

JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN COMMUNICATION 16

Mari Suvanto

Images of Japan and the Japanese

The Representations of the Japanese Culture in
the Popular Literature Targeted at the
Western World in the 1980s – 1990s

Esitetään Jyväskylän yliopiston humanistisen tiedekunnan suostumuksella
julkisesti tarkastettavaksi yliopiston Villa Ranan Blomstedt-salissa
maaliskuun 23. päivänä 2002 klo 12.

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UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

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Publishing Unit, University Library of Jyväskylä

URN:ISBN:951391223X

ISBN 951-39-1223-X (PDF)

ISBN 951-39-1159-4 (nid.)

ISSN 1238-2183

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ABSTRACT

Suvanto, Mari

Images of Japan and the Japanese. The Representations of the Japanese Culture in the Popular Literature Targeted at the Western World in the 1980s – 1990s

Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä 2002, 134 p.

(Jyväskylä Studies in Communication,

ISSN 1238-2183; 16)

ISBN 951-39-1223-X

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Diss.

This study draws together a number of popular issues: images, intercultural communication and Japan. In particular, Japan has been a popular topic for at least the last three decades. The Japanese Economical Miracle awoke a real boom in the Western literature at the end of 1970s, and in the 1980s the Miracle became a fashionable topic in the Western world. Because of this a great amount of studies, books and articles is available for those who want to learn about this nation. The aim of this study is to examine “images of Japan and the Japanese in the Western world” on the basis of the literature targeted at Western audiences during the big boom. Thus the main research question is “What kind of images of Japan and the Japanese have been created in the popular literature targeted at Western audiences”. To find the answers to the research questions the research technique used is content analysis. The methodological and theoretical perspective is that of the image. This study adopts an intercultural communication approach. A combination of several problematic concepts are discussed: images, stereotypes, culture and the West. One of my goals is to gain a deeper understanding of the concept of image. The research material analyzed in this study can be divided into two categories: travel and business. It consists of texts and pictures. Analysis of this material shows the timeless image of the Japanese to be that they are a people with great contradictions; they are different, unique and they have an ability to combine the new and the old in great harmony. There are two Japanese worlds: the old/traditional society with icons such as the geisha, temples, cherry blossom and Mt Fuji and a new/high tech society with icons like the sarariiman, neon lights and electronics. On the basis of this literature of the business world, etiquette and communication the image of the Japanese sarariiman was created: 1) they all look the same in their dark suits; 2) they work in big companies for all their lives; 3) they work long days in their offices and commute long hours to get their small apartments; 4) they are motivated to work hard and learn new things in their teams; 5) their company culture is based on seniority system; 6) their company is a community, a big family to them and everybody feels that he is part of the group; 7) they are loyal to their own group and 8) they make high quality and expensive products for export. Western businessmen find their Japanese colleagues polite, formal people with whom it is very difficult to communicate, not only because they do not speak foreign languages, but also because their culture is so different. They are people with a strict protocol and they respect punctuality. They are seen as harmony-seeking people who avoid saying negative things to maintain harmony and save others' faces. They are described as people who do not say things like they are and they do not have to say everything. They are seen quiet and calm people and they do not like to talk to people they do not know.

Keywords image, stereotype, culture, intercultural communication, Japan

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank my friends and colleagues in Japan, UK, Finland and the United States, who helped me to collect this research material and provided valuable advice, encouragement and support. They are too numerous to mention individually, but each one deserves a warm, personal thanks. Without their generous help this project could not have been completed.

Professor Jaakko Lehtonen, the supervisor of this research, has earned warm thanks for his advice, guidance and encouragement and serving as my custos during the doctoral defence. I would like to thank Professor Olavi K. Fält (University of Oulu) for his valuable advice and constructive suggestions which contributed to the completion of this work. I'm very grateful to Docent Erkki Karvonen (University of Tampere) for his valuable comments and advice. In addition, I would like to thank Professor Michael Kunczik (University of Mainz) who as reviewer and opponent for this dissertation, provided his great contribution to the completion of this work.

On a personal note, I want to thank my husband Jari for his support and patience. Special thanks go to my little Aleksanteri who has supported his mother in his own beautiful way. In addition, I'm very grateful to my father and sister and her family for all their support.

Rauma, February 16, 2002

Mari Suvanto

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I FRAMEWORK

1 INTRODUCTION

This study examines "images of Japan and the Japanese in the Western world". Its primary purpose is to find out what kinds of images of Japan and the Japanese appear in the literature targeted at the Western audience.

Especially, in the last three decades, issues like globalization, internationalization, intercultural communication or cross-cultural communication, images, cultural differences in management styles have been popular objects of studies. The internationalization of companies has led them to increase competitiveness and mobility in the global market. The international trading environment has increased the need of companies to improve their linguistic and intercultural capability. In the global market place the key to success has been seen in effective communication across cultural borders. This need for cultural knowledge has created a great amount of books and studies, seminars and conferences. Intercultural competence – the ability to communicate effectively and successfully on a multicultural platform – has become a crucial issue. In addition to this there has been a dramatic increase in the globalization of popular management culture, manifested by gurus, whose books sell millions, and world wide seminar tours (see e.g. Furusten, 1999: 3).

The rapid internationalization process has also intensified the debate on image, not only the image of companies and their products, but also that of the whole nation - "successful nations must be globally competitive" (Johanson, 1998: 149). Today, especially, it means that nations are "packed, presented and promoted on the global market to attract tourists, foreign investments and sell country's productions abroad" (Johanson, 1998:149). Thus a good national image and reputation are coming to play an increasingly important role in nations' wealth and success (Karvonen, 1999; Lehtonen, 1993; 1994; Kunzick, 1997). Furthermore, Karvonen (1999) has argued that every actor in this media-dominated world relies on a good image and reputation.

Japan has been a popular topic for at least the last three decades. In fact, it has been popular ever since it opened its borders at the end of the 19th century. However, the Japanese economic miracle started a real boom in the Western literature at the end of the 1970s. In the 1980s this miracle became a fashionable topic in the Western world. A great number of books, articles, and studies are

available to those who want to learn about this nation. As Beedham (1996: 3) says: "The trouble of writing about Japan these days is that so many other people are doing it, too". Or Wilkinson (1990: 30): "The more I read, the more I found the same things about Japan and the Japanese appearing over and over again". So why this study about Japan and the Japanese again? The purpose of this study is to examine the texts and pictures in the popular literature, to find out what lies behind the well-known images of the Japanese as polite, warlike, hardworking people. From what kind of raw material do we create our stereotyped images of Japan and the Japanese? By investigating these questions my purpose is to gain a deeper understanding of images and offer new ideas with which individuals can reexamine their own stereotyped images of Japanese and Japan; to generate more critical perspective on the raw material, and also to provide a historical perspective on which to compare the images of Japan of today.

This study combines several issues of popular interest: images, intercultural communication and Japan. However the purpose of this study is not to produce a new book on stereotyped images of Japan and the Japanese, nor a guidebook for managers and teachers on cross-cultural communication, nor a list of tips how to behave with the Japanese, nor a historical study of images of Japan and the Japanese, but a study taking on intercultural communication approach to stereotyped images of Japan and the Japanese in the travel and business literature targeted at Western audience in the 1980s and 1990s.

I have been collecting the data, which I am now analyzing, since I wrote my first report on *Japanese Companies' Education and Training Systems*, for Helsinki University of Technology, Center for Continuing Education in 1989 (Suvanto, 1990). This report was commissioned because of the great interest in Japanese training and education among Finnish companies. Since, I have been involved in a variety of projects related to the field of Japanese business and Japanese business communication. A great part of this study and my previous studies including my liciate thesis (2001) has also been done at London University, the Library for Asian and African Studies and at the Japan Foundation Library, Tokyo.

When starting the study on Japanese images I actually had two interests from two different perspectives. First I was curious to know how the images of Japanese for example as hard-working, polite people have been created. I was thus interested in testing the different images that most of us had in our minds. My other interest was in how Japan and the Japanese were represented in the books I had been collecting and using as material for educating Finnish businessmen. What kind of material and messages did these texts and pictures offer to our imaginations to create pictures of Japan and the Japanese? In relation to this it is important to know how stereotyped images effect that communication, many of which are created through intercultural communication.

This study will concentrate on the raw material, which is used in creating stereotyped images. The raw material means representations, descriptions;

icons used in the literature on Japan and the Japanese targeted at Western audiences. Thus the objective of this study is not the stereotyped images themselves of Japan and the Japanese in the minds of Western audiences or how these images effect the communication between the Japanese and Westerners. This leads to the question: why is this kind of study important?

1.1 The Research Task

The main question in this study is **“what kind of images of Japan and the Japanese have been created in the popular literature targeted to Western audiences?”** The methodological and theoretical perspective is that of intercultural communication.

The context is “the Japanese miracle” meaning the time period between the 1970s and 1990s when there was a boom in Japanese miracle literature in the Western world. The material analyzed in this study will concentrate on literature published in the 1980s and 1990s. This literature will focus on guidebooks, both their texts and pictures. The literature on Japan and the Japanese can be divided into two main categories: books on the “Japanese business world” and books on the “Japanese traveling world.”

This study will also describe the changes in images in different periods and compare the differences between the Japanese and Western authors of these texts. Thus this study material consists of literature from both sides. Before the part on the Japanese miracle, which is the main part of the analysis, there is a historical overview of images of Japan and the Japanese which provides a basis on which to compare the images of the 1980s – 1990s and historical images since the 16th century.

To find the answer to the main research question, answers will be sought to the following research questions: **What has been written about the Japanese and by whom?**

What kind of people are the Japanese and what are they not?

What are the most popular descriptions of the Japanese woman and Japanese man?

What pictures of the Japanese are the most used/ popular in these books?

What characteristics are used most in describing the Japanese?

What has been written about Japanese communication styles, business communication and etiquette?

In order to gain **a picture of Japan itself**, the country where the Japanese (99%) live; the research questions are:

What symbols are most commonly used to describe Japan?

How is Japan described to the “gaijin” (foreigner) by the Japanese?

To find the answers to these questions content analysis will be used.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Studies on images and intercultural studies have been very popular in recent decades. The concept of image as it is defined today became popular in studies of intercultural communication in the USA in the middle of the 1950s. That was the time when a more visualized (visualize=to form a mental image) culture became popular through TV. (Karvonen, 1999). However the concept of image seems to have hundreds of different definitions. Studies on images are usually written from the perspective of business marketing or journalism. However images have also been studied more intensively in the fields of history, international relations and social psychology in last decades (Karvonen, 1999; Fält, 1982). According to Fält (1982: 61) images have been studied intensively in the USA and Japan. It could be said that roots of study on images and intercultural studies are in the USA. The development of intercultural studies and research started in American universities in the 1940s. One of the reasons for starting these studies was relation between the USA and Japan (Lehtonen, 1998: 310).

2.1 Stereotyped Images

In this study the aim is to arrive at a deeper understanding of the concept of image. This study will focus on stereotyped images; thus the first concept to start with is the stereotype.

2.1.1 Stereotype

“A standardised mental picture held in common by members of a group and representing an oversimplified opinion, affective attitude, or uncritical judgement...” (Leyens, Yzerbyt & Schadron, 1994: 11). A stereotype is a *“standardised image or conception of a type of person etc.”* (The Collins, 1986: 847 (English Dictionary)).

Psychiatrists (stereotypy or stereotypie) used the word stereotype before its introduction to the social sciences as a term describing the frequent repetition of the same gesture, posture or words common in such disorders as dementia praecox. It is still used among these professionals as something which refers to routine, rigid, repetitious behaviours (Leyens, Yzerbyt & Schadron, 1994: 9-10). Social sciences received the concept of stereotype from Walter Lippmann, a distinguished American journalist and political thinker. His famous book *Public Opinion* (1922) introduces stereotypes as “pictures in our heads” (Karvonen, 1999; Leyens, Yzerbyt & Schadron, 1994; Lippmann, 1962). Lippmann’s basic idea was that people do not respond directly to objective reality but to a representation that they have created in their minds. “The real environment is altogether too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance. We are not equipped to deal with so much subtlety, so much variety, so many permutations and combinations.... to traverse the world men must have maps of the world” (Lippmann, 1962: 10-11). Stereotypes can act as these maps, providing social categories with content.

“Stereotypes are shared beliefs about person attributes, usually personality traits, but often also behaviors, of a group of people” (Leyens, Yzerbyt & Schadron, 1994: 11). Stereotypes are widely circulated assumptions about particular groups of people, but they are not actual people. Individuals place people in social categories and stereotypes provide the content of these categories. This is the way we make sense of the world (Branston & Stafford, 1999; Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994). According to Branston & Stafford, 1999, “we all employ typifications in certain situations and we all belong to groups that can be typified or stereotyped”. Thus when using these given stereotypes we believe that all members of the category, for example ethnic group, share the attributes embedded in the stereotype. In this aspect that makes stereotypes disliked and negatively colored. The danger of stereotypes has often been seen as their way of generalizing and simplifying things. They make us see things before we actually do so. Thus, they create too strong expectations by teaching us what to look for (Lippmann, 1965; Littlewood, 1997; Salo-Lee, 1996). Thus the stereotypes regulate people’s social interaction too effectively. This process can lead to real problems if the stereotypes are applied negatively. According to Lehtonen (1991: 175), “in initial interaction with strangers, stereotypes play a vital role: they determine the characteristics of the strangers’ personality and their expected attitudes and serve as a kind of zero-hypothesis for our attributions. The less we know the more we cling to stereotypes”.

2.1.2 Image

“A representation or likeness of a person or thing...an optically formed reproduction of an object ...a mental picture; idea produced by the imagination...the mental experience of something that is not immediately present to the senses, often involving memory...the personality presented to the public by a person: a politician’s image”
(The Collins, 1986: 421).

We all have images in our minds. They are tools, which help us to manage the world around us and thus they influence the decisions we make (see e.g. Karvonen, 1999; Fält, 1989; Lippmann, 1965 etc.). According to Kunczik (1997: 2-5), images are formed through a very complex communication process involving different sources of information. Most of images of other cultures are based on schoolbooks, popular encyclopedias, popular literature, guidebooks, fictions, newspapers, magazines, radio and TV, especially international programs. Cultural exchange, sports, movies, light operas, theater and so on also have a crucial role in how images are formed (Fält, 1992; Wilkinson, 1990; Littlewood, 1997; Kunczik, 1997). The mass media have a great influence on the images people form of other countries, because this is still the main source of information on foreign countries (Kunczik, 1997: 7). The images are a mixture of the knowledge, information in the sense mentioned above and memories, hopes, hate, love, myths etc. Images can be seen as a combination of emotional attitudes, prejudices or illusions, information, knowledge and experiences (see e.g. Lehtonen, 1994).

Next I want to approach this concept of image from the point of view of the following model:

TABLE 2.1 The Concept of Image

<p>Internal Image - National Identity</p> <p>How do the Japanese see themselves; define themselves? This is not relevant to this study. Of course it might have some similarities with National Profile.</p>
<p>National Profile</p> <p>How do the Japanese like to be seen by non-Japanese? This study will give a partial answer to this question when analyzing material produced by the Japanese.</p>
<p>External Image - National Image</p> <p>How are the Japan and the Japanese seen by non-Japanese? This is the main area of this study focusing on images of Japan and the Japanese in the literature targeted to Western audience</p>

Forming part of the national image is the national stereotype, which simplifies the characteristics and attributes of the people of the nation in question.

2.1.3 Images, Myths and Reality

I have found the way of using the concepts of image, stereotype, national stereotype, national image etc. difficult and confusing. The reason for this must be that there are so many definitions and different ways of using these concepts. However I decided to use the concept of the stereotyped image instead of image or stereotype or even representation or schema. I have chosen the concept of the stereotyped image in my study because after reading several

studies and books on stereotypes, images and representations, I found that definitions (also presented in the previous sections) of stereotypes and images could, combined, enable a stronger focus on the following hypotheses.

Stereotyped images are durable and long lasting. According to Fält (1989) an image is longer lasting and more durable than a popular opinion or popular attitude. This means that images are difficult to change and are transferred as heritage from the past. According to Boulding (1973) the relationship between image and message is an important one. The meaning of a message is actually the change it can induce in an image (Boulding, 1973: 7). The level of information of the message depends on the present image. So, if the message contains enough information to induce us to change the image, we say that we received new information from that message (Karvonen, 1999; Boulding, 1973). The crucial question in this point is that whether we are willing to change our stereotyped images on the basis of new information. We have been warned against drawing hasty conclusions about people from other cultures purely on the basis of stereotyped images. We have been asked to collect more information, knowledge and experiences from "real life" and "more serious literature". But before doing this, we have usually already created these stereotyped images. Therefore, the question is: are we able to change these images if necessary?

In relation to the previous sentence my next question is whether **stereotyped images are correct or wrong; true or false?** Perhaps more important question is for what purposes stereotypes and images are used: are they harmful or harmless or even useful? The simple answer to the first question is that images can be true and false. Thus the content of stereotypes can be based on correct or inaccurate information or observation and the content can be pleasant or unpleasant. Littlewood has argued (Littlewood, 1999) that images gain their acceptance because there is the basis of truth in them. Or as Fält has said, they are pictures of reality, but not reality themselves. According to Branston & Stafford (1999: 125) "Yet however realistic or plausible media images seem, they never simply present the world direct. They are always construction, a representation, not a transparent window to the real".

Stereotyped images are seen from the perspective of cultural dimensions. Stereotyping encourages bipolar cultural dimensions. The material analyzed in this study typically compares Western and Japanese culture; two cultures, seem to have nothing in common.

Stereotyped images effect our behavior and, especially, have an important role in our initial interaction with strangers, and thus also in intercultural communication. Concerning this influence there have been several warnings about stereotyped images - that they are too generalized, too simplified, and that they create excessive expectations about what to look for or that they even make people see things before they actually do. As Hirano has argued, people are now better informed about other nations' cultures than before, but this knowledge is still quite superficial. Thus, people who act according to their stereotypes and prejudices with only superficial knowledge may find themselves involved in many cultural conflicts.

TABLE 2.2 Stereotyped Images and Presentations Behind Them

Source	Japan	Japanese
Dictionary	<p>Japan is a country of volcanoes and cherry trees</p> <p>“The icons of Japan are: volcano Fudzijama and cherry blossoms” (Huovinen, P., Manninen, J. & Tarmio, H. (eds.) 1960. Suuri Tietosanakirja. Finnish Encyclopedia Series).</p>	<p>Japanese are brave, loyal and honorable</p> <p>“Japanese samurai traditions persisted, with minor adaptations. Profit was never an end in itself but was secondary to honor and prestige. The old warrior virtues of courage, endurance and loyalty translated smoothly into managerial skills” (Black, J. 1999. World History).</p>
School Book	<p>Japan is isolated with great contradictions</p> <p>“There are booming cities in the South of Japan...But most of Japan is still peaceful and beautiful” (Wright, D. & J. 1989. Children’s Atlas).</p> <p>“Japan has been and still is an isolated country” (Rikkinen & Eskola, 1976. Maat ja Kansat II. Finnish Book Series on Geography).</p>	<p>Japanese are group-oriented and hard-working</p> <p>“Four centuries the Japanese tradition has been to work together by agreement and discussion” (Joe Scott, 1989. The World Since 1914).</p> <p>“There are booming cities...with highly skilled and hard-working people” (Wright, D. & J. 1989. Children’s Atlas).</p>
Newspaper		<p>Japanese are nationalistic</p> <p>“Japanese are proud of their own quality productions and the reputation of the expensive country. They are not ready to open their market to foreign products and so they keep stating that Japanese consumers don’t respect imported good and thus are not willing to buy them...” (Pitzen. T. /Kauppalehti 13.3.1995. Finnish Financial News).</p>
Novel	<p>Japan is neat and clean</p> <p>“The garden was unlike anything he had ever seen: a little waterfall and stream and small bridge and manicured paths and rocks and flowers and shrubs. It is so clean, he thought. So neat” (Clavell J. 1988.Shogun).</p>	
Travel Guide	<p>Japan is different and unique</p> <p>“...yet this country remains for many enigma, an unsolved riddle. Westernized, but different from any Western country, part of Asia, but clearly unlike any other Asian society, Japan is a uniquely adaptable place where tradition and modernity are of one continuum” (Eyewitness Travel Japan 2000).</p>	<p>Japanese are polite</p> <p>“The Japanese are famous the world over for their politeness and courtesy...” (Clement, E. 1906. Handbook of Modern Japan).</p>

We are warned about creating stereotyped images based on irrational feelings, lack of personal experiences, contacts and knowledge. This is especially related to generic stereotypes. Osland and Bird (2000: 61-76), for example, in their article encourage people to create helpful stereotypes using common cultural dimensions as tools. These tools could be used to better explain the great complexity within cultures. Thus these tools could help people to create more correct stereotyped images, induce people to be more willing to change stereotyped images and limit or decrease the friction between cultures and communication between cultures. One of these tools is introduced in the section 2.3 (Hoffstede's four dimensions).

