by the conciliatory tone the Japanese had adopted, Perry sent
his representative to begin negotiations at Treaty House. The treaty (Kanagawa Jyovaku) finally agreed upon opened three ports to U.S. ships and granted the U.S. most favored nation status.

Under a treaty subsequently negotiated in 1858 by Townsend Harris (Nichibei Shuko Tsusho Jyovaku), more ports were opened, and the Japanese government surrendered its right to tax U.S. imports. In the same year, the Dutch, Russians, English and French were allowed the same rights as the U.S. The Tokugawa Bafuku, overloaded by Western demands to open the country, had entered into a series of unfavorable treaties. Japan’s isolation had forcibly ended.

The results were profound. Because of the fierce disagreement over the attitude Japan should take towards the Western powers, the 268 years of the Tokugawa shogunate ended and the imperial court was restored to power. Ii Naosuke, a member of the Tokugawa Bakufu, insisted upon the ratification of the 1858 commercial treaty with the U.S. This support led to Ii’s assassination in 1860. In the same year, the first embassy was sent to the West by the Tokugawa to try, unsuccessfully, to negotiate better terms, and to obtain new technology. Their efforts were unsuccessful. In 1867, the last Tokugawa shogun surrendered his office.

Westernization and the Japanese Empire

In 1868, a five point proclamation was issued by the
young emperor, Mutsuhito. The fifth point, which stated that "(k)nowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule" (Colcutt, Jansen and Kumakura 1988, p. 169), had profound effects. Translations of Western books suddenly became popular in Japan, and intellectuals and students were sent overseas. The government dispatched the Iwakura Mission, a group of 100 key leaders on a twenty one month tour of all the Western countries with which Japan had formal contact. The Mission was divided into teams that studied commerce, industry and education. Their findings heavily influenced the future of Japan.

One member of the Iwakura Mission, Takayoshi Kido, wrote from the United States that "when it comes to things like schools and factories, it is impossible to tell you everything, for it defies description" (Colcutt, Jansen and Kumakura 1988, p. 180). Impressed with American land development, the ambassadors hired the Grant administration’s Commissioner of Agriculture to help plan the development of the large northern island of Hokkaido.

Based upon the recommendations of the mission, the government invested heavily in model western-style manufacturing plants. The unequal treaties with the western powers, however, made protection and successful competition impossible for Japanese industries. The Japanese were forced
to concentrate on exports of raw silk and tea, and government
debt grew. During this period, the last of the samurai
domains were consolidated and transformed into prefectures
under the direct control of the imperial government. The
impetus for this came from a letter written to the Imperial
Court by the heads of the Satsuma, Choshu and Tosa clans. In
the letter, it was urged that "all the regulations, from the
ordering of laws, institutions and military affairs...issue
from the imperial government" so that the empire would "stand
beside the foreign powers." (Colcutt, Jansen and Kumakura
1988, p. 171). The individual military power of the clans was
joined into a 10,000 man imperial guard.

In the same decade, the samurai warrior class was
dispersed. Foreign example led Japan to try mixed commoner-
samurai military units and it was found that the commoners
were easier to manage. Members of the Iwakura Mission, in
Paris during the Franco-Prussian War, wrote that the Japanese
citizens must be trained and armed if Japan were to survive in
the international environment. National conscription was
introduced.

The samurai as a class, although not as an ideal, had
become unnecessary for the imperial government. The clan
members were pensioned off and offered low interest loans so
that they could become merchants or farmers. Many refused.
They suggested, instead, that their expertise be put to use in
a "mission" to Korea. The new imperial government had tried to establish relations with Korea, canceling the previous arrangement between the Tokugawa Bakufu and the Korean court. The Koreans answered that if Japan "chose to behave like the West...then they would have to be grouped with the barbarians and excluded" (Colcutt, Jansen and Kumakura 1988, p. 175). Tokyo decided to invade Korea.

The decision to invade was overruled before it was implemented. Members of the Iwakura Mission argued that Japan was not strong enough for overseas expansion. If Japan conquered Korea at this point, the Western powers would step in and steal their prize. They urged Japan to wait until the military was strong enough to hold off the Westerners.

In 1881, the new Minister of Finance, Matsukata Masayoshi, introduced policies of public austerity and deflation. Public operation of the expensive model factories was discontinued, sin taxes were raised, and other indirect taxes were implemented. Through these measures, the Japanese government was able to save over twenty-eight percent of its annual revenue. Political disturbances and low standards of quality control on the Chinese mainland gave Japan the edge in international exporting of raw silk and tea. Competition, internally and internationally, between Japanese merchants was discouraged by the government. Mergers were rewarded. In the meantime, a national survey of industrialization was made that
estimated the possibility of expanding production in every sector of the traditional economy.

The government, with its access to capital, became the major investor in the economy. Patrick and Rosovsky (1976) state that the government's share of capital formation never averaged less than forty percent during this period and was frequently even more. Johnson (1982) describes this as "developmental" capitalism and states that, during this time, the pattern for modern Japanese business/government relations was established. The conviction of inherited disadvantage in international competition (through unequal treaties with the West and because of Japan's lack of natural resources) produced patterns of guidance and cooperation from and with the government.

During this period, Yukichi Fukuzawa urged Japan to turn away from its Chinese traditions. Due to Confucianism, he wrote, "(t)here is a tendency in our society, to my great disgust, to respect as prudent those who hardly speak...in the presence of others." (Okabe 1960, p. 191). He also warned that Japan should not let itself by confused with China or Asia by Westerners. Japan should "get out" of Asia (Colcutt, Jansen and Kumakura 1988, p. 175).

In the 1890's, government military expenditures rose rapidly and in 1894 the Sino-Japanese War began in Korea. It lasted only one year and concluded with the Treaty of
Shimonoseki. In the treaty, China gave the Japanese the Liaodong Peninsula, Taiwan, the Pescadores, and relinquished all claims on Korea. Additionally, Japan was given commercial privileges in Chinese ports and was paid an indemnity of around 310 million yen. This money was used to begin the Yawata Iron and Steel Works, the first heavy industry in Japan.

The Japanese military, in 1900, aided Great Britain in putting down the Boxer Rebellion. This cooperation led to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. As part of the terms of the Alliance, Japan was assured of Great Britain's naval support in any conflicts with other European powers. This assurance enabled Japan to move against the Russian seizure of the Liaodong Peninsula. The Russian Baltic fleet, in 1904, was totally destroyed by the Japanese Navy. The Russians, in 1905, returned the Liaodong Peninsula and the southern half of Sakhalin Island. The Russians also moved out of both Manchuria and Korea. Japan annexed Korea five years later.

When World War I began, Japan again declared itself an ally of England. The war contribution was limited, however, to the seizure of German holdings in Shandong and the South Pacific. During this period, Japan was able to pour capital into textile plants in Shanghai and to emerge as a major shipbuilder. At the conclusion of the war, Japan was recognized as one of the "Big Five" at the Versailles
Conference and was granted a seat in the League of Nations. Japan appeared to have finally arrived at military parity with the western powers.

The Washington Treaty of 1922, however, limited the influence of Japan, the U.S., England, Italy and France in China. The Treaty promised China political independence and territorial integrity while it allowed the world powers to keep existing economic rights in China. Under the treaty, Japan was allowed its economic development of China but was not allowed to maintain its political influence in Manchuria. Japan, in order to continue its relationship with the U.S. and England, stuck to the treaty until the nationalist movement in China gained strength.

When the Nationalist Party took action to unite China, the Japanese military argued that their government must rid itself of the political parties which supported the Washington Treaty and must interfere in China in order to protect the national interest. The military influence resulted in the assassination of Zhang Zuolin (1928), the invasion of northeastern China (1931), and several attempted coups (1931) within the Japanese government. Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933. In the face of British and American protests against military action in Manchuria, Japan withdrew from the London Conference and, in order to prevent action by the English and, particularly, the Americans, signed
the Anti-Comintern Pact with Italy and Germany.

In the following year, a fight between a Chinese military unit and Japanese soldiers garrisoned in Beijing broke out. The Tosei faction in the Japanese government immediately launched punitive strikes against China. Most notable was the "Rape of Nanking" where, the Western press reported, over 300,000 Chinese civilians were killed. English and U.S. public opinion turned completely against Japan. In 1940, Japan signed a ten-year alliance with Italy and Germany. The pact stated that if Italy, Germany or Japan went to war with the U.S., the other members of the alliance would give assistance. In the same year, Japan's Foreign Minister, Yosuke Matsuoka, signed a Neutrality Treaty with Russia; thus, according to the Japanese view, forming a German, Japanese, Italian and Soviet military coalition which would act as a deterrent to U.S. military action. Instead, Japan's alliance with Germany and Italy convinced the U.S. that Japan was fascist.

In July of 1941, the Emperor signed a declaration establishing the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Almost immediately, the Japanese military invaded and occupied Indochina. The U.S. retaliated by freezing Japanese assets and cutting off oil supplies. When the United States' Cordell Hull refused to even moderate and provisional proposals made by the Japanese ambassador in Washington, the Japanese
government realized that confrontation was inevitable. Faced with shrinking supplies, the Japanese military warned that, although they could not win in a long-term war with the U.S., an early decisive strike might change the setting for negotiations and might even break the U.S. determination to stand in Japan’s way in Asia. A precedent for forced negotiations had been established by Perry less than 100 years before. The surprise appearance of Perry’s ships and the military strength they demonstrated, had forced Japan to reassess its position in relation to the rest of the world. It was reasonable to believe that dealing with the Americans in the same way as they had dealt with the Tokugawa Bakufu would produce similar results.

In December, Pearl Harbor was attacked. Twenty-two vessels were sunk or disabled and 3,700 Americans were killed or wounded. The attack did force the U.S. to reassess its position. Unfortunately for Japan, this reassessment did not lead to negotiations but to a determination to accept only an unconditional surrender. In May and June of 1942, the Battle of Midway took place. Although the fighting continued for three more years, Japan had effectively lost the war six months after it began.

In 1945, B-29’s dropped incendiary bombs on all the principal cities of Japan excepting Kyoto. All over the Pacific, Japanese troops were cut off without supplies. In
the spring, the American invasion of Okinawa began. At the Potsdam Conference, President Truman issued a statement that, it was believed, would reassure the Japanese government and hurry their inevitable surrender. The president stated that the U.S. occupation would only last until:

> there has been established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people a peacefully inclined and responsible government. (Colcutt, Jansen and Kumakura 1988, p. 204)

The Japanese government replied by, in essence, not replying. They officially employed mokusatsu (ignoring) of Truman's statement. On August 6th and 9th, atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Japanese government offered the United States surrender if the emperor were retained. The U.S. replied that the emperor would be subject to the occupation forces as would all the Japanese. The Japanese cabinet turned to the emperor for a decision. He formally accepted the Potsdam Declaration on August 15, 1945 and representatives signed the documents of surrender to the Allied Forces on September 2nd.

**From the Occupation to the Present**

The occupation of Japan was commanded by General Douglas A. MacArthur. He first established the General Headquarters (GHQ) of the occupying forces in Yokohama and subsequently moved it to Tokyo. Although the occupation was in the name of the Allied Forces, in reality it was totally controlled by the
Despite the fact that the Allied Forces predicted strong hostility and resistance from the occupied Japanese, the occupation went smoothly. The Americans were able to maintain the existing Japanese administrative systems and to rule indirectly through them. GHQ's main objective for the occupation was to insure that Japan would pose no future threat to the U.S. and the world. In order to accomplish this, they broke Japanese military influence, promoting the demilitarization of political, economic and social areas.

In 1952, when the U.S. occupation forces left Japan, Japanese private enterprise, working in concert with the Japanese government, concentrated on increasing national economic growth. Their efforts focused on investment in the infrastructure, increasing manufacturing productivity and increasing both personal and governmental consumption of locally made goods. Development was shifted away from agricultural production, previously the mainstay of Japan's home economy, and towards manufacturing production.

Tax exemptions and other incentives were given to encourage private savings and investments. A national savings system was put into place, directed by the Ministry of Finance and the Bank of Japan (an arm of the government). These agencies, therefore, were able to provide Japanese industry with investment funds at low interest rates. At the same
time, limits were put on capital transfers out of country, increasing both the savings rate and the discretionary income of the local consumer base.

For overseas markets, the Japanese government identified those that offered the best long-term potential. The U.S., in particular, was an attractive export target because of its size, its open market policies and because of the relative strength of the U.S. dollar.

Japanese manufacturing initially concentrated on exporting products which were relatively labor intensive. Inexpensive textiles and toys were among the first successful exports. By the 1970's, Japanese business was a strong presence in the world export market. Their success is evidenced by the fact that the Japanese GNP quintupled in the period from 1954 to 1971. Although the initial export items were low-cost, the high volume of sales provided enough capital for the export focus to shift to higher value-added products, vehicles and capital-intensive goods. The Japanese population of today is overwhelmingly urban, middle-class and salaried (Colcutt, Jansen and Kumakura 1991). As a nation, Japan owns more overseas assets than any other country (DeAnne 1989); and Japan is now the leading creditor nation in the world (Gakken 1991). Sixty-eight percent of Japan's top 500 companies have a direct commercial presence in the U.S. and eighty-five percent of the Japanese investments in the
U.S. are wholly-owned subsidiaries (US & FCS 1993, April 7).

In 1986, 80,000 people in the United States worked in Japanese-run factories and an estimated 240,000 were employed in Japanese-owned firms (Rubin, DeHart and Heintzman 1991). That number had grown by 1992. The U.S. News & World Report (July 6, 1992) stated that more than 430,000 Americans are employed by the 2,000-plus Japanese companies present in the United States.

In summary, Japan is a nation that has been profoundly changed by its contacts with the West -- in particular, with the United States. Its rapid change from a self-sufficient agrarian economy to a world trading partner (less than twenty years from Perry's first visit), from entrenched isolationism to burgeoning imperialism (barely forty years from the first contact with the U.S), and from economic devastation to its present economic position (less than fifty years from the end of World War II) has been in reaction to American influence.

Several Japanese historians have deplored what they see as the Americanization of Japan. For example, Toriumi (1974) states that the adoption of externally imposed ideals and the superficial quality of their incorporation in the Japanese culture create great contradictions in modern Japan. Others interpret the borrowing, modification and adoption of "foreign" methods and ideals differently.

The Japanese have traditionally looked at the
successes of other countries and then taken the appropriate features from those countries and incorporated them into their own lifestyle, resulting in a culture that is uniquely "Japanese". This unique culture is .... future oriented, materialistic, systematic, with its many parts working together as a whole (Kelly, Whateley and Worthley 1986).
CHAPTER TWO

Culture and Communication in Japan and the United States

If the interactions between the United States and Japan described above are analyzed solely as communication events, it would appear that they have mainly been failures. A failure in communication is defined as the incorrect interpretation of an intended message (Porter and Samovar 1991). Normally, the breakdown is seen as the receiver's failure in decoding the message or as the sender's failure in encoding.

In contrast, in intercultural communication, although the message is perfectly encoded according to the communication patterns of the sender and perfectly decoded according to the communication patterns of the receiver, misinterpretations of the intended messages are common. The present chapter will present a review of the literature on the differences in culture, language and communication patterns which have affected (and are still affecting) the interactions between the United States and Japan.

The Relationship Between Culture and Communication Patterns

Communicative behavior is governed by culturally generated and contextually bound rules (Samovar and Porter 1991). The effectiveness of intercultural communication is, therefore, directly affected by the degree of divergence in
the rules that are dictated by the communicants' cultures. These rules, in turn, are direct expressions of a culture's values and perceptions. We might expect, therefore, that the greater the divergence in cultural traits, the more serious and frequent the number of communication misunderstandings. Mishier (1965, p. 555) said "[t]he greater the cultural differences, the more likely barriers to communication and misunderstandings become."

Barnlund (1975) describes this with his interpersonal equation.

"Interpersonal Understanding" is a function of or dependent upon the degree of "Similarity of Perceptual Orientations," "Similarity of Systems of Belief" and "Similarities of Communicative Styles" (p. 12).

Perceptual orientation is defined as the concept of reality and the degree of flexibility with which that concept is organized. The term, systems of belief, as defined by Barnlund, refers to the conclusions drawn from life experiences: i.e., opinions. Communicative styles, although inclusive of preferred topics and forms of interaction, are primarily concerned with reliance on the same communication patterns.

In order, therefore, to understand the reasons for the frequent communication failures between the Japanese and Americans, it is first necessary to understand the degree of difference that exists between the Japanese and American
cultures and their related communication patterns.

Cultural Patterns

Okabe (1987) divided the cultures of the United States and Japan into four categories for the purpose of study: societal traits, interpersonal values, patterns of thought and views of nature. He found that the divergence between the Japanese and Americans was great in each of the four areas.

In the category of societal traits, Okabe contrasts the heterogeneity of the U.S. with the homogeneity of Japan. Maruyama (1961) elaborated on this theme with the concepts of sasara and takotsubo. A sasara is a split bamboo washing broom. Maruyama describes U.S. society as having central values (like the separate but bound splinters of bamboo in the sasara handle) that split and are useful because of their differences (like the spread splinters on the end of the sasara). Japanese society, on the other hand, is analogous to the takotsubo. The takotsubo is a clay vase used by octopus fishermen. The octopus climbs inside, fitting itself to the vase. The octopus finds safety inside the takotsubo just as the Japanese fit themselves into and find safety in their society. Maruyama adds that the takotsubo, unlike the sasara, has an inside and an outside. One is either a member of Japanese society, an insider, or a gaijin, an outsider. Yum (1991), less poetically but more concisely, contrasts the sharp distinction between in-group and out-group members found
in East Asian interpersonal relationships with the much hazier distinctions made in North American relationships.

Benedict (1946) contrasts Japanese shame with American guilt. She states that shame is felt in relation to others. If the majority behave in a certain way, there is no shame attached to that behavior. Guilt, on the other hand, is individualized. A personal god, or one's own conscience, dictate what behavior is correct and what is worthy of guilt. Nakane (1973) describes the Japanese view as "relativism." She states that:

[t]he Japanese have no religious practice or belief that controls individual thinking and behavior on the strength of a supernatural being; the viatl role is played not by religion or philosophy but by a very human morality. The yardstick of this morality is always determined by contemporary trends. 'I must do this because A and B also do it' or 'they will laugh at me unless I do such and such' rules the life of the individual with greater force than any other consideration (p. 155).

Okabe (1987) contrasts the U.S. interpersonal values of independence, symmetrical relationships and individuality with the mutual dependence, complementary relationships and conformity of the Japanese. Thought patterns which emphasize attainment of the "absolute" truth by means of objective, analytical thinking (U.S.) are compared to the "relative" truth the Japanese arrive at by means of subjective, synthesizing thinking. Finally, Okabe notes that the American approach to nature is to confront and conquer; while the Japanese is to adapt to and harmonize with it.
Japanese is to adapt to and harmonize with it.

Yum (1991), in her comparison of North American and East Asian orientations to interpersonal relationship patterns, notes that East Asian relationships are particularistic; i.e., the exact relationship of the parties and the context of their interaction determine the rules and patterns followed. North Americans, on the other hand, have a universalistic orientation; i.e., objective rules and general patterns are applied to diverse relationships and contexts. Reciprocity is long-term and asymmetrical in East Asian relationships; while, in North America, those relationships are short-term and symmetrical.

It is apparent that the differences between the two cultures are great. Japanese and American values and perceptual patterns are, in many cases, can be described by antonyms. In fact, Japan and the U.S. are at opposite ends of the spectrum on most indices of cultural characteristics (see, for example, Hall 1984; Okabe 1987; Hall and Hall 1987). As would be expected, given the cultural origin of communication rules, this divergence is seen in each culture's communication patterns.

Cultural Communication Patterns

Intercultural communication studies have differentiated between cultural communication patterns on the basis of several dimensions: context, power distance, uncertainty
avoidance, masculinity, assertiveness, individualism, and immediacy.