As mentioned earlier the aim of this study is not to produce a guidebook to help readers to create more "helpful" stereotypes of the Japanese but to provoke questions in their heads like "how have I created my images of Japan and the Japanese and what are they based on"?

This study is about the images of Japan and the Japanese in the popular literature targeted at Western audiences, not about the images inside their heads. One could argue that this is actually a study on representations, or how the Japanese and Japan are represented in the literature. However, the concept of the stereotyped image was chosen because it is broader than representation and because the images found in this study are very similar to the images in the minds of Western audiences. Images are based on different representations at different periods of time. This means that images are more long lasting and durable than representations and one of my aims in this study is to compare the change of images at different times. One image can be based on different representations.

2.2 Culture, Communication and Intercultural Communication

Culture is, above all, a way of living (Barnlund; 1989: 44). Thus culture includes the everyday practices, customs and habits which make a group of people different from others, unique. It reflects people's attitudes, values and norms in their own society, sometimes even without their noticing it (Garant, 1997: 25). According to Hall (1959), "Culture is a word that has so many meanings that one more can do it no harm". This study will not create any new definitions of culture, but focuses on this issue from the perspective of communication.

Culture gives individuals guidelines as to how they should interact and interpret others' behavior (Hall, 1959). Furthermore, "Culture is the system of knowledge which shared by a large group of people" (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994: 18). Our own culture always seeks to affect the way we act in a strange culture (Lehtonen, 1994: 51).

Communication is about sending messages and creating meanings. Through communication we create and manifest cultural differences and similarities (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994: 19). According to Barnlund (1989: 98) "One of the most important functions of culture is to create and preserve such

communicative codes because they alone make possible an universe of discourse within any community”.

In business life and on formal occasions the concept of culture is associated with special etiquettes and protocols, norms, which inform the practice and customs concerning communication, business negotiations, formal meals, visits and so on. Although we talk about international business etiquette every culture has customs of its own and habits which can make intercultural communication difficult (see e.g. Halinoja, 1996).

The situation in which people from different cultures interact - send messages and create meanings - is called intercultural communication (Salo-Lee, 1996: 11). In the process of intercultural communication we utilize different rules, norms, expectations, habits and values based on our different cultural backgrounds. Although culture is behind our communicational choices, our different personalities and personal abilities to communicate and behave in different situations and settings are also involved (Salo-Lee, 1996; Garant, 1997 etc.). The crucial factor in the intercultural communication is the creation of meaning, which is often already influenced by our own values, stereotypes, prejudices and so on. As Lippmann (1965: 54-55) has argued, we imagine most things before we experience them. In the process of intercultural communication we have often created meanings before receiving the message. To put it in another way, attitudes and stereotypes create expectations that very often lead people to misinterpret each other's messages (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994: 2). According to Lehtonen (2000: 7), “These simplified and generalized images can be useful and help us to orientate in a new culture, while others can be misleading or strictly erroneous. Stereotypes are sometimes called “best guesses”.

In relation to intercultural communication and, in general, the knowledge related to global understanding, several warnings have been issued about creating over generalized and simplified stereotypes of different nations (Littlewood, 1997; Salo-Lee, 1996; Lehtonen, 1994). For example Lebra (1993: 51) has pointed out that there has been a warning against overstating cultural differences and instead people have been exhorted to find the sameness behind these differences. But on the other hand, there has been a demand that people be sensitized to cultural differences, ignorance of which would be detrimental to intercultural communication. However, differences and misunderstandings seem to be a popular object of the intercultural communication research (Nagatani & Edgington, 1998; Aoki, 1999; Salo-Lee, 1996; Neupstuny, 1993, Morsbach, 1984 etc.).

The development of intercultural studies and research started in American Universities in the 1940s. The reason for starting these studies was the development of relations between the USA and Japan (Lehtonen, 1998: 310). In the 1940s Ruth Benedict was asked by the American government to write a manual on Japanese behavior. Other American anthropologists trying to interpret the behavior of the Japanese and trying to give some basis for understanding the cultural and historical development of Japan followed her study. "It is difficult for an American to understand the nature of Japanese

culture. It is an old-world Asiatic culture in contrast to the United States, a New-World, machine-age culture..." (Embree, 1975: 3).

As mentioned before, the American influence on the existing intercultural communication research and literature and research focusing on Japan and the Japanese is very strong. This can be explained historically (see above) and also by the fact that the largest percentage of these studies compare communication between America and Japan (Gudykunst, 1993: 6-7). Gudykunst explains this by the following arguments:

- * There are more Japanese Ph.D.s trained in communication in the USA than in any other country.
- * There is extensive anthropological research on Japan that has also examined some aspects of communication and thus provides a foundation for intercultural comparisons.
- * Japanese culture is very different from American culture. However compared with other different cultures, Japanese culture is more accessible for Americans.
- * There have been several conferences devoted to discussing communication in Japan and the USA.

The boom in the Japanese miracle literature included a great many books focusing on the differences between the Japanese and Western communication styles. Most of the Western examples were concerned with the American communication culture. Many of the communication problems that existed between the Japanese and the Western world were seen as caused by differences between the communication styles of the cultures.

2.3 Western Stereotypes of Japanese Communication Culture

Most of the Western studies focus on the differences between the West and Japan and the difficulties and causes of friction between these two. A similar point of view is found also on the Japanese side. There are plenty of studies on how the communication culture differs between the Japanese and Western people, particularly Americans. Many of the studies focus on differences along the scale individualism-collectivism. There are also studies concentrating on politeness behavior of Japanese, on their very formal and honorific language and on their indirect communication, which is often seen as a result of their language and politeness. This section will give some examples of studies from well-known authors like William B. Gudykunst, Dean C. Barlund, Takie Sugiyama Lebra etc.

Japanese communication has been said to be focused on non-verbal aspects, and in verbal communication the Japanese emphasize indirect communication. It is important to understand how to read the messages from the context, to read cues (high-context culture) (Barlund, 1989; Gudykunst, 1993; Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994). This has also been claimed to be one the most difficult issues to be administrated in communication between the "talkative and direct Americans" and the "quiet and indirect" Japanese.

According to Gudykunst & Nishida (1994: 62) the Japanese communicative style is based on:

- traditional mental telepathy
- taciturnity
- atmosphere
- indirect communication
- tatemaie and honne

Hofstede's four-dimensional model of Cultural Differences¹² is frequently used in studies of cultural differences. The following table 2.3 shows Hofstede's view of the Japanese culture (left side) and how Gudykunst & Nishida (1994) have applied Hofstede's model to explain the Japanese communication culture.

TABLE 2.3 Hofstede's Four Dimensions and Japanese Communication Culture

Hofstede	Gudykunst & Nishida
Individualism-Collectivism	Individualism-Collectivism
<p><i>Japan is a collective society</i></p> <p>In individualism an individual look after her/his own interest as opposed to collectivism in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout their lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioned loyalty.</p>	<p>"Japanese is a collectivistic culture where people conceptualize themselves as interdependent with one another". The Japanese emphasis is on <i>wa</i> (harmony) in the ingroup and on <i>enryo</i> (explained in the following chapter) and <i>amae</i> (passive love) in interactions with others. For reasons of harmony the Japanese draw a distinction between <i>tatemaie and honne</i> (explained in the following chapter).</p>
Power Distance	Power Distance
<p><i>Japan is a large power distance society</i></p> <p>Power distance defines the extent to which the less powerful in society accept inequality in power and consider it as normal. Inequality exists within any culture, but the degree to which it is tolerated varies between one culture and another.</p>	<p><i>Japan is a large power distance society</i> meaning that the Japanese emphasize status in communication. Power distance also leads to the importance of <i>on</i> (obligation) and <i>giri</i> (indebtedness) in the relationships between people.</p>

(continues)

¹ Hofstede's project covered cultural differences among societies in over 50 different countries. The survey consisted of 32 value questions put to 117000 IBM employees from 40 countries. The results were tabulated and correlated in relation to each other. Japan emerged as the most masculine country; the next three after her were Austria, Venezuela and Italy. As a society with strong uncertainty avoidance Japan was seventh after Greece, Portugal, Guatemala, Uruguay, Belgium and Salvador. As a large power distance society Japan had one the highest indexes together with the other Asian and Latin American countries. In the indexes of individualism and collectivism Japan was ranked in the middle.

TABLE 2.3 (continues)

Uncertainty Avoidance	Uncertainty Avoidance
<p><i>Japan is a society with strong uncertainty avoidance</i></p> <p>Uncertainty defines the extent to which people within the culture are made nervous by situations which they perceive as unstructured, unclear, or unpredictable, situations which they therefore try to avoid by maintaining a strict code of behavior and a belief in absolute truths. Cultures with a strong uncertainty avoidance are active, aggressive, emotional, compulsive, security seeking, and intolerant; cultures with weak uncertainty avoidance are contemplative, less aggressive, unemotional, relaxed, accepting of personal risk, and relatively tolerant.</p>	<p><i>Japan is a high uncertainty avoidance culture meaning that the Japanese pay a lot of attention to rituals and the specification of relatively clear rules in most communication situations.</i></p>
Masculinity- Femininity	Masculinity- Femininity
<p><i>Japan is a masculine society</i></p> <p>Masculinity as a characteristic opposes femininity. Masculine cultures strive for a maximum distinction between what men are expected to do and what women are expected to do. They expect men to be assertive, ambitious and competitive, to strive for material success and to respect whatever is big, strong and fast. They expect women to serve and care for the non-material quality of life, for children and for the weak. Feminine cultures define relatively overlapping roles for the sexes. In both cultures the dominant values within political and work organizations are those of men, but emphasis on the values is different in these two cultures.</p>	<p><i>Japan is highly masculine culture which means that they emphasize same-sex communication and separation of the sexes in many social situations.</i></p>

The two concepts most frequently used to explain the Japanese communication style are group and harmony. According to Barnlund, (1989: 177), Japan as a culture emphasizes status, group membership, harmony, modesty, obligations and sensitivity to others. Groupism has been a very popular issue in the debate on Japanese society and culture. Groupism and group membership - family, school class, work-group, corporation and so on - are concepts that are stressed by most of the writers (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994, Barnlund, 1989). "The Japanese concern for belonging relates to the tendency toward collectivism, which is expressed by an individual's identification with the collective goal of the group to which he belongs. The Japanese person stresses his position in a social frame rather than his individual attributes" (Lebra, 1976: 22-25). Strong group ties require the Japanese to subordinate their individualism to the welfare of others (Barnlund, 1989: 163). Obligations have a higher priority than rights. Moeran (1986: 64) argues that the concept of the group means that the Japanese prefer to act within the framework of group which is hierarchically organized and run by a paternalistic leader. He brings into the discussion the Japanese concept of *amae*, "passive love", which he sees as a psychological process underlying the structure of the group (Moeran, 1986: 64-65). *Amae* is

one of the frequently used Japanese concepts related to Japanese communicative styles (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994; Barnlund, 1989, Lebra, 1993). According to Barnlund (1989: 41) *amae* means an effort to establish a protective relationship with others. *Amae* is also translated as dependence (see for example Doi, 1988), which is very highly valued and encouraged in Japanese society. Barnlund (1989: 41) has listed concepts like obligation (*on*), indebtedness (*giri*), humanity (*ninjo*), face (*kao*), responsibility (*sekenin*) and duty (*gimu*) as concepts which all emphasize dependence on others and the way the Japanese adapt their actions to the needs and the moods of others. The Japanese concept of *enroy*, reserve or restraint has been used to explain the Japanese loyalty and solidarity to a group, such the nation, family, corporation and so on (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994: 25-26). As Lebra has pointed out (1994), *enroy* is a response to group pressure to conform. However, *enroy* is not limited to personal opinions, but it does involve restraint from expressing wishes and desires and it also includes side-stepping such opportunities whenever they are offered (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994: 25). "The strong sense of belongingness as a stake for self-identity, reinforced by collectivism and conformism, calls for the individual's total commitment and loyalty to his group. It also means that the group is responsible for taking care of all the needs of its members" (Lebra, 1976: 31).

The Japanese draw a sharp distinction between ingroup and outgroup. Ingroups influence Japanese behavior and communication greatly. Ingroups have different rank orders of importance (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994). Barnlund (1989: 68) argues that because of the importance attached to group affiliations and obligations, the Japanese are reluctant to approach strangers and respond less favorably to conversations initiated by people they do not know. Strangers are usually seen as "outsiders" or even "non-persons". Robins-Mowry (1993: 52) argues that "while many Japanese reiterate that they are sensitive to other people, in fact, this is true only for those within their own group". The Japanese find the group identity based on information, such as age, sex, status and so on necessary before dealing with other people. They prefer to have as much background information as possible in advance in order to avoid a situation of uncertainty (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994; Barnlund, 1989) Barnlund (1989: 40) argues that the Japanese cannot talk to each other until their status is clarified.

The Japanese themselves have actively used the "group-model" which relates to the internal structure of group in building their national profile in the West (Moeran, 1986: 65). The "group-model" has also been criticized strongly because it ignores one important aspect of Japanese society, namely personal networks.

According to Barnlund (1989: 42), for the Japanese conversation is a "way of creating and reinforcing the emotional ties that bind people together. Interpersonal attitudes are its content. Institution is its mode. Social harmony is its aim...". The emphasis on social harmony seems to be the explanation behind most communicational patterns like indirect communication and nonverbal communication (Barnlund, 1989; Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994; Lebra, 1993 etc.).

Things are not described as they are in order to maintain harmony and face. "They do not say what they want to say because they sincerely hope not to hurt the other's feelings, and they say what they do not want to say, believing that their discomfort is less important than the happiness of others" (Barnlund, 1989: 156). To maintain harmony and to avoid damaging relations with people on whom one depends, the Japanese are said to speak "white-lies" using the so called public language, *tatemae* (March, 1996; Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994). Harmony is developed and maintained through *tatemae* (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994: 24). According to Gudykunst & Nishida, the Japanese draw a distinction between "what is said in public and what one truly believes (*honne*)". Gudykunst & Nishida (1994: 42-44) also point out that it is important to learn to interpret sentences from the situational context. *Tatemae* is also related to the Japanese way of avoiding self-disclosure.

Interdependence requires a polite way of expressing things. The Japanese language contains a great many honorifics. Because Japan is a hierarchical society, language is adapted to the social status of the person being addressed (Lebra, 1993: 72-73). According to Lebra (1993: 72), empathy underlines a diversity of modes of speech and behavior among the Japanese and it is not only a question of conversational attitude, but also one of the linguistic structure. Japanese is seen as a language which uses various forms to show the speaker's empathy with the other. Because communication is indirect, the main burden for successful communication is placed upon the listener. Cues, guessing what somebody is meaning, *sasshi*, plays a great role in the communication process (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994; Barnlund, 1989; Lebra, 1993). According to Barnlund (1989: 42) who cites Befu's ideas about Japanese nonverbal communication: "One crucial thing about learning to be Japanese is to know what people mean without saying it". As Barnlund goes on to say, intuition is valued among the Japanese. It has also been said that instead of discussing their feelings in so many words, the Japanese are able to express them through external objects or actions like traditional Japanese art: ikebana, the tea ceremony, haiku, calligraphy, and gardens (Barnlund, 1989, Embree, 1975). Barnlund (1989: 130-132) discusses the Japanese emphasis on different forms of nonverbal communication. He argues that the Japanese, in order to seek consensus, dislike verbal argument and prefer visceral over cerebral forms of empathy. This leads to the conclusion that the use of the physical mode of communication is greater than verbal modes. For example silent language, such as posture, facial expression, glances and the pregnant pause should play quite a large role in relating to companions. But Barnlund goes on to say that the Japanese place emphasis on situational formalities, dislike public displays of emotion and disapprove of physical demonstrativeness. The Japanese psyche seems to inhibit the grosser forms of non-verbalization such as facial expressiveness, gestures, and touching, but emphasizes the use of space, time, and silence as appropriate ways of conveying feelings. The Japanese are said to prefer greater distance and avoid touching people or being touched (Barnlund, 1989; Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994).

Although Barnlund (1989: 131, 182) says that the samurai tradition of emphasizing strength through silence is still alive in today's Japan, there are perhaps other myths behind the Japanese silence which encourage the image of a unique culture. According to Gudykunst and Nishida (1994: 51-53), several non-mystical reasons can be found behind the Japanese silence. Silence may be used to save the Japanese from being embarrassed; it allows them to be socially discreet. Silence may also be related to a hierarchical situation, such as presence of a senior person who has the superiority to initiate speech. Gudykunst & Nishida (1994: 67) argue that the Japanese attitude toward time is different when dealing with foreigners than with their own people. When dealing with foreigners, the Japanese pay more attention to time, schedules, plans, and being prompt.

Many books focusing on the Japanese etiquette and customs have stressed nonverbal customs such as gift-giving, entertaining, greetings, introductions and so on. The Japanese are said to pay more attention to these rituals than many other people do (see for example Befu, 1986). Barnlund (1989: 139) takes as an example gift-giving and, according to him, "Americans give more gifts more frequently than do the Japanese and do so more spontaneously and as symbol of affection rather than because it is appropriate or required". However, gift-giving has many variations across the Western cultures. Nonetheless, in all the books on the Japanese etiquette, gift-giving is introduced as one of the most important issues (see chapter 5.4).

Several different explanations have been proposed for Japanese groupism and harmony. The most commonly advanced include Japan's long history - especially the period of isolation - the influence of Confucianism and great homogeneity of the nation (Embree, 1975; Barnlund, 1989; Koskiahio, 1995; Garant, 1997 etc.). Barnlund (1989: 38) argues that in addition to Confucianism, Buddhism has also had a great influence in emphasizing a sense of humility and fatalism, a preference for the simple and concrete and Shintoist ideas, such as empathy with nature and the search for harmony.

The next table 2.4 The Japanese and American Communication Patterns, is an example of comparison between the Japanese and American communication patterns. The content of the table is adapted from Barnlund, 1989 and Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994.

TABLE 2.4 The Japanese and American Communication Patterns

Interpersonal Relations	Japanese	Americans
Relations with Strangers	<p>“Japanese are supposedly indifferent toward strangers.”</p> <p>“Japanese can’t talk to each other until their status is clarified.”</p>	<p>“Americans are open and trusting of strangers.”</p>
Making Friends Choice of Companions	<p>Japanese have strong ties to pivotal groups as the family, school, workplace etc. The bonds that matter most in Japan are less matter of choice than of birth, school or employment.</p> <p>Japanese shape their interpersonal relations in accordance with the various levels of the social hierarchy.</p> <p>Japanese friendships are more comprehensive and durable.</p>	<p>Americans’ personal relations are more matter of choice, and they shift with the changing interests of the parties.</p> <p>Americans attempt to equalize their interpersonal relations despite differences in age and status.</p> <p>Americans friendships are less comprehensive and less permanent.</p>
Manner of Conversation	<p>Japanese are conciliatory.</p> <p>Japanese favor a rhetoric of inclusion, emphasizing similarities of viewpoint.</p> <p>Japanese incline toward understatement and self-depreciation.</p> <p>Japanese place their trust on nonverbal code, what is left unsaid.</p> <p>Japanese do not respect words; “with noble phrases seen as oversimplifying events...”</p>	<p>Americans are assertive.</p> <p>Americans favor a rhetoric of exclusion emphasizing differences.</p> <p>Americans indulge in overstatement and self-congratulatory remarks.</p> <p>Americans emphasize a verbal code.</p> <p>Americans respect the power of words.</p>
Independence and Dependence	Japanese emphasize dependence.	Americans emphasize independence.