In any discussion of cultural traits or patterns, there is, as Barnlund points out, a need to consider the danger of oversimplification. Subcultures and individual differences exist inside each culture (Mead 1960; Stewart 1972) and their impact on cultural variables can be profound. The United States, for example, is comprised of numerous co-cultures (Samovar and Porter 1991); however, the majority of communication research conducted in the United States has focused on people of Northern and Western European descent, leaving a considerable percentage of the population unstudied. Even in a homogeneous society such as Japan, generalizations can be dangerous. Sugimoto and Mouer (1982), for example, warn that Japanese cultural characteristics cannot be discussed without considerations of subcultural and individual differences.

While oversimplified generalizations may lead to false assumptions of similarity, stereotypes and preconceptions, further barriers to successful communication (Barna 1991), generalization is the only method that allows us both to classify and to compare: essentials for any discussion of intercultural variations. If specific traits are found to be normally distributed in a culture, subcultural and individual variations can be seen as the tails of the bell curve. As
long as we are aware of the unavoidable simplification of diversity that any categorization entails, research findings based on generalizations can validly be used to delineate differences between cultures.

Hofstede (1986) stated that communication dimensions both shape and are shaped by the languages of the cultures studied. As Porter (1972) restated the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, "(c)ulture and language are inseparably intertwined" (p. 13). The English and Japanese languages are, predictably, very different.

English is a structure-dependent language. The position of each word in a clause is critical to an understanding of the message being conveyed. In the five most common English clause forms (Cook 1983), the subject (actor) precedes the verb (the action or state being described). The sentence "John killed Mary" has a very different meaning than "Mary killed John;" while, "Mary John killed" is nonsensical.

Japanese, on the other hand, is an agglutinative language; the subjects, objects and possessives in sentence structures are indicated by particles affixed to word stems, and not by sentence position. Thus "John(subj) Mary(obj) killed" and "Mary(obj) John(subj) killed" are identical in meaning. Typically, verbs come at the end of a sentence, requiring listeners to hear the sentence out completely before they understand the action or state being described.
Sixty percent of all Japanese words have a Chinese origin (Gakken 1990). Since Japanese is not a tonal language, all four tones of each Chinese phoneme condense into a single sound in Japanese. This has resulted in what one author has referred to as an "extreme plethora of homonyms" (Becker 1986, p. 81). Becker states that because of the numerous homonyms in Japanese, the speaker must "assume that the listeners all imagine the same single meaning of the homonym that the speaker intends" (p. 81). Therefore, Japanese communication depends heavily on the cooperation and patience of the listener.

Nagashima (1973) described communication in terms of "minimum message" and "maximum message." He explains these communication patterns on the basis of the information content explicit in the messages of each, stating that, in a minimum message communication, "(t)he success depends not upon the quality of the message but also upon the receiver's instinctual understanding of it" (Nagashima pp. 94-95); while in a maximum message communication, "(t)he success of the communication depends almost entirely upon the sender's ability to compose a logically consistent message, the receiver being only required to understand the language used." (Nagashima pp. 94-95). In other words, minimum message communication is receiver-centered communication and maximum message communication is sender-centered (Yum 1991).
in terms of context. A high context communication is:

one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted parts of the message (Hall 1976, p.91).

In low context communication, the information of a message is carried by the explicit code. Bernstein (1964), before Hall, explained context using the terms "restricted code" and "elaborated code." In restricted code cultures, communication interactions primarily occur nonverbally while interactions in elaborated code cultures rely heavily on verbal communication. High and low context communications have also been explained as "expanding" and "holding-in" communications (Barnlund 1975), and "covert" and "overt communications" (Hall 1976; Kume 1989).

Porter and Samovar (1991), comparing cultural communication patterns on the dimension of context, classified the Japanese as the highest context culture of the eleven studied. American culture was among the lowest. Other research supports the finding of a sharp difference between Japanese and Americans on the dimension of context. A study by Cambra, Ishii and Klopf (1978) found that, by comparison with Americans, the Japanese spoke less frequently and for shorter periods of time, were less likely to initiate and maintain conversations, were less inclined to talk, and were less fluent than were Americans. Ishii and Klopf’s (1976)
less fluent than were Americans. Ishii and Klopf's (1976) survey indicated that the Japanese spend considerably less time on verbal communication each day than do Americans. Kondo (1981) claims that the Japanese communicate primarily with their minds and not with spoken words as the Americans do. Kunihiro (1976) states that language is a means of communication for the Japanese while it is the means of communication for Americans. Many other scholars (Ishikawa 1970; Scharfstein 1974; Yoshikawa 1977; Rogers and Izutsu 1980; Murata 1980; Ishii 1984) have stated that the Japanese place a positive value on silence and a negative value on speaking while for Americans the reverse is true. The Japanese value silence and believe that silence itself sends a message of serenity, harmony and trustworthiness, positive emotions (Ishii 1984). Wayne (1974), found that, for Americans, silence is related to grief, criticism, regret and confusion, all negative emotions.

Uncertainty avoidance, defined by Hofstede (1980) as the degree to which people feel threatened by ambiguity and the extent to which they go to try to avoid it, is closely related to context. Obviously, a communication style that relies heavily upon shared assumptions, values, norms, expectations and similar perceptions of adequate behaviors would be ineffective in a situation where these elements did not pertain. Not surprisingly then, the Japanese are classified...
uncertainty avoidance index while the Americans are classified as low.

Power distance, as measured by the power distance index (PDI) (Hofstede 1983), is defined as "the degree to which power, prestige, and wealth are unequally distributed in a culture" (Anderson 1991, p. 292). According to Hofstede's scale, the Japanese are categorized as a high PDI culture while the Americans are low on the PDI. Hofstede (1980) found that PDI has a high correlation with authoritarianism. This is consistent with Nakane's (1973) finding that the Japanese value vertical relationships while in the United States, categorized as a low PDI culture, horizontal relationships are valued. The factor of PDI clearly relates to both context and uncertainty avoidance. In high PDI cultures, relationships are clear. As Klopf (1991) stated:

[k]eenly aware of superior/subordinate relations in daily communication, the Japanese find it difficult to initiate and maintain communication with strangers and other out group people whose backgrounds are unknown (p. 137).

The Japanese language varies depending upon the sex, social status, age and occupation of speaker and listener. Japanese women, for example, tend to prefix various nouns with the honorific "o" and there are at least five forms of address which vary according to the relative ages and status of speaker and listener. American English, on the other hand, is much less affected by social distance. Although some
speaker and listener. American English, on the other hand, is much less affected by social distance. Although some vocabulary variations by sex have been demonstrated, social status, age and occupation have much less influence upon speech patterns in English than in Japanese.

In low PDI cultures, on the other hand, communications are less status-conscious. Barnlund (1989) notes that "American resistance to formal, status-conscious, routine exchanges is at least as strong as Japanese resistance to their opposites" (p. 131), adding that American social behavior is noted for its excessive informality.

The degree to which the male and female members of a culture value "masculine" and "feminine" traits is used to determine its degree of masculinity. Masculine traits, typically, include descriptions such as strong, assertive, competitive and ambitious (Bem 1974). Feminine traits are affectionate, compassionate, nurturing and emotional. Hofstede (1980) found that the masculinity of a culture is positively correlated with educational segregation of the sexes and negatively correlated with the number of women found in high status technical and professional occupations. Japan scored the highest on Hofstede's masculinity scale (Hofstede 1983).

Despite the high masculinity of Japanese culture, some of the general characteristics that apply to other high
Japan. Hodgetts and Luthans (1991), for example, stated that in high masculinity cultures "(i)ndividuals are encouraged to be independent decision makers..." while low masculinity cultures "tend to place great importance on cooperation" (p. 51). Interestingly, the Americans, who scored lower than the Japanese on the masculinity index (Hofstede 1983), encourage individual decision making.

Assertiveness, another of the characteristics which is typical of high masculinity cultures, also tends not to be a Japanese cultural value. Klopf (1991), in a discussion of social style, defined assertiveness as "a person's ability to state opinions with conviction and to defend him or herself against verbal attack" (p. 135). Their research found that the Japanese were significantly less assertive than the Americans. The Educational Science Institute of Osaka Prefecture (1978) found that this difference was often the cause of misunderstanding and dislike.

They (the Americans) are not patient enough to sound out individual opinions but label this or that too quickly, or push their own opinions too strongly.

It is irritating and a waste of time that they (the Japanese) don't say yes or no, or what they really think clearly and directly. They seem immature and cowardly. It’s difficult to grasp main points.

The degrees of individualism and collectivism are also frequently cited dimensions of intercultural communication. Individualism is "the tendency of people to look after
frequently cited dimensions of intercultural communication. Individualism is "the tendency of people to look after themselves and their immediate family only" (Hodgetts and Luthans 1991, p. 48). Collectivism, on the other end of the spectrum, is "the tendency of people to belong to groups or collectives and to look after each other in exchange for loyalty." (Hodgetts and Luthans, p. 50). Andersen (1991) states that this communication dimension also determines cultural values and communication style. Triandis, Brislin and Hui (1988) elaborate. According to these authors, in a collectivist culture, "behavior is largely a function of norms and roles that are determined through tradition or interactions among ingroup members" (Triandis, Brislin and Hui p. 273). Given the dependence of individual identity on ingroup membership, a change in ingroups or in leadership can produce "major changes in attitudes and behavior" (p. 273). Further, if a large portion of the group adopts a different attitude or behavior, the rest of the group also shifts. Decision by consensus is, therefore, a feature of the decision making process in collectivist societies.

There is, again, a sharp contrast between the Americans and Japanese on Hofstede’s (1983) individualism index (IDV). The Americans score among the highest in individualism, while the Japanese are categorized as low in individualism; in other words, the Japanese are highly collective. Caudill and Scarr
dependency from the point of view of cultural adjustment (Inamura 1980; Okazaki-Luff 1991). Doi (1973) describes this mutual dependency of the Japanese as *amae*. Nakane (1973) analyzed Japanese collectivism in interpersonal relationships using the terms *uchi* (inside) and *soto* (outside). She categorized three different groups in Japanese interactions: the primary groups comprised of people with long-lasting relationships (e.g., with family and colleagues), the secondary group consisting of an individual's acquaintances (e.g., persons known only by name), and the tertiary group consisting of all other relationships (e.g., those with foreigners). Japanese communication, requiring shared assumptions for its high context, would clearly be more effective with Nakane's primary and secondary groups. Similarly, a group displaying high uncertainty avoidance would find communication with those outside the group difficult. One American businessman observed:

> [t]hey treat us as if we were fools. They seldom explain first but often say 'You foreigners can't understand.' The use of 'can't' is very insulting (Educational Science Institute of Osaka Prefecture 1978).

Immediacy, according to Richmond and McCroskey (1989), conveys the degree of perceived closeness between people. Verbal immediacy is demonstrated by vocal animation and the verbal content of messages. Klopf (1991) noted that the Japanese display minimal vocal animation. He stated that
they:

understand each other by means of slight, rather than clear and exaggerated, differences in the choices of words, intonation, rhythm and nonverbal behavior (p. 137).

The second factor of verbal immediacy -- the verbal content of messages -- is minimal in high context Japanese communication. The verbal content of a message is perceived by the Japanese to be untrustworthy and, sometimes, even dangerous (Miller 1963; Prosser 1978). Becker (1986) states that:

Japanese word processors have prestored a hundred set greetings and phrases from which the operator can compile complete letters without ever thinking up a sentence of his own (p. 78).

In contrast, Rader and Wunsch (1980) found ninety-five percent of the American respondents to their survey considered the ability to communicate original ideas both orally and in writing, and the perception of sincerity in these communications was considered to be crucial. The different value placed on verbal immediacy may lead to misperception.

It is irritating and a waste of time that they (the Japanese) don’t exchange ideas but spend too much time on formal greetings. Too much consciousness of form and very little of content.

They (the Americans) seem childish and unpolished when they pay little attention to others’ feelings and say too directly what they think (Educational Science Institute of Osaka Prefecture 1978).

Nonverbal immediacy is observed in such behaviors as proximity, touching, eye contact, body posture and gesturing. Barnlund (1989) contrasts the "expressive culture" in the U.S.
proximity, touching, eye contact, body posture and gesturing. Barnlund (1989) contrasts the "expressive culture" in the U.S. and the "receptive culture" in Japan. He states that the former expands opportunities for self-expression, while the latter feels less need for the display of feelings.

Barnlund (1989) found that the amount of various immediacy behaviors, both verbal and nonverbal, seen as normal in Japan and the United States differed. Boyer, Thompson, Klopf and Ishii (1990) found among Japanese and American college students a significant difference in the degree of immediacy behaviors in their communications.

In summary then, differences between Japanese and American communication patterns and cultural traits are numerous. The Japanese are socially organized by and their world view is largely shaped in a series of concentric, widening circles. The immediate group is completely homogeneous. Values, beliefs, traditions and tastes are shared. Relationships between group members are clear and the appropriate behavior toward each member in any given circumstance is known to all parties. Adherence to group behavior is enforced by each individual's concern for his or her peers' regard. Decisions are reached by consensus and potential disagreements are headed off by intermediaries -- members of the group -- known to both parties. Harmony is the primary value and all members work to maintain it both within
and outside the immediate group. When dealing with persons who are not members of the same group(s), the Japanese feel stress because of the uncertainty and the unknown quantities these outsiders introduce. In general, the Japanese employ a high context, high power distance, collectivistic communication pattern.

America, in contrast, is one of the most heterogeneous countries in the world. Values, beliefs, traditions and tastes are highly variable between social levels, ethnic and religious groups, and even between generations. Interpersonal behavior is primarily predicated on the pretense that there is equality between all the parties in a communication interchange. It is not unusual for a subordinate, for example, to call the boss by his or her first name. Internalized conscience or a fear of possible consequences monitors the individual American's behavior and keeps it more or less in conformity with the rest of the society. Group or peer pressure is most commonly seen as a negative and not a positive influence. Similarly, ambiguity in language is perceived to be negative. If a statement is unclear, Americans tend not to trust it or its author. Decisions are made by the party or parties in clearly defined positions of responsibility. The adjective, "decisive," has positive connotations, implying speed, certainty and strength in problem resolution. In contrast to harmony (a value that is
defined in terms of the group for the Japanese), Americans place a high value on individualism. Americans are less uneasy with uncertainty, perhaps because their highly heterogeneous society makes difference itself familiar. In communication, the Americans are generally low context, low power distance, and individualistic. Given these differences in the cultures, languages and communication patterns of the Japanese and the Americans, successful communication between the two groups is, at best, difficult to achieve.
CHAPTER THREE

Japanese and American Organizational Culture

The differences in the Japanese and American cultures presented in the previous section are also evident in the organizational cultures of the two countries. Researchers argue that many institutional rules and mores are taken for granted by the organization (see, for example, Meyer and Rowan 1977; DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Zucker 1988); further, that these internal rules and mores are most frequently shaped by the culture of the dominant members of the organization (Tolbert 1988). The following literature review compares Japanese and American organizational cultures. This, in turn, will delineate the difficulties expected when Japanese and Americans, members of two very different cultures, become members of a single organization.

Vecchio (1991) defines organizational culture as "the shared values and norms that exist in an organization and that are taught to incoming employees" (p. 550). In more detail, Gibson, Ivancevich and Donnelly (1991) state that "an organization's culture consists of shared values, beliefs, assumptions, perceptions, norms, artifacts and patterns of behavior" (p. 46); while Ott (1989) simply calls organizational culture the "personality" or "feel" of the organization.
Since an organization is comprised of individual members who have their own culturally bound values, perceptions and behavior patterns, it is clear that the predominant culture among those individuals will have a strong effect upon the organization’s culture. Chao and Gorden (1979); Kelly, Whatley and Worthley (1987), and Clegg and Redding (1990) note that the homogeneous Japanese culture has a particularly strong and noticeable effect upon the organizational culture of Japanese-held and managed businesses. Keys and Miller (1984) hypothesize that Japanese management models are direct reflections of implicit cultural views ("cognitive maps") held by the Japanese. Doktor (1983), in a comparison of Japanese and American CEO’s time-use and behaviors, also suggests that differences in cognitive maps are the primary explanation for the variations he found.

Kume (1987) compared the organizational culture of Japanese companies operating in Japan and the U.S. with the culture of American organizations. The Japanese organization is described as people-centered while the American organization is function-centered. He elaborated by explaining that the Japanese organization, typically, provides for their employees and their employees’ families until retirement. Ishida (1986) found, in a survey of Japanese management, that ninety-six percent of those polled believed human resources to be the most important assets in the
In comparison, an American organization typically pays for the time and skills provided by its workers for as long, and only as long, as those skills are required by the organization. It is as if American workers were contract workers, with the contract renewed only so long as there is mutual advantage to the workers and the organization. Yamada (1985) explains the American system with the term, hataraku (selling work time).

The core values of the Japanese organization are characterized as family and harmony. Management acts, ideally, like the father of an extended family. Decisions are made for the good of the family (the company) and of the workers. In Ishida’s (1986) survey of Japanese management, sixty-one percent of the respondents answered that the company should concern itself with the private lives of the workers, intervening in problems. Most Japanese companies have housing systems. Some also provide health resorts, second houses for family vacations, and cultural and sports facilities which are available to workers and their families. Whitehill and Takazawa (1978) speak of this paternalistic relationship as a carry-over of the oyakata-kokata (leader-follower) relationship, where Japanese workers, traditionally, relied on supervisors involvement in their personal lives. Promotion, although primarily related to seniority in the company, is
partially based on family considerations; i.e., those with larger families require more money than those who are single (Rehder 1983).

The workers, in turn, are expected to feel loyalty and intense obligation to the organizational family (Ozawa 1980). Yamada (1985) chose the word tsutomeru for the employee’s obligation to the organization. The word originally was used to refer to the duties of a Buddhist priest. It meant seeking self-fulfillment and personal growth through service to the community, subordinating individual interests to the interests of the community, and considering individuals (including oneself) only as a fragment of the whole. Yamada interprets "community" as one’s organization and the "whole" as, again, the organization. This view of the ideal worker as a bright and obedient child in the family is illustrated by Japanese companies’ preferential hiring of new university graduates. It is generally felt that previously employed workers have demonstrated divided or weak loyalties in leaving their former employment (Ungson, Mowday and Steers 1983). They have not successfully subordinated their individual interests to the interests of the whole.

In keeping with the Japanese image of organization as family, internal harmony is highly valued (Ouchi and Jaeger 1978; Kawai 1981; Befu 1983). Chao and Gorden (1979) note that:
The emphasis within the organization is often upon the ability of the individual to work cooperatively with his group, rather than upon one's ability to lead or to work as an individual (p. 29).

The maintenance of harmony underlies most of the specific behavior pertaining to lifetime employment, decision-making and promotion.

Japanese organizations are known for the "lifetime employment" of their workers. Hodgetts and Luthans (1991) have argued that lifetime employment is a myth, citing the fact that only about thirty percent of the Japanese workforce (those that work for the larger corporations) are actually given a written guarantee of continued employment. It is true that there is no clear statement regarding lifetime employment in most job contracts; however, most Japanese remain with the same organization from hiring until retirement.

Staying with the same firm is advantageous to the employee since, as noted above, getting hired is more difficult for a worker who has previously been with another company and promotion is primarily based upon seniority.

American companies, on the other hand, value experience. A worker with a previous successful work history, a track record, is preferred. Value is placed on creative thinking and challenging work by both organization and worker in the U.S. In American organizations, although seniority is sometimes a factor, promotion often occurs when the worker
changes his or her job. Employees in the U.S., in fact, often switch organizations in response to offers of promotion (Houser 1981). Promotion is based primarily on proven capability, potential and/or organizational need.

The Japanese base promotion on seniority (Rehder 1983). Since workers tend to stay in the same company, promotion is regular and predictable. This adds to internal harmony. Rehder states:

Management truly believes in employee potential, and is truly committed to the employee's ability, with proper training and development, to do progressively better during the employee's 30-40 years with the company (p. 44).