2.4 What is the West?

The material analyzed in this study mostly focuses on the differences between the West and Japan. Usually the concept of the West is defined in a very general way. Many authors leave the whole concept without any definition. For those who define the concept, the West equals Europe or/and North America. Some studies imply that there is one Western culture, one Japanese culture and between those two cultures there is a series of contrasts in cultural values.

Furthermore, as Littlewood points out in his book, *The Idea of Japan, Western Images, Western Myths* (1997: xii): "To talk of the "West" as a single entity is to lump together a vast range of disparate and conflicting responses".

Wilkinson (1990: 34) explains his way of using the terms "Western Image" and "West" in his book, *Japan Versus the West Image and Reality* in the following way: "In talking about of the Western Image I'm guilty of gross oversimplification, whose only excuse is that these are convenient shorthand". He continues with the argument that not all European countries have held the same images of Japan and also that American images have differed from European ones. He also points out that the concepts of East and West give a false impression of complete opposites.

Benedict (1954) drew a line between the West and the East, the Americans and the Japanese whom she saw as, "us" and "them". She saw Japanese values as feudalistic and fascist and American values as modern and democratic. Ito (1998: 83) argues that Benedict was not free from value judgments.

Very often the West has been seen as "highly-developed", industrialized, modernized, urbanized, and capitalist. Thus the concept of the West is the product of historical process that started in the 16th century (Hall, 2000). This also means that we tend to divide the world into the West and the non-West. In this context the position of Japan has been a little confusing. Japan has been industrialized, modernized etc. which brings it very close to Western world. When we discuss the concept of the West we cannot ignore the concept of westernization, although, the debate of it has taken on a somewhat different perspective. Travel guides (for example Baedeker, Berlitz) describe Japan as the most westernized country in the Far East. Westernization has been the issue, which has most attracted the attention of visitors to Japan (Neupstuny, 1993: 21).

In particular the Meiji Restoration (1868-1912) is seen as the period when Japan underwent rapid westernization. Japan's modern century has been seen as progress induced by many western elements. Japan has developed its culture in various fields by harmoniously combining its own traditions and cultural values with the Western cultural values (Maraini, 1971; Varley, 1974; Tames, 1996 etc.).

Modernization has been a part of the westernization of Japan. Maraini (1971) argues that the westernization process means acceptance of the values and ideals of the West and a Western outlook on life. Modernization involves more than anything else the adoption of technology, which is ideologically neutral he speaks of "Japanese spirit and Western technology". He also argues that in the Far East Japan is a modernized country, not a westernized one. Hirano (1988: 160) argues that for the Japanese international cultural contacts have always meant receiving and adapting to foreign cultural elements. Since the 19th century this has meant cultural elements from modern Europe and America. According to Neupstuny (1993: 21), westernization means "taking on a particular form of culture, historically derived from European traditions", such as Western dress, music and so on. Westernization leads to an image of imitators and one could say that this has been one of the most well known

images of Japan in the Western world since the Meiji restoration (Neupstuny, 1993 Wilkinson, 1990; Comte-Helm, 1996 etc.).

According to Lebra (1993: 81), who has studied the differences between Americans and Japanese communication styles: "serious is the difficulty, if not impossibility, of generalizing Americans...who are proud of the ethnic diversity of their society". As a European I find a more serious difficulty in talking about the typical European person or his/her behavior. But as Lebra says (1993:81), people are ready to make generalizations about outsiders like Americans do about the Japanese, but are quick to rebut any generalization made about themselves by outsiders.

The concept of the West is a complexity one. As far as this study is concerned, it seems to be difficult to define the West more specifically than just North America and Western Europe. In this study the West has been defined according to the definitions adapted by authors of the material analyzed i.e. as Americans and Western Europeans. Among the authors of the historical material the influence of Europeans is stronger. The West is also seen through the target audiences: Americans and Europeans. The main influence comes from the American dimension and from Anglo-American culture. This can be explained by the fact that Americans have focused more studies on intercultural communication and especially on the relations between themselves and the Japanese. It is also true that more books on the Japanese business management and business etiquette have been published by Americans.

3 STUDY DESIGN

3.1 Structure and Research Material

This study is divided into three parts. The first part gives the framework for the analysis. It consists of the theoretical methodological framework and presents the images of Japan from a historical perspective. The second part is the empirical part of the study, focusing on the Japanese miracle, and the third part concludes.

This study focuses on the Japanese miracle: the period of the 1980s and 1990s when Japan was a popular topic in the Western world. Although this popularity was based on economical and industrial development in Japan, I have also chosen another perspective from which to analyze the images of Japan and the Japanese: tourism or travel. Thus the Japanese miracle will be discussed from two different perspectives: business and tourism.

Content analysis was chosen as the research technique to answer the question: What kind of images of Japan and the Japanese are created in popular literature targeted at Western audiences. The data to be analyzed consists of texts and pictures.

3.1.1 Earlier Images

Although the focus of this study is on the images of the 1980s and 1990s, these images can be based on very old descriptions and pictures. Thus the grip of inherited prejudice appears to be as strong now as in the past (Fält, 1992; Wilkinson, 1990; Littlewood, 1997). As I am particularly interested in stereotyped images, which are images repeated over the years and are difficult to change (see e.g. Salo-Lee, Hall 1999, etc). It will be interesting to examine the question: what similarities can be found in the images created in "travel stories" in 16th century and 19th century and 1980s? The historical account of images of Japan and the Japanese is mostly based on books and notes written by Western authors who were well-known in their own time and whose writings are often

still quoted. The chapters on the postwar period also discuss a guide published in Japan. In particular the 1960s and early 1970s seems to be a period when Japanese had to rebuild their image to the outside world. The discussion on the historical images of Japan and the Japanese covers the whole period from the beginning of the 16th century up to the end of the 1970s. Endymion Wilkinson's book *Japan versus Europe- Images and Realities* and Ian Littlewood's book, *The Idea of Japan Western Images, Western Myths* (1996) are the most important reference works for this discussion. Here some examples, including movies and novels, will also be discussed. The aim is to show what kinds of images have excited in the past and how they have changed compared to the 1980s and 1990s. However, the focus of this study is not in the history of Japan and, accordingly, this part does not go very deep into history.

3.1.2 The Great Popularity of Japan

After the historical part, this study will concentrate on the context of the Japanese miracle. The research material is divided into two main categories: travel and business. The business books are divided into two categories: the Japanese company culture & Japanese style-management and the Japanese business etiquette & communication. The first sections analyse travel guides and brochures. The study will compare the different icons used in travel guides written by Japanese and Western authors. In these chapters one of the goals is to find the symbols most frequently used to represent Japan and the Japanese.

Travel guides and brochures are relevant for studying images because tourism business utilises images and tourists' decisions on travel are strongly influenced by images. Before entering the country they have certain images of it and they have certain expectations. This part begins with examples from Japanese traveling brochures published by Japan Travel Bureau (JTB) and Japan National Tourist Organization (JNTO). Other sections are based on guidebooks for ordinary non-Japanese travelers published in the West and Japan by well-known publishers like Berlitz, Baedeker, Fodor, Kodansha International and the Charles E. Tuttle Company in the 1980s and 1990s. Also interesting this section are the photos published with the text. It is worth remembering that most mental images are pictures of a kind. We receive a great deal of information through pictures. However, pictures are usually not as respected as written texts, but yet we believe things more easily if we can see them with our own eyes (Hietala, 1996).

After the traveling oriented part the study will focus on the economic miracle, Japan as an economic giant will be discussed. Japan has been universally acknowledged as the pre-eminently successful economy in the world. After the Second World War the Western world became interested in rapid commercial and industrial development. During the last three decades the Western world has been keen on learning about the secrets of the Japanese economical miracle. In the mid 1970s started a great boom in the literature on the Japanese miracle in the Western world. In the 1980s the Japanese economic miracle was a fashionable topic in the Western world and the answers to

Japanese success were found in the unique Japanese business management system. These books also tried to give a deeper understanding of the Japanese culture and industrial structure with simplified explanations. Many books have sought to explain the issue with simplified core values of Japanese culture. The task of these books was more or less to point out how the Japanese miracle can be applied to the Western world. Numerous studies have been carried out to determine the transferability of the Japanese style of Management to the West (Suvanto, 1993; Merviö, 1995, Lillrank, 1991; Fukuda, 1988). Most of these books and studies had a tendency to draw far-reaching conclusions on the characteristics of Japanese society on the basis of just a few examples of large, successful companies (Merviö, 1995: 28). Most of the social and cultural settings of these books have been presented in simplified form often in part of it taken directly from academic studies, including nihonjinron literature (see also Merviö, 1995: 28).

In addition to these management books during the boom, a great number of books appeared which focused on the Japanese business etiquette, business communication and the differences between the Japanese and Western communication styles. The main aim was to help Western businessmen to better understand their Japanese colleagues and their habits and, to learn the general principles of Japanese business culture by giving practical advice, hints and guidelines, as in the following example quoted in Kato & Kato, 1992, *Understanding and Working with the Japanese Business World* shows (introduction): "You will learn how to adjust for the differences that exist between American and Japanese businesses...initiate contacts with Japanese businesspeople...understand forms of Japanese expression that are easily misinterpreted by Westerners...The book will:

- Show you how Japanese traditions and values relate to the way Japanese businesspeople think
- Show you how Japanese people communicate through non-verbal language, eye contact, silence and gifts.
- Give you six ways to avoid insulting Japanese people when calling them by name
- Tell you the one thing that no Japanese businessperson would dare be caught without and neither should you

The business guidebooks emphasized cultural differences more than the commercial ones. "... it is felt that cultural and not commercial problems predominate in Japan..."(Abecasis-Phillips, 1992: 11). According to Hirano (1988: 157-159), misunderstanding Japanese culture has been the reason for international friction between Japan and other countries.

The analysis of the economic miracle is based on the business management literature and guidebooks on the Japanese business communication for Western businessmen published in the 1980s and 1990s during the great boom in the literature on the Japanese miracle. The authors of the books are both Western and Japanese, but the guides are clearly targeted at Western readers and are mostly published in English. One important criterion, especially for the guidebooks, is that they can be easily found at international airports, are sold in international book stores in Tokyo, London, New York, Los Angeles, and so on.

The material focusing on the structure of the Japanese industry and companies especially includes writers like Ronald P. Dore, Charles J. Macmillan, Karel Van Wolferen and David Clark.

As mentioned before, a great number of books, studies and articles discuss the Japanese and Japan in the 1980s and 1990s, during the Japanese miracle boom. The books mentioned above were chosen from a vast selection at London University Library and the Japan Foundation Library, as well as the international bookstores, as representative examples of this genre. The problem in choosing the books was that the books dealing with business etiquette & communication and travel books tended to repeat each other so that one might take just one as take all. The first set of criteria for the books was that they were published during the 1980s and 1990s and they were related to the Japan and the Japanese of that time. The second set of criteria was whether the books were really popular at that time or the publisher or author well-known. The third set of criteria was that these books were widely distributed and the target group was the “ordinary” traveler or businessman. In the travel category books written by more “ordinary” travelers were also included.

In all categories there were books written by Japanese and Western authors. The books which are analyzed in the Japanese miracle section are listed (author, publisher, place of publishing, edition, the content) in appendix 1.

3.2 Method of the Study

Content analysis is a common research technique in communication studies and studies on images in literary texts. Content analysis can be defined as: “media research technique, counting the number of times an item appears in media texts” (Branston and Stafford, 1999: 436). It can also be defined as a research technique in which the different methods are valid as long as they can help the researcher to make observations and collect relevant information from the data without forgetting academic rules (Pietilä, 1973: 27). In this study content analysis is used to identify systematically the most frequently used descriptions and representations of Japan and the Japanese from texts and pictures. The main part of analysis is based on qualitative work, descriptions, but quantitative work is also done, particularly in chapter five where icons and symbols of Japan are counted. This study focuses on the attributional point of view. Several comparisons will take place between these different attributions.

3.2.1 Typical Traits

The main question in this study is **“what kind of images of Japan and the Japanese have been created in popular literature targeted at Western audiences?”**

To find the answers, the first step was to collect adjectives describing the Japanese, and then to count the number of times these attributes appeared in

the texts. A result of this step was a list of typical Japanese traits. In fact during this process the Japanese were divided into two categories: Japanese man; “*sarariiman*”, and Japanese woman, close to the idea of the geisha. There were two worlds: modern society symbolized by the *sarariiman* and the traditional society symbolized by the “geisha”.

Example of the typical Japanese man, *sarariiman*

- * Hard working – works long hours and puts his work before his own life
- * Strict and punctual
- * Loyal – he is loyal to his company all his whole life
- * Polite – does not express negative things, uses compliments etc.

In the case of modern Japanese society attributes were sought to describe the issues beyond the image of the economic giant, the attributes that had made Japan popular in the Western world. These were the same issues which became the topics of many bestsellers: the Japanese company, Japanese style of business management, Japanese business culture, Japanese business etiquette.

Typically, Japanese company with its unique management style was described with the following attributes:

- * Seniority system (promotion, payment)
- * Community orientation
- * Group-orientation
- * Job rotation
- * Learning systems (on-the-job, off-the-job, self-development, quality circles etc)

Particularly in the case of business etiquette the typical descriptions of the Japanese were found in the following categories:

- * Business matters (negotiations, seating, introductions, go-between, *meishi*, gift-giving, time etc)
- * Conversations and communication (greetings, topics, indirect communication, silence, hierarchy, names etc)
- * Wining and Dining

In particular it is the literature of the business culture (company culture, management and communication) the different attributes between Japan and the West were found.

Tables showing comparisons between the Japanese and Western management cultures were frequently used.

3.2.2 Iconic Significations

Semiotic terms have been applied, especially in the discussion of the Japanese miracle from the travel perspective where the pictorial material together with texts is analyzed. The icons introduced in these chapters as the most typical icons and symbols of Japan and the Japanese were chosen by using quantitative (percentages of icons and symbols used in ten guidebooks) and qualitative techniques (placement of icons and symbols in ten guides). The difficulty here is that the researcher has certain pictures of Japan and the Japanese in mind which

can easily make these pictures seem more important than they actually are. To define the categories for the icons, Befu's (Befu, 1993) list of the most used symbols of Japan were used as follow:

- * Mt Fuji, Geisha and Cherry Blossom as symbols of the traditional society
- * Bullet train, semiconductor and Walkman as symbols of the modern society

Littlewood's (1999) data on how different symbols of Japan were used in advertisements was also a helpful tool.

4 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO UNDERSTANDING IMAGES OF JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE

Although this study focuses on the boom in the Japanese miracle literature in the 1980s and 1990s, the images of that period can be based on very old descriptions and pictures. Thus the grip of inherited prejudice appears to be as strong today as in the past (Fält, 1992, Wilkinson, 1990; Littlewood, 1997). This chapter will give historical information useful in understanding the images of the Japanese today.

This chapter will elaborate on the image of the Japanese from historical perspective. It starts with the initial contacts made by missionaries in the 16th century through the reopening of Japan, the exotic Lotusland, in the mid 19th century and its development into a powerful modern state which lost the war and had to rebuild; to its rise to the status of economic superpower, which has been the dominant picture of Japan over the last three decades. This is actually the rough framework within which the Western images of Japan and the Japanese have been created.

4.1 Early Images

It was Marco Polo (1307) who first gave a picture of Japan to Europeans: "Zipangu (Japan) is an island in the eastern ocean, situated at the distance of about fifteen hundred miles from the mainland. Its inhabitants have fair complexions, are well-made, and are civilized in their manners. Their religion is the worship of idols. They are independent of every foreign power, and governed only by their own kings" (Clement, 1906: 3). Marco Polo gave a very positive picture of Japan and the Japanese. He even went too far in describing the extent of gold and riches of Japan. "So vast, indeed, are the riches of the place, that it is impossible to convey an idea of them" (Clement, 1906: 3).

Addition to the European merchants who were venturing their way to east missionaries had started their work in China and India already in 14th century. From early 16th century the Europeans became world "superpowers". Their discoveries had taken them all over the world, where they established trading companies and laid claim to territory. The first direct contact was also made between Japan and Europe by missionaries in the mid 16th century. It was 1543 when the first Spanish and Portuguese missionaries, followed by traders, came to Japan and started to create a picture of Japan and the Japanese for Europeans. In coming to East Europeans had generally adopted the role of representatives of a superior race. Thus discovering Japan and her highly developed culture and civilization was a surprise, even a shock to the newcomers. Because of this positive discovery most of the missionaries gave a very favourable picture of Japan (Wilkinson, 1982, 1990, Cooper, 1965 etc.). Jesuit Francis Xavier was the first to write about this new discovery: "Japanese are the best race yet discovered and I do not think you will find their match among the pagan nations" (Cooper, 1965: 60). One of the most quoted of Xavier's sentences has been: "These people are delight to my soul". Xavier, like his successors, admired Japanese good manners, sense of honor, propriety and duty. The Japanese were seen as a very prudent and discreet people who spoke very politely, never failing to show each other respect. Besides their polite manners missionaries paid a lot of attention to the well-developed Japanese system of education which was even seen as more advanced than its European counterpart (Cooper, 1965; Fält, 1994; Wilkinson, 1990, etc.).

Most of the images built of the Japanese were very favourable ones. Alongside the positive there was an image of a different nation with extreme and paradoxical contrasts: "Japanese have rites and ceremonies so different from those of all other nations that it seems that they deliberately try to be unlike any other people. The things they do in this respect are beyond imagining and it may truly said that Japan is a world the reverse of Europe" (Cooper, 1965: 42).

The Japanese were also seen as very difficult to understand, because "they were so crafty in their hearts". It was said that the Japanese had three hearts: "a false one in their mouths for all the world to see, another within their breasts only for their friends and the third in the depths of their hearts, reserved for themselves alone" (Cooper, 1965: 45).

In addition to the image of being polite, hospitable, discreet, patient, resigned and melancholy, the Japanese men especially, were described as a cruel and warlike people who had a very high opinion of themselves. Xavier wrote about their trust in weapons: "They carry a sword and dagger both inside and the outside house and lay them at their pillows when they sleep. Never in my life have I met people who rely on their arms so much. They have a high opinion of themselves because they think that no other nation can compare with them as regards weapons and valor, and so they look down on all foreigners" (Cooper, 1965: 40-41).

Since the 16th century Japanese women's beauty and graceful manners have been greatly admired. Though legal prostitution was strongly criticized by

missionaries, it offered Western tradesmen a chance to enjoy the prohibited fruit of passion (Fält, 1994; Wilkinson, 1990; Ma, 1996 etc.). The Japanese woman was admired for her politeness, cleanliness and intelligence. Her world was opposite to the world of the warrior, the samurai which presented cruelty. The Japanese people generally were described with the characteristics of women (see e.g. Littlewood, 1995).

The Japanese had an open-minded attitude toward Christianity, Western values and customs. It was quite easy for missionaries to do their work successfully in Japan. However, the increasing sphere of foreign influence, the fear even of possible invasion made decision-makers, shoguns and feudal lords suspicious (Keene, 1969: 1). Alongside this the most important European export item, fireworks, was seen as too great a threat to Japanese society, and its leaders made the decision to prohibit Christian activities, expel the missionaries and finally close the borders of the country for two centuries (Keene, 1969; Wilkinson, 1990; Tames, 1996 etc.).

During the era of isolation the only contact between Japan and Europe was the small Dutch trading station in Nagasaki. To the Japanese the station was an important window to the West through the long years of isolation. The Dutch provided a knowledge of the outside world (Comte-Helm, 1996; Tames, 1996). Knowledge of Japan and the Japanese in Europe was very limited. Generally speaking Europeans did not know much about Japan, if anything. Information about Japan was based on a few active writers like von Siebold, Kaempher, and Thurberg, who tried to collect as much information as they could about Japan and the Japanese in difficult circumstances at a trading station where they felt more like prisoners (Keene, 1969; Chamberlain, 1890; Fält, 1994 etc.).