There is less competition between employees for promotion, since it is generally known who will be promoted and when the promotion will take place.

Unlike their American counterparts, Japanese organizations start almost all male graduates at the same wages within the two major employment categories, with university graduates receiving only ten to twenty percent more than blue-collar or clerical workers (Rehder 1983). Additionally, major companies prefer first and second-level supervisors to come from within the organization, promoted up from blue-collar positions. The large gaps in pay and in access to promotion between management and blue-collar personnel, common in U.S. companies, are not found in the Japanese organization. Again, this basic equality reinforces
cooperativeness and promotes harmony.

Japanese companies train by using constant, multi-specialty job rotation. The worker is educated as a generalist. When the Japanese are asked what their jobs are, the majority answer by giving their company's name (Tsutomu 1964), illustrating both the generalization of the Japanese and their identification with the company. This carries over into the official structure of the organization. Typically, the organizational chart is drawn up in terms of divisions rather than of department heads (Yoshino 1968).

In contrast, to the question "What is your job?," American workers typically answer with their professional titles (e.g., "accountant") first. Rather than identifying themselves in terms of the organization, Americans instead identify themselves by their specialty. The particular company they are with is seen to be secondary to their own field of expertise. Yamada (1985) identified this as a basic difference in ego identification. Japanese organizational training reinforces the feelings of an employee for his company. Training for new college graduates and middle management is designed to create feelings of belongingness to the organization; while American organizations educate workers to improve their individual abilities.

There are also major differences in the approach to decision-making. From the American perspective, the Japanese
decision-making process can be frustrating.

It takes time to get an answer to the simplest question. It is ambiguous who is the decision maker and who is responsible for what....

There isn't any discussion in the true sense of the word. Their opinions are sorted out ahead of time and prearrangements are made, and so the discussion is just a formality (Educational Science Institute of Osaka Prefecture 1973).

It is true that the management of Japanese organizations takes much more time to reach decisions than does American management. Yamada (1985) defines nemawashi as a concept central to understanding the Japanese organizational approach to responsibility and decisions. The original meaning of nemawashi is the action of cutting the small roots of a tree preparatory to transplanting. When the tree is transplanted, its new roots grow more rapidly. Even when the tree is not going to be moved, trimming excess roots spurs the plant's growth. Applied to an organization's decision-making process, nemawashi refers to the process of reaching preliminary consensus on an issue before it is raised in an official setting. It is interesting to note that the Japanese use this term for organizational communication. It suggests, per the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, that an organization is perceived as a living thing. The trimming of excess roots might be seen as the trimming away of unnecessary disagreements with or exceptions to a plan.

Chiba (in Yamada 1985) used the process involved in the
Sumitomo decision to proceed with the mass production of fiber optics as an example of *nemawashi* at work. The employee hoping to introduce the idea at an upcoming managerial meeting started *nemawashi* eight months before the meeting was scheduled. He held informal discussions with members of all departments, even discussing his idea with outside client-firms. He was able, therefore, to answer questions and modify his original suggestion to include details he'd not previously thought about. By the time he went into the meeting, he already had the agreement of eighty percent of the members present.

*Rinigi* is a more official decision-making procedure. *Rinigi* sometimes follows *nemawashi* and sometimes takes place concurrently. A form with a proposal for change is circulated. Managers and company officers are presented with the form in strict order. The person with the lowest position (usually a junior manager) is given the form first. If he approves the proposal, he affixes his name stamp and the proposal is passed to the person with the next highest position in the firm, until it finally reaches the highest ranking officer in the company. If, at any point, the proposal is not approved, the person who originally submitted it takes the proposal back and modifies it. He then resubmits it to the officer who disapproved the original. At the point of resubmission, it is virtually certain that the modified
plan will be approved since the person who made the proposal has the support and help of all the people who have already approved his plan. Ringi either precedes an official meeting or is substituted for the meeting itself. In either case, consensus has been reached without any face to face confrontation. Additionally, the ringi and nemawashi systems offer all those involved a chance to become thoroughly informed on the topic before it is introduced publicly. This consensual approach to decision-making maintains harmony and is based in Japanese collectivism.

In an official meeting, the method of reaching agreement is called matomari or adjustment (De Mente 1972). Chao and Gorden (1979) describe the process as compromise.

Together they work towards a compromise which takes into consideration the desires and feelings of both the majority and the minority (p. 32).

Again, matomari has, as its aim, the smoothing of feelings. Although the minority view may be discussed in a meeting, once approximately seventy percent of the members present are in agreement, the minority view will be abandoned (Chao and Gorden).

It is clear that nemawashi, ringi and matomari work together. Yamada typifies ringi as the hardware of decision-making, while the software is nemawashi. At the point of matomari, consensus is usually very close because ringi and nemawashi have paved the way. This insures success to the
person introducing the new idea and to his supporters. There is no loss of face because an idea hasn’t been carefully thought through or because those who might disagree with the proposal haven’t been given time to formulate objections. Human relationships have been maintained and the organization’s next move has been examined from every angle before it is implemented. The drawback, of course, is that consensual decision-making takes a great deal of time; however, once agreement has been reached, implementation is almost immediate. Everyone knows about the plan, knows how it will affect his or her division and has already considered what needs to be done to make the plan a success.

In contrast, in American organizations, decisions are made either by individuals or by a majority which bases its decisions on specialist/expert testimony. Decisions are reached by personnel at the top level responsible for implementation. These decisions take much less time than is required by the Japanese system and it has been argued that, as a result, American firms are much more flexible, able to react more quickly to external changes and technological developments. Implementation of change, however, takes much more time in the American organization. Since proposals usually come from the top and are passed down, those responsible for the implementation of the plan are usually not informed before the change is mandated. The "how-to" is
typically only sketched in by managers who haven’t had the time to consider the plan from all angles. This, at times, leads to resistance to change from workers whose responsibilities are affected.

In communicating information within the organization, both the Japanese and the Americans use reporting or informing. The Japanese, however, rely heavily on personal networks within the organization. Face-to-face contact is required in consultation, pre-meeting and meeting. Even the printed ringi form is personally presented to each supervisor by the individual who is making the proposal. Bowen (1977) points out that a letter or memo, in a Japanese organization, is a record of a previous face-to-face contact; while for Americans, a memo or letter typically precedes or replaces in-person communication. Americans frequently use memos, phone calls, research results and presentations by specialists. Meetings are generally held only within fields or divisions.

In face-to-face communication within an organization, the Japanese communication style is described by Yamada (1985) as requesting, agreeing, indirect, explanatory, abstract, serious, quiet and open-ended. The American style, on the other hand, is typified as ordering, confrontational, direct, persuasive, concrete, humorous, talkative and selective.

Reflecting these differences in communication styles and techniques, the Japanese workspace is typically a single,
large, open room. Managers are in direct contact with those working for them and with other managers. Individual conferences and phone calls may be overheard by everyone in the office. Chao and Gorden (1979) note that this open arrangement minimizes office gossip, the grapevine and the formation of factions or cliques. American management personnel are typically given their own offices. The further separated from the main work force an office is, the more status it conveys. Upper management may be separated by floors and outer offices from the rest of the work force. Even lower echelon office workers are given partitioned space, work cubicles with at least the illusion of privacy.

Japanese business-related socializing centers around dinner and drinking parties at restaurants and bars while American business socializing focuses on lunch in restaurants and invitations to private homes for dinner and drinks. The Japanese create and maintain organizational cohesiveness through quality control circle activities, company sponsored cultural festivals, group travel and sports teams while American organizations, most frequently, provide monetary rewards.

The average U.S. worker believes that merit should be rewarded. If a worker were granted a promotion or wage increase on the basis of his or her relationship with management or of seniority alone, his or her coworkers would
feel that the core value of "fairness" had been violated. American management is expected to make on-the-spot decisions, to treat all workers at the same job level equally, and to be race and gender blind. Management is not expected to require unpaid overtime from the workers. This would, in the majority of American workers' minds, include required participation in company-sponsored events or semi-mandatory after hours socializing -- both common practices in Japanese business.

Reflecting the differences in American and Japanese organizational culture, Hayashi (1985) recorded the following common complaints from Americans working with Japanese. These were that: 1) Japanese managers could not set clear goals and, therefore, they could not delineate them for the workers; 2) they ignored the locals' ideas when making decisions; 3) the Japanese workers' positions were not clearly defined; 4) the Japanese did not really care about, trust or try to understand the locals; 5) a double standard was applied in dealing with Japanese workers and the locals; 6) the Japanese were very poor at dealing with conflicts and didn't seem to understand that conflict is healthy, and; 7) the Japanese spent too much time in meetings.

In conclusion, the core values, structures, communication techniques and decision-making methods in Japanese and American organizations are as different as one would predict based upon an examination of the wider communication and
cultural differences. Even the perception of what an organization is differs widely. It is not surprising then that combining Japanese and American workers in one organization frequently results in misunderstandings.
CHAPTER FOUR
Expatriate Adjustment

Presently, more than 430,000 Americans are employed by the 2,000 plus Japanese companies operating in the United States (U.S. News and World Report July 6, 1992) and Fortune Magazine (December 3, 1990) estimates that by the end of the decade that number will probably reach 600,000. Since the Japanese have one of the highest expatriate to local employee ratios of all multinationals (Hosler 1992), the number of Japanese expatriates in the United States is also significant. In light of the differences enumerated in the previous chapters, the adjustment of Japanese and American workers to each other would appear problematical; however, given the scope of the Japanese presence in the United States, it is clear that adjustment is necessary.

Black and Gregersen (1991) define adjustment as "the degree of a person's psychological comfort with various aspects of a new setting" (p. 498). A new setting, in the context of the present study, may be defined as the Japanese nationals moving to the United States, finding it necessary to deal with American culture, communicate with American workers, and, concomitantly, alter certain of their expectations about the nature of organizations and their relationship to their coworkers. In the following chapter, a review of the existing
literature will illustrate the importance of expatriate adjustment, and the individual and corporate costs paid for failures in the adjustment process. Although the conclusion of researchers is that Japanese expatriates find adjustment particularly difficult, contradictory results about the apparent absence among the Japanese expatriate population of the negative effects of maladjustment will also be presented. It will be suggested that the resolution of this contradiction lies in the proposal and testing of a modification of existing models of maladjustment.

The Costs of Maladjustment

Research among sixty leading Australian, New Zealand, UK and U.S. multinationals involving American, Australian, Canadian, Hong Kong Chinese, British, Indonesian, French, Japanese, New Zealand, Singaporean, Taiwanese and Thai nationals (Stone 1991) indicates that expatriate failure is primarily caused by an inability to adapt to the host culture. Holmes (1981) claimed that eighty percent of the expatriate failure rate (with failure defined by either decreased job performance or by early termination and return home) was caused by poor personal adjustment rather than by inadequate technical or job skills. Many others (Baker and Ivancevich 1971; Hays 1974; Lanier 1979; Tung 1981, 1982; Rehfuss 1982; Rahim 1983; Zeira and Banai 1984; Dunbar and Ehrlich 1986; Black 1988) also suggest that expatriate failure rates are due
to maladjustment.

Adjustment is defined as the degree to which adaption to a foreign environment succeeds in anxiety and uncertainty reduction. The personal characteristics associated with successful adjustment include tolerance for ambiguity, expressiveness evidencing willingness to interact (Ruben 1967), the ability to speak with hopefulness and candor, the conviction that other cultures are equally deserving of respect and the ability to feel comfortable with strangers (Kleinjans 1972).

The process of adjustment has been described by Oberg (1960) and Torbion (1982) as taking place in four stages referred to as the U-curve. The first phase occurs within the first two months of arrival (Black and Gregersen 1991). In this phase, a person is fascinated and satisfied with everything seen or heard. Torbion (1982) states that during this initial honeymoon period, the new arrival has not yet experienced negative feedback in terms of his or her behavior and competence. Phase two commences once the newcomer has to begin coping with the realities of everyday life. It is characterized by frustration and hostility toward the host country and its people (Black 1988). These emotions result from the fact that the person finds previously successful behaviors are inappropriate in the new culture and is unable to determine what behaviors to substitute. Culture shock
usually occurs during the transition between stages two and three. At this point, the person has received the maximum amount of negative feedback and has, as yet, not begun to learn new appropriate behaviors.

The third stage begins when the new person begins to acquire the ability to perform certain limited tasks (e.g., taking a bus, going to the grocery store) and, through observation of and contact with the host country people, has acquired some skills with a new set of appropriate behaviors. Gudykunst and Hammer (1987) theorize that adjustment to a new culture is primarily achieved by information seeking and tension reduction. Information seeking involves increasing the ability to predict and explain the behavior of others. Tension reduction is directed at lessening the anxiety felt when interacting with people from other cultures. In the final and fourth stage of the U-curve, the individual can function effectively and without anxiety about cultural differences.

A breakdown at any point in this process is defined as maladjustment. According to Oberg (in Furnham and Bochner 1982), maladjustment is caused by a sense of loss for what has been left behind, a sense of rejection in the host country, confusion about one’s role and identity, a reaction to anxiety about cultural differences and/or feelings of helplessness.

The effects of maladjustment are severe. These may
include confusion, anxiety reactions (Bochner and Kelly 1974), general depression, inability to concentrate, atypical behaviors, inappropriate emotional displays and even perceptual distortion (Adler 1975). Fried (1963) adds that symptoms often include signs of somatic distress such as insomnia, stomach pains, chest pains and headaches.

The corporate costs are also high. Black and Gregersen (1991) report that American corporations have found that between sixteen percent and forty percent of their expatriate managers return early due to maladjustment. The corporate costs associated with these early returns has been estimated at between $50,000 to $200,000 per family (Hammer and Martin 1992).

Early return cost estimates are not available for the Japanese and, given the nature of Japanese organizational culture, early expatriate returns are probably less frequent. Maladjustment, however, also negatively affects job performance and, given that over 2.4 million Japanese are currently operating as expatriate employees (Toyokeizai 1993), the cost to Japanese business in decreased efficiency can be assumed to be substantial.

Maladjustment and the Japanese Expatriate

Several researchers (Oberg 1960; Mendenhall and Oddou 1985; Black 1988) have found that the more novel and different the host culture is compared to the home culture, the more
uncertainty exists and the more difficult expatriate adjustment becomes. Torbiorn (1982) adds that the less related the language and the greater the distance from the home country, the higher the failure rate.

Given the distance, both cultural and geographical, between Japan and the United States, it is no surprise that, while maladjustment was found in expatriates from every country (Nagashima 1980; Hoshino 1986; Okazaki-Luff 1989, 1991), it has been reported that Japanese expatriates suffer maladjustment more frequently and more intensely than do expatriates from other countries (Nakane 1973; Ueda 1982). Several other researchers (Fukuda 1974; Inamura 1980; Ebuchi 1980; Kondo 1981; Muto 1985) have also noted that adjustment presents a particularly serious problem for Japanese expatriates.

The specific maladjustment of Japanese expatriates and the degree of that maladjustment's severity has been variously ascribed to cultural, social and/or business-specific factors. March (1992) explains the Japanese failure to adapt to overseas assignments as a function of Japanese cultural and social characteristics. He cites the homogeneity of the culture and the Japanese concepts of family, education and competition. Similarly, Diggs and Murphy (1991) found that Japanese expatriates responding to their survey identified primary areas of concern as language, children's schooling,
family matters and cultural mores. Another survey done by Manning, Selvage and Lee (1992) in Southern California also mentions schooling, family matters and cultural mores as the main problems identified by the Japanese expatriates.

Nakane (1972) and Kondo (1981) interpreted Japanese workers' forcing their way of doing business on the local people as indicating maladjustment to the local cultures. A study done by Sullivan and Taylor (1989) on compliance-gaining, involving managers in Seattle, Portland and Vancouver, demonstrated that Japanese managers in the U.S. do not change their management style to fit the local business culture. These findings were also interpreted by these authors as reflecting the Japanese expatriate's maladjustment to the local cultures.

Inamura (1980) describes the type of Japanese who cannot adapt as an individual who is serious about his job and trying to do his job effectively according to Japanese systems or standards. This individual, however, cannot communicate with American coworkers, is kept busy dealing with visitors from Japan, and is someone who pays too much attention to the company's headquarters. Several authors (Farkas 1984; Enloe and Lewin 1987; White 1988) state that anxiety about their ability to readjust once the overseas posting has ended is particularly acute for the Japanese. Because of Japanese cultural exclusivity, "Japanese managers do not want to return
home and be labeled as 'Americanized' (Hodgetts and Luthans 1991, 412) because "...people at home are intolerant of deviation from the norms of good conduct" (March 1992, p. 204). March (1992) states that ease of readjustment upon return to Japan is also a reason the Japanese tend to secure themselves in Japanese communities overseas.

Kondo (1983), Kume (1989), and Kubota (1989) suggest that the Japanese overconcern with the opinions of others and their extreme hesitance to behave in ways not approved of by others makes them reluctant to interact with outsiders. Reischauer (1988) elaborates:

one result of the detailed codes of conduct is a tendency toward self-consciousness on the part of the Japanese—a worry that they may not be doing the right thing and thus are opening themselves to criticism or ridicule by others. This is particularly marked in their relations with foreigners, whose mores are not fully known (p. 146-147)

Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) define anticipatory adjustment as the adjustment made before contact with another culture. They state that the level of motivation individuals have before departure can have a significant impact on subsequent, cross-cultural encounters. In speaking of the pre-departure period for Japanese expatriates, Amako (1992) describes changes in Japanese perceptions about overseas assignments. In the recent past, an overseas posting was highly prestigious. Now, however, it is more frequently seen as an inconvenience. Nakamura (1989) also mentioned that few
employees want overseas assignments anymore because there is no status attached to the posting. March (1992) states that "overseas experience is now officially regarded as just another variant of on-the-job training" (p. 195).

Given that the status of overseas postings has changed, March (1992) points out that the workers assigned abroad are not there because they volunteered. He adds that "few have much influence on the decision and virtually all feel obliged to accept the request" (p. 194) once they are selected for overseas assignment. He elaborated by stating that:

[w]ith this lack of enthusiasm for overseas postings, plus the fatalistic acceptance if one is appointed, it can be no surprise that Japanese abroad perform poorly as people managers and show little interest in adjusting to the local culture (p. 195).

In addition to attaching little or no importance to their employees' enthusiasm for overseas posting, Japanese firms routinely ignore individual qualifications related to ease of expatriate adjustment and communication when making their selections. Despite the fact that the Japanese business community has been bombarded by numerous researchers (see, for example, Yasumuro 1988; Hayashi 1990; Watanabe 1991; Shimada and Honda 1991; Kurachi 1992) with evidence of cross-cultural communication's importance, selection criteria for those being sent abroad still focus on job skills and not upon communication-related abilities such as adaptiveness, overseas experience, language ability, cooperativeness and leadership.
Research conducted by Nakamura (1989) among Japanese automotive parts makers concerning selections for overseas assignments demonstrated that the companies did not take factors related to adjustment (e.g., personality and individual temperament) into selection consideration. Tung (1982) found that none of the Japanese multinational firms used testing to check their employees' relational abilities and concluded that their underestimation of the importance of these relational factors negatively contributes to the success of Japanese expatriates' overseas adjustment.

A survey concerning the most common types of cross-cultural training (e.g., environmental briefings, cultural orientation, cultural assimilators, language training, sensitivity training and field experience) among European, Japanese and U.S. companies done by Tung (1982) shows clearly that the Japanese do not focus on cultural training. Similarly, Japan Overseas Enterprises Association (1988) pointed out the lack of problem solving and interpersonal skills training as the major deficiencies in Japanese pre-departure training.