The image of Japan and the Japanese during isolation did not differ from what had already been reported by missionaries. For example Dr. Kaempher wrote in his book, *History of Japan (1726-1728)*: "Japan is land of earthquakes, with a much revered conical volcano (Mt. Fuji). Japanese have a sharply contrasted character: on the one hand they are modest, patient, courteous, hard-working and clean as well as artistic and ingenuous, while on the other hand they are proud, ambitious, cruel and uncharitable as well as passionate and revengeful" (Wilkinson, 1982: 32). Like the samurai culture (*bushido*), earlier with its strict formality, rituals and especially *seppuku* (ritual suicide) seem to make Western observers eager to report.

4.2 Japan as an Unspoiled Lotusland

In the 19th century Europeans and Americans explored many countries in Asia searching for new markets. In 1853 the Westerners, this time led by Americans, returned to Japan. Strong foreign pressure made the Japanese open their borders to the outside world and the period of isolation came to an end.

Japan was under strong foreign and domestic pressure when it started the Meiji restoration in 1868. It was political revolution carried out by samurais. The main aim of this restoration was to learn from the West in a Japanese spirit and thus avoid the fate of the other Asian countries colonized by Western world (Varley, 1974, Tames, 1996, Wilkinson, 1990 etc.). The Meiji restoration has been considered the beginning of modern Japanese society. According to Morikawa (1993: 1) and Kahn (1970: 1) the post-war miracle rests on the solid basis of the Meiji restoration when Japan changed from a feudal society into an advanced industrial power.

Many foreign experts were invited to Japan and hundreds of Japanese were sent to Europe and America to gain the latest economic and technical knowledge. Japan's industrial, economical and military progress was very rapid. Within a few decades Japan had become, both socially and economically a competitor to the industrialized Western world. Chamberlain described the development of Japan in 1890, "The Japanese boast that they have done in twenty years what it took Europe half as many centuries to accomplish" (Chamberlain, 1890: 1).

Around the end of the 19th century an increasing number of travelers and businessmen found Japan. Great curiosity was felt in the Western world towards Japan after its long period of isolation. For Europeans Asia had been the same thing as China and India, not Japan. Even around the turn of the 20th century Europeans and Americans still saw China and India as more important to them than Japan; to them it was a boundless market for manufactured goods. Neither was Japan seen as any serious competitor to the "superior westerners", even though they had developed their own domestic industry very rapidly (Wilkinson, 1990: 98-99).

The picturesque Japan of tea-houses, geisha, gardens, flowers and *toyhouses* became a standard Western image. It was very favourable one. "It is not easy to describe the fascination of a Japanese garden chiefly it is due to studied neglect of geometrical design. The toy summer-houses dotted here and the miniature lakes, and the tiny bridges crossing miniature streams, give an air of indescribable quaintness" (Menpes, 1901). The Geisha was described as a little genius, perfectly brilliant as a talker and mistress of the art and dancing. She was perfect wife and the ideal of femininity (see e.g. Menpes, 1901; Littlewood, 1995; Morton, 1984 etc).

Japan was described as different, a topsy-turvy, exotic fantasyland. Thus the fundamental picture of Japan in the West was a country of extreme and paradoxical contrasts. Authors of books related to Japan and the Japanese customs around turn of the 20th century seemed to repeat each other. As Wilkinson (1990: 102) wrote: "at that time experts on Japan never tired of repeating each other, driving home the same point, even using the same examples."

One of the experts on Japan, Sir Alcock, wrote in 1863, "Japan is essentially a country of paradoxes and anomalies, where all, even familiar things, put on new faces, and are curiously reserved. They write from top to bottom, from right to left, in perpendicular instead of horizontal lines and their books begin

from the backside. Their locks though they are imitated from Europe, are locked by turning they from left to right..." (Alcock, 1863: 101).

Japan was presented in British magazines and reviews in 1850 as follows: "Japan remains to us a vague and shadowy idea. The Japanese people had remained a mystery for two centuries" (Yokoyama, 1987: 5). The Japanese were seen as singular people from a forbidden land. In the 1880s the image of an unreal Japan became firmly established in England. It was an image of a civilization without any originality, which was seen as a very romantic idea by Victorian tourists. The image of the borrower emerged through this romantic idea (Yokoyama, 1987: 5).

The image of the Japanese as polite with very formal behavior continued (Arnold, 1899, Chamberlain, 1980, Watt, 1967, Wilkinson, 1982 etc.). "The Japanese are famous over the world for their politeness and courtesy, they are a nation of good manners, and for this and other qualities, have been styled "the French of the Orient"" (Clement, 1904: 76).

The first tourist invasion hit Japan in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries. Most of the travelers described Japan as an exotic and beautiful paradise, one of the most favored countries in the world. Typically the travelers wrote about Mount Fuji, beautiful gardens, shrines and temples, teahouses and odd Japanese customs like women and men having a hot bath together. The Japanese indifference to nudity both fascinated and horrified Victorian tourists (Tames, 1996; Maclean, 1967; Cortazzi, 1987 etc.). Usually it was seen as a part of the innocence of this unspoiled paradise, which was how they wanted to see Japan.

Japanese woman was the most important part of the image of Japan as an exotic Lotusland. European artists, connoisseurs and novelists created an exotic-aesthetic image of Japan with all the major stereotypes. They drew a picture of the Japanese woman that has dominated the Western psyche for over a century (Ma, 1996: 9). It was very often a singular, nature-loving and naive image of Japan (Comte-Helm, 1996: 23). Japanese women were often pictured in traditional kimonos in tearooms, gardens, in front of temples, under the cherry blossom, serving green tea or playing traditional instruments, dancing or making ikebana (see appendixes 2 and 3). These charming little women from a Lotusland that was very often described as the Garden of Eden, the place of forbidden pleasures, were the main characters in many European romantic novels like Loti's *Madam Chrysanthemum*. This novel was basis of many other artists' works including the famous opera *Madam Butterfly*.

In 1841 Siebold wrote about the Japanese women (see Barrow eds. 1973: 123): "The minds of the Women are cultivated with as much care as those of men; and among the most admired historians, moralists and poets are found several female names. The Japanese ladies are described as being generally lively and agreeable companions, and the ease and elegance of their manners have been highly extolled". Later in 19th century Chamberlain (1890), Clement (1904) and Hearn (1894) also paid attention to the fact that Japanese women were more educated and cultivated than their sisters in other Asian countries.

Japanese women were seen as the highest expression of Japan's aesthetic sensibility. "Japanese women are most womanly, - kind, gentle, faithfully, pretty. A Japanese woman's lot is summed up in what are termed: "the three obediences" - obedience, while yet unmarried, to a father; when married to a husband and that husband's parents; obedience when widowed to a son" (Chamberlain, 1890: 424).

These young, charming women were provided to foreign visitors. The Japanese lady had a moral charm and at the same time she was an exciting sexual fantasy and object to Western man who could enjoy freedom from the sexual prohibitions placed upon him by his own culture (Cooper, 1965; Ma, 1996; Wilkinson, 1990; Fält, 1994). "If you could take the light from the eyes of a Sister of Mercy at her gracious task, the smile of a maiden looking over the seas for her lover, and the heart of an unspoiled child, and materialize them into a winsome and healthy little body, crowned with a mass of jet-black hair, and dressed in bright rustling silks, you would have the typical Japanese woman" (Norman, 1892: 27).

In Europe there was a great interest in exotic cultures. There was a sudden boom in Japanesery in Europe in the mid 19th century. This boom started with prints and objects d'art. Impressions of Japan were much influenced by art items like wood block prints, painted screens, textiles and porcelain, which came into European shops and showrooms. By the end of 19th century it had spread to many areas of life, as the following example term of the comedy *Francillo* by Dumas in 1887 shows:

"Henri: Annette, may I ask you the recipe of the salad we had this evening? It would appear that it was your own mixture.
Annette: The Japanese salad?
Henri: It's Japanese?
Annette: That's what I call it.
Henri: Why?
Annette: So it has a name: everything is Japanese nowadays" (Cited in Wilkinson, 1982: 36).

4.3 "Things Japanese" - a Guidebook to Japan

The English scholar Sir Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote a guidebook on Japan titled *Things Japanese*. He was "leading Western student of the Japanese language in the nineteenth century and commentator on the country" (Wilkinson, 1990: 102). He arrived in Japan in 1873, in the middle of the big upheaval then under way.

Chamberlain's guidebook was published in 1890 and is still in print. The latest edition of the book is from the 1970s and remains one of the most famous and quoted books on Japan. Staller says in his book, *All-Japan: the Catalogue of Everything Japanese* (1984: 12) that *Things Japanese* is outdated but it is still eminently readable. Wilkinson describes Chamberlain's book as "an amusing introductory".

Chamberlain himself describes his book: "the shape of dictionary, not of words, but things or shall we rather say a guidebook, less to places than to subjects - not an encyclopedia mind you, not the vain attempt by one man to treat exhaustively of all things, but only sketches of many things" (Chamberlain, 1890: 2). This book was written because "we are perpetually being asked questions about Japan...The book was made for "the use of travelers and others" (Chamberlain, 1890: 2). In the introduction Chamberlain warned the Western world about the fast development of Japan and its power in the fields of commerce and military powers. This was something that the West found difficult to believe. One of the book's merits is that it is a combination of the work of different authors. Chamberlain has indicated the names of reliable works at the end of each article and also a list of recommended books concerning the topic of each chapter. *Things Japanese* consists of a vast number of topics from the abacus to zoology. Chamberlain paid a lot of attention to such topics as art, women, the Japanese people, language etc.

The chapter on the Japanese people (227-235) is divided into two parts: physical character and mental character. The first starts with a definition of the Japanese man. "Compared with people of European race, the average Japanese has a long body and short legs, a large skull with a tendency to prognathism, a flat nose, coarse hair, scanty eye-lashes, puffy eyelids, a sallow complexion, and a low stature. The average stature of Japanese men is about the same as the average stature of European women". Chamberlain also pointed out that "The Japanese have less highly strung nerves than we Europeans. Hence they endure pain more calmly, and meet death with comparative indifference". Like so many other authors Chamberlain also found Japanese women very charming and even devoted a whole chapter to them.

The part on mental character starts with a very interesting point of view:..."an eight week's residence was the precise time qualifying an intelligent man to write about Japan. A briefer period was sure to produce superficiality, while a longer period induced a wrong mental focus". This sentence could be an excellent starting point for a whole analysis concerning the images built of the Japanese during the last 500 years. In this chapter Chamberlain mostly quoted the opinions of the well-known writers and "experts" on Japan, including St. Francis Xavier, Sir Edvin Arnold, Sir Rutherford Alcock, Engelbert Kaempfer, Will Adams, Lafcadio Hearn and Pierre Loti. Most of the authors described Japan as a topsy-turvy land with paradoxical contrasts. Chamberlain had collected both negative and positive opinions about the Japanese. Of course most authors had very positive opinions of Japan. Chamberlain was able to sum up these opinions and find three principal ones on the credit side, which were kindness, cleanliness, a refined artistic taste, and three on the debit side: vanity, unbusinesslike habits, and an incapacity to appreciate abstract ideas.

4.4 Towards a Negative Image

Chamberlain wrote (1890): "Old Japan was dead and gone...The Japanese boast that they have done in thirty years what took Europe half as many centuries to accomplish. The educated Japanese want to be somebody else than and something else than what they have been and still partly are".

However, most Western people wanted to see Japan as an unspoiled Lotusland and ignored this fast development. Hearn wrote in 1894 (see Kings 1984: 23): "The traveler who enters suddenly into a period of social change - especially change from a feudal past to a democratic present- is likely to regret the decay of things beautiful and the ugliness of things new. What of both I may yet discover in Japan I know not, but today, in these exotic streets, the old and the new mingle so well that one seems to set off the other".

Although the standard Western image of Japan was a favourable one the frivolous image of Japan was abruptly challenged by the Japanese victory over China in 1895. It was the first sign to the West that Japan was more than just a toy-town country. The real turning point was the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905. The Western world was poorly prepared for the rapid development of Japan and thus this victory came to the Western world as a shock. Japan had proved to the world that the Meiji reform was working and it was on an equal footing with the major Western powers. However this Asiatic country could not be treated with the equal terms in the Western world (see e.g Wilkinson, 1982; Littlewood, 1995 etc.).

The Japanese were seen as inhuman and the fear of the "yellow peril" was awoken. The idea of the "Yellow peril" suggested that the fear from Japan was primary an inhuman one; something mystical and superhuman (Littlewood, 1995: 27-28).³

Western merchants were not building very positive pictures of the Japanese at the end of the 19th century. They were frustrated with Japanese business practices, complaining that the Japanese were dishonest partners and they did not have any idea of the value of time. They wasted a lot of time shilly-shallying, concentrating too much on inessential things and ceremonies (Chamberlain, 1890; Wilkinson; 1990).

The two worlds of Japan seem to become an important idea. There was the admired world of the Japanese woman and then less admired world of the Japanese man. The men were seen more often as cruel and as ridiculous imitators of the West. "We see many a man wearing a Prussian cap and French shoes, with a coat of the British navy and the trousers of the American army - a mosaic of different Western countries plaited on a Japanese basis"(Wilkinson, 1982: 51). Such imitations of Western culture were seen as very amusing by Western observers (Comte-Helm, 1991; Fält; 1992).

For travelers Japan offered exotic beauty and exotic manners (Maclean, 1967; Ponting, 1911). It remained a toy-town country with temples and cherry-

² Yellow peril was a drawing sent by Kaiser Wilhelm to Tsar Nicholas II in 1895 warning about the Japanese and their subhuman abilities.

blossoms (Littlewood, 1997). "The sudden rise of the Japanese nation from an insignificant position to a foremost rank in the comity of nations has startled the world" (Kikuchi, 1915: 7).

First, perhaps the fear of the yellow peril was more a military one, but it quickly became a fear of Japanese economic power. It was said that the real danger from the East lay in economic competition. During the First World War Japan was able to increase its exports and gain real economic benefit from the war in Asia. During the worldwide recession in 1929-1930 Japan continued to expand its markets and increase its exports. Denunciation of Japan reached a peak in the Western press during these years as Japan alone of the industrial powers continued to expand its markets and to increase its export. Then, Japan was blamed for unfair competition, dumping, manipulation of the yen exchange rate, and so on (see e.g. Smith, 1995; Littlewood, 1996; Wilkinson, 1990). "Made in Japan" meant "cheap and unreliable" (Wilkinson, 1990: 129-130).

The popular image of Japan was known as "Japan Incorporated", which lived on long after the Second World War. This picture described Japan as a monolithic corporation where the mass of its workers, ordinary citizens, followed the orders of the top Japanese government and business leaders, who worked closely together. All this happened behind a facade of democratic institutions and a powerless parliament (Wilkinson, 1990, 1982; Reischauer, 1985; Varley, 1974; Littlewood, 1997).

The 1930s were a very strong period of nationalism in Japan, which meant negative attitudes towards Western culture, and taking full advantage of the myth of Asian racial and cultural affinity. The Japanese themselves tried to prove that they had the important role of liberating Asian countries from European rulers. These myths of "Asian" similarities opened the way for present Japanese colonialism (Merviö, 1995: 69; 1993: 90-91). Military aggression and economic policy were allied in 1930s to attain the fulfillment of Japan's ambition to create in East Asia a so-called "Co-Prosperity Sphere". (Allen, 1981: 19).

It was no longer only the Western literature but also the growing mass media that was building the image of Japan and the Japanese. In the Western media Japan was not only seen as an economic monster, but as a country of fanatical and inhuman "Orientals". This image was first created in the Western press and in war films after the Japanese bombing of Shanghai in 1932. However, most people in the Western world wanted to retain the image of a charming, unspoiled and exotic Japan (Wilkinson, 1990; Comte-Helm, 1996; Varley, 1974 etc.). Shepherd sums this up in his book, *The Land and Life of Japan* (1937) as follows: "At the same time Japan was strongly admired and bitterly criticized".

Japan continued to be a land to visit. "Pilgrims, sightseers, traders and agents of every kind fill the trains and motor-buses and crowd the numerous hotels". Among travelers Japan was known for its Mount Fuji, gardens, temples, rice fields and so on (Shepherd, 1937; Leiviskä, 1933). De Garis wrote in 1934 about Japanese customs and manners, giving "tips" to travelers focusing on their polite and formal etiquette, which was "a sign of modesty and self-

deprecation". The Japanese are polite and hospitable because they are humble enough to be little themselves" (De Garis, 1934: 94-95).

Nobody seriously believed that these still charming Japanese in their Lotusland would attack the European and American colonies in Asia. However the Western world received a great shock at the beginning of the 1940s when the Japanese army successfully marched into its colonies.

4.5 The Enemy

When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour and descended on the European colonies bringing all European territories in the Far East under their control, the aesthetic image of Japan was very temporarily replaced. In fact the image of the Japanese during the war had a strong and long lasting influence in the Anglo-Saxon world (see e.g. Merviö, 1995; Wilkinson, 1990; Littlewood, 1995; Comte-Helm, 1991). A good example can be found in popular culture such as movies like the latest one, Pearl Harbour (spring 2001), which keep alive the wartime image of the Japanese.

Pearl Harbour became a reference point for Japanese untrustworthiness for years. The surprise attack showed to the Western world that behind the Japanese surface, smiles, bows and politeness there was hidden a fanatical patriotism, which issued in the dreadful fighters, samurais who acted regardless of their own lives (for example "kamikaze" the suicide fliers). The description of the Japanese as subhuman became very strong during the war (see e.g. Littlewood, 1995; Wilkinson, 1990 etc.).

The Japanese crimes against humanity during the war, especially, became familiar and was maintained for long after the war, particularly through the popular culture, as in books and movies like *The Bridge on the River Kwai*, *the Camp on Blood Island* and *Objective Burma* etc. According to Littlewood (1995: 172) in the 1950s the most widely read books in Britain were books, which dealt with the experience of male combatants in the Second World War. Among the nineteen most read titles there were four which directly concerned with Japan and dealt with the experience of prisoners of the war (*The Bridge on the River Kwai*, *The Naked Island*, *The Knights of Bushido* and *the Camp on the Blood Island*). The image of the cruel, inhuman, sneaky Japanese soldier who did not respect human life has had strong influence in the Western world. For example the mass media, particularly in the USA, England, Australia and the Netherlands keep alive an idea of Japanese society based on wartime attitudes and images (Merviö, 1995: 89).

4.6 Japanese Trade Soldiers

The Second World War brought a complete change. Japan was a country in ruins and it was occupied for the first time in its history. The new Constitution of Japan was framed under the control of the United States and was based on the three principles of pacifism, sovereignty of the people and respect for basic human rights. In the post-war era Japan's foreign policy was strongly influenced by the United States, on the basis of the United States-Japan Security Treaty. In the formation of Japan's diplomacy, Japan's expanding foreign trade has played an influential role (Korhonen, 1990; Koskiaho, 1995; Kodansha International, 1994).

After the Second World War the Japanese had to start from nothing. The Japanese people had a common goal: Japan was to become one of the world's leading economic powers. The economic recovery of Japan after the war was amazing. "Yet in spite of small size, many people, lack of natural resources, the crushing defeat of the Second World War and the loss of empire and markets Japan is again one of the world's major industrial powers" (Hall, 1963: 8).

A good example of this rapid and surprising development is that in the USA in the beginning of the 1950s the Japanese were seen as unable to enter the Western market with their "disqualified products". However, only a few years later the USA and the EC suggested to the Japanese that they make "a voluntary export restraint agreement" (Wilkinson, 1990: 169).

The results of growth were evident in the 1960s when Japan's gross national product rose to second place within the market economy countries. Japan's world trade was growing at twice the rate of that of Europe and the USA. Once again this rapid development and change, the Japanese economic miracle, came as a great surprise to the Western world (see e.g. Lorrinan & Takahashi, 1994; Wilkinson, 1990). The Japanese soldier had become a trade warrior. Once again behind his Western surface there was the samurai.

The image of Japan Inc. became popular again. Japan was seen as a country of "economic animals". Japan Inc. included a population grimly working with low salaries and without vacations; a single-minded and centrally directed concentration on export industries at the expense of housing and other social overheads. Fast industrialization turned Japan into a polluted monster (Comte-Helm, 1996; Wilkinson, 1990; 1982). The Japanese were once again seen as machines. They were working like ants and living in small boxes. To the Western world this was something inhuman again (Littlewood, 1997).

In the 19th century *Madam Chrysanthemum* symbolized the exotic picture of Japan. In the mid 20th century this was supplemented by the picture of a fanatically warlike, cruel and untrustworthy nation. Soon the Second World War was replaced by a trade war (Comte-Helm, 1996; Wilkinson, 1990; Littlewood, 1997). Like it was said in Nixon's cabinet: "The Japanese are still fighting the war, only now instead of a shooting war it is an economic war" (Wilkinson, 1990: 136). Japanese were seen as untrustworthy people. Behind

their friendly Western appearance there was a real Japanese warrior a ninja or samurai.

Wilkinson (1990: 138) has listed in his book *The Upside-Down Land* some titles of books which were published between 1969-1971 warning about the Japanese industrial and commercial threat: *The Japanese Challenge*, *Japan: the Planned Aggression*, *The Japanese Threat*, *The Japanese Industrial Challenge*, *Japan: Monster or Model*, *The Japanese Miracle and Peril*, *Stop the Japanese Now*.

Behind the cruel image of the “trade warriors” there were the images of the Japanese during the war. As mentioned earlier popular culture encouraged this image. The image of trade warriors was also encouraged by movies like *You only Live Twice* (Bond film), *The Rising Sun* and *Black Rain*. It seems that the most 20th century Western people have been warned about trusting these sneaky Japanese.

Alongside the warnings about Japanese business soldiers, several articles focusing on the opportunity to learn from Japanese success, the economic miracle, including housing, health care, transport and crime prevention were also published (see e.g. Wilkinson, 1982, Vogel, 1979).

4.7 Fuji and Shinkansen – Traditions in a Modern Society

"I can not say that I went to Japan with an open mind and a forgive and forget attitude about the crimes of the war" (Simpson, 1952: 4). In 1952 the Japan Travel Bureau published a pocket guide in which it was said that Japan has never in its history changed more fundamentally than since the end of the Second World War.

After the war Japan was ruined and poor. During the war the image of the Japanese was of a brutal, cruel, even inhuman, people. The Japanese spirit had shown loyalty to the nation and especially to the emperor (Embree, 1945; Moeran, 1986; Benedict, 1946). Soon this was replaced by the image of the trade soldier, and the Japanese spirit was seen as a little bit different.

In 1955 “The official guide of Japan” introduced Japan to foreigners: “As a tourist land Japan is unique: each season and even each month has its special attractions. Japan is a land of flowers and has probably supplied more flowering shrubs and trees to the gardens of the world than any other country” (JTB, 1955: 14). In this guide Japan is described as a country with flowers and beautiful nature and old cultural traditions. It is a unique well-organized and modern country whose economy is still essentially weak (JTB, 1955). In the picture that was built outside Japan in the 1950s and 1960s beauty was also back: a picture of Mt Fuji, a geisha playing a koto, temples and cherry trees. The message of the pictures and the texts was that the new post-war Japan, which readers of *Holiday Magazine*, are invited to reappraise, is really the old Japan (Littlewood, 1999: 72).

In the 1960s Japan's economic growth was fast and her international relations with the outside world were based on economic issues. During the

period 1952-1964 the door was open to international communication and exchange, but still to a very limited extent. Japan was achieving her goal to be at the top of the world economy. Alongside this development it was also important to rebuild her image to the outside world (Hirano, 1988: 157).

In 1964 Japan hosted the Olympics in Tokyo, which also meant the liberalization of overseas travel and the inauguration of jumbo jet flights. The Japanese travel abroad increased rapidly (Hirano, 1988: 157). The bullet train, Shinkansen, came into its service at the time of the Olympics and became one of the most well known symbols of Japanese technological development (see chapter 5.1 and appendix 3).

The Japanese tourist authorities like the Japan Travel Bureau created an image of Japan using traditional symbols like Fuji together with new symbols representing fast technological development, such as Shinkansen or the Jumbo-Jet. The image of Japan was a harmonious combination of unique Japanese culture and traditions with a modernized society and high technology. Japan was shown as an unusual, exotic, fascinating, and enigmatic country (JTB, 1963; 1975; Hibino, 1966). The Japanese were encouraging visitors to regard Japan as a perplexing country: "our culture forms a hopeless jumble of ancient and modern" (Maraini, 1971: 7). "Although the Japanese people are generally conservative, they have avidly imported new things from abroad. Those which have turned out to be acceptable are assimilated and then developed in a new form" (Hibino, 1966: 11).

This image of a different country and different culture was promoted by both the Japanese and Western authors. "It must not be forgotten that Japan is an isolated archipelago, that the Japanese speak a difficult language, that their written language is extraordinarily complex, that they are separated from their nearest neighbors by a formidable barrier of different customs and mental habits..."(Grousset, 1959: 62). Furthermore, "As Japan is so strikingly different from other countries in the world in many aspects of culture, visitors to these shores are often puzzled about many things. They wonder what such and such a thing is, and how it is used...." (JTB, 1963: 3).

The guidebooks written by the Western authors and published in the West soon started to use this rebuilt image of an exotic country with unique traditions and advanced technology. The typical picture was of a Japanese lady in a colorful kimono, Mount Fuji and Shinkansen, beautiful temples and the busy streets of Tokyo. Foreign visitors were again attracted by the contrast theme. "Contrasts are everywhere, the modern and traditional walk side by side" (Buck, 1966: 14).

There was also criticism of this "official picture". For example Rebinschung wrote in 1972 (he wanted avoid all the photographs described earlier and give a real picture): "Some of the Japanese are rich, but many of them are very poor. Sometimes they are surrounded by beauty, but often there is squalor. There is still unique art, but there is also a raucous commercialism". He saw Tokyo as one of the ugliest cities in the world" (Rebischung, 1972: 11, 30). Matsuhara in his *Essays on Life and Nature in Japan* wrote: "The beauty of nature in Japan as it seems to many of us here, is becoming less and less as years go by all because of

the on-rush of modern industrialization, which means building factories and concrete buildings, high-ways...." (Matsuhara, 1964: 1). Japanese were seen as people, who loved harmony, were extraordinarily clean, honest and kind and who assumed responsibility. "Love of education is probably their most outstanding characteristic" (Van Zandt, 1971: 60-62).

4.8 Nihonjinron – Discussions on the Japanese

Particularly the economic growth of Japan gave birth to a vivid debate on the essential characteristics of Japan and the Japanese culture, society and people. Various names for theories about Japan and the Japanese exist: Nihonron, 'theory of Japan', Nihonjinron, 'theory of the Japanese' and Nihon bunkaron, 'theory of the Japanese culture' (Tsukaguchi-Le Grand, 1991: 143). Merviö (1991: 166) has defined Nihonjinron as a debate about the Japanese people. In general sense Dale (1986/Introduction) says that Nihonjinron can be defined as "works of cultural nationalism concerned with the ostensible uniqueness of Japan in any aspect and which are hostile to both individual experience and the notion of international socio-historical diversity". He continues (1986: 14), "The Nihonjinron or discussions of Japanese identity, constitute the commercialised expression of modern Japanese nationalism".

Discussion has mainly focused on uniqueness as the Japanese national character. This uniqueness has been explained by reference to biology, such as that the Japanese have a different type of brain, to geography. The Japanese have been seen as totally different from all other people in the world. The most frequently used keywords have been groupism, collectivism and harmony. The discussion on uniqueness arises out of the sense of Japanese ethnic superiority - consciously or unconsciously - which is confirmed by myths and beliefs often based on great mythologies about the origin of Japan and the Japanese (Merviö, 1991; Tsukaguchi-Le Grand, 1991; Koskiaho, 1995; Tiililä, 1991; Befu, 1993).

Befu (1993: 19) has listed as the "all time run-away best sellers" among the post-war Nihonjinron books:

- * *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* by Ruth Benedict (1946). Translated into Japanese in 1948.
- * *Nihonjin to yudayjin* by Isaiah BenDasan (1970)
- * *Amae no kozo* by Doi Takeo (1971)
- * *Tate shakai no ningen kankei* by Nakane Chie (1967)
- * *No to ieru nihon* by Morita Akio and Ishihara Shintaro (1989)

The American books on Japan and the Japanese were written more for popular consumption until the onset of World War II when United States military commanders needed reliable information about Japanese behavior and communication culture. One of the most famous studies of the time was Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. This research is still very well known and cited. The main aim of the study was to give "reliable" information to policy-makers and administrations on how to deal with the Japanese. In the

study she focused in particular on child-rearing practices, values, proper behavior, and hierarchical organization in Japan (Gudykunst & Antonio, 1993; Benedict, 1946). It was an anthropological study like most of the studies at that time (Gudykunst & San Antonio, 1993:20-21). Benedict's work could be seen as the beginning of the Nihonjinron literature in the Western world (Tiililä, 1991: 36-38). Most of the Nihonjinron literature, written in English by non-Japanese authors, focused on the Japanese character (Tiililä, 1991: 35-36).

During and after the Second World War Japanese society was seen as a cultural totality with paradoxical people. Because of the war, the atmosphere and attitudes toward the Japanese were rather negative. In the 1950s and 1960s the focus was on Japanese rapid modernization and conflict between the traditional and the modern. Research on kinship and the family, working life and descent systems appeared. There was a great interest in models like the: "group model" and "consensus model" (Tiililä, 1991: 36; Gudykunst & Antonio, 1993: 21).

In the mid 1970s the boom in the Japanese miracle literature in Europe and the USA started. This literature presented the Japanese economy and its success prospects to Western audiences as something unexpected and respected. The boom concentrated on single-factor explanations of the secret of Japan's commercial and industrial success. Everybody wanted to learn from Japan's example. In the field of business management especially there was a great number of books, which took it as their task to point out how the Japanese miracle had been achieved and how it could be applied to the Western business world. Common to these books was a tendency to concentrate on differences, notably in social values and social structures, between Japanese society and "the West" (Merviö, 1995; Tiililä, 1991; Lillrank, 1992; Reischauer, 1985 etc.). From 1946 to 1978 about 700 titles were published on the theme of Japanese identity. The peak period was from 1976 to 1978 when 25% of the titles were issued. These publications consist of work of scholarship, occasional essay, newspaper article, paperback bestsellers for "general readers" almost anything which attempts to define the unique things of the Japanese (see e.g. Dale, 1986; Merviö, 1995). Dale (1986) argues very strongly that the translations and the Western books we read do not give the same picture of Japan as that experienced by Japanese individuals: "Rather we encounter Japan as the society and its people tend to be interpreted by conscious nationalists working in an intellectual framework out of the touch with both reality and the most elementary principles of logic and method".

II THE JAPANESE MIRACLE

5 THE GREAT COMBINATION

"Travelers to Japan are often surprised both by the wealth of traditional culture and by the variety of modern cultural forms, and for many it is difficult to sum up: is Japan basically traditional or modern?" (Neustupny, 1993: 20). Japan is refined to its mythical elements, purged of modern Japanese and of all the other unwelcome realities of the present day - modern buildings, modern cars, modern clothes, modern technologies etc. (Littlewood, 1996). Japan was seen as the most "Western" country in the Far East. However, behind the Western surface has also been seen Japan's conception of itself, unchanged and established by centuries of tradition. "Japan is a whole unknown continent. It is strange mingling of old and new, a blend of tradition with modern economic reality, a culture so remote from our own in the West that we have immense difficulty understanding it" (Random, 1987: 11).

The main decision to rebuild the image of Japan after the war was made in Japan in the 1960s. Since then the official picture has been based on icons representing a technological advanced country and traditional culture with scenic beauty (see e.g. Hibino, 1966; Wilkinson, 1990; Littlewood, 1996). The most popular image was created by combining these: the bullet train (modern) speeding past Mount Fuji (tradition/beauty). A meeting of two icons is representing modernity and tradition, the new Japan and the old, a perfect aesthetic image of Japan.

The icons representing traditional Japan such as the geisha, temples, shrines and cherry trees create timeless images of Japan. The historical chapter already examined the popularity of these icons and this chapter will continue this process. According to Befu (1993: 38), symbols of Japaneseness are: Mt. Fuji, the geisha and cherry tree blossom, which symbolize tradition, and such symbols as the bullet train, semi conductor and Walkman, which symbolize modern Japan. In line with several guidebooks for tourists, (Berlitz, 1989; Baedeker, 1983; Fodor, 1989; Kodansha International, 1987 etc.) to this study picture, one could like to add Japanese gardens, shrines and temples as traditional symbols and skyscrapers and neon lights as icons of today. Looking through several posters and brochures of Japan the first icons one finds are the geisha, a shrine, Mount Fuji, a traditional garden and Ginza with neon lighting.

Nearly everybody has an image of Japan as the country of origin of the home electronics as well as the car he/she is driving. A slightly more negative image of the same thing is: "Japan which has gone to war in the market place and won world power through its cars, cassettes and all-round electronic wizardry" (Finbeiner-Zellmann, 1994: 123).

In this study 15 of the guidebooks and tourist brochures published by the Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB), the Japan National Travel Organization (JNTO) travel guidebooks published by Berliz, Baedekker, Fodors and Kodansha will be analyzed to find out how the traditional icons 1) Geisha, 2) Mount Fuji, 3) Temples, 4) Shrines and 5) Cherry Blossom and modern icons 1) Shinkansen, 2) Skycrapers and 3) Electronics & Neon lighting are presented in texts and pictures. The first example focuses on brochures published by the Japan National Travel Organization (JNTO) and the Japan Travel Bureau (JTB). These are available, for example, at Embassies, in travel agencies and hotels in Japan. These brochures introduce sightseeing in Tokyo and tours to Kyoto & Nara, Hakone & Mt Fuji and Nikko. These are the places, which tourists or people in business are usually recommended to visit in addition to Tokyo to get a better idea of Japan. The following tables will show what kind of things the traveler can see and experience in these places.

Kyoto and Nara stand for historical and traditional Japan; the timeless images of Japan like temples, shrines, cherry trees, the tea-ceremony etc. Shinkansen, bullet train represents modern Japan. Travelers not only see things but experience them as part of them (tea ceremony, Ikebana etc.).

TABLE 5.1 Kyoto and Nara

Pictures :	Some texts:
<p>Nijo Castle, Golden Pavilion, Imperial Palace, Heian Shrine with Cherry Tree, Sanjusengendo Hall with statue of Buddha, Kiyomizu Temple, Deer Park, Todaiji Temple and its Great Buddha, Kuga Shrine, Tea-ceremony, Zen-style Tempura Supper, Bunraku and Kyomai at Gion corner, traditional handicrafts</p> <p>See appendix 3</p>	<p>Imperial Palace: "The ancient Imperial Palace clearly shows the Japanese taste for purity, simplicity and calmness".</p> <p>Golden Pavilion: "The most authentic and exquisite Japanese style garden in the world, plus the celebrated GoldPavilion".</p> <p>Kasuga Shrine: "The most famous and beautiful Shinto shrine in Nara, it features some 3,000 antique".</p> <p>Tea Ceremony: "Enjoy tea ceremony or cha-no-yu, one of Japan's celebrated traditional arts at Japanese inn, Yoshiima Ryokan".</p> <p>Zen-style tempura supper: "Feast on delicious, internationally famous tempura in Zen-style at a Japanese inn".</p> <p>(Japan Travel Bureau, 1994. Sunrise Tours: Kyoto & Nara)</p>

At Gion garden travelers can take part in tea-ceremony, ikebana (flower arranging), listen to koto music, and see *gagaku* (court music dance), *kyogen* (ancient comic play), *kyomai* (Kyoto-style Japanese dance) and *bunraku* (puppet drama.) On Maiko lane travelers can meet beautiful young "maiko" or "geisha" girls.

Hakone, Mt Fuji and Nikko best present the beautiful nature of Japan. They represent a peaceful and calm atmosphere with old traditional temples, shrines, Buddha etc.

TABLE 5.2 Kamakura & Hakone, Hakone & Fuji and Nikko

Pictures:	Some texts:
<p>Kamakura & Hakone: Great Buddha, Lake Ashi, Hot Spring, Hakone Barries, Bath, Bullet Train, Mountains</p> <p>Hakone & Fuji: Mt Komatage, Mt Fuji, Hot Spring Bath, Lake Hakone, Shrine, Peace Pagoda and Golden Buddha, Bullet Train</p> <p>Nikko: Five Story Pagoda of Toshogu Shrine, Yomeimon Gate of Toshogu Shrine, Keogn Waterfall & Lake Chuzenji, Festivals, Sacred Dance, Kanaya Hotel, Mountains</p>	<p>Great Buddha: "Great Buddha about 750-year-old, 38 foot tall, 500-ton bronze statue, towers in the open air in Kamakura's Kotokuin Temple. Look well at its facial expression, which depicts perfect repose and passionless calm".</p> <p>Hakone Barrier: "Hakone Barrier was set up in 1619 by the Tokugawa Shogunate for defense of Edo, now Tokyo. All travelers had to present their passports to the samurai guards".</p> <p>Bullet train: "...traveling by a world-famous "Bullet" train". (Japan Travel Bureau, 1993. Sunrise Tours: Kamakura & Hakone)</p> <p>Mt Fuji: "Mt Fuji is Japan's highest and most beautiful mountain and every year attracts more than 300 000 travelers from all over the world". (Japan Travel Bureau, 1994. Sunrise Tours: Hakone & Mount Fuji)</p> <p>Toshogu Shrine: "The mausoleum of the first Tokugawa Shogun, is a glorious complex of colorful structures featuring the superb craftsmanship of Japan's finest 17th century artisans".</p> <p>Kegon Waterfall: "Towering some 100 meters, Kegon Waterfall makes such a long descent that the wind converts the water into a lace-like tapestry of sheer beauty".</p> <p>Sacred dance: "A pair of Miko Shinto Girls, wearing traditional white and red costumes, preform the sacred Kagura dance with swords at Futarasan Shrine".</p> <p>Kanaya hotel: "Relaxing atmosphere and excellent French cuisine at one of the first Western-style hotels in Japan". (Japan Travel Bureau, 1988. Sunrise Tours: Nikko)</p>
<p>See appendix 3</p>	

The pictures of Tokyo represent traditional icons such as temples, shrines, gardens and icons of modern Japan like the streets of Ginza with neon lighting and shops, the New-Car Pavilion, Shinkansen etc. Traveler can also be a part of the unique Japanese culture at a Geisha Party wearing a traditional costume. During a Sukiyaki dinner the traveler will learn about the traditional customs. Tokyo is also introduced as a combination of Japanese and Western culture. One example of this is Tokyo's nightlife, which offers Western-style amusement, including the Crystal Room Revue.

TABLE 5.3 Tokyo

Pictures:	Some texts:
<p>Meiji Shrine, Imperial East Garden, Imperial Palace, Asakusa Temple, Double Bridge, Gardens, National Diet Building, Tokyo Tower, Nakamise Shopping St (traditional), New-Car Pavilion, Pearl Gallery, Shinjuku skyline, Cherry Blossom in Ueno, Ginza streets, Sushi restaurant, Kushiage lunch, Shinkansen, Sanja Festival, Sumo</p> <p>Geisha Party, Kabuki Theater, Sukiyaki Dinner, Crystal Room Revue</p> <p>See appendix 3</p>	<p>Imperial East Garden: "Enjoy a pleasant walk through the East Garden of the Imperial Palace as a place of historic interest and scenic beauty". Headquarters of Japan's feudalism, home of Shogun, especially opened since 1968 by permission of the Emperor". Asakusa Kannon Temple: "Walk down the gay, bright-lit Nakamise shopping street leading to Japan's finest Buddhist Temple. The important cultural property, landmark of the entire downtown Tokyo". Meiji Shrine: "The finest example of Japanese shrine architecture nestled in peaceful picturesque precincts". Ginza Shopping District: "World famous, most representative shopping district of Japan". (Gray Line, 1989. Tokyo Tours) Sumo: "Professional Sumo is highly specialized sport, with a history of centuries". (Japan National Tourist Organization, 1985. Tokyo) Kushiage Lunch: Enjoy Kushiage lunch in a traditional Japanese atmosphere. Kushiage is deep-fried morsels of meat, fish and vegetables coated with very fine breadcrumbs on skewers. Accompanied by soybean soup, salad, light pickled vegetables, rice and dessert". (Gray Line, 1989. Tokyo Tours)</p>

5.1 Icons of Modern and Traditional Japan

5.1.1 A High Tech Country

The Japanese economic miracle has created an image of a high tech country. Icons of the modern Japan are the bullet train, neon lighting, electronics etc.