As a group, Japanese sojourners are described as not interacting with the local people, instead flocking together in insular communities. They are seldom interested in interacting with or getting to know the "outside" people since these are sharply distinguished from the "inside" in Japanese
interpersonal relationships (Inamura 1980). Yoshio Takao, Japan’s Ambassador to the United Nations, pointed out in a recent interview (Kempo TV 1993) that, even during goodwill parties attended by representatives from other countries, people in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs tend to stand with and talk with their Japanese colleagues.

Atypical Maladjustment

Studies involving surveys of Japanese working in the U.S. point out a seeming contradiction between the much noted Japanese maladjustment and the fact that the majority of Japanese expatriates report that they are happy working in the United States. In many cases, they state that they are happier here than they were in Japan.

A survey conducted by Manning, Selvage and Lee (1992), in conjunction with the Japan America Society of Southern California, concerned Japanese business executives’ attitudes towards Americans’ management style and the quality of life experienced by those executives here in the United States. Seventy-seven percent of the over one hundred respondents stated that they would be pleased to live in the United States for several more years and eighty-six percent said that the Americans and the American lifestyle were the best features of living in the United States.

A study, done in 1991 by Diggs and Murphy, focused on Japanese adjustment to American communities. The survey
respondents were sixty-six (out of eighty-five) Japanese nationals living in Dayton, Ohio. The subjects consisted of businessmen and their wives, students, other researchers and unspecified others. Fifty-five of the sixty-six respondents stated that their American experience was very satisfactory (Diggs and Murphy, p. 114).

Although it has been well-documented that maladjustment to the host country has serious psychological and physiological effects and although it has been similarly concluded by numerous researchers that Japanese expatriates tend to be particularly subject to maladjustment, they say they’re happy, they like Americans, and they have found their posting to be "very satisfactory." They simply do not express the psychological and physiological ill-effects typically associated with maladjustment. This contradiction suggests either that the Japanese typically respond to potentially sensitive questions on questionnaires by tatamae (which translates as "politically correct responses") or that avoidance constitutes a form of apparently atypical maladjustment.
Smetanka and Murray (1985) pointed out that the two expressions used by the Japanese to relate to opinion (honne, a person's candid opinion, tatemae, a person's socially or politically correct opinion) mandate that confidentiality and anonymity be assured to any Japanese respondents to questionnaires. In order to further minimize the effects of tatemae on the results of this study, it was felt that a questionnaire should be constructed which would provide a neutral option for specific questions. This allows the respondent not to answer questions that he feels are politically sensitive (as opposed to answering in an "approved" manner). Further, the questionnaire should contain a number of items which relate to the same topic so that discrepancies in attitude become more apparent. Attitudinal and behavioral questions which are related also pinpoint discrepancies. Finally, it was felt that a cross-check between the expatriates' and their American coworkers' views would be crucial.

The Pilot Interviews

Two in-depth pilot interviews of Japanese managers were conducted in October and November, 1992. The purpose of these interviews was to discover questions which would elicit self-
evaluation of the problems of adjustment and the degree of adaptation of the expatriate. In the interviews, almost two hours were devoted to a taped question and answer period. The questions were scripted. They concerned company background, personal background, qualifications of expatriates and selection in their parent company, pre-departure training, post-arrival training, expatriate treatment and self-evaluation of communication skills used when dealing with Americans.

After the taped questioning, almost four hours were spent in informal conversation on the topics of work, relations with Americans, general adjustment and happiness in the present situation. This second session was used to allow the person being interviewed to express his honne opinions. Additionally, the subjects of the interviews were asked to comment on the scripted questions' clarity and perceived purpose.

A junior sales manager (JM) working in the branch office of a well-known Japanese computer company was interviewed first. He is twenty-eight years old and single. The branch office employs seven workers. Only two of these, himself and the President, are Japanese nationals. The five other workers are Asian Americans.

JM has been in the U.S. for one year. He stated that he could not think of any reasons why he was chosen for the U.S.
assignment except that he was single, and had previous overseas experience. Prior to this assignment, he was in Singapore as a systems engineer for two years and in Hong-Kong for six months. He believes there may be a tendency to consider a person as "overseas personnel" once the person has worked abroad.

JM was given no pre-departure training when he was assigned to Singapore, Hong-Kong or the U.S. Post-arrival in Singapore, he attended a private English school twice a week, for a total of four hours a week. There was no post-arrival training either in Hong-Kong or the U.S.

The average length of overseas assignment in JM’s company is three years for Asia postings, and four years for the U.S. JM’s company has no formal counselors for expatriates; however, since all the Japanese employees live in the same area, there is an informal system in which veterans help the newcomers. The new sojourners listen to their colleagues’ advice and tend to live in the same apartment complex or area.

JM seldom has contact with either the American people or their culture. He attributes this to the fact that the area he lives in is almost like Japan. Ninety-nine percent of his company’s customers in Southern California are Japanese companies. JM’s business interactions are, therefore, primarily conducted with Japanese nationals in the Japanese language.
Given the large number of Japanese companies in the area, television programs, newspapers and books in Japanese are readily accessible. Japanese restaurants and bars are also plentiful. JM expressed some regret that he lived in an isolated enclave adding that it was very difficult to contact Americans in this environment. He said that the Japanese community in the U.S. should not "build a five-story pagoda." 1

The primary difficulty JM felt he had encountered in the U.S. was that he couldn't get the "real feeling" behind what an American was trying to say or do. He felt that Americans had no sense of *sasshi* (an intuitive understanding of what is meant, wanted or needed). They must be told everything explicitly. He found this very tiring. He also found it difficult to "know about" Americans. He said that, in Japan, when you know one clue about a person, you can guess his/her favorite songs, food, movies, etc. Here, on the other hand, there are no "common things."

In terms of language, he felt that his vocabulary was too limited, that his British-taught English was different in accent from the American English he heard around him, and that his lack of opportunity to use English had him still thinking in Japanese and translating into English. As an example of

1 This comment was a reference to a famous landmark in Nara. To build a five-story pagoda in a foreign country is to do the opposite of "(w)hen in Rome, do as the Romans do."
the problems caused by his translating, he said that Americans' "sudden greetings" (e.g., "How are you doing?," "How's it going?") scare him. He has to decide how to answer and then, when he has formulated the words and translated them in his mind, the opportunity has passed and he is left feeling guilty for not replying.

He feels that the most important differences between Japanese and Americans are in values. He gave as an example the question of whether you rest to work or work to rest. The Japanese, he said would answer that you rest so that you can work; for the Americans, it is the opposite. He also said that Americans are so individualistic because there are too many cultures here for them (the Americans) to be able to consider all the different ideas of other Americans.

His everyday life is stressful. He feels that performance requirements on his job, the problems with communicating and, most importantly, the loneliness of his life in the U.S. are draining. He stated that a person who was not used to being alone would have problems adjusting to life here. He finds relief from tension in playing golf (with other Japanese) and in drinking.

The most important factor in adjustment, according to JM, is suspending judgement. He believes that there are two types of expatriate destined to fail. The first type judges any differences between their native country and the host country
in a negative light. The second unsuccessful Japanese expatriate looks at the same differences and decides that, in every instance, the way of the host country is "better" than that of their home country. JM's suggestions to the Japanese being assigned to the U.S. were to prepare for the language, know that ideas in other countries differed, and learn how to relax.

The second face-to-face interview was with a forty-five year old, divorced Director and Vice President (DVP) of Sales in the manufacturing branch of a Japanese-held firm. He has been in the U.S. for more than ten years and directly manages twelve American-born employees. He has had extensive previous overseas experience.

DVP's company has stringent qualifications for overseas assignments. These include: a person's willingness to work abroad; his/her personality (cheerful, talkative and expressive types are preferred); language proficiency, as measured by a standardized examination, and; at least five years on-the-job experience in Japan. The average assignment in the U.S. is also five years.

Pre-departure, candidates are moved to the Trading Department of the Japanese parent company for six months to one year to get used to working in an international atmosphere. After arrival in the United States, expatriates are sent to a daily language school (each class consisting of
one to two hours instruction) for six months to one year. During the training period, their work hours are shortened. There is, however, no particular training focusing on culture and communication.

DVP's contacts with Americans are frequent and intense. Ninety-nine percent of his customers are Americans and, in the office where he works, only two employees are Japanese nationals. He is currently living with an American woman and their time together is spent in an American context. According to him, American culture is no longer unusual to him but is now a very natural part of his life. He ascribes the difficulties Japanese expatriates encounter to their lack of strength and their inability to act independently.

He believes the American culture, from language to food, is 180 degrees different from the Japanese culture. In accordance with this belief, he is very careful to ensure that his American coworkers understand what he is thinking and what he requires from them. He encourages positive conflict, allowing workers to argue and debate. He also tries to find out what his workers are thinking privately by having lunch with them or just by chatting at work. He tries to make himself easily accessible by keeping his office door open. In dealing with American workers, he feels his stress comes from business concerns rather than from adjustment problems.

His advice to Japanese expatriates was "(w)hen in Rome,
do as the Romans do." He thinks, however, that there is a major problem in doing this since most Japanese businesses are still focused on invasion and exploitation of the American market. He emphasized that Japanese companies come to the U.S. with the idea that, if their usual business practices fail, they can always go home. This attitude is reflected by the typical business expatriates. Even though they are living in the United States, there is always an awareness that the stay is a transient experience.

At the conclusion of these two interviews, it appeared that the expatriates interviewed perfectly illustrated Ebuchi’s (1980) twin models of adjustment by avoidance and adjustment by assimilation. No pre-departure cultural or communication training was provided by either JM or DVP’s companies; however, DVP’s company used adjustment factors as a primary selection criterion for overseas assignment. JM stated that he has little or no contact with Americans either inside or outside of work. It was interesting that he did not even mention his Asian American coworkers in this context. He uses Japanese goods and services, lives with other Japanese, does business with Japanese companies and, in general, is essentially isolated from the locals. Although he stated that he was lonely and stressed, during the second phase of our interview, he was greeted familiarly by the Japanese bartender and patrons, and confirmed a golf date for the following
morning with another Japanese expatriate. He also admitted that, although he wishes he had contact with Americans, he never goes anywhere he might meet them. JM appears to be a perfect example of a person who has dealt with the stresses of a foreign culture by having little or nothing to do with it.

DVP, on the other hand, seems to have adjusted. He has an American nickname which he prefers to be called. His primary relationships are with Americans and he stated that he rarely interacts exclusively with other Japanese. In the bar in which the second part of the interview was conducted, DVP also was greeted by name by other regulars and staff people, all Japanese. DVP responded to a query about this seeming contradiction by saying that he sometimes feels more relaxed with other Japanese people and so he allows himself "Japanese time" every once in a while. DVP, in general, appears to be comfortable with both his place in the Japanese community and with his acceptance of the wider American society.

The Questionnaires

Based upon the literature, the pilot interviews and taking into consideration the effects of *tatemae*, a questionnaire consisting of fifty-three items was developed for Japanese expatriates (Appendix A). Each question on the Japanese form was typed both in English and in Japanese. It was felt that this would minimize the probability of false answers based upon language problems.
The first section of the Japanese questionnaire (Questions 1 through 28) targets general information about the expatriate and his company. This enables comparisons to be made with sample groups from other researchers' work and can be used to confirm that the sample group used in this study was not atypical. The format of the majority of these questions is multiple-choice with, in some cases, a space for written-in comments or additions to the choices provided.

The second section (Questions 29 through 55) was designed to elicit the expatriates' adjustment and perceived adjustment to the American culture, people and communication styles. The items in this section are presented as a series of statements. Five letters are given below each statement. The respondent circles the letter that corresponds to his degree of agreement with the statement made. A and E stand for strong agreement and strong disagreement respectively. B and D represent agreement or disagreement with the statement. A choice of "neutral" was provided by the letter C. Finally, a section is provided which solicits any additional comments the expatriate might have on the topic of improving the communication between Japanese and American workers.

A second questionnaire, consisting of 34 items, was designed for the Americans working with the Japanese (Appendix B). It too asks for general information about the respondents, about their relative satisfaction in working with
the Japanese, and about their perceptions of their Japanese coworkers' adjustment. Questions 1 through 10 request general information about the company and about the respondent. The remaining twenty-three questions deal with perceptions about the Japanese. Again, a format requesting degree of agreement with a statement is used. As on the Japanese questionnaire, a space for additional comments was provided.

A written assurance of anonymity was given at the top of both the American and Japanese questionnaires. In addition, both the Japanese and American employees were asked to return their questionnaires individually, using the separate, pre-addressed, pre-paid envelopes provided.

The Mailing

According to Tamotsu Morita, President of the Japan Business Association of South California, there are more than 800 Japanese companies in the Southern California area (Japan News Magazine 1993). A list of nearly 663 of these businesses and the names of corporate contacts was provided by the Japan Business Association of Southern California. Their membership includes trading, manufacturing, banking, construction and service industries.

A cover letter, two pre-paid return envelopes and one each of the Japanese and American questionnaires were sent in early January of 1993 to 658 companies by third class bulk
mail. They were addressed to the corporate contact listed on the JBA roster. Separately listed companies which had the same addresses and phone numbers as other member companies were not contacted. The purpose of the study and the instructions for completing and returning the questionnaires were printed on one side of the cover letter in Japanese and on the other, in English.

The instructions requested that the representative of the company listed in the Japan Business Association roster give one of the envelopes and the questionnaire marked "1" to a Japanese employee with a position of supervisor or above who had daily work-related interactions with at least one American national in the company. The questionnaire marked "2" was to be given to any American national who had daily work-related interactions with at least one of the Japanese in the company.
CHAPTER SIX

Results of the Questionnaires

Twenty-five percent (n = 168) of the questionnaires given to the Japanese and twenty-three percent (n = 135) of those directed to American personnel were returned within seven weeks from the mailing. Responses to the questions were initially transformed into percentages. The results of those percentage breakdowns are presented below in pie chart form.

Pearson Correlation Coefficients and Likelihood Ratios were calculated in order to determine whether or not there were relationships between responses to the questions. The significance level of both statistical analyses was set at .05 or less. Additionally, T-ratios were calculated for those questions that were equivalent or comparable on the Japanese and American questionnaires. The results are presented in three sections below. More complete statistical data for those correlations cited in the text will be presented in Appendices E and F.

The first section consists of the results of the sojourners' responses to the Japanese/English questionnaire along with any relevant correlations. The second section presents their American coworkers' responses. Finally, the third section presents a comparison of the Japanese and American responses.
The Results of the Japanese Survey

Figure 1. AGE

- C. 30 - 39 39%
- B. 25 - 29 6%
- E. 50 or older 12%
- D. 40 - 49 42%

Figure 1 shows the age distribution of the Japanese respondents to the survey. The ages found are consistent with the responses regarding overseas assignment criteria received by Hayashi (1985). It was found that sojourners over fifty years old use Japanese goods and services less often (Fig. 30) than any other age group. The younger the sojourner, the more frequently Japanese goods and services are used. There was a correlation between age and contact with Americans outside work (Fig. 31). The older group has more contact while the younger has less. The older Japanese also tend to have a higher position within the company (Fig. 4), reflecting the seniority/promotion relationship discussed in Chapter Three. There was also a correlation between age and degree of agreement with the statement that Japanese culture was better than American culture (Fig. 48). The older the sojourner the
less likely he was to agree with the statement that Japanese
culture was somehow better.

The marital status of the group surveyed is shown in
Figure 2. It is doubtful that the large married majority
reflects any selection criterion by the company (see the
responses depicted in Figures 7 and 8 below). It more
probably reflects the average age (29 years) for Japanese
males to marry.
The time spent by the respondents in the United States divisions of their companies (Fig. 3) correlated with the effort being made to improve English ability (Fig. 23). Those respondents who have been in the U.S. for less than three years (n=83) are actively trying to improve their English, while those who have been in the U.S. for three or more years (n=84) are not. The sojourners who have been in the U.S. division longer rated their current English ability (Fig. 21) higher. There is also a highly significant correlation between the time spent in the U.S. by the sojourner and the question of whom the sojourner talks to most frequently about problems that are not work-related (Fig. 34). It was found that those who have been in the U.S. for more than two years are much more likely to talk to an American than those who have been here for a shorter period.

A similar breakpoint was found in the correlation of time spent in the U.S. with self-assessed job capability (Fig. 39). Seventy-four percent of those who have been here for more than two years answered that they are as capable of doing their job here as in Japan. Those who have been in the U.S. for less than two years answered that they are not as capable. Sixty percent of the sojourners who have been in the U.S. for three years or more indicated that they are happier working in the U.S. than working in Japan (Fig. 47), while only thirty-five percent of those who have been here for a period of from two
to three years answered in the same way. Twenty percent of those who have been here for less than two years answered that they were happier in the U.S.

The positions of the respondents (Fig. 4) correlated with the type of pre-departure training given to them by their companies. Those with higher positions were given general information, while those with lower positions were given communication-related training (Fig. 17). There was also a positive correlation between position and understanding of the American people and culture (Fig. 42).

Figure 5 shows the number of prior overseas postings. For the majority, sixty-four percent, this is the first assignment abroad.

Figure 6 shows that forty-five percent volunteered for this posting. This apparently contradicts March's (1992) statement that the majority of Japanese sojourners are posted abroad with no regard for their desire to go. In line with
March's speculations, however, it was found that there was a strong correlation between volunteering and being happy working in the United States (Fig. 47). Those who volunteered were more than twice as likely to agree (64:25) with the statement that they were happier working in the U.S. than in Japan, while those who did not volunteer were almost twice as likely to disagree (23:13) with the statement.

Figure 7 depicts the sojourners' responses to the question of what factors they believe were involved in their
companies' choice to send them abroad. The respondents were asked to check all that they thought applied. Fig. 8 shows the qualifications the official company requires of their overseas personnel. Both Fig. 7 and 8 show that an emphasis is placed on job experience; however, seventeen percent and eighteen percent respectively stated that strong desire on the employee's part was an important consideration for the company.

The responses to the question about pre-departure
training (Fig. 9) were found to be consistent with the findings of many researchers cited in Chapter Four of this thesis in that the majority (52%) were given none. The details of the types of training given (and not given) can be found in Figures 11 through 19.

The level of English fluency before arrival in the United States (Fig. 10) was positively correlated with more cultural knowledge about the United States pre-arrival (Fig. 20). A correlation was found in that those who rated their pre-
departure English ability as fair, good or fluent indicated that they are making no current attempt to improve their English (Fig. 23), while those who rated their pre-departure English as poor or very poor indicated that they are making an effort to improve while in the States. A positive linear correlation was found between pre-departure spoken English ability and current frequency of contact with Americans outside the workplace (Fig. 31), current frequency of contact with American culture (Fig. 32), and the sojourner’s self-assessed current understanding of the American people and culture (Fig. 42). Similarly, a positive linear correlation was found between responses to this question and the sojourner’s perception of his job capability in the States as compared to his job capability in Japan (Fig. 39).

Figures 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 represent answers to the questions concerning pre-departure language training provided by the company. Figure 11 indicates that sixty-five
Figure 12. DAYS A WEEK LANGUAGE TRAINING

A. one 40%
B. two 25%
C. three 21%
D. four 4%
E. five or more 10%

Figure 13. HOURS A DAY LANGUAGE TRAINING

A. one 16%
B. two 66%
C. three 8%
D. four 4%
E. five or more 6%

Figure 14. KIND OF LANGUAGE TRAINING

A. general conversation 84%
B. job related 13%
C. other 3%
percent were given no training. Figures 12 through 16 represent only the answers of the thirty-five percent who were given pre-departure English classes (i.e., those who answered "yes" to Question 11). Figures 17 and 18 represent answers to questions concerning pre-departure cultural training. Again, the majority were given no cultural training.

Figure 19 depicts the responses of those sojourners who had received cultural training. The question asked them to
Figure 17. KIND OF CULTURAL TRAINING
- B. manners, customs 6%
- C. communication 12%
- D. cultural values 3%
- A. general information 21%
- E. none 56%

Figure 18. WHO TAUGHT
- A. company 35%
- B. an outside agent 47%
- C. other 19%

Figure 19. USEFULNESS OF CULTURAL TRAINING
- B. little 28%
- A. not at all 9%
- C. some 42%
- E. very useful 5%
- D. useful 16%
evaluate the usefulness of that training in their current assignment. Positive correlations were found between replies to this question and to the respondents' evaluations of the usefulness of pre-departure language training (Fig. 16). A positive correlation was also found between the sojourners evaluation of pre-departure cultural training and between the frequency of outside contacts with Americans (Fig. 31) and with American culture (Fig. 32).

The sojourner was asked to assess his pre-departure knowledge of the American culture and people (Fig. 20). There was a positive correlation between pre-departure knowledge and current English fluency (Fig. 21), frequency of current contact with Americans (Fig. 31) and American culture (Fig. 32) outside work.

Figure 21 represents the sojourners' self-assessment of current English fluency. This correlates positively with the frequency of contacts with American people (Fig. 31) and
culture (Fig. 32), with self-assessment of current job capability (Fig. 39) and with self-assessment of the level of their understanding of the American people and culture (Fig. 42). A strong positive correlation exists between current fluency and with responses to the statement about being happier working in the U.S. than in Japan (Fig. 47). It was also found that the lower the self-assessment of current fluency the more likely the sojourners were to agree with the statement that Americans are not very concerned about time (Fig. 51) and that Americans use too many words to say what they mean (Fig. 52).

Figure 22 shows that the majority of the companies surveyed provide no language training for sojourners. Figure 23 depicts the percentages of sojourners who are and who are not currently involved in actively improving their English ability. Figure 24 shows that the majority of the companies surveyed provide no cultural training for sojourners.
Figure 22. U.S. COMPANY PROVIDES LANGUAGE TRAINING

- A. no 80%
- B. yes 20%

Figure 23. DOING ANYTHING TO IMPROVE ENGLISH

- A. no 54%
- B. yes 46%

Figure 24. U.S COMPANY PROVIDES CULTURAL TRAINING

- A. no 94%
- B. yes 6%
The answers to the question of whether or not the sojourner is currently involved in actively learning more about the American culture and people are illustrated by Figure 25. A positive correlation was found between answers to this question and to the question of whether or not the sojourner or his company is doing anything for the local community (Fig. 37).

Figure 26 depicts responses to the question of which factors the sojourners would most focus on in designing an
ideal pre-departure training program. Each respondent was asked to select only one of the factors listed. There was a negative correlation found in that seventy-six percent of those who would focus on job training are currently making no effort to improve their spoken English (Fig. 23). The responses to the question itself were almost evenly split between culture and communication, job training and language.

Figure 27. POST-ARRIVAL TRAINING YOU THINK NEEDED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B. language</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. culture and communication</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. job training</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. other</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. none</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This changes somewhat when the sojourners were asked what type of post-arrival training they thought would be most important (Fig. 27). Job training shrinks from pre-departure thirty-three percent to post-arrival seventeen percent, while the perceived importance of language almost doubles from twenty-seven percent to forty-two percent.

Figure 28 gives the average length of a U.S. assignment in the sojourners’ companies. Forty-seven percent are assigned to the United States for five or more years.

The proximity of the sojourners’ primary residences to
those of their Japanese coworkers (Fig. 29) was found to positively correlate with the idea of whether or not sojourners should attempt to adopt the American lifestyle while in the United States (Fig. 41) and to negatively correlate with their self-assessed knowledge of American culture (Fig. 42); i.e., the farther they live from coworkers, the more they believe they know about the American culture. Additionally, a negative correlation was found in that seventy-seven percent of those who live close to Japanese
colleagues indicated that they are making no current effort to
improve their knowledge of American culture (Fig. 25). It was
also found that the closer the residence to the residences of
other Japanese, the more frequently Japanese goods and
services are used (Fig. 30).

The frequency with which Japanese goods and services are
used is depicted in Figure 30. It was found that eighty-two
percent of those who rarely use Japanese goods and services
indicated that they are not nervous when speaking English
(Fig. 44).

The responses to the question of how much contact the
sojourner has with Americans and American culture outside the
workplace are illustrated in Figures 31 and 32. There is a
correlation between the replies to these questions and to the
question of what strategy is employed by the sojourners when
there is conflict in the workplace with or between the
American workers (Fig. 35). Those Japanese who stated that
they have little or no contact with Americans or American culture outside work tend to deal with conflict by avoidance or by trying to stop it. The replies were also found to positively correlate to ideas about whether or not sojourners should attempt to adopt the American lifestyle while here (Fig. 41), to the self-assessment of understanding of the American people and culture (Fig. 42) and to negatively correlate to nervousness about speaking English (Fig. 44). Finally, the more contact the sojourners stated that they had
with Americans and American culture outside work, the happier they are working in the U.S. instead of in Japan (Fig. 47).

Figures 33 and 34 illustrate the responses to questions of whom the sojourner talks to about work-related problems with Americans and about problems outside work. It was found that seventy-four percent of those Japanese who talk to other Japanese about work-related problems (Fig. 33) have little to no contact with Americans outside work (Fig. 31).

The conflict resolution strategies and workplace
decision-making methods of the sojourners are depicted in Figures 35 and 36. A correlation between conflict resolution style and to whom the sojourner talks about work-related problems was found. Seventy-two percent of those who indicated that they avoid conflicts and ninety percent of those who indicated that they stop conflicts talk exclusively to Japanese colleagues about problems with American workers (Fig. 33). Only fourteen percent of those who argue in conflicts with American workers agreed with the statement that
they are nervous when speaking English (Fig. 44).

Figure 37. ANYTHING COMPANY OR YOU DOING FOR THE COMMUNITY

A. no 39%
B. yes 61%

Figure 37 gives the breakdown of responses to the question of the sojourners' and/or their companies' community involvement. Only thirteen percent of those sojourners who are involved or whose company is involved in doing something for the local community are nervous when speaking English (Fig. 44) and only twenty-two percent indicated that they felt Americans are impatient with their accents (Fig. 53).

Figure 38. HOW RELIEVE STRESS IN THE U.S.

A. nothing 5%
B. sports 46%
C. drink 6%
D. with family 10%
E. other 34%
The sojourners' answers to the question of what they do to relieve stress here in the United States is illustrated by Figure 38. The question was open-ended (as opposed to multiple choice). The responses were then grouped into five main categories. The most popular method of relieving stress is participation in a sport. The overwhelming majority of those who mentioned a sport said that they played golf to relieve stress. The category of "other" given in the figure contains responses including travel, mah-jong, reading, gardening and watching videos.

![Figure 39. AS CAPABLE IN THE U.S. AS IN JAPAN](image)

Figure 39, self-assessment of job capability in the U.S. as opposed to capability in Japan, correlates positively to the degree of agreement with the statement that the sojourner is happier working in the U.S. than in Japan (Fig. 47), to self-assessment of understanding of American culture and people (Fig. 42) and negatively correlates to the degree of nervousness the sojourners feel when talking to Americans.
To the statement "Americans are basically the same as Japanese," the majority disagreed (Fig. 40). Interestingly, however, those with strong opinions about the statement (strongly agree or strongly disagree) were each nine percent of the total. The responses have a positive correlation to the responses to the statement regarding Japanese sojourners adopting the U.S. lifestyle while here (Fig. 41). Interestingly, only six percent of those who strongly agreed and four percent of those who agreed with the statement indicated that they believed they understand American culture (Fig. 42). Sixty-six percent disagreed with the statement and also disagreed that they are uneasy with different ethnic groups in the U.S. (Fig. 46). There was a strong positive correlation between the degrees of agreement with this statement and with the statement that Americans are not serious enough about their work (Fig. 55).
The results illustrated by Figure 41 about adaptation to American culture correlate positively with the results of the self-assessment of understanding of American culture and the American people (Fig. 42). There is a strong negative correlation between the degree of agreement to the statement that the Japanese should adopt the U.S. lifestyle while here with the degree of agreement to the statement that Americans are not very concerned with time (Fig. 51). Agreement with this statement is also negatively correlated to the statements that Americans should show more respect to superiors (Fig. 54) and that Americans are not serious enough in their attitudes to work (Fig. 55).

The self-assessment of understanding depicted in Figure 42 positively correlated to the degree of nervousness felt by the sojourner when speaking English to natives (Fig. 44) and to relative happiness in working in the United States as compared to working in Japan (Fig. 47).
The majority of the Japanese (57%) agreed to the statement that Japanese workers are more sensitive than American workers are (Fig. 43). A much smaller percentage (14%) disagreed. More interesting is that those who expressed strong opinions feel, by a margin of nineteen to one, that the Japanese are more sensitive.

In Figure 44, the degree of nervousness felt by the sojourner when speaking English to natives is depicted. There is a positive correlation between this item and agreement to
the statements that the sojourner feels nervous with different ethnicities (Fig. 46), Americans are not very concerned with time (Fig. 51), Americans use too many words (Fig. 52) and Americans are impatient with accents (Fig. 53).

The frequency with which the sojourners chat with Americans (Fig. 45) positively correlates to their being happier working in the United States than in Japan (Fig. 47).

The sojourners assessed their uneasiness in dealing with Americans from differing ethnic backgrounds (Fig. 46) and the
majority (56%) stated that they do not feel any uneasiness. Twenty-one percent stated that they do feel uneasy. This is less than the twenty-four percent who chose "neutral" as an answer. Those who are uneasy also believe that Americans are not concerned with time (Fig. 51). Those who feel no uneasiness in dealing with different ethnic groups also indicated that they understand Americans' verbal communication style (Fig. 52).
Figure 47 represents the answers of the Japanese to the question of their relative happiness working in the United States. As discussed above, the answer to this question correlates significantly with the responses to several questions relating to the degree of interaction the sojourner has with Americans both inside and outside of work. There is also a strong correlation between agreement with this statement and agreement with the statement that Japanese sojourners should adopt the American lifestyle while in the U.S. (Fig. 41). Those who agreed that they are happier working in the U.S. disagreed with the statement that Americans are impatient with the sojourners' accents (Fig. 53), while those who disagreed with the first statement believed that Americans are impatient with accents.

The question of whether or not the sojourners believed that Japanese culture was somehow "better" than American culture (Fig. 48) drew a majority (58%) of "neutral"
responses. People who agreed with the statement that Japanese culture is better also agreed that Americans are not concerned about time (Fig. 51) and should show more respect to superiors on the job (Fig. 54).

Figure 49 reflects that the majority of Japanese sojourners (54%) believe that the Japanese are better able to understand American culture than Americans are able to understand Japanese culture. The phrasing of the question made no reference to the sojourners' being in the United States; rather, it was phrased in Japanese (as in English) to elicit a response reflecting the sojourner's general opinion. Only fifteen percent disagreed with the statement, while thirty percent chose a neutral response.

Whether or not the sojourners perceive English as the primary problem in their communication with Americans is reflected in Figure 50. The majority (59%) believe that it is; in contrast with the twenty-eight percent who believe that
language is not the major problem. There were, surprisingly, no correlations between the belief that English is the main problem in communication and with Figures 26 and 27 which ask the sojourner what kind of training is most needed pre-departure and post-arrival.

Figure 51 illustrates responses to the statement that Americans are unconcerned with time. This question was designed to pick up any perceived differences in chronemics. Fifty-three percent disagreed with the statement as opposed to
the fifteen percent who agreed. There was a positive correlation between agreement to this statement and agreement to the statement that Americans' verbal communication style (vis a vis wordiness) is not understood (Fig. 52), that Americans should show more respect to superiors on the job (Fig. 54) and that American workers' attitude to work is not serious enough (Fig. 55).

Figure 52. DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHY AMERICANS USE SO MANY WORDS

C. neutral 30%
B. agree 13%
A. strongly agree 1%
E. strongly disagree 7%
D. disagree 49%

Figure 52 depicts the sojourners' degree of agreement with the statement that Americans are overly wordy. This was designed to discover any perceptions of a difference in verbal communication. The sojourners, at a ratio of four to one, disagreed with the statement. Agreement with this statement was positively correlated with agreement to the statement that Americans are impatient with sojourners' accents (Fig. 53), should show more respect on the job (Fig. 54) and are not serious enough in their work attitudes (Fig. 55).

Figure 53 illustrates the sojourners' degree of agreement
with the statement that many Americans are impatient with accents. The responses were split almost evenly three ways between those who agreed, those who disagreed and the neutrals. It is interesting to note that this is one of only two questions that elicited equal numbers of strong agreement and strong disagreement; the other was the question of whether or not the Japanese and Americans are basically the same (Fig. 40). Again, those who agreed with the statement also believed that American workers should show more respect to superiors (Fig. 54) and are not serious enough in their work attitudes (Fig. 55).

Figure 54 depicts evaluations of a statement that was intended to discover differences in formality in the workplace. To the statement that Americans should show more respect to superiors on the job, the sojourners were evenly split at forty-four percent between disagree and neutral. Only twelve percent agreed.
Figure 54. AMERICAN WORKERS SHOULD SHOW MORE RESPECT TO SUPERIORS

C. neutral 44%
B. agree 10%
A. strongly agree 2%
E. strongly disagree 7%
D. disagree 37%

Figure 55. AMERICAN ATTITUDE TO WORK IS NOT SERIOUS ENOUGH

C. neutral 21%
B. agree 13%
A. strongly agree 3%
E. strongly disagree 14%
D. disagree 49%

Figure 55 deals with attitudes towards work. To the statement that Americans are not serious enough about their work, sixty-three percent disagreed, while only sixteen percent agreed.

In summary, the majority of the Japanese sojourners in this survey did not volunteer for overseas assignment and had had no prior intensive intercultural experience. They were given no training either before or after their arrival in the United States. The majority with an opinion state that they
are now happier working in the United States than they were in Japan and they are overwhelmingly convinced that they are as capable at their jobs here as they were in Japan. They believe that they settle most conflicts with American coworkers by argument and debate and state that the Americans they work with are sufficiently concerned with time, show enough respect for superiors and are serious about their jobs.

In the United States, the majority live close to at least some of their Japanese coworkers and discuss work-related and nonwork-related problems with Japanese colleagues. They have little or no contact with Americans outside the workplace and are doing nothing to improve their knowledge of American culture although they state that Japanese sojourners should try to understand and adopt the American lifestyle while living in the United States. They say that they do not feel uncomfortable speaking English although they cite English as the main problem in communication and rarely speak informally with Americans. Although the majority don’t express an opinion about the superiority of the Japanese and Japanese culture, they feel that they can more easily understand the American culture than the Americans can understand theirs and they are more sensitive to subtleties than Americans are.
The Results of the American Survey

The age spread of the American respondents (Fig. 56) differed somewhat from that of the Japanese sojourners. A much larger percentage of the Americans were aged from twenty-five to twenty-nine years of age (33% compared to 6% of the Japanese). Age correlates to responses to the statement that Japanese coworkers explain to the Americans when questions come up (Fig. 72) in that the younger workers feel the Japanese do explain while the older disagreed. Similarly, younger workers disagreed with the statement that they prefer working with Americans to working with Japanese (Fig. 82).

Positions in the company (Fig. 57) were roughly comparable to those held by the Japanese with the exception of the positions of Junior Manager (11% of the Americans and 24% of the Japanese) and non-management (30% of the Americans and 0% of the Japanese). It was also found that the lower the position of the American worker in the company the higher the
degree of agreement with the statement that Americans and Japanese are basically the same (Fig. 87).

Figure 58 gives the answers to the question of how many overseas assignments the Americans have worked. Twenty-one percent of the Americans have worked one or more overseas assignments. There was a positive correlation between the number of overseas experiences and the amount of previous intercultural experience (Fig. 60).

The answers to the question of how many languages other
than English the Americans speak are shown in Figure 59. Respondents to this question were directed to check all that applied. Twenty-seven percent answered that they spoke Japanese and fully fifty-percent answered that they speak at least one language in addition to English.

Forty-nine percent of the respondents to the question of prior intercultural experience (Fig. 60) answered either "much" or "very much." Only twenty-eight percent answered "little" or "none." There was a strong positive correlation
between previous intercultural experience and how much was known about Japanese culture before the present employment (Fig. 61) and how much is known now (Fig. 62).

To the question of how much was known about the Japanese before the present employment (Fig. 61), thirty-five percent responded with either "much" or "very much." This figure jumps to seventy-three percent when the respondents are asked how much they currently know about the Japanese (Fig. 62). The strong positive correlation between previous and present
knowledge indicates that the respondents have increased their knowledge while with their current companies. Those respondents who knew more about Japanese culture tend to believe the Japanese are not comfortable with Americans of different ethnic backgrounds (Fig. 76) and are not the same as Americans (Fig. 87).

Figures 63 and 64 indicate that the majority of the companies do not provide either Japanese language or intercultural communication training programs.
Figure 65. YOU CREATE TRAINING PROGRAM FOR JAPANESE

- A. language 18%
- B. culture and communication 79%
- C. job training 3%

Figure 66. THE WEAKEST POINT OF JAPANESE COWORKERS' BUSINESS STYLE

- A. English 18%
- B. communication 40%
- C. nonverbal communication 7%
- D. decision-making 23%
- E. other 12%

Figure 67. JAPANESE COWORKERS DO WHAT WHEN THERE IS CONFLICT WITH OR BETWEEN AMERICANS

- A. argue 28%
- B. avoid 54%
- C. stop 8%
- D. other 10%
To the question of what the primary focus of a training program to familiarize Japanese nationals with the United States should be (Fig. 65), seventy-nine percent of the respondents chose culture and communication. Only eighteen percent chose language. This is similar to the answers to the question of what the weakest point of the Japanese business style is (Fig. 66). Seventy percent answered that communication factors (including daily communication, nonverbal communication and decision-making techniques) were the weakest in the Japanese. Eighteen percent answered that the main problem was English ability. On the topic of conflict resolution (Fig. 67), more than fifty percent of the Americans responded that the Japanese avoid all confrontations with or between American workers; while only twenty-eight percent answered that the Japanese enter into or permit argument.

![Figure 68. WORKPLACE DECISIONS MADE HOW BY JAPANESE COWORKERS](image)
The American perceptions of the way in which workplace decisions are made by the Japanese are illustrated in Figure 68. Fifty-five percent of the respondents believe that the superior decides; twenty-four percent believe decisions are made by the majority in discussion. Eleven percent indicated "other." This choice was open-ended with space provided for the respondent to write in the method used. The answers in this category included variations on the ideas that the head office in Tokyo makes final decisions and that consensus is limited to the Japanese in the company.

In reference to the question of community involvement (Fig. 69), fifty-nine percent of the Americans answered that they did see their coworkers and/or company contributing positively to the local community. There was a positive correlation between perceptions of community involvement and perceptions of the Japanese familiarity with the American way of doing business (Fig. 70).
Figure 70. HOW FAMILIAR ARE JAPANESE COWORKERS WITH AMERICAN BUSINESS

A. not at all 1%
B. little 31%
C. some 43%
D. much 21%
E. very much 4%

Figure 70 shows that thirty-two percent of the Americans believe that their Japanese coworkers are either not at all or only a little familiar with the American way of doing business. Only twenty-five percent indicated that the Japanese are very or greatly familiar with the way Americans do business. There was a positive correlation between rating the Japanese as familiar with the American way of doing business and with being able to talk to them frankly about work-related problems (Fig. 71). There was a similar correlation between believing that the Japanese are familiar with American business practices and that they make an effort to explain their culture and themselves to Americans (Fig. 73). There were also positive correlations between this item and the perceptions that the Japanese treat Americans as equals (Fig. 74), are comfortable with Americans of different ethnic backgrounds (Fig. 76) and understand what is being said to them (Fig. 77). Of those Americans who believe that the
Japanese are not familiar with the American way of doing business, only seven percent believe that the main problem in communication is related to English ability (Fig. 79).