The following table (5.4) describe the modern icons of Japan: shinkansen, skyscrapers, electronics and neon lighting (see also appendix 3). It would also be possible to construct a table showing the "modern" Japanese arts such as karaoke, pachinko or comics. Karaoke was mentioned frequently, while pachinko and comics were less known in the 1980s and 1990s and not popular topics in guidebooks.

TABLE 5.4 Modern Symbols of Japan

SHINKANSEN
Japanese trains are described as the world's most famous and fastest trains. "Thanks to their punctuality, speed, cleanliness and comfort the Japanese railways are the most used form of public transport..." (Baedeker, 1983). Shinkansen is very often pictured with Mt. Fuji or with cherry blossom. "...a world-famous "Bullet" train" (JTB, 1986).
SKYSCRAPERS
The Tokyo townscape is dominated by series of modern high-rise blocks. These skyscrapers or tall buildings are usually pictured together with old traditional buildings - in great harmony.
ELECTRONICS AND NEON LIGHTING
Can also be seen together in the sections dealing with shopping: "This is greatest sound and light show on Earth. That is Akihabara which is a merchandise mart for anything and everything that runs on electricity" (Fodor 1989). Neon lighting has also been used to describe the busy nightlife in big cities like Tokyo and Osaka.

The combination of traditional and modern symbols is presented in appendix 3. As already discussed in section 4.7, the most popular image combines of traditional and modern Japan. One of the pictures most often used shows two popular symbols together: Mount Fuji and Shinkansen.

The icons introduced here, both old and modern, can be found in all of the guidebooks analyzed in this study. These icons are usually placed on the front page or back page or they are the biggest pictures in these books, and thus can not be ignored by the reader.

5.1.2 Traditional Japan

One of the most frequently used and most well known icons is that of the geisha. The geisha is as typical an icon of Japan as (Littlewood, 1996: 109) the pyramids are of Egypt or Eiffel Tower of France (Littlewood, 1996: 109).

Embree wrote about the geisha in 1945 (1975: 125): "The geisha or dancing girls of Japan are women who have been trained in playing the samisen, singing, and clever repartee. To be a geisha, a girl must undergo an apprenticeship-training period and then pass an examination, after which the police license her. A geisha is not required to sleep with her patrons but as a rule becomes the more or less faithful mistress of some man, often a rich patron".

The geisha has often been seen as a model of the Japanese woman. This image was created long ago and has had a great influence since the end of the 19th century in the literature. In addition are symbols like the kimono, white faces with very strong make-up, beautifully made black hair, traditional shoes and so on. However these things do not make a woman a geisha. The concept of the geisha is more one of a professional institution, which has existed for over 400 years. "Geisha are female professional entertainers whose knowledge of traditional arts, skill at verbal repartee, and ability to keep a secret win them the respect, and sometime love, of their well-heeled and often influential male clients"(EyeWitness Travel Guide, 2000: 157). Kyoto has been famous for its beautiful geishas and maikos who will become geishas after training. The profession of geisha, which has existed since the 17th century is declining. In

the 1920s there were about 80 000 geishas in Japan. In the 1980s the number of geishas was 17000 and in 1999 in Kyoto there were only 250 geishas and maikos (Vesterinen, 2000: 9).

Three different types of Japanese women can be found in the material analyzed in this study: 1) the geisha, 2) a woman in traditional costume (kimono), and 3) a woman in the "service sector" in her official uniform. The geisha represents this exotic, unique traditional culture, which has its "hidden" secrets. The woman in the colorful kimono is a traditional woman who takes care of her husband and family. Modern woman is a working woman, still generally in the service sector. She is a pretty, polite and smiling woman in the official uniform in a department store, hotel, restaurant or sightseeing bus.

Table 5.5 presents the traditional icons of Japan such as the geisha, Mount Fuji, cherry blossom, temples, shrines and Japanese festivals. These tables give just a few examples of how these icons have been described in guidebooks. These texts together with pictures (appendix 3) are the raw material for creating images of Japan and the Japanese.

TABLE 5.5 Traditional Symbols of Japan I

ICONS	Berliz	Baedeker	Fodors	Kondasha
Geisha	"The word Geisha means "talented person" in Kyoto... She has sophisticated talents of a singer, dancer, actress and musician..."	Contrary to an opinion widely held in Europe, the Japanese geishas are highly skilled entertainers..."	"Geisha still entertain, albeit at prices out of reach for most of us".	"The hostess-entertainers known as geishas 2 art-persons" have excited so much curiosity for so long abroad that many foreigners probably know more about them than most Japanese".
Fuji	"While most of the civilized world's national symbols are man-made... Japan's Mt. Fuji is a phenomenon of nature".	"The finest and best known Japanese volcano".	"The highest mountain with graceful shapes... a part of natural beauty of Japan".	"The Mount Fuji is the highest, the most beautiful and most sacred of all the Japan's mountains".
Cherry Blossoms	Recommended season to visit Japan is the Cherry Blossoms months-March and April. "Picnickers come out to enjoy the cherry blossoms in parks".	"The best season to visit Japan... during the cherry blossoms".	"One of the best seasons to visit Japan..."	"Cherry Blossoms, Japan's other symbol". The best season to visit Japan is during the <i>sakura</i> .

(continues)

TABLE 5.5 (continues)

Temples and Shrines	"The Golden Pavilion a luxurious hideaway from worldly cares".	"Kamakura is busy tourist center...with many shrines and temples and features of interest".	"Gardens and Temples in Kyoto attract tourists from all over the World".	"Kyoto has an amazing number of temples some 1500. Many of most charming temples are located around the city's edges..."
Festivals	"In a country with such a highly developed sense of ritual, festivals are a whole way of life".		"Festival and seasonal events are very important to the Japanese..."	"The Japanese calendar is spotted with so many festivals full of resonance and seasonal cheer ..."

Table (5.6) and appendix 3 describe the best known, Japanese traditions, concerning the arts or at least those most mentioned in the guidebooks: the tea-ceremony, ikebana, kabuki and sumo. In addition to these some guidebooks contain long lists of the elements of traditional culture from the Japanese fan to kendo and from *bunraku* to *bushido* etc., including everything in which something different from the Western culture can be seen. These icons are also often seen together with the modern icons of Japan. "...together with a passion for the new and trendy is an equal passion for the old and traditional. When the color TV set is on, the program is quite likely a sumo match, a sport whose history goes back to 23 BC, *Gagaku*, a court entertainment with masked dancers brilliantly dressed in brocades and accompanied by flutes, drums, and the reedy *sho*, is performed just the way it was thousand years ago" (Namioka, 1979: ix).

TABLE 5.6 Traditional Symbols of Japan II

<p>Tea Ceremony The traditional way of preparing and serving tea, macha.</p>	<p>"True spirit of the tea-ceremony has been described by such terms as calmness, rusticity, gracefulness, and the aestheticism of austere simplicity and refined poverty" (The International Society for Educational Information ISEI).</p> <p>"The final stage of the tea-ceremony is less formal than the main part ...the guests then take their leave with a bow. They must not omit to express their thanks to the tea-master and host on the following day, either by letter or in person" (Baedeker, 1983: 57).</p>
<p>Ikebana Traditional Japanese art, "flower arranging".</p>	<p>"...the genius of Japanese civilization" (Kodansha International, 1987: 147).</p> <p>"The art of flower arrangement as an expression of aesthetic sensibility is deeply rooted in cultural life of Japan" (Baedeker, 1983: 54).</p>
<p>Kabuki Theater</p>	<p>"Everything in Kabuki is on a huge scale. The stage, wide and low, is equipped with traps, revolves and has every mechanical trick known to pantomime, carried off with a dozen times more panache and conviction" (Kodansha International, 1987:148).</p> <p>"A combination of acting, dancing and music, also confined to male performers, Kabuki achieves great variety and dynamic force and accordingly now appeals to a wider public than the classically formal No theater" (Beadeker, 1983:68).</p> <p>"Kabuki is filled with fantastic color, movement, action, high drama and low comedy: The actors are folk heroes..." Living National Treasures" (Berliz 1992/1993:194).</p>
<p>Sumo Wrestling</p>	<p>"Sumo wrestling is Japan's national sport. The origins of sumo date back over thousands years..."</p> <p>"In sumo as in most Japanese arts, form and ceremony play a major role in creating the proper atmosphere" (Kodansha International, 1987: 136).</p> <p>"This ancient, highly ritualized sport goes back to 15 centuries and more to Shinto religious ceremonies, when contests were held at the harvest festival" (Berliz, 1992/1993:189).</p>

5.2 Meeting with the “Real Japan”?

As the examples in tables 5.1. - 5.3. show, during their “ready-made” tours travelers are able to see the best part of exotic, different and unique Japan. They can see the elements of the culture that have been represented and described in the guidebooks and brochures. Travelers can be a part of this culture, attending a tea-ceremony, geisha party etc. These pictures and experiences encourage the images, which perhaps have been created by reading these guidebooks.

Guidebooks for travelers give tips on where to go to get a “real picture” of Japan and the Japanese. They also recommend Westerners learn patterns of the Japanese communication culture so that they can get more out of their trip. “The traditional life-style and attitudes unique to Japan gave birth to many customs and manners that are also uniquely Japanese. Without some knowledge of these distinctive features, the traveler interested in understanding and enjoying Japan is seriously handicapped” (De Mente, 1985: 5).

In addition to visits in temples, gardens, and shrines etc. travelers can have a “real” experience of Japanese way of life by visiting a Japanese home. It is very rare that one is invited to Japanese home, but visits to Japanese homes are arranged by the Japanese Travel Bureau. This special homevisit system offers the opportunity to visit a Japanese family at home, usually after dinner. Four or five guests are invited at a time. English is spoken by most of the host families. One of the most important tips concerning homes is that which also concerns Japanese-style restaurants: remove your shoes before entering!

Another excellent way to experience Japan is the Japanese-style restaurant. Japanese cuisine in particular has its own strong place in guidebooks. It is one of the “exotic topics” of the guidebooks. “The ultimate and most enjoyable adventure into mysteries of Japanese life may well be the food” (Berliz, 1992/1993: 206). Eating in Japan has described as markedly different from eating in the Western countries. All the customs, like seating arrangements, tableware, and much of the etiquette surrounding social eating is also described to differ from that of other Asian countries. “Leaving the rarefied atmosphere of teahouses and temples behind, an entire realm of more down to earth gastronomic pleasures waits to be explored” (Durston, 1989: 63). The dishes best known to foreigners are sukiyaki, sushi and tempura (see e.g. Fodor, 1989; Baedeker, 1983; Berliz, 1993).

But, the most important things about Japanese dishes are, beside manners, the following: unity of taste, appearance, table setting and atmosphere. All these aspects involve simplicity and beauty (Baedeker, 1983; Fodor, 1989, Berliz, 1989). One important tip is also how to use *hashi* (chopsticks).

Most of the guidebooks give some guidelines on how to communicate with the Japanese. These tips include a short list of the most important words and sentences in Japanese. There is a lot of similarities with the tips for business communication. These topics include: the language of politeness, how to greet a Japanese, how to use names, how to behave in a Japanese-style restaurant, how

to visit the Japanese onsen (hot bath) and how to bathe in a Japanese-style bath etc.

Various guidebooks (see e.g. Baedeker, 1983; Berliz, 1993; Jussila, 1992; Dodd & Richmond, 1999) state very clearly that Japan has a culture which values self-restraint, consideration for others, humility and formality. Thus there are several things that travelers should consider:

- * Bowing - the Japanese prefer bowing instead of shaking hands. Bowing is an expression of respect and gratitude.
- * Family names are used in Japan, not first names
- * The Japanese use a lot of expressions of modesty and praise
- * Gift-giving is one of the most important aspects of etiquette.
- * Good to remember:
 - Don't use a finger to point at somebody
 - Don't express affection in public
 - Don't move too close
 - Don't insist on eye contact
 - Don't slap on shoulders or back
 - Don't blow your nose in front of others
 - Don't speak too loudly and aggressively

Especially traveller will find classic manners in hotels, restaurants and shops!

The following pictures summarise the content of this chapter they show the combination of traditional and modern Japan. This is most commonly used representation of Japan.



PICTURE 1 "Shinkansen and Mount Fuji" - The Great Combination (JTB, 1986)



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PICTURE 2 Himeji Castle with Cherry Blossom - Symbols of Traditional Japan (JTB, 1986)

PICTURE 3 Itsukushima Shrine - Symbols of Traditional Japan (JTB, 1986)

PICTURE 4 Neon lighting - Symbols of Modern Japan (Berliz, 1989)

PICTURE 5 Shinkansen and Mount Fuji - The Great Combination (JTB, 1986)

PICTURE 6 Skycrapers and Cherry Blossom - The Great Combination (JTB, 1986)

6 ECONOMIC GIANT

Towards the end of the 19th Century rapid economic and industrial development took place in Japan. Japan the Lotusland was transformed into a world-class military power and industrialized country. The progress was rapid, as Chamberlain wrote in 1890: "Japanese boast that they have done in twenty years what it took Europe half as many centuries to accomplish". It seemed as if the transformation had been hidden from the Western world or perhaps it was that the Western world did not want to see their exotic Lotusland spoiled.

The second time Japan surprised the world with its rapid transformation was after the Second World War. It made a miraculous recovery from the devastation of the war. Already in the 1960s results of growth were evident: Japan was in second place among the market economy countries. During the growth in Japan's GNP between 1960-1969 averaged 12.1% per year. The years between 1960 and 1973 Japan enjoyed unprecedentedly high and sustained rates of economic growth.

In 1962 the first articles on the scale of Japan's economic success and the whole range of economic policy making in Japan was revealed to the Western world by the Economist (Smith, 1995: 106-107; Wilkinson, 1990: 142). Since then there were massive efforts to explain why and how the Japanese were able to achieve this extraordinary economic success in such a short period of time. The "Japanese Miracle" was born. Studies and reports were published followed by bestsellers on the secrets of the Japanese economic miracle. Explanations offered all the way from unique culture, Confucian values, different social and organizational structures; particular economic advantages to astute neo-mercantilist planning. The Japanese themselves explain their success more simply: hard work and saving, which also became one of the popular explanations in Western world (see e.g. McMillan, 1989; Wilkison, 1990; Smith, 1995 etc.).

Like the rest of the industrialized world Japan too suffered from the oil crisis in 1973. However it continued its growth and in 1980 Japan overtook the USA as a leading producer of automobiles. By the 1990 Japan was second largest economy in the world. Japan was a superpower not in military and political terms, but certainly economically: Japan had the highest per capita

GNP of any OECD of the countries, the five largest banks in the world were Japanese, the world's three largest security houses were Japanese, the Tokyo Stock Exchange had grown into one of the major international markets, no nation was even owed so much abroad, Japan produced more iron, steel and cars than the USA etc. (see e.g. Smith, 1995; Wilkinson 1992).

Japanese enormous economic stature stimulated great outside interest. The Japanese miracle was criticized and admired at the same time. In the Western world there was great interest in learning what was behind this success and finding a defence against the Japanese trade soldiers. Thus Japanese economic growth did not lead only to positive attitudes toward the system. Complaints about the Japanese as unfair trade partners remained. Trade friction with the USA and EU caused serious problems. In particular the American mass media and movie industry (movies like *Rising Sun*, *Black Rain*) encouraged a picture of the Japanese as unfair and brutal businessmen who have come to buy up the whole of the USA. Behind this was Japan's challenge to America's economic hegemony. Japan had become a major challenge to America's economic position in the world. In the 1980s Japanese direct investments in the USA continued to grow very fast, including holdings in the American "national heritage" movie business. Japan has also been the biggest foreign holder of American government bonds (Hook 1993: 120-121,129).

By the early 1980s the "art of Japanese management" had become a worldwide vogue. The unique style of Japanese management was seen as the great secret behind Japan's economic success. The boom in the Japanese miracle began to focus more or less on the Japanese company and its unique management system. A human orientation seemed to be more important for the Western observers than technological issues. The Japanese themselves seemed to focus more on technological issues, hard work and good planning than on complicated concepts of management (see e.g. McMillan, 1989).

6.1 The Miracle Makers – the "Kaisha" and Its "Sarariiman"

Next sections will concentrate on the boom in the Japanese miracle literature. The sections examine the images of the Japanese miracle makers: the Japanese company and the man of the company. The last section focuses on the communication style of the Japanese business world, which became a popular topic alongside the books on management. The material analyzed in these sections was written by both the Western and Japanese authors.

The rapid economic and industrial development of Japan was attributed to the big Japanese companies and their efficient management. During the years shortly after the Second World War families and companies played important roles as sustainers of wealth (see e.g. Suvanto, 1993). During the boom of the Japanese miracle literature the Western world was interested in Japanese working life, Japanese company culture and the Japanese style of management.

It was generally agreed that Japan's economic miracle was mostly based on the unique Japanese style of management (see e.g. Fukuda, 1988).

The Western world wanted to learn what made the Japanese work so hard? What made the Japanese so loyal and why did they sacrifice so much for their companies? Behind these questions was a great desire to learn the secrets of Japanese success (Suvanto, 1990; Hendry, 1987; Kunio, 1994 etc.).

In particular in the 1980s many books, including several best sellers, articles in business magazines and academic studies were published on Japanese working life, mostly focusing on a few big Japanese companies and thus giving a very narrow picture of the situation. Numerous studies have been carried out to determine the transferability of the Japanese style of management to the West (Suvanto, 1993; Merviö, 1995, Fukuda, 1988). "The structure of Japanese business has one interesting feature which distinguishes it from its Western counterparts, namely the greater use of subcontracting to small specialist firms, whose entire production is absorbed by the large firm. The large firm then looks after part of the manufacture and assembly, marketing and development of the finished product" (Morton, 1995: 75).

A Japanese business is typically characterized by the strong cohesion of its company groups (see e.g. Okumura, 1988). The most well known concepts relating to the company groups are zaibatsu, keiretsu and sogo-shosa, which are explained in virtually all the books on the Japanese business management. According to Clark (1988: 70-71) there are three main types of industrial groups:

- 1 Pre-war Zaibatsu
- 2 Bank Group
- 3 Industrial Families

Zaibatsus dominated numerous sectors of the Japanese economy until their dissolution under the Allied occupation after the Second World War. The zaibatsu was a group of diversified businesses owned by a single family or an extended family. Most of the Japanese industry and commerce was controlled by the zaibatsus that had also very close ties with bureaucracy and the leading political parties. The outside world has learnt about the zaibatsus since the 1920s. The picture of Japan Inc. was closely related to the zaibatsus, which grew especially fast during the Japanese expansion during the Second World War (Morikawa, 1993; Varley, 1974; Sato, 1998). Today's keiretsus descend from the zaibatsus. The biggest keiretsus like Mitsubishi, Mitsui and Sumitomo have their roots in the zaibatsus (Argy & Leslie, 1997; Miyashita & Russel, 1994 etc.). Most Japanese companies are explained as belonging to alliances known as the keiretsu. They are spread horizontally across large companies in different industries (horizontal keiretsu) (Clark: 2/Bank Group) and input vertically suppliers (vertical keiretsu)(Clark: 3/Industrial Families) (Miyashita & Russell, 1994; Lillrank, 1989; Argy & Stein, 1997 etc.). According to Van Wolfren (1989: 46), "They are the hierarchically ordered systems of subsidiaries, suppliers, subcontractors and distributors associated with a particular major manufacturer. Each large member of a gurupu (group) stands at the apex of a vertical keiretsu that may encompass several hundreds of companies." As

Abecasis-Phillips (1994: 44) has noted the terminology related to the Japanese company groups can be confusing. One very often-used term is "sogo shosha" which according to Abecasis-Phillips (*ibid.* P.44) is defined as a holding company, originally zaibatsu in the pre-war period. They are seen essentially as trading conglomerates. Most authors see the "sogo shosha" as a part of the horizontal keiretsu.