![Figure 71. CAN TALK FRANKLY WITH JAPANESE ABOUT WORK-RELATED PROBLEMS](image)

Figure 71 depicts the degree of agreement to the statement that one can speak frankly to the Japanese about work-related problems. Sixty-six percent concurred and only fourteen percent disagreed. There was a strong positive correlation between this item and agreement to the statements that the Japanese try to explain themselves and their culture (Fig. 73) and that they try to explain when there are work-related questions (Fig. 72). Being able to speak frankly to the Japanese was positively correlated to the perceptions that the Japanese treat Americans as equals (Fig. 74) and are comfortable with different ethnic groups (Fig. 76). Those who could speak frankly were less likely to be frustrated by decision-making methods (Fig. 84).

To the statement that the Japanese try to explain
questions related to work (Fig. 72), eighty percent of the Americans agreed and only seven percent disagreed. There was a positive correlation between this item and general explanations of culture and people (Fig. 73), treatment of American workers as equals (Fig. 74) and perceived comfort in dealing with different ethnic groups (Fig. 76). Those who do not believe the Japanese explain stated that they prefer working with Americans to working with the Japanese (Fig. 82). Those who do believe the Japanese explain work-related questions are also less likely to be frustrated with their decision-making techniques (Fig. 84).

A majority (54%) agreed that the Japanese try to explain themselves and their culture to the Americans in the company (Fig. 73). Only nineteen percent disagreed. The Americans who believe that the Japanese made an attempt to explain themselves and their culture also believe that the Japanese treat the Americans as equals (Fig. 74), are comfortable with
different ethnic groups (Fig. 76) and understand American culture better than the Americans understand Japanese culture (Fig. 79). Again, those Americans who indicated the Japanese make the effort are less likely to be frustrated by Japanese decision-making methods (Fig. 84).

Forty-three percent of the Americans feel that the Japanese do not treat them as equals; while only thirty-one percent feel that they are treated as equals (Fig. 74). Those Americans who do not feel that they are treated as equals
responded affirmatively to the statement that the Japanese in the office tend to stay together (Fig. 75) and to the statement that they prefer working with Americans to working with the Japanese (Fig. 82). Those who do feel treated as equals also agree that the Japanese are comfortable with different ethnic groups (Fig. 76), understand what is being said (Fig. 77) and give clear directions (Fig. 83). Those who feel equally treated are less frustrated by Japanese decision-making (Fig. 84), less impatient with accents (Fig. 86), and tend to feel that the Japanese and the Americans are basically the same (Fig. 87).

Seventy-four percent of the Americans agreed with the statement that the Japanese in the company tend to stay together (Fig. 75). An interesting point is that, of the five choices given, the majority chose "strongly agree." This is the only question in the survey which drew such a strong response. The twenty-six percent who indicated that the
Japanese do not stay together in the office also feel that the Japanese are comfortable dealing with different ethnic groups (Fig. 76).

Figure 76. JAPANESE COMFORTABLE DEALING WITH DIFFERENT ETHNICITIES

- B. agree 27%
- C. neutral 34%
- A. strongly agree 5%
- E. strongly disagree 8%
- D. disagree 26%

Figure 76 shows the responses to the statement that the Japanese are comfortable dealing with Americans of different ethnic backgrounds. The answers are almost evenly split between agreement, disagreement and neutrality. There is a correlation between agreement with this item and disagreement with the statement that the Japanese do not understand what is said to them by their coworkers (Fig. 77). It is also positively correlated with the degree of agreement to the statements that the Japanese give clear directions (Fig. 83) and that the Japanese are basically the same as Americans (Fig. 87). Those who agreed are also less likely to be frustrated by Japanese decision-making methods (Fig. 84).

Seventy percent of the Americans agreed that the Japanese understand what their American coworkers say (Fig. 77); only
nine percent disagreed. Agreement to this statement is negatively correlated with agreement to the statements that the respondent prefers working with Americans to working with the Japanese (Fig. 82), that the respondent is frustrated by Japanese decision-making methods (Fig. 84) and that the respondent is impatient with Japanese accents (Fig. 86).

Thirty-seven percent of the respondents agreed that the Japanese attitude to work is too serious (Fig. 78). Twenty-two percent disagreed. It is interesting that of the
Americans with strong responses to the statement, the ratio was four to one in favor of agreement.

Figure 79 illustrates that forty percent of the Americans disagree with the statement that it is easier for the Japanese to understand American culture than for Americans to understand Japanese culture.

The responses were evenly split between agreement and disagreement to the statement that the main problem in communication with the Japanese is the language (Fig. 80).
A strong majority (82%) of the Americans indicated that Japanese workers should more frequently talk informally with American workers in order to improve relations (Fig. 81). Only two percent disagreed and none strongly disagreed. There is a positive correlation between agreement that the Japanese should talk more informally to improve workplace relations and that the Japanese should adopt the American lifestyle while in the United States (Fig. 85).
Fifty-five percent chose "neutral" as a response to the statement about coworker preference (Fig. 82). Thirty-nine percent indicated that they do not prefer working with Americans over working with the Japanese. Those who did prefer working with Americans feel that the Japanese give unclear directions (Fig. 83) and feel frustration with Japanese decision-making techniques (Fig. 84).

The responses were evenly split between agreement and disagreement with the statement that directions from the Japanese are unclear (Fig. 83). Of those who responded strongly, however, eight percent agreed and only two percent disagreed. Those who indicated that Japanese directions were unclear also felt frustrated by Japanese decision-making techniques (Fig. 84).

Figure 84 shows the degree of agreement with the statement that Japanese decision-making methods are frustrating. Fifty-two percent of the Americans
agreed and only twenty-two percent disagreed. Of those Americans with strong responses to the statement, the majority strongly agreed (15:1). There is a strong negative correlation between responses to this statement and responses to the statement that the Japanese are basically the same as Americans (Fig. 87). There is a positive correlation in that those Americans who are frustrated by the Japanese decision-making process also agreed to the statement that the Japanese do not understand the American way of doing business (Fig. 70).

Forty-three percent of the Americans agreed that the Japanese should try to understand and adopt the American lifestyle while in the United States (Fig. 85). Thirty-three percent answered with "neutral" and twenty-five percent disagreed.

The overwhelming majority of the respondents (74%) disagreed with the statement that they are impatient with
their Japanese coworkers' English (Fig. 86). Only eight percent agreed.

Fifty-two percent of the respondents disagreed with the statement that the Japanese and Americans are basically the same (Fig. 87). Of those with strong responses, more than twice as many disagreed as agreed.

Fifty percent agreed that the Japanese are more sensitive to subtleties than Americans are (Fig. 88) and only twenty-two percent disagreed. Of those with strong responses, almost
three times as many agreed as disagreed.

Comparisons of American and Japanese Parallel Questions

The differences in responses to the question of what type of training should be given to the Japanese to familiarize them with the U.S. are illustrated in Table 1. As can be seen, the Americans perceive a much greater need for culture and communication training than do the Japanese, while, the Japanese put much more emphasis on the need for language training.
Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>American</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>3 (1.8%)</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>language</td>
<td>71 (42.3%)</td>
<td>24 (17.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cult. &amp; comm.</td>
<td>61 (36.3%)</td>
<td>106 (79.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>job training</td>
<td>29 (17.3%)</td>
<td>4 (3.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>4 (2.4%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>168 (100%)</td>
<td>134 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 shows that there was agreement between the Japanese and Americans upon the subject of how much the Japanese expatriate and/or the Japanese organization contribute to the local community.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Americans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>102 (60.7%)</td>
<td>79 (59.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>66 (39.3%)</td>
<td>54 (40.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>168 (100%)</td>
<td>133 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The answers to the question regarding Japanese decision-making are illustrated in Table 3. More of the Americans believe that the Japanese use consensus to reach decisions; however, the majority of both the Americans and the Japanese agree that decisions are made by superiors.

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Americans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>consensus</td>
<td>9 (5.4%)</td>
<td>13 (9.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>majority</td>
<td>29 (17.4%)</td>
<td>32 (23.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>superior</td>
<td>123 (73.7%)</td>
<td>74 (55.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>6 (3.6%)</td>
<td>15 (11.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>167 (100%)</td>
<td>134 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 illustrates the answers to the question of what the Japanese do when there is conflict with or between American workers. The majority of Japanese believe that they
encourage and enter into argument and debate. The Americans, on the other hand, assert that the Japanese avoid confrontation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Americans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>argue</td>
<td>130 (77.8%)</td>
<td>36 (28.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avoid</td>
<td>22 (13.2%)</td>
<td>68 (53.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>10 (6.0%)</td>
<td>10 (7.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>5 (3.0%)</td>
<td>13 (9.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>167 (100%)</td>
<td>127 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were significant differences (p < .01) in the responses to the statement about the uneasiness of the Japanese in dealing with Americans of different ethnicities (Japanese mean = 2.47, American mean = 1.97; t = 4.5, df = 296) and to the statement that it was easier for the Japanese to understand the American culture than for the Americans to understand the Japanese. The Japanese were five times more likely to agree to the statement than to disagree, while the Americans were twice as likely to disagree as to agree (Japanese mean = 1.51, American mean = 2.20; t = 6.9, df = 297). The t of the responses to the statement that the main problem for the Japanese in communication is the language were significant at .01 or less (Japanese mean = 1.57, American mean = 2.00; t = -4.3, df = 297).

To the statements that Japanese sojourners should try to understand and adopt the American lifestyle while here, responses were again significantly different (Japanese mean =
.99, American mean = 1.67; t = -8.2, df = 298, p < .01).

The statement on the American questionnaire about American impatience with Japanese English similarly drew significantly different responses (Japanese mean = 2.05, American mean = 2.87; t = -9.1, df = 296); as did the statement that the Japanese workers were more sensitive to subtleties than the Americans were (Japanese mean = 1.38, American mean = 1.64; t = -2.6, df = 297).
CHAPTER SEVEN
Discussion of the Results

The Japanese

The majority of the Japanese in this survey are older, married men with no previous overseas experience. They have been in the United States for two or more years and almost half volunteered for this posting. The average length of a U.S. assignment in their organizations is four years or more. The majority of the sample were given either no training before departure or language instruction only, and have had no training since their arrival. The majority of those who did receive training felt that it was not very useful. The sample evenly split between language, communication and job-related training on the question of what they would emphasize if asked to create a pre-departure training program. When asked the same question about post-arrival training, the importance of language training increased and of job-related training decreased by almost half. They rated their English as only fair or as poor before departure. Since arrival, their language ability has improved; however, one in five still rates his English as poor or very poor and the majority still feels that the main problem they have in communication with Americans is limited English.

The profile of this group is similar to that of groups
studied by other researchers. The only apparent contradiction found is the large percentage who say they volunteered for overseas assignment. This differs from statements by Amako (1992), Nakamura (1989) and March (1992) that the majority of sojourning Japanese are here against their wills.

Looking at the Japanese in the survey, it was also seen that they are typical in terms of their isolation from the American culture around them. Over seventy percent of them live close to at least some of their colleagues, use Japanese goods and services often, do not talk to Americans about either work or nonwork related problems and state that they have, at most, some contact with Americans and their culture. Interestingly, however, only seventeen percent say that they do not understand Americans and their culture; only nineteen percent say that they are unhappy and fully sixty-five percent say that their personal job performance is as good in the U.S. as it was in Japan. It appears, therefore, that the symptoms of maladjustment noted in the discussion of Japanese expatriate adjustment are largely absent.

Comparisons of the Japanese and the American Responses

The American respondents are generally younger than their Japanese coworkers. Almost a third of them speak Japanese and over a third say that they either knew much or very much about the Japanese culture and Japanese people before employment in their current positions. Since employment, the majority feel
that their knowledge of the culture and people has improved. The majority have had at least some previous intercultural experience and would, if asked to create a training program for the Japanese, focus on culture and communication, not on English. They feel that the Japanese in the company are not very familiar with the American way of doing business; however, they can talk frankly with their Japanese coworkers and the Japanese try to explain whenever questions come up.

The majority say that the Japanese tend to stay together in the office and that they should talk informally more often with their American coworkers in order to improve relations in the workplace. They feel that the Japanese generally understand what they say and state that they are not impatient with their Japanese coworkers’ English.

Both the Americans and the Japanese have the same perception about the degree to which their organizations are involved in the local community. Almost sixty percent of both groups state that there is involvement; forty percent say no. There are, however, obvious dissimilarities in American and Japanese perceptions on other topics. The Japanese believe that their main communication problem is caused by language. The Americans, on the other hand, say that they feel the Japanese understand what they say and explain to the Americans when questions come up. The Americans also say that they are not impatient with Japanese accents. They feel that the
Japanese should receive culture and communication training.

The Japanese believe that they engage in debate and discussion when conflicts with Americans occur at work. The Americans say that the Japanese avoid conflicts rather than discussing the problems. More Americans believe that the Japanese have problems with Americans of different ethnic groups than is indicated by the Japanese. Although the Japanese think it is easier for them to understand the Americans than vice versa, many of the Americans disagreed.

Tatemae and Atypical Maladjustment

In order to discover why the behavior of the Japanese is in apparent contradiction to many of their attitudinal statements and why there is such a divergence between the perceptions of the Americans and the Japanese, tatemae and atypical maladjustment were considered. Tatemae, as discussed in Chapter Five, reflects a socially or politically correct position and does not express an individual's candid opinion.

It was found that the Japanese did not utilize the neutral option any more often than the Americans did; however, it was noted that the percentage of neutral responses from the Japanese increased whenever the statement to which they were required to respond was critical of the Americans (see Figs. 43, 48, 49, 51, 53 and 54). The neutral percentage also increased when the statement involved attitudes towards or understanding of Americans (see Figs. 42, 44, 46 and 52). The
neutral option was heavily employed in response to the statement of relative happiness in the United States (Fig. 47). The reluctance Japanese business persons feel in denying international attitudes or understanding can be likened to the reluctance nonvoting Americans would feel if asked whether or not they had voted in the last election. It was concluded, therefore, that the skew in results which tatemae might produce was mitigated to some degree by the neutral option.

The question remaining was whether or not the data indicated the existence of atypical adjustment. The comments about improving communication some respondents had written on their questionnaires were entirely voluntary. It was assumed, therefore, that the respondents who used tatemae in response to the questions would not feel any pressure to write out additional tatemae-loaded comments.

With this in mind, the thirty-four Japanese questionnaires containing comments were separated from the larger group. The thirty-four were then sorted into two groups. Those who had answered that they lived close to at least some of their Japanese colleagues, used Japanese goods and services often or very often, didn't talk to Americans about work-related or nonwork-related problems and had little or no contact with the American culture or people were defined as avoidant. Fourteen met the criteria. It was seen that the comments on some of the questionnaires reflected the
contradictions noted above. Although, according to his own response, he never talks to Americans about work-related problems, one respondent stated that "we" (the Americans and Japanese) always discuss problems and questions until there is consensus; another who never speaks to Americans said that Japanese and Americans listening and expressing their opinions to each other was important. Another who had no contact with Americans stated that Americans were "more sensitive" than the Japanese.

In conclusion, the sample group in the present study is similar to groups studied before, with the exception that a larger percentage of the present group had volunteered for overseas assignment than had been noted before. It was further seen that many of their perceptions of themselves and of how they appear to their American coworkers are either conflicting or simply untrue. Tatemae was seen to have an effect on responses that could be somewhat mitigated by providing a neutral option to the respondents. Finally, the data were interpreted as indicating that some of the Japanese who are isolated from contact with Americans do not realize that they are.
CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion

The brief history of Japan presented in this thesis suggests that the Japanese have twice repeated a cycle of self-imposed isolation from the West. In the Tokugawa period, the isolation was enforced to insure social and political stability. In later years, isolation involved withdrawing from the London Conference, breaking the Anglo-Japan Alliance, leaving the League of Nations and, eventually, declaring war on the United States and the Allied Forces. This isolation from the West served the cause of Japanese territorial expansion.

In both instances, avoidance was followed by a period of success which ended when the isolation was forcefully ended. The Tokugawa era was a time of social and political consolidation for the Japanese which was brought to an end by the military superiority of the United States. Japanese successes in territorial acquisition during the war years were, although brief, remarkable. This period ended because of the resources available to the Allied military and the productivity of war-related manufacturing in the United States.

The end of isolation involved losses. At the end of the Tokugawa isolation, political, social and economic stability
disappeared. At the end of World War II, all the territories taken both during and before the war were lost to Japan. The end of isolation, however, also signalled a period of growth for the Japanese. After the Tokugawa period ended, western military, economic, political and social patterns were studied and adapted to fit and to improve the Japanese lifestyle. After World War II, political and social changes instituted during the Allied Occupation led directly to the Japanese economic miracle.

The history of Japan also provides a context for discussions of Japanese cultural and communication patterns, and the closely related Japanese organizational culture. The interrelationships of Japanese homogeneity, the pattern of high context communication, the value placed on harmony and organizational ringi decision-making are apparent.

Most importantly, the uncertainty avoidance of the Japanese is reflected in Japanese history and in the results of research on the Japanese cited throughout this paper. Uncertainty avoidance is predicated on the national homogeneity and is directly related to the in-group/out-group social relationships of the Japanese and to their highly collective culture.

Unfortunately, the tendency to avoid uncertain or new situations has also been seen to be a liability to people who are required to come into contact with people from different
cultures. The degree of uneasiness and the tendency to avoidance increase in direct proportion to the perceived differences (unpredictability) of the host culture and its people; and, as we have seen, the culture, values, language and communication patterns of the United States are very different from those of Japan.

From an examination of the literature dealing with expatriate adjustment, it was found that the Japanese, as a group, do tend to avoid interaction with unknown cultures, and thus avoid the uncertainty attendant upon intercultural experiences. This was interpreted by many researchers as indicative of pervasive Japanese maladjustment; however, it was also seen that Japanese expatriates do not experience the predicted negative effects of cultural maladjustment.

The results of a survey designed to understand the nature of this apparent contradiction confirmed that over seventy-percent of the Japanese expatriates studied lived near other Japanese, used Japanese goods and services frequently, consulted with other Japanese about both work and non-work related problems and described themselves as having no contact, rare contact or only some contact with the American people and culture surrounding them. These expatriates were defined as avoidant.

The results also suggested that a large percentage of these avoidant expatriates state that they are as capable of
performing their jobs here as in Japan and are happier working in the United States than working in Japan. It was found, however, that there was a large gap between the avoidant expatriates' and their American coworkers' perceptions of Japanese job performance and Japanese and American cultural characteristics.

Avoidance has an apparent advantage in that the avoidant do not exhibit culture shock or the other negative effects of maladjustment. In fact, it is possible that for short-term postings that require little or no contact with the host country's people, avoidance would be adaptive. The avoidant would experience little or no downtime from culture shock and reentry problems would be minimized when the assignment was finished.

On the other hand, an apparent danger posed by the avoidant is that they either are not aware or are unable to admit awareness of the dissonances that exist in their perceptions of the host country and its nationals. It would be dangerous to base production plans, supply orders or service estimates upon the perceptions of people who can not admit that they do not know enough to make those estimates.

For those companies that wish to make the transition from multinational to transnational, such employees at the management level are clearly liabilities. Since a requirement for entry into the global market is the ability to accurately
perceive and predict the specific needs and requirements of the citizens of diverse cultures, it is obvious that involvement in and knowledge about the target culture are necessities.

It is critical, therefore, that future research on Japanese expatriate adjustment takes into consideration the effect of *tatamae* on responses to attitudinal questions. The construction of surveys and the interpretation of results without regard for this effect maintain the erroneous impression that the effects of maladjustment on the Japanese are not serious enough to warrant investigation of possible solutions.

Finally, because of its importance, the possible existence of atypical maladjustment should be further investigated. Research into this maladjustment, which is difficult to detect through attitudinal surveys and which is not necessarily apparent even to those who suffer from it, would require a recognition of the fact that the physical and psychological phenomena that researchers have felt were corollaries of maladjustment are not always evident. Adjustment must be assigned a positive definition and not simply defined as the absence of adverse effects.
APPENDIX A

Japanese Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE #1

This questionnaire has been designed as part of a study of what can be done to improve the lives and workplace effectiveness of Japanese nationals working in the U.S. All responses will be kept totally anonymous and confidential with respect to the names of both respondents and their companies. An addressed, pre-paid envelope has been provided for you. When you complete the questionnaire, you may mail it directly. If the choices provided do not exactly match the answer you would give to the question, please choose the answer that is the closest to your own. If you have worked overseas for more than 6 months, please choose the answer that is the closest to your own.

(Basic Information)

1. Your age
   A. Younger than 25
   B. 25 - 29
   C. 30 - 39
   D. 40 - 49
   E. 50 or older

2. Marital status
   A. Single
   B. Married

3. Time in U.S. company
   A. less than 1 year
   B. 1 year - less than 2 years
   C. 2 years - less than 3 years
   D. 3 years - less than 4 years
   E. 4 years - less than 5 years
   F. 5 years or more

4. Your position in the company
   A. Supervisor
   B. Junior Manager
   C. Middle Manager
   D. Senior Manager
   E. Higher (if so, please specify)

5. How many other overseas assignments have you worked? (staying more than 6 months)
   A. none
   B. one
   C. two
   D. three
   E. four
   F. five or more

---

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6. Did you volunteer for this overseas assignment?
A. yes  はい
B. no    いいえ

7. What do you think are the main reasons you were chosen for the U.S. assignment? (circle all that apply)
A. strong desire to go 海外勤務への強い希望
B. language ability 言語能力
C. overseas experience 海外経験
D. personality 性格
E. job experience in Japan 日本での実務経験
F. other その他

8. What qualifications are required by your parent company for overseas assignment? (circle no more than 2)
A. strong desire to go 海外勤務への強い希望
B. language ability 言語能力
C. overseas experience 海外経験
D. personality 性格
E. job experience in Japan 日本での実務経験
F. other その他

9. What kind of training did you have in Japan for this assignment?
A. none  何も受けなかった
B. language 言語
C. culture 文化
D. both language and culture 言語と文化的両方
E. other その他

Many of the following questions ask for you to respond by circling a letter from A to E. Example: How pleasant is your workplace?
下記の例のように質問はAからEの中から1つを選んでください。
例: あなたの職場は楽しいですか。
Not at all 全く楽ししくない
Very 非常に楽しむ

Circling C would indicate that your workplace is exactly midway between "very pleasant" and "not at all pleasant"... i.e., "so so."
例の様にCを選んだとすれば、「全く楽ししくない（A）」と「非常に楽しむ（E）」の2つの中間に「まあまあ」である事を示します。B, Dも同様の考え方です。

10. How good was your spoken English when you left Japan?
日本を発つ際のあなたの英語を話す能力はどうぐらいでしたか？
A. Poor 乏しい
B. C. D. E. Fluent 流暢
11. How much language training did you have before your arrival?
A. Everyday conversation
B. Job-related
C. Other

12. What kind of language training did you receive?
A. Daily conversation
B. Job-related
C. Other

13. Who taught the course(s)?
A. Native English speaker
B. Japanese national
C. Other

14. How useful has that language training been here in the U.S.?
A. Not at all
B. Somewhat
C. Moderately
D. Very

15. What kind of cultural training did you have? (Circle all that apply)
A. General information
B. Communication
C. Cultural values
D. Other

16. Who taught the course(s)?
A. Company's training department
B. An outside agency
C. Other

17. How useful has that cultural training been here in the U.S.?
A. Not at all
B. Somewhat
C. Moderately
D. Very

18. How much do you know about American culture or the American people when you left Japan?
A. Nothing
B. Somewhat
C. Moderately
D. Very

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Post-arrival

19. How good is your spoken English now?
現在あなたの英語を話す能力はどれくらいですか。

A. Poor
B. C
C. D
D. E
E. Fluent

20. Does your U.S. company provide language training for sojourners?
あなたの現在所属のアメリカの会社には、日本からの駐在員の為の語学トレーニングがありますか。
A. no いいえ
B. yes はい

21. Is there anything you are doing to improve your English?
あなたはあなたの英語力を増す為に何かしている事はありませんか。
A. no いいえ
B. yes はい if YES, what? もしそうなら説明下さい

22. Does your U.S. company provide cultural training for sojourners?
あなたの現在所属のアメリカの会社には、日本からの駐在員の為に文化に関するトレーニングがありますか。
A. no いいえ
B. yes はい

23. Is there anything you are doing to learn more about American culture or the American people?
あなたはアメリカ文化や人々についてより良く理解する為に何かしている事はありませんか。
A. no いいえ
B. yes はい if YES, what? もしそうなら説明下さい

24. If you were asked to create pre-departure training for sojourners, what factor would you most focus on based on your experience?
(Circle only 1)
もしあなたがアメリカ赴任予定の日本人従業員の為の日本でのトレーニングを創るとしたら、どの分野に最も力を入れますか。（1つのみ）
A. language
B. culture and communication
C. job training
D. other

25. Based on your experience, what kind of post-arrival training do you think sojourners need?
あなたの現在までの経験から、アメリカ赴任後の日本人駐在員にどのようなトレーニングが必要だと思いますか。
A. none 何もいらない
B. language
C. cultural communication
D. job training
E. other その他
26. What is the average length of a U.S. assignment in your company?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. 1 year</th>
<th>B. 2 years</th>
<th>C. 3 years</th>
<th>D. 4 years</th>
<th>E. 5 years or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1年</td>
<td>2年</td>
<td>3年</td>
<td>4年</td>
<td>5年以上</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27. Which is true of your Japanese colleagues’ residences?

| A. Most of them are close to your residence. |
| B. Some of them are close to your residence. |
| C. Most of them are far away from your residence. |

28. How often do you use Japanese restaurants, video shops, book stores, grocery stores, etc.?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Never</th>
<th>B. Rarely</th>
<th>C. Sometimes</th>
<th>D. Often</th>
<th>E. Always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>全く利用しない</td>
<td>少しばかり利用する</td>
<td>つつの利用する</td>
<td>頻繁に利用する</td>
<td>頻繁に利用する</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29. How many contacts with American people do you have outside work?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. None</th>
<th>B. One</th>
<th>C. Two</th>
<th>D. Many</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>全くな</td>
<td>1人</td>
<td>2人</td>
<td>多い</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30. How many contacts with American culture do you have outside work (e.g., media, participating in community activities, celebrating holidays, etc.)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. None</th>
<th>B. One</th>
<th>C. Two</th>
<th>D. Many</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>全くな</td>
<td>1人</td>
<td>2人</td>
<td>多い</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31. Whom do you talk to the most when you have a problem with American workers?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. special support department in the office</th>
<th>B. Japanese colleagues</th>
<th>C. American colleagues</th>
<th>D. other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>社内の問題解決の為の部署</td>
<td>日本人同僚</td>
<td>アメリカ人同僚</td>
<td>他</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32. Whom do you talk to the most when you have a problem outside work?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. special support department in the office</th>
<th>B. Japanese colleagues</th>
<th>C. American colleagues</th>
<th>D. other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>社内の駐在員を助ける部署</td>
<td>日本人同僚</td>
<td>アメリカ人同僚</td>
<td>他</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
33. What do you do when there is conflict with or between American workers?
あなたは社内でアメリカ人同士が衝突した場合、どのように対処しますか。
A. usually let them argue and debate
通常、議論（話し合う）
B. usually try to avoid confrontation
通常、対決を避けよう（させる）
C. usually try to stop it
通常、対立を止める（させる）
D. other その他

34. How are workplace decisions made?
あなたの会社内で、どのように決断を下すか。
A. usually based on consensus of all workers
通常、全ての従業員の意見に従う
B. usually based on majority from discussions in meetings
通常、会議での多数派の意見に従う
C. usually superior decides
通常、上位の者が決定する
D. other その他

35. Is there anything your company or you are doing for the community where you live or work (e.g., donations, volunteer work, etc.)?
あなたの会社はあなたが、自宅地で何を何して（寄付、ボランティア）をしていますか。
A. no いいえ
B. yes はい

36. How do you relieve stress now that you are living in the U.S.?
現在アメリカに住んでいるあなたはどのようすストレスを解消していますか。

In the following questions, you are given statements and asked to indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement.
下記の質問にはAからEの中の1つを選んであなたの同意の程度に応じて選んでください。
37. I think that I am as capable of doing my job well in the U.S. as I was in Japan.
私はアメリカに住んで日本に居たことを同じように務めている。

Agree Neutral Disagree Disagree
A--------B--------C--------D--------E

38. Americans are basically the same as Japanese.
アメリカ人は基本的には日本人と同様である。

A--------B--------C--------D--------E

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39. Japanese sojourners should try to understand and adopt the American lifestyle while here.
日本人がアメリカ滞在中に現地の生活習慣の理解を努力して採入れるべきである。

A-------B-------C-------D-------E

40. I understand American culture and the American people.
私は、アメリカ文化と人々について理解している。

A-------B-------C-------D-------E

41. I think Japanese workers are more sensitive to subtleties as compared to American workers.
日本人社員はアメリカ人社員と比較して細かい点に敏感であると思う。

A-------B-------C-------D-------E

42. Whenever I speak English with Americans, I tend to be nervous.
アメリカ人と英語を話す時、私は常に緊張してしまう。

A-------B-------C-------D-------E

43. I often chat with my American neighbors.
私は私の住んでいる近所の人達とよく雑談します。

A-------B-------C-------D-------E

44. I feel uneasy with different ethnicities in this country.
私はこの国内の多様な人種と、違和感を覚える。

A-------B-------C-------D-------E

46. I am happier working in the U.S. than in Japan.
私はアメリカで働くほうが日本で働くより幸せです。

A-------B-------C-------D-------E

47. I think Japanese culture is a little bit better than American culture.
私は日本文化の方がアメリカ文化より良いと思う。

A-------B-------C-------D-------E

48. It is easier for the Japanese to understand American culture than for Americans to understand Japanese culture.
日本人がアメリカ文化を理解するほうがアメリカ人が日本文化を理解するよりも簡単だと思う。

A-------B-------C-------D-------E

49. I think the main problem in communication with Americans is the English language.
アメリカ人とのコミュニケーションに関する主な問題は英語だと思う。

A-------B-------C-------D-------E

50. Americans are not very concerned with time.
アメリカ人は時間に無頓着だと思う。

A-------B-------C-------D-------E
51. I don’t understand why Americans use so many words to say what they mean.
なぜアメリカ人は何を言いたいのかといくことにそんなに沢山の単語を使うのか理解できない。

A--------B--------C--------D--------E

52. Many Americans are impatient with my accent.
多くのアメリカ人は私のアクセントにいらしろしていると思う。

A--------B--------C--------D--------E

53. American workers should show more respect to superiors on the job.
アメリカ人社員は上司にもっと敬意を払うべきだと思う。

A--------B--------C--------D--------E

54. American workers’ attitude to work is not serious enough.
アメリカ人社員の仕事に対する態度は充分に真剣ではない。

A--------B--------C--------D--------E

Thank you for your cooperation.
Space is provided below and on the reverse for any thoughts you may wish to share on improving communication between Japanese and American workers. If you are interested in obtaining the results of this survey, please inform the person who gave you this questionnaire.
御協力ありがとうございます。
アメリカ人社員と日本人社員のコミュニケーションをよりよくする為に御意見がありましたら、下欄に御記入下さい。
この調査の結果については、この質問紙をあなた様に御渡しになった方に御尋ね下さい。
APPENDIX B

American Questionnaire

(Fig. 56)
1. Your age
   A. younger than 25
   B. 25 - 29
   C. 30 - 39
   D. 40 - 49
   E. 50 or older

(Fig. 57)
2. Your position in the company
   A. non management position
   B. Supervisor (Manager of workteam only)
   C. Junior Manager
   D. Middle Manager
   E. Senior Manager
   G. Higher (if so, ______________________)

(Fig. 58)
3. How many overseas assignments have you worked in your career? (staying more than 6 months)
   A. none
   B. one
   C. two
   D. three
   E. four
   F. five or more

(Fig. 59)
4. Do you speak any language(s) other than English?
   A. no
   B. yes (if so, what? ______________________)

(Fig. 60)
5. How much intercultural experience did you have with people from other cultures before you came to this company?
   A B C D E
   None--------------------------------A great deal

(Fig. 61)
6. How much did you know about the Japanese culture and people before working in this company?
   A B C D E
7. How much do you know about the Japanese culture and people now?
A B C D E
Nothing---------------------------------Very

(Fig. 62)

8. Does your company have a Japanese language program?
A. no
B. yes

(Fig. 63)

9A. Does your company have an intercultural communication training program for American employees?
A. no
B. yes

(no figure)

B. If yes, who teaches the course(s)?
A. the company's training department
B. an outside agency
C. other ____________________________

(Fig. 64)

10. If you were asked to create a training program to familiarize Japanese nationals with the U.S., what would be its primary focus? (Circle only 1)
A. language
B. culture and communication
C. job training
D. other ____________________________

(Fig. 65)

11. Based on your experience, what is the weakest point of your Japanese coworkers' business functioning in the U.S.? (Circle only 1)
A. English
B. experience of communication with Americans
C. nonverbal communication (e.g. eye contact, gestures, etc.)
D. decision making
E. other ____________________________

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12. What do your Japanese coworkers do when there is conflict with or between American workers?
A. usually let them argue and debate
B. usually try to avoid confrontation
C. usually try to stop it
D. other ______________________

13. How are workplace decisions made by your Japanese coworkers?
A. usually based on consensus of all workers
B. usually based on majority from discussions in meetings
C. usually superior decides
D. other ______________________

14. Do you see anything your company or your Japanese coworkers are doing for the community where they live or work (e.g., donations, volunteer work, etc.)?
A. no
B. yes ______________________

15. Based on your experience, how familiar are your Japanese coworkers with the American way of doing business?
A B C D E
Not at all ---------------------------------- Very all

16. I can talk frankly with my Japanese coworkers about work-related problems.
A B C D E
strongly ----------------------------------- strongly agree disagree

17. My Japanese coworkers try to explain whenever I have questions.
A B C D E
strongly ----------------------------------- strongly agree disagree
18. The Japanese in the company make an effort to explain themselves and their culture to the Americans.
   A   B   C   D   E
   strongly------------------------strongly
   agree                              disagree

(Fig. 74)
   A   B   C   D   E
   strongly------------------------strongly
   agree                              disagree

(Fig. 75)
20. The Japanese in the company tend to stay together in the office.
   A   B   C   D   E
   strongly------------------------strongly
   agree                              disagree

(Fig. 76)
21. The Japanese in the company seem comfortable dealing with Americans of different ethnic backgrounds.
   A   B   C   D   E
   strongly------------------------strongly
   agree                              disagree

(Fig. 77)
   A   B   C   D   E
   strongly------------------------strongly
   agree                              disagree

(Fig. 78)
23. My Japanese coworkers' attitude to work is too serious.
   A   B   C   D   E
   strongly------------------------strongly
   agree                              disagree

(Fig. 79)
24. It is easier for Japanese to understand American culture than for Americans to understand Japanese culture.
   A   B   C   D   E
   strongly------------------------strongly
   agree                              disagree

(Fig. 80)
25. The main problem in communication with the Japanese is
the language.
A B C D E
strongly-----------------------------strongly
agree disagree

(Fig. 81)
25. Japanese workers should talk informally with the American workers more often to improve workplace relations.
A B C D E
strongly-----------------------------strongly
agree disagree

(Fig. 82)
26. I prefer working with Americans to working with the Japanese.
A B C D E
strongly-----------------------------strongly
agree disagree

(Fig. 83)
27. Directions from my Japanese coworkers don’t have enough information to be clear.
A B C D E
strongly-----------------------------strongly
agree disagree

(Fig. 84)
28. I am often frustrated by my Japanese coworkers’ decision-making methods.
A B C D E
strongly-----------------------------strongly
agree disagree

(Fig. 85)
29. Japanese sojourners should try to understand and adopt the American lifestyle while here.
A B C D E
strongly-----------------------------strongly
agree disagree

(Fig. 86)
30. I tend to be impatient with my Japanese coworkers’ English.
A B C D E
strongly-----------------------------strongly
agree disagree

(Fig. 87)
31. Japanese are basically the same as Americans.
A B C D E
strongly--strongly
agree disagree
(Fig. 88)

32. I think Japanese workers are more sensitive to
to subtleties as compared to American workers.
A B C D E
strongly---strongly
agree disagree

Space is provided below and on the reverse for any thoughts
you may wish to share on improving communication between
Japanese and American workers.
APPENDIX C

Comments from the Japanese Expatriates

* = translated by the author from the Japanese

Middle Manager (40-49), 5 or more years in the U.S., no previous overseas experience, volunteer:
Some Japanese can’t explain his (sic) thinking well even in Japanese. I think that’s the basic problem.

Supervisor (30-39), between 1 and 2 years in U.S., 1 previous overseas experience, not a volunteer:
*I understood the purpose of this survey to be looking to identify important factors for intercultural communication. The communications seminar I had as overseas training before I went abroad for a year was very useful. The content of the seminar was that the important things are to smile and to have a sense of humor rather than worry about the language. I feel that there are many Japanese sojourners in this area who don’t know and don’t understand that.

Middle Manager (40-49), 5 or more years in the U.S., no previous overseas experience, not a volunteer
*1. Establishing an opportunity to communicate like having a regular meeting; 2. making an effort to find a way to let Americans have a sense of participation in the company; 3. in communications regarding giving information, making requests, stating purposes, and solving problems, the Japanese should give the Americans an equal amount and also they should receive information from the Americans correctly so that both can feel that they are on the same level; 4. in making the rules and regulations, the Japanese should let the Americans participate in the process, and also there should be total equality in carrying them out effectively; 5. the Japanese should not let the Americans suspect our ability to execute. In other words, we should not table any problems (expressing opinions and carrying out decisions instead of saying and doing nothing); 6. the Japanese should not be awkward with the Americans and should have confidence in themselves based on their fairness, sound arguments, and leadership.

Supervisor (25-29), less than 1 year in U.S., no previous overseas experience, not a volunteer
*When the Japanese and the Americans do a job together as a team, we understand the differences of thinking. In other words, we won’t understand each other until we do work
President & CEO (50 or older), between 3 and 4 years in the U.S., no previous overseas experience, not a volunteer
*Whether the communication between the Japanese expatriates and American workers is good or not is not determined by language but by whether or not both have a positive, active, and sincere attitude for communication. Following this, however, language ability is important and the Japanese should make an effort to improve their language ability. To understand the culture of people includes understanding their historical background. A superficial understanding is very dangerous. Since the American culture is complex and difficult to understand, the Japanese should dive into the real cultural context very actively and positively to understand it.

Senior Manager (40-49), between 2 and 3 years in U.S., 1 previous overseas experience, not a volunteer
*1. The Japanese should trust the American workers and should not have any secrets from them; 2. Communicate very often with the parent company in Japan and let them know everything; 3. the Japanese should not assume or judge from the outside even though they think they are experienced workers; 4. Whenever the Japanese have time, they should visit Americans’ offices to chat or let them know work-related ideas; 5. When you ask the Americans to do something, tell them not only what to do but also the background; 6. Make sure the Americans know the organization, personnel (including human network) of the parent company.

Middle Manager (40-49), between 3 and 4 years in U.S., 1 previous overseas experience, volunteered
*We should know that we must respect each others’ humanity and we must be able to do it as well.

Middle Manager (30-39), between 3 and 4 years in U.S., no previous overseas experience, volunteered
By the training of American culture, I think we Japanese (transferred from Japan) can improve our communication skills to understand Americans. On the other hand, for the American staff, our company provides culture training (Japanese) which helps tie us as a same company employees.