The images of the keiretsus have varied. They have been seen as good examples of efficiency co-operation and a solid basis for long term planning (Suvanto, 1993; Argy & Stein, 1997). The keiretsus have also been seen as an aspect of Japanese protectionism. Danziger (1996: 98) sums this up: "Keiretsu - Japan calls it cultivating long-term business relationships; Japan's biggest trading partner, America calls it an unfair trade barrier".

The Japanese business world has been criticized very strongly by the outside world for this kind of co-operation. As it has made the Japanese market very difficult for foreigners to enter (Lillrank, 1989; Robins-Mowry, 1993; Macmillan, 1989 etc.). This criticism has also affected the close co-operation between Japanese big business and government. It has also been one of the popular explanations of Japanese economic growth, the long lasting image of Japan Inc. (Smith, 1995; McMillan, 1989; Suvanto, 1989 etc.). McMillan (1989: 63) points out that Japan is one of the few countries to have managers in the private and public sectors with a vision of where the country fits in the global system and where it should go. The Japanese government and business community have had one common goal: to create and maintain Japan's competitiveness at international levels. Japanese economic success has made Japan and the Japanese major actors in most parts of the world. The characteristic motive for Japanese internationalization has been first and foremost economic. Often the process of internationalization has been seen as separate from the changes taking place in the Japanese society and the self-identity of the Japanese (Merviö, 1993: 84-85).

The image of the Japanese company in the West has been built according to the big company model (see e.g. Dore, 1973; Suvanto, 1993). However, most Japanese companies are small and medium sized companies and there is marked difference between big and small companies in company culture (Suvanto, 1993; Dore, 1973; Hendry, 1987).

6.1.1 The "Kaisha" – the Japanese Company

The Japanese company has usually been described as a community of people whose most important job is to care for its employees in all areas of life (Suvanto, 1993: 24). The Japanese company functions like a family and offers its members secure employment (Kato, 1992: 53). According to Mito (1984: 28) the three most important pillars in the Japanese companies are employment, the seniority system and care for the worker's whole life.

According to Macmillan (1983: 197), "Larger Japanese companies have adopted the human capital approach wherein young employees are hired through a careful screening process largely based on educational achievement,

wages are a function of seniority rather than individual merit, and long term training programs provide a continuing investment in new skills and learning...”

The most positive aspects of Japanese management seen in the West are the following: employment, the "family" atmosphere, education and training systems, long-sightedness, and consensus in management (Lorrinan, 1985: 47; Suvanto, 1993; Argy & Stein, 1997 etc).

The Japanese company culture has been said to encourage employees to work effectively, to learn and to study. Education and training has been seen as a very important part of the company culture; thus, the Japanese company has also been defined as a learning organization (Suvanto, 1993; Ojala, 1994; see also appendix 4).

Stuart (1993: 218) proposes four major Japanese management practices which make the Japanese organization so different from its American counterpart: cohesive work groups, quality circles, participatory decision-making and company-sponsored services. The Japanese system of business management system has also popularly been explained as based on Samurai values.

According to Lebra (1976: 31), who cites the study by Abegglen (1958) on the Japanese employment system, the following characteristics of the system have become clichés:

- * Lifetime employment
- * Promotion in wage and rank based on length of service
- * Paternalistic relationship between superior and subordinate and between employer and employee
- * Extension of the rights and duties of employer and employee to their family members
- * Provision by the company of most of the employee's basic needs including
- * Housing, dining rooms, medical, educational and recreational facilities and so on

Fukuda describes the Japanese style of management in his book *Japanese Style Management Transferred. The experience of East Asia*. In this book he has focused on the transferability of the Japanese style of management to East Asia, not to the West, as so many other authors have done.

TABLE 6.1 The Japanese Style of Management

GROUP-ORIENTATION (Emphasis on Group Harmony)
The interests of a group are placed over those of an individual. The individual is indentured, body and soul, and loyal to the group.
COMMUNITY-ORIENTATION (Total Concern for People)
The company concerns itself with the private life of its employees as well as their performance at work.
COLLECTIVE DECISION-MAKING BY CONSENSUS
The company is willing to share a large amount of information with all employees to allow them to join in decision-making.

(continues)

TABLE 6.1 (continues)

LIFETIME EMPLOYMENT
The employees are guaranteed a job until retirement. The company does not dismiss employees, even when they become redundant.
GROUP DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES
An individual's jobs are not clearly defined, nor duties spelt out in written form; and the responsibilities are highly diffused.
COMPREHENSIVE WELFARE PROGRAMS
The company provides all employees with total welfare programs, incorporating recreational / medical facilities, housing, company loan, and so on.
SENIORITY-BASED PAY/PROMOTION
The length of an employee's service in the company, rather than his ability or performance, is an important criterion in determining pay and promotion.
ON THE-JOB TRAINING
The company provides training programs that continue late into the career, to all employees for the development of skills useful to the company.
JOB-ROTATION
The company rotates the employees to perform different jobs within the company in order to develop the generalist rather than specialist.

In the books on the Japanese business management there has been a tendency to compare and represent contrasts in the fields of work organization and work attitudes between the Japanese and Western companies (see e.g. Merviö, 1995; Drucker, 1988). A number of these comparisons have been written by both the Western and Japanese authors. Here I have taken just a couple of examples from both sides to give an idea what kind of issues these comparisons focus on. Table 6.2 is quoted from Clark's book, *The Japanese Company* (1979: 221-222). Clark is a well-known American author. This example typifies how the differences between Japan and the West have been compared in the books focusing on the Japanese management. As Clark himself says, the arguments are very generalized and there are big differences between companies in Japan and the West. I would also like to add that there are not only differences between companies in one Western country but between different countries in the West. But this is, of course, the main problem with the concept of the West.

TABLE 6.2 The Japanese and Western Management Practices from a Western Perspective

JAPAN	THE WEST
Shareholders principally associated with companies, not primarily interested in profits and dividends.	Shareholders primarily interested in company as financial investment.
Lifetime employment is an ideal.	"No ideal of lifetime employment".
Company recruits people of particular age and education to fill general vacancies.	Company recruits people with particular skills and types of experience to fill specified jobs.
Size of company is correlated closely with employment practices.	There is no close correlation between size of company and employment practices.
Size of company is correlated with quality of work force.	Size of company is less correlated with quality of work force.
Company is ideally a community.	Less emphasis is paid to community idea.
There is no major distinction between managers and workers.	Frequently a sharp distinction between managers and workers.
There are standard ranks and strong emphasis on hierarchy.	Management positions are not standard. They are related to particular functions, less emphatically hierarchical.
Age and length of service are explicitly recognized as promotion criteria.	Age and length of service are only marginally relevant to promotion.
Authority and responsibility are ostensibly diffuse.	Authority and responsibility are ostensibly specific.
Attachment to company is correlated with age and sex.	Attachment to company is weaker, associated with skill as well as sex and age.
Enterprise unions.	Trade unions.
Managerial authority is limited in mobility.	Managerial authority is practice by labor challenged ideologically and practically by trade unions.

Table 6.3 compares Japanese and American management practices and is taken from Stuart (1993: 218-219).

TABLE 6.3 The Japanese and American Management Practices

	JAPAN	NORTH AMERICA
Employment	Lifetime, career -oriented	Short term, market –oriented
Management values	Harmony and consensus	Openness and accountability
Management Style	Perfectionism in long term in delay short term	Action oriented, short-term horizons
Work Values	Collective responsibility	Individual responsibility
Control Process	Not formalized and implicit	Formalized and explicit
Learning Systems	Internal consultants and company	External consultants company training and universities

The content of table 6.4 is based on an interview with and material obtained from Inuka (1989). He is a Japanese Professor at the International University of Japan in Niigata. It does not differ very much from Clark's table and I could argue that similar tables with very slight differences could be formed from most of the studies and books focusing on Japanese working life and the Japanese style of management during the great boom.

TABLE 6.4 The Japanese and Western Management Practices from the Japanese Perspective

JAPAN	WEST
Shareholders are strongly associated with the company.	Shareholders are interested in the company only as an investment.
The system works based on the principle of a closed labor market.	Principle of an open labor market.
Lifelong employment is the ideal.	Lifelong employment is not popular; most work relationships are short.
Salary is based on the seniority system and promotion.	Mobilization is often a condition for a raise in salary.
Career development creates multitiered geniuses.	The goal is to create specialists.
The company is first of all a community.	The personnel are alienated from the company.

(continues)

TABLE 6.4 (continues)

Hierarchy is based on groups.	Hierarchy is based on individuals and fixed positions in the organization.
A great distinction is not made between management and workers, but co-operation is based on equality.	There is a clear distinction between management and workers.
Decision-making is from bottom to top.	Decision-making is from top to bottom.
Communication within groups and between groups is very efficient.	Everyone holds on his own ideas.
The company pays training expenses.	The employee pays training expenses.
Trade unions are based on the companies.	Trade unions are based on professional fields.
"I'm a worker at Sony"	"I'm an engineer"

6.1.2 "Sarariiman" - the Man of the Company

In the Western literature the *sarariiman* has become the model of the company employee, but can also be an employee of different organizations.

On the basis of the books and studies of the Japanese business management and working life a common view of the Japanese company employee, the *sarariiman* (salaryman) has also been created. "The diligence and loyalty of the Japanese worker became almost legendary" (Tames, 1985: 13). "The *Sarariiman* has such predictable concerns and habits that it has become common in Japanese to speak of the "*Sarariiman* culture" (Van Wolfren, 1989: 159).

The *sarariiman* lives in a small apartment with his wife (housewife) and 1.7 children (at the end of the 1990s 1.4 children):

* He is up at 6 or 7 am and commutes at least one hour to get to work. He travels by underground like the other million *sarariimen*.

* He has a great sense of loyalty to his company and he is also expected to show this loyalty actively. Thus he works like the Samurai, putting his job before his family.

* He works late hours without leaving the office before his superiors (sitting in the same open office). After work he has dinner and drinks with his colleagues. Office politics demand that he is one of the guys; a member of the group. He is seldom home before 11.00 p.m.

* He works 6 days a week and even spends his free time with his colleagues playing golf.

* He has an annual two-week holiday but spends only part of it.

* At some point in his career he may be transferred to another city temporarily for one or three years. This usually means separation from his family.

(Lorriman, 1985; Hendry, 1987; Suvanto, 1989; Clark, 1990; Tsukaguchi - Le Grand, 1991; Koskiahio, 1995; Yokokura, 1991/CD-Rom etc.)

"We can almost say that *sarariimen* actually reside at their working place. In the evenings they go home to pay a visit, and in the mornings they hurry back to the working place, their real home"(Tsukaguchi-Le Grand, 1991: 149). The sarariiman's company (large-size) has been described as a family to him taking care of his whole life for him.

He has a lifelong contract with the company. He was joined the company after graduation from a good university (whose entrance examination had been his life's goal before the career in the company) and has put on the "salaryman uniform" and learned the "company philosophy". The president of the company promised his parents that he would take care of his physical, emotional and moral development and provide him with a decent job. (Van Wolferen, 1989; Suvanto, 1993; Lorriman, 1985; Filipczak, 1992).

* He works in teams and learns many important things about quality control circles and about small-group activities. He is intensively and constantly involved in meetings, work discussions, groups.

* His status and salary is based on the seniority system.

* His career development is based on the seniority system, rotation system and the company's effective education and training systems. He takes part in "lifelong learning".

* He is part of the decision-making system, "ringi" which means that everybody will be heard and decisions based on consensus.

* He can trust his life on his company's long-term planning and its good relations with government and networks with other companies.

(See e.g. Suvanto, 1993; Argy & Stein, 1997)

The Japan Travel Bureau book titled *A Look into Japan* (1984: 119) gives a very specific picture of this *sarariiman* "who has brought about Japan's stunning economic growth". There is picture of a man wearing a dark suit and carrying a little briefcase. Beside the picture is the following text:

"Salaryman's Survival Kit":

*Meishi (visiting card)

*Hanko (personal seal)

*Electronic Calculator

*Bank and credit cards

*Handy pocket book

*Cassette recorder with English tape

According to other JTB book (1986), the negative aspects of being a *sarariiman* according to age are as follows:

50-year-olds "The Burnout Syndrome"

It is an illness seen in the middle-aged salarymen who, having devoted themselves entirely to their work, supported Japan's growing economy. Upon reaching the *Kacho* level, they immediately burn out.

40-year-olds "The Workalcoholics"

Without so much as a glance back at their families, they live for their work only. The company is the battlefield for them, for which they will use any means available to achieve their goals.

30-year-olds "The In-between Years"

Born during the babyboom years, they are now caught in the middle between the older established generation and the young. Their student

years were spent as radicals, though they now are concerned with their families, something that they are receiving heavy criticism for.
 20-year-olds "The Newcomers"
 They are the generation that does not know war. They are an enigma to the older generations who have no idea how or what they think. Their values and logic appear totally foreign.

In the Western world the *sarariimen*, who all look the same, are people who have given their lives to their companies. At the outermost extreme, the *sarariimen* in perpetual overdrive has succumbed to *karoshi* (suicide) or death from overwork (Watanabe, 1998; Koskiaho, 1995; Danziger, 1993).

Then the French Prime Minister, Mme Cresson, described the Japanese *sarariimen* in 1991 as follows: "They work like ants, live in tiny flats, spend two hours to get to work...they don't have any social security, holidays..." (Littlewood, 1997, Comte-Helm, 1996). Images of this kind are related to the trade imbalance between Japan and the EC or to that between Japan and the USA and to the Japanese investment, especially on production lines in Europe and in the USA.

According to Joseph (1993), the *Sararymen* are the "corporate warriors" who for fifty weeks a year, maybe more, fulfil their duties as guardians of the Japanese economic miracle" (Joseph, 1993: 10). In many images created in the popular culture they have been described as trade warriors who are ready to do anything for their country. Western people have been warned about trusting them too much with the reminder that "we are at war with them" (Film *Rising Sun*, 1999). Behind their mask of friendliness and western appearance (black suit) there is a real Japanese Samurai. "Scratch a Japanese and you will find a samurai – or what he thinks is a samurai"(Fleming, 1964: 58). "At the end of a busy day the Japanese businessman goes home and exchanges his suit for a kimono...to do business you must understand these faces of traditions behind the surface. Only what you cannot see is Japanese" (Random, 1987: 11).

6.2 Communicating with the Japanese Business World

It was not only a desire to learn from the Japanese management or to do business with the Japanese, but to learn how to succeed in the Japanese market which had become the second largest in the world and as known as of the most difficult for outsiders to enter.

The image of a difficult market was not only based on the Japanese government's policy of protecting its own market, but also on a difficult business culture, particularly regarding communication. Most of the problems seem to be cultural rather than commercial. According the guidebooks analyzed in this chapter, communication with the Japanese seems always to be a problem and is the reason for the friction between the West and Japan. However, these books offer to give guidelines for solving this problem. "Everybody knows that the Japanese way of doing business is very different from the Western approach

and anyone looking to do business in Japan is well advised to proceed with caution" (Abecasis-Phillips, 1994/Backsheet).

These books can be divided into at least two categories: those that seek to explain the basis of the Japanese communication culture more deeply and then those that just give tips and hints with very "narrow" explanations. These books have a tendency to end up with a list of the core values of the Japanese culture and list of "do's and don'ts".

Alston (1992: 9) argues that without an awareness and understanding of the general principles of the Japanese company culture, Westerners dealing with the Japanese businessmen will fail; they will not be able to succeed unless they understand why and how the Japanese act as they do. "The key to success is to respect and follow the Japanese business and social style"(Abecasis-Phillips, 1994/Backsheet). These are very typical approaches recommended in the business guidebooks.

According to these guidebooks (Abecasis-Phillips, 1994; Alston, 1992; Durston, 1989; March, 1996; Jenkins & Jenkins, 1993; Kato&Kato 1992 etc.), the main problematic factor in the communication seems to be Japanese indirectness. It is said to be very confusing for Western people that things are not said as they are. This also involves the concept of face. It has usually been explained that the Japanese lose face if they criticize other members of the group or express negative ideas. "Japanese business is 99 percent *tatamae*. You cannot say what you really think" (March, 1996: 26). *Tatamae* means public language, which is used to maintain good human relationships, harmony and good will. The Western businessman should be aware of the level of formality that informs the majority of Japanese relationships.

According to the guidebooks, Western readers are not expected to understand the difficult and unique culture of Japan, but to adopt some guidelines and tips such as how to bow, use *meishi* and give presents, and in this way to cope with the Japanese business world. "You are not Japanese! You can never understand" (Ernst, 1993: 9).

In explaining the Japanese business culture and communication to Western audiences the books tend to describe only one kind of businessman and how he is likely to react in a given situation and how to understand his behavior. As Jenkins & Jenkins (1993) have noted in their book " it is useful to be aware that there are Japanese who have little experience of foreigners and the Japanese who have a lot of experience of foreign people and customs. The situation is also different depending on one is meeting whether Japanese businessmen abroad or in Japan (1993: 232).

6.2.1 The Patterns of the Japanese Business Etiquette

According to Fodor's (Fodor's 1989: 35) guide book, the Japanese appreciate the observance of their unique business practices. These are:

- * Business cards are mandatory in Japan.
- * The concept of being fashionably late does not exist in Japan.
- * Most Japanese are not accustomed to using first names.

- * Don't be frustrated if decisions are not made instantly.
- * The separation of business and private lives remains sacrosanct in Japan.
- * Usually entertaining is done over dinner, followed by an evening on the town.
- * A special note to women travelling on business in Japan: many Japanese businessmen do not yet know how to interact with Western businesswomen.

The following list of hints and guidelines for Western businessmen is based on the contents of books written by Abecasis-Phillips, 1994; Alston, 1992; Durston, 1989; Kato & Kato, 1992; Morsbach, 1984; Tan, 1994; Vardaman, 1995.) The tips represent the most common areas of concern. The most frequent used tips include the rituals that will take place during the first business meetings. These are such topics as how you are introduced (bowing, meishi, go-between etc.). "Knowledge of Japanese business etiquette is an essential part of your preparation for a first meeting" (Kato, 1992: 61). Typical first tips are: the Japanese have a very strict protocol and you should be more polite here than at home!

BOW

The Japanese are described as people who prefer to bow and are not familiar with touching people. Bows are explained to have various meanings, which are difficult for foreigners to learn. If shaking hands with the Japanese (which is quite common these days), remember to use a light grip and an accompanying nod. "The traditional Japanese gesture, upon meeting and taking leave, is the bow. It entails a bending of the body from the waist, with the hands either left at the sides or drawn to the knees, and the feet kept together. The deeper the bow, the greater the respect" (Tan, 1994: 12).

MEISHI

The guidebooks pay particular attention to visiting cards. When introduced, the Japanese will first exchange visiting cards. When you give your card use both hands and remember to nod. The visiting card should state the most important things: your company and your position in it, also in the Japanese language. It seems to be difficult for foreigners to understand how many visiting cards you will exchange during a business visit (see appendix 5). "Following the official end of Japan's feudal system in 1868, name cards soon replaced apparel and other visible signs of rank. Because of the importance of rank, name cards have continued to play vital role in the country's formalized business world. It is often said, with a substantial amount of truth, that in Japan if you do not have a name card, you don't exist" (De Mente, 1994: 100).

GO-BETWEEN

Because everything in Japan is based on social networks, according to the guidebooks it is better to have a go-between, a third person to make the first contact and do the introducing. Through him it is possible to find the "right contacts" that are a necessity in business. "Introduction to a new business contact is important to you, it should ideally be made by a respected and trustworthy go-between who knows both parties" (Morsbach, 1984: 19).