President (50, or older), less than 1 year in U.S., 1 previous overseas experience, not a volunteer
*Since there is only one Japanese, myself, out of a total of 12 employees and since the rest of them are all Americans,
the communication issue is very important to me. I think there is no way but to contact the Americans positively and actively in order to communicate well; however, there is still a language problem and I wish I would have learned the language when I was young.

**Middle Manager (40-49), 5 or more years in U.S., no previous overseas experience, not a volunteer**
*It is very difficult to know how to scold the Americans.*

**Middle Manager (40-49), between 1 and 2 years in U.S., no previous overseas experience, not a volunteer**
*We should study more the mutual cultures. Language is important, but more important thing is to understand the partner's culture.*

**President (40-49), 5 or more years in U.S., 3 previous overseas experiences, not a volunteer**
*We should question our basic thinking patterns. In the communication issues, we need to ask ourselves the reasons why we can not communicate. If we talk only about communication theory, without making the reasons clear and discussing them, it would be only a surface solution although the Japanese dislike discussing. It is not good to make conclusions immediately without pursuing causes. When the Japanese have conflict with others, they can not objectively question the opposition's points and think about the background of the opposition in a relative way. The Japanese, instead, can not help but think self-centeredly; like wondering if the opposition viewpoint will be a disadvantage to them or if it will affect their pride. After they make some concessions, they turn to be jealous and plan revenge. The Japanese have a bad habit of wasting time and energy over points which have nothing to do with the cause of conflict. There is no way to communicate well with Americans in this way. The Japanese self-conceit is too strong. They can not recognize themselves in relation to others. Especially, employees in big companies can not distinguish individual ability from the company's ability. They misunderstand the company's ability as their individual ability. This is nothing but self-conceit. It is thought that the top peoples' everyday attitude toward those lower in status in a company seems to cause this self-conceit. Especially, employees of (elided by author) are the worst. The Japanese should be careful although this is perhaps excessive solicitude on my part. The contemporary Japanese also have strong foolish greed. There is no way to communicate well if they are centered around selfish greed. They tend not to show interest, tend to be cold, and show no*
desire to pursue anything seriously that has nothing to do with their profits.

As mentioned above, jealousy, self-conceit, and greed are causes that disrupt peoples' ability to understand. For the Japanese to communicate well with Americans, first of all, training to foster the ability to listen and to get information is the most important. The Japanese tend to neglect this kind of basic training. The Japanese are not patient in terms of relationships with other people.

It is meaningless to distrust without enough understanding and information. The Japanese should understand this. To be jealous of those Japanese who have enough understanding and information is very sad rather than stupid. Whenever their basic ideas are pointed out, the recent Japanese sojourners try to dismiss it as old-fashioned philosophizing.

The Japanese need basic practice to communicate with Westerners whose thought patterns are based on accumulated training since the Greek era. The most useful thing for doing business in the U.S. is a basic knowledge of epistemology. I think that training should be encouraged to focus, not on surface techniques, but on basic training.

Middle Manager (40-49), between 2 and 3 years in U.S., 1 previous overseas experience, not a volunteer
*We always discuss any problems and questions without secrets (except for top secret matters) until everyone consents. Apart from the degree of understanding, we believe that we are standing in the same vector as the American workers are in terms of company policy and department policy. Although basic values may be impossible to fit with each other, since each grew in a different environment, some agreement or consensus may be found in business issues by discussing them thoroughly.

Supervisor (40-49), 5 or more years in U.S., no previous overseas experience, not a volunteer
*Borrowing from computer language, the hard aspect of communication is language ability. It is needed and is necessary. It can truly be said that better English creates better communication; however, in a situation where there is not much cultural understanding, the amount of language knowledge and the degree of communication are not proportionate. Language as knowledge will not function; especially, in a situation that involves persuasion unless we know the American cultural values and culture.

Middle Manager (40-49), between 3 and 4 years in U.S., no previous overseas experience, not a volunteer
*The degree of cultural difference between Japan and the U.S. is definitely great. However, since we are doing business in this country, despite the fact that we are a Japanese company, we ought to follow American business culture. The Japanese should learn American culture first before they judge which is better regarding the cultural gaps.

Middle Manager (40-49), between 1 and 2 years in U.S., no previous overseas experience, not a volunteer
*To make an effort to express opinions well to each other and to listen to each other is, first of all, important. The system which makes the Japanese staff and the American staff fuse is required now. This could mean localization. Japanese companies need to think of the timing when they put Americans into key positions.

Junior Manager (25-29), between 2 and 3 years in U.S., no previous overseas experience, volunteered
*An important thing is to talk well with each other and to try to understand each others' feelings.

Junior Manager (30-39), between 1 and 2 years in U.S., 2 previous overseas experiences, not a volunteer
*To make the Americans understand the role and position of the Japanese is important for both them and us.

Supervisor (30-39), between 1 and 2 years in U.S., 1 overseas experience, not a volunteer
*1. Pronunciation is important in language. I can't recall if the Japanese school taught me how to pronounce various kinds of consonants and vowels, intonation, and the importance of resonance. These are very important for fostering basic communication. 2. After reading the LA Times, it is good to ask American colleagues question (e.g. in the Metro section).

Junior Manager (40-49), 5 or more years in U.S., no previous overseas experience, not a volunteer
*Japanese companies should have the long-term vision to foster employees for overseas assignments so that expatriates can do business smoothly and effectively in the U.S. This is important not only for their education but also for the employees' future careers and life plans.

Senior Manager (40-49), 5 or more years in U.S., no previous overseas experience, volunteered
You have very difficult questions on items 38-41 and 47-50. I think, there is less "standard" in America. There is so
much more GAP in America between Top and Bottom on Educational Level, Income, Politeness, kindness, hospitality, etc. compared with the Japanese, might be "Ten times" or more, I think. I like the word, "The Means of Duty" by Dr. Bertrand Russell."

**Supervisor (30-39), less than 1 year in U.S., no previous overseas experience, volunteered**

*Providing things each has, making a system in which each party gets benefits (example: if the Americans learn Japanese, it will be to their benefit, etc.).

**Junior Manager (30-39), 5 or more years in U.S., no previous overseas experience, not a volunteer**

*In the same way that foreigners who stay in Japan and the Japanese over there are different, obviously, the Japanese sojourners and Americans here are different. We need to think of them separately. The ideas and lifestyles are different. Mutual understanding and compromise make communication better.

**President (50 or older), less than 1 year in U.S., 3 previous overseas experiences, not a volunteer**

*Since the Japanese have a language barrier, the Americans also should make an effort to understand the Japanese people.***

**Senior Manager (40-49), between 3 and 4 years in U.S, 3 previous overseas experiences, volunteered**

*1. Basically, wherever you work, to have enough job knowledge is important. It gives a person confidence which leads to appropriate decision making and enables you to establish Americans' trust. 2. To improve communication, the way each party approaches communication is important. From the point of view of the Japanese sojourner: a. an attitude to talk actively and positively to Americans; b. don't have prejudice; c. be interested in and expand on the topics of culture, sports, politics, and the economics of this country; d. don't decide important issues by having meetings among only the Japanese; 3. surprisingly, even more than the Japanese don't know the U.S., the Americans lack of knowledge about Japan. Our company sends American workers twice a year to international meetings and training. Outside work, our company actively supports sister city exchange in the community and high school exchange students so that the Japanese side also understands the sojourner's life and Americans better.

higher than Senior Manager (40-49), between 2 and 3 years in U.S., no previous overseas experience, not a volunteer
Although some Americans say that the Japanese are closed, I don't think so. In terms of conservativeness, I think the Japanese are the same as Americans. Americans in Japan, who speak Japanese only a little bit are welcome by the Japanese even in the countryside. The Japanese have some kind of feeling similar to yearning. This reflects the Japanese unconscious force to develop their culture higher by taking in a different culture. However, most Japanese are ready to run away when Americans talk to them in English. They are afraid of giving Americans trouble because they cannot communicate perfectly. Americans are very kind to English-fluent-Japanese. But they don't try to deal with Japanese who don't understand American jokes. The Japanese who don't greet in the morning, Japanese who don't make jokes---The Americans' very bright and cheerful culture and the Japanese stoic culture are totally different things. There is no way that Americans feel good when they deal with a race who smile ambiguously. The language barrier, which would not be so serious a problem if the other cultural understanding of communication improves is, as a matter of fact, a serious problem to the Japanese. There are many people from Bangladesh, Pakistan and Iran living in Japan. If some of them are big fans of Japanese culture and put Japanese New Year's decorations on their houses and start participating in community meetings and propose some ideas, they will be nothing but just trouble to Japanese. I think the same thing can be said in the U.S. I am afraid that when Americanized Japanese start talking like Americans do, they may be just trouble to Americans.--- Insisting on their opinions with poor English and not understanding what Americans say, or worse, believing something which is totally wrong. I think there are many examples of this type of people among expatriates (the so called" first generation") who are trying to adopt American culture and society. The "second generation" (their children) are no longer Japanese raised in the Japanese cultural context. They should get along with other Americans as Americans and fight prejudice since they have the ability to communicate. However, "first generations" like us living in the U.S. as Japanese don't need to make unnatural efforts to be authorized members of the American society. It is quite all right to live together with other Japanese in Gardena and Torrance. If some prefer living in the U.S. they may stay here; if some want to go home, it is quite all right to do so. In my case, I will definitely go home to Japan--- Japan where I can walk alone at night with no problem, Japan which has very much fewer problems with drugs, rape, and murder. Despite the fact that Japan succeeded in sword hunting (early weapons control...Y.S.) three times in its history,
Americans say it is impossible to ban guns in this country. I don’t want to live longer in a country like this, in which people can not trust people.

Junior Manager (30-39), between 3 and 4 years in U.S., no previous overseas experience, not a volunteer
*There is a tendency for the Japanese to stay together. The Japanese should have conversation and questions equally with the American staff. Although a language barrier exists, first of all, an open attitude is the most important priority.

Vice President (40-49), between 2 and 3 years in U.S., one previous overseas experience, volunteered
*Although to understand American culture is important, it is also important to make an effort to help Americans understand Japanese culture and sense.

Middle Manager (40-49), 5 or more years in U.S., one previous overseas experience, volunteered
*Opinions such as "You can handle English when you go there.", "If you are capable of doing the job, English ability follows you later.", "To know the host culture and Japanese culture is more important than the language." are totally wrong. Just having English ability doesn’t do any good, but if your English is not sufficient, you will create unnecessary chaos even though you are capable of doing the job. Communication is just like steps. If you stay here longer, you will definitely improve your communication skills. Companies should consider longer periods of assignment. It is impossible to communicate in 2 or 3 years. When you get used to communicating and go back to Japan, the American side also will be confused.

Junior Manager (40-49), between 2 and 3 years in U.S., no previous overseas experience, not a volunteer
*Workers should be sent when they have enough ability to speak and listen to the local language. When a worker is selected, he should leave the company to learn the language and culture. People who can not manage the Japanese should not be sent here as managers.

Middle Manager (40-49), 5 or more years in U.S., 2 previous overseas experiences, not a volunteer
*I was reminded by this kind of survey recently that Japanese and Americans, and Japanese culture and American culture have many differences. In my everyday life, I don’t have much feeling about the questions asked. In terms of business, I believe that Americans are paid for their degree...
of accomplishment; therefore, I don't have any complaints or excessive expectations of them.

Vice President (50 or older), between 2 and 3 years in U.S., no previous overseas experience, not a volunteer
*To teach cultural difference is easy practically. However, the problem is the degree of understanding of a culture. There are various steps such as understanding and also criticizing, understanding and respecting, understanding and having sympathy, understanding and obeying, etc.; so it is difficult to get the knack of these processes. It is also important to include adjustments to different cultures and what are important things to prepare for when teaching.

Middle Manager (40-49), 5 or more years in U.S., no previous overseas experience, not a volunteer
*Capable Americans are more sensitive, clearer in their speaking, and more punctual than the Japanese. (The Japanese are loose on time)

not answered (40-49), between 4 and 5 years in U.S., no previous overseas experience, not a volunteer
*Since there are only a limited number of Japanese in the company there is a limitation on their ability to communicate with more American employees. The company should have a policy and system supporting Japanese expatriates' better communication with Americans. To do so, management should provide information about the company's business situation and performance to their employees. Sojourners should participate in meetings in the headquarters in Japan and workers in the headquarters should make business trips to the U.S. branch.
APPENDIX D

Comments from the Americans

Junior Manager (25-29), no previous overseas experience
Japanese managers should explain clearly, in English, what is currently going on now and the future. Many times the Japanese staff talk in Japanese among themselves in the presence of Americans, and do not attempt to explain in English. Thus, excluding any input from them. It can be viewed as slight discrimination.

Middle Manager (40-49), no previous overseas experience
The gap between Japanese workers and their superiors is much wider than Americans. Informality in the work place can sometimes be taken as an insult. Japanese don’t mind changing language to keep others in ear shot from understanding. Even those that have mastered English.

Sales Manager (30-39), no previous overseas experience
The Japanese need to be more flexible with other ideas and not always have it that their way is the correct and only way.

non management position (25-29), 1 previous overseas experience, speaks Japanese
I think Japanese managers’, especially the managers who are here from Japan for a limited time, should be more knowledgeable with the laws of the workplace....such as sexual harassment, civil rights, and discrimination. Their attitudes toward women are the same as in Japan---which is not tolerated here in the U.S. More women should be in managerial positions. And they should pour their own coffee!! That is not a woman’s job!!

Senior Manager (50 or older), no previous overseas experience
I have always felt that my patience in trying to understand my Japanese coworkers has been one of the reasons I have always enjoyed working here.

Human Resource Senior Manager (50 or more), no previous overseas experience
I have enjoyed my business relationship with the company. Most of the Japanese have tried very much to fit into the companies (sic) structure. Upper management dictates to what extent the Japanese workers interface with the American worker. Right now the communications, I believe are very
good, because our President has many years of working with American businessmen and doing things in a more American style.

Supervisor (40-49), no previous overseas experience, speaks Japanese and French
Strong need to understand the culture not just the language of each country. They (the Japanese) need to broaden their life experiences while in the U.S., not just transplant themselves to Tokyo in America (e.g., Palos Verdes could pass for Japan with the language, supermarkets, etc. all catering to non-Americans). A wife oftentimes never learns English while abroad because they only stay among themselves—very isolated. They could broaden their lives so much if they tried to blend a little more.

Middle Manager (40-49), no previous overseas experience
I don’t think we can put all Japanese in the same box. They have different and individual personalities as we all do. Some are easier to work with than others. We all, Japanese and Americans must learn to be openminded and patient, and willing to work through our different cultural upbringing to come to a common understanding before jumping to conclusions.

non management position (25-29), no previous overseas experience
Japanese workers need to be able to talk on a lighter-hearted attitude at times.

Senior Manager (40-49), 2 previous overseas experiences, speaks Japanese
Japanese are naturally racists. However, nothing in their culture or training teaches them that racism is a negative characteristic. Someone needs to help them understand how Americans feel when discriminated against purely because we aren’t Japanese.

Senior Manager, (50 or older), no previous overseas experience, speaks German
To understand the Japanese or them to understand Americans, it is necessary to understand not only the business relationships but the culture, the geography of the countries, the political climate, etc.

Director (40-49), 2 previous overseas experiences, speaks Spanish
Company sponsored training courses on the language and cultural differences and similarities would be helpful.
More informal out of work interaction.

**Middle Manager (40-49), one previous overseas experience**
This is not a large, layered-bureaucracy type of company. We are smaller and more efficient. I think this leads to better communication.

**non management position (25-29), no previous overseas experience, speaks Japanese**
I have discovered that working for Japanese company is not that easy. I sometimes feel that if there is a conflict, we do not discuss the problem. We only deal with how to end the argument and not necessarily the actual problem.

**non management position (25-29), no previous overseas experience, speaks Spanish**
I believe relations are greatly improved through events outside of the workplace such as dinners and golf games. Japanese coworkers tend to be much more relaxed at these events. They become more personable and easier to get to know.

**Junior Manager (30-39), no previous overseas experience, speaks Japanese**
My observation is that the accumulated experience of the U.S. and Japanese staff is so different; that there are incongruous assumptions and expectations on virtually every project and aspect of our work!

**Middle Manager (30-39), no previous overseas experience**
1. Lighten-up and don’t take the world so seriously. 2. Be direct-feedback, even at the risk of creating a confrontation is preferable to silence. 3. Be careful of Japanese language strategy sessions--keeping Americans out of the loop discourages contributions from non-Japanese speaking staff.

**Middle Manager (40-49), no previous overseas experience, speaks Spanish and French**
Japanese managers are easily manipulated by women with supervisory positions. They are not able to deal with women in the same manner as men. Strong amount of discrimination on male management which can be questioned by a woman of lower position through Sr. Japanese manager. Most American managers keep a log of these situations in case litigation is over an issue.

**Junior Manager (25-29), no previous overseas experience**
There seems to be a genuine degree of mistrust and
misconceptions among both groups, directed at each other. This situation greatly hinders communications and ultimately, productivity, as information is not shared freely among both groups. Setting aside these prejudices would greatly improve the work environment for both groups.

Supervisor (30-39), 1 previous overseas experience
The more we work at open communication from both sides of the fence, the better our relationships will be.

Non management position (30-39), 1 previous overseas experience, speaks Japanese and Spanish
It is very difficult to draw general conclusions in this area. True, cultural differences are key, but communication effectiveness differed sharply from person to person. My experiences have shown that the more self-reliant Japanese will have less difficulty with American co-workers, and that a Japanese who is highly dependent on corporate structure as learned in Japan will constantly find himself at odds with his U.S. co-workers.

Supervisor (40-49), no previous overseas experience
Cultural differences have to overcome. Americans must also learn other ways and other customs and not expect all cultures to adapt to their ways.

Vice President (30-39), no previous overseas experience, speaks Japanese and German
Don't consider Japanese co-workers or superior as "Japanese" -- simply consider as any other co-worker or superior leaving nationality out of it. Do not foster artificial barriers.

Junior Manager (25-29), no previous overseas experience, speaks Spanish
They tend to work long hours out of obligation, but don't necessarily get more done than Americans.

Vice President (50 or older), 3 previous overseas experiences, speaks Japanese
Prejudice towards minority and female workers is a problem. There is considerable sexism--which is distasteful in Japan, but tolerated. In the U.S. it causes serious problems, of course. There should be group instruction before the leave Japan. There should be more corporate effort to keep the expatriate and his family together. Most of the separations would not be tolerated by Americans and I wonder why Japanese are willing to put up with it. The elements in this answer are sometimes related, I've found, loneliness
and alcohol because a preoccupation with some separated expatriates.

Junior Manager (25-29), 1 previous overseas experience, speaks Japanese
I would like to give better information. It is difficult to generalize so much information. Feel free to call me.

Middle Manager (40-49), 3 previous overseas experiences, speaks French and Arabic
I am quite interested in the results of this study. Please send me a copy, my card is enclosed. As well, if you have seminars or panel discussions, I would be most interested in attending them. Thank you.
**APPENDIX E**

Correlations of the Japanese Responses

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**Variable number = Figure number**

* Pearson Correlation Coefficient
** Likelihood Ratio

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| 41 - 54 | .000 | .010
| 41 - 55 | .007 | .014
| 42 - 44 | .000 | .006
| 42 - 47 | .000 | .000
| 44 - 46 | .002 | .000
| 44 - 51 | .006 | .020

| V. | *  | **
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| 44 - 53 | .000 | .000
| 45 - 47 | .016 | .009
| 46 - 51 | .005 | .017
| 46 - 52 | .002 | .007
| 47 - 53 | .000 | .003
| 48 - 51 | .000 | .000
| 48 - 54 | .000 | .000

| V. | *  | **
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| 51 - 54 | .002 | .013
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| 52 - 53 | .000 | .000
| 52 - 54 | .000 | .000
| 52 - 55 | .000 | .000
| 53 - 54 | .001 | .025
| 53 - 55 | .006 | .009

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APPENDIX F

Correlations of the American Responses

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