GIFTS

Japanese custom of exchanging gifts has to be a significant part of Japanese social relations and highly ritualized custom:

- * Giving the gift should be done with modesty.
- * Gifts should be nicely wrapped.
- * Do not give too valuable gifts and leave the receiver in a "position of owing a debt".
- * Do not refuse gifts or open gifts in the presence of the giver.
- * A gift must be presented and received using two hands, in the Japanese way.

TIME

There are three most important issues presented in the guidebooks concerning time. Thus foreign people should:

- * Be prepared: "The Japanese do not like to be surprised with information that they feel should have been presented at an earlier stage" (Alston, 1992: 91).
- * Be punctual: "The Japanese generally arrive a few minutes early; you must ensure your own punctuality" (Kato, 1992: 35).
- * Be patient:
 - 1) You need time to build your network
 - 2) The decision-making system is very slow. Everything is based on consensus. Become impatient with the Japanese and you are lost because you are impatient with the system. "Patience in Japan is not just a virtue, it is a necessity" (Abecasis-Phillips, 1994: 5).

DINING AND WINING

Social life is described as one of the most important aspects of the business world: it is a way of building networks and as without them you cannot succeed in the Japanese market. "Japanese business entertaining is done on a lavish and regular scale, much to the surprise of many non-Japanese, mostly in the evenings over drinks. This form of socializing is considered important, in order to get to know clients better" (Tan, 1992: 59). Seating has an important message: who is who (status, position, issues related to hierarchy and "insiders" and "outsiders"). There are several manners to remember when having a Japanese meal. First of all when entering a Japanese-style restaurant you leave your shoes in the entrance and wear slippers, but you are not allowed to wear slippers on the tatami. According to Fodor's (1989: 73):

- * Do not point or gesture with chopsticks.
- * There is no taboo against slurping your noodle soup.
- * Pick up the soup bowl and drink directly from it. You should also pick up the rice bowl and hold it in one hand while you eat from it.
- * When having drinks, don't pour your own.

"RITUALS" AND CONVERSATIONS

According to the guidebooks the Japanese communication focuses more on non-verbal communication. Japanese verbal communication is based on indirect communication. The key factor to understanding the rules of verbal communication is that you cannot say what you think or how things really are (see also appendix 5). Politeness is issue number one: "Discounting Japanese expressions of modesty and expressions of praise by 50-70% is recommended" (Kato, 1992: 80). To foreigners, gaijins, it seems to be difficult to understand the Japanese way of using expressions of apology or/and gratitude (such words

like *sumimasen* and *doomo arigatoo* etc.) so often. It is sometimes even embarrassing for foreigners who are not used to hearing so many polite words (see appendix 5).

Topics like the Second World War and politics should be avoided. Speaking about the emperor is taboo. "Speak clearly and relatively slowly" (Morsbach, 1984: 43). Interpreters are commonly used because many Japanese have problems speaking English.

The Japanese are very formal. The rules of conversation are very strict and hierarchy influences everything.

* The Japanese avoid negative expressions. "No (*ie*) sounds harsh and is rarely used" (Morsbach, 1984: 19).

* Silence is golden. "Good listeners are especially appreciated in Japan" (Vardaman, 1992: 31).

* "It is mistake to assume that *hai* (usually understood as yes) means agreement. It indicates that the listener is following the speaker" (Vardaman, 1992: 21).

The most important rules to remember:

- * Use polite language.
- * Try to be more indirect.
- * Do not raise your voice.
- * Do not speak too loudly.
- * Do not use first names.

According to Jenkins & Jenkins (1993: 241), "There are a number of crucial differences in the way in which Japanese business people conduct meetings". The following example is adapted from Jenkins & Jenkins (1993: 241). They describe the following situation as "a worst-case scenario of what can happen if insufficient preparation is carried out". This once again is a very simplified explanation of what happens or can happen in a situation where people, in this case British, are not prepared concerning the cultural differences between the Japanese and British business communication.

TABLE 6.5 A Worst-Case Scenario

Stages of meetings	Japanese	British
The Opening	Wants to approach the discussions from a distance, if necessary covering ground already well-documented in previous meetings.	Is frustrated and annoyed at going over the same ground, and sometimes feels he is being "messed around" or not being told the truth.
The Middle	Expects the other side to remain quiet while the point is being made; expects the other side to make memos and to ask questions at the end; labours points with didactic illustration and endless examples.	Interrupts and refutes minor points before hearing the main story; tends not to take notes and often does not listen attentively enough; begins to switch off, thinking, "I have heard it all before".
The End	Completes <i>setsume</i> (explanation) as part of duty, with little concern as to whether the other side is still listening or not.	Ends the meeting with thinking, "They never change".

It may come as a relief to many foreigners that the Japanese do not expect them to behave correctly because they are gaijins...(see appendix 5).

Next table is based on a list of attributes from a book called *Ugly Americans – Ugly Japanese* (Byoung-chul & Reagan, 1994) which is “designed to give insights into the ways in which the Japanese and Americans can misunderstand one another...to illustrate potential pitfalls in cross-cultural interaction”. The book is a good example of stereotyped images based on differences between the Japanese and American behavioural attributes. The examples represent the views of the authors with a good deal of humour as in the series *Gaijin* (see more about this book appendix 1). In table 6.6 the same categories are used which were introduced earlier in this section (greeting/bow, meishi, dining & wining, gift-giving etc.) This table examines communication patterns from two perspectives, American; or the West and the Japanese.

TABLE 6.6 Ugly Americans – Ugly Japanese

The Patterns of Business Etiquette	Ugly Americans from the Japanese point of view	Ugly Japanese from the American point of view
Greeting	*Shake hands too firmly *Hug when greeting or parting *Smile and greet perfect strangers with a casual “Hi” *Wave instead of bow when they encounter a person of higher status “Just who do you think you are? Japanese invariably bow or nod to a superior when they happen to meet in passing”.	*Shake hands too long or too limply Most Japanese are quite familiar with the form of the Western handshake, if not with its exact style.
Meishi	*When receiving “meishi”, simply put it in a pocket without really reading it American businessmen may cause serious offence, or even ruin potential business deals by not examining (if only briefly) the proffered cards of their Japanese counterparts. And never, ever, take out your “meishi” from your rear pants pocket!	
Gift-Giving		*Give gifts so often Gift giving is quite complex in Japan. There are numerous occasions as well as extensive system of formal etiquette involved in giving presents.
Go-between		*Regard connections as more important than ability in choosing job candidates or business partners.

(continues)

TABLE 6.6 (continues)

Time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Demand immediate responses/ answers *Aren't patient when waiting for somebody *Expect business negotiations to proceed quickly *Strictly separate work time and private time <p>American employees usually feel that their responsibilities to the company end when they have finished their clearly outlined duties. Thus, they may take extended breaks, do personal work, or leave the office exactly at finishing time. Japanese show "company spirit" by staying and working (or trying to look like they are working) until the boss leaves for the day.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Make invitations or important announcements at the last minute *Arrive exactly on time when invited to someone's home for dinner *Put on a show of being "busy" <p>In the USA, the ideal to be busy and productive but to appear relaxed and easygoing. But in Japan one must appear intensively busy in order to show how devoted one is to the company and to the work at hand.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Engage in extensive small talk before getting down to business <p>Americans, feeling that "time is money", generally want to conduct their business efficiently, in the minimum amount of time. American businessmen visiting Japan on very tight travel schedules may be frustrated by what appears to be "beating around the bush".</p>
Dining and wining	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Eat anywhere they happen to be *Begin drinking as soon as their glasses have been filled *Drink directly from a bottle *Serve food in portions which are much too large *Lick their fingers while eating *Talk too much while eating *Crumple up a paper napkin after a meal *Don't pour drinks for anyone else <p>Japanese consider it bad form to pour one's own drink unless one is alone. You should pour for others, who will in turn pour for you. Americans, who are accustomed to serving themselves whenever they like, may unintentionally leave their Japanese hosts feeling uncomfortable.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Pick up rice bowls or soup bowls and bring them to their mouths to eat *Slurp loudly while eating noodles or soup *Talk with their mouths full *Wave a fork, knife or chopsticks around while conversing during meals *Keep refilling another person's glass with beer even before it is empty *Use toothpicks loudly at the table *Accept public drunkenness <p>Drinking is an accepted (even necessary) part of business entertaining and most socializing as well. At night, one often sees staggering, drunken men making their way home. In the USA public drunkenness carries a rather strong social stigma; it is also cause for arrest and possibly jail.</p>

7 JAPAN AT A TURNING POINT – A CHANGE OF IMAGE?

Japan has been said to be in an identity crisis. It is said that today the Japanese are facing changes as big as during the Meiji-restoration and the post-war era (see e.g. Robins-Mowry, 1993). The current stagnation or like somebody would say recession, has been lasting about seven years and it has been the worst since the war. It has a deep impact on the Japanese society.

Japan has achieved a lot from an economic perspective, but from the perspective of international politics, her status seems to be poor and even difficult. Khan wrote in the 1970s: "Japan is already an economic, financial and technological superstate but it remains an open question whether Japan will become a superpower as well as a superstate" (Kahn & Pepper, 1979: 141). Japan has been criticized for having a passive foreign policy, one, which has maintained a low profile since the end of the Second World War (Kodansha International, 1994). In other parts of the world there has been an insistence that Japan takes a bigger share of the 21st century's foreign policy. It has been demanded that Japan assumes greater international responsibilities, undertake not only economic aid to the developing world, but also peacekeeping tasks (Lee, 1994; Paljakka, 1994; Merviö, 1993, 1995). The war against terror and the USA's military actions towards Afghanistan has awoken the question of the role of the Japanese. The Prime Minister of Japan, Junichiro Koizumi has clearly said, that "Japan cannot engage directly in the ongoing military action in Afghanistan, the role it can play is economical and political..." This is quite a similar position to had taken by Japan during the Gulf War in the 1990s (The Japan Times/online 21 October, 2001).

In the 1980s Japan exalted the goal of "internationalization" (see e.g. Merviö, 1993: 84). It is said that there is no domestic consensus on Japan's future international role. The Japanese agree that internationalization is an important issue, but how to do it is another question (Lee, 1994). Lee argues (1994) that if Japan is going to be a world player in the fields of both economics and politics, Japan should open not only its market but also society (Lee, 1994). Japanese themselves seem that Japan's role in International Society should be as a

promoter and contributor to the maintenance of international peace and to the solution of global-scale issues such as the global environment (Opinion survey on Foreign Affairs, 2000).

However, the problem for today's Japan is not only the country's position in the international community, but also the domestic situation. Throughout the 1990s Japan has been suffering from overvalued currency, lower growth rate, declining consumption rate and high unemployment rate (see e.g. Mandel, Gross & Therien, 1993: 42-43). Deep and long stagnation, failing big companies and banks and political and economic scandals have led the Japanese to demand structural changes in Japanese society (see e.g. Asahi Evening, 25.2.1998: 2; Miettinen, 1998). Since the mid 1990s there has been more negative news from Japan: the Kobe Earth Quake, the Sarin gas attack in Tokyo, serious accidents at the State Nuclear Power Plant near Tokyo, growing violence in schools, and the bursting of the economic bubble which led to the big bank collapse. When reading the news on Japan one gets the impression that the basic feelings of security, honesty and innocence that have somehow been the basis of everything are being undermined.

"The Japanese born after the war are eager to clean up the murky politics, untangle the byzantine bureaucracy and deregulate the economy" (Miller & Uchida, 1993: 28). However, it seems to be a very slow process. The basic structure seems to remain even though the debate on change have been going on since 1970s, with especial emphasis in the 1980s when the "quality of Japanese life " became a very popular topic (Miller & Uchida, 1993:28; Suvanto, 1993). It is argued that the younger generation in Japan has little understanding of traditional Japanese spirituality and has become accustomed to a more international and materialistic lifestyle. This has also happened to middle-aged middle-class Japanese. However, the younger generation is protesting against the old values relating to education, work and family life. They are insisting on having more freedom and quality in their lives compared to the existing system. (Beedham, 1996; Yasumura, 1998). It is said that before one nation can reorder its position on the international level, it must first change itself domestically (Robins-Mowry; 1986, Merviö, 1995). This must be quite a challenge for the Japanese.

There are many divergent opinions about the impending changes in Japan (see e.g. Merviö, 1999; Lillrank, 1999). Concerning working life, it is said that Japan's "job-for-life" culture has come to an end. Big changes in traditional salary structures and human resource management are under way (see e.g. Kishida; Yoshikawa, 1998; Lillrank, 1999). The whole concept of work is changing in Japan just as much as in other parts of the world (Heinonen, 1999).

Japan has maintained its image of high tech country, an image that has been encouraged in the field of telecommunications in which Japan has taken a big step ahead of the Western world. Japan has done pioneering work in mobile internet and started operating third generation mobile phone services. In the information technology sector Japanese might surprise the world. Behind the success of the mobile internet are the Japanese women. I-mode, one the successful mobile internet services was created by a woman. Women have

become developers, producers and content providers of the new media. They have become of part the new economy. The Internet has become a symbolic venue for Japanese women to break away from their "ten clicks behind" status and explore Web-based business models. It is unexpected to see how active and motivated women are as "Netpreneurs" in this male-dominated society.

Various scenarios have been presented about the direction of Japanese society. The main feeling is that the Japanese are very confused about the their future direction, a situation which runs constrain to the image of the Japanese as a nation with excellent visions and long-term plans. The following scenarios are adapted from Lillrank (1998):

MAJOR SCENARIOS FOR JAPAN

Base Case - Nothing Happens

- *Political grid lock continues - fires are fought as they erupt, but no major deregulation
- *Big Bang no big deal
- *Widening gaps between international and domestic economy
- *Risk of financial meltdown

Reformists take over - a New Meiji Restoration

- *Deregulation and political reform
- *British -style change of direction
- *Invigorated competitive power

"Acts of God"

- *War in the Korean peninsula
- *The Great Kanto Earthquake II

III CONCLUSIONS

8 THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY

We all have stereotyped images of others' cultures, nations and people. We start to create these as soon as we receive enough information to do so- this information feeds our imagination. Most of our images of other cultures are based on schoolbooks, encyclopedias, popular literature, guidebooks, fictions, newspapers, magazines, radio and TV, especially international programs. Together with our own experiences, feelings, knowledge, values and attitudes we create stereotyped images. When I was a little girl I learnt from a puzzle that Dutch girls wear a certain kind of costume, a hat with "wings", clogs and they have a lot of windmills & tulips in their country. I learnt more about Dutch people at school, and later at work. I had a chance to visit their country and see that not all Dutch people wear clogs and grow tulips. Nonetheless my image of Dutch people and their country includes icons of clogs, windmills and tulips which are repeated year after year.

Stereotyped images are long-lasting and durable. They are difficult to change and can be passed on as heritage from the past. Stereotyped images of other nations and cultures are based on simplified and generalized attributions, which represent real life, but are not a transparent window on to real life. They are the tools with which we manage the world around us. However, we are warned adopting stereotyped images which are too generalized and too simplified and create excessive expectations about what to look for, and which can even make people "see" things before they actually do.

Particularly over the three last decades images, internationalization, globalization and intercultural communication have been popular topics. The process of globalization has led to a boom in intercultural literature, seminars and courses. There has been a great demand for quick and easy packages of intercultural skills, "survival kits", particularly in the business world. These "survival kits" offer their sophisticated and less-sophisticated stereotypes to help people to behave and communicate in the right way in situations that in fact very rarely exist in real life. Stereotypes play a crucial role in initial interaction. Not only is our communication influenced by stereotyped images,

we also create them through communication. The interesting question is how ready we are to change our images.

In addition to the business world, rapid globalization has also intensified the debate on the image and reputation of nations, and on the origin of products. The national image has become an increasingly crucial issue in the wealth and success of nations. Studies of national images are particularly appropriate when problems of international communication become urgent. Thus the question of what stereotyped images are: harmless or even positive or harmful has become more important.

The level of our knowledge of other countries and cultures has been increasing. Through the internet, satellite television and other media it has been easier to learn about other countries and cultures. The mass media plays a crucial role in the creation of stereotyped images of other nations and cultures. As Valentinovna (1994: 112) argues "generally mass media skillfully manipulates with ready-made stereotypes depending on the politics of the moment." This globalization and the new technology are changing our image of the whole world. In a sense the world is becoming smaller and nowadays we talk more about "one world" and "a single world culture". However this is not the only truth about this development. Globalization has also awakened nations to seek their own unique cultural, language and local differences. The expansion of international interaction has not brought a leveling down of national characteristics. This has been seen, for example, in Europe in the desire of the different European countries to profile their own characteristics in a unified Europe. It seems that positive images are wanted.

The purpose of this study was to examine what kinds of stereotyped images have been created of Japan and the Japanese in the literature targeted at Western audiences during the great boom in the Japanese economic miracle. The research question focused on the raw material given in the literature for image creation.

8.1 The Japanese Are and the Japanese Are Not

The basis of today's images can be located far back in history. When looking at the historical images of Japan and the Japanese, one sees a nation that has been strongly admired and hated - the two even at the same time. Most of the images found in this study have been repeated by so many authors for such a long time that they have become myths among Western readers.

Missionaries in the 16th century saw this nation as one of the most admirable in the world. At the end of the 19th century, after long isolation, Japan was once again admired in the Western world as an exotic Lotusland with polite people and different habits. There was a great boom in "Japonaiserie" throughout the Western world. These positive images were strong in Western minds, despite the increasing criticism of Japanese trade

policy. However this criticism was the start of the image of the Yellow Peril. The Second World War changed the image of Japan from the exotic Lotusland symbolized by Mme Chrysanthemum to one of a cruel, fanatically warlike and untrustworthy nation. During the first Japan boom at the end of the 19th century, Japan was seen as a "toyland", an exotic culture with beautiful temples and nature. After the war Japan rebuilt its image combining traditional symbols and symbols of the modern, fast technological development of the country. One of the most famous images was Mount Fuji together with Shinkansen.

During the great boom in the Japanese economical miracle in the Western world - from the mid 1970s onwards - the spotlight was increasingly on economic questions. In the beginning of the 1970s there were less positive pictures emerged of a hard-working people living in small apartments, working long hours without any kind of social security and who were ready to do anything for their country. They were trade soldiers and Japan's absolute desire was to conquer the world. The image of the Yellow Peril was re-created again. However, the idea that the Western world could learn something from the Japanese economic miracle changed the dominant images once more. More and more books were published to enable Western decision-makers and businessmen to gain a deeper understanding of the unique and different Japanese culture. Negative images of this Japanese and economic and political friction between Japan and the Western world were seen as due to a lack of knowledge and understanding of the differences between the Japanese and Western cultures. The communication culture was especially seen as difficult. The image of Japan based on the Second World War had a very strong impact among the decision-makers. This study has focused particularly on the boom in the Japanese miracle and on the popular business and travel literature published in this period. During this boom many books on the Japanese style of management were published. Their first task was usually to give information and hints about the secrets of the Japanese economic miracle and about how the best features of the Japanese style of management could be adapted to the needs of Western companies. These books also tried to give a deeper understanding of the Japanese culture and industrial structure with simplified explanations. Many books tried to explain the issue with simplified core values of the Japanese culture. It was popular to compare the Japan and Western, particularly American, work organizations and work attitudes. In addition to the books on the Japanese Management, a great number of books appeared on the Japanese business etiquette and communication. The purpose of these books was to help Western businessmen to understand the general principles of the Japanese business culture by giving practical advice, hints and guidelines. The problems of understanding Japan were seen as more cultural-based than commercial.

On the basis of this literature the image of the Japanese *sarariiman* was created:

They all look the same in their dark suits
 They work in big companies all their lives
 They work long days in their offices and commute long hours to get their small apartments
 They are motivated to work hard and learn new things in their teams
 Their company culture is based on the seniority system
 Their company is a community; a big family to them and everybody feels that he is part of the group
 They are loyal to their own group
 They make high quality and expensive products for export

Western businessmen find their Japanese colleagues polite, formal people with whom it is very difficult to communicate not only because they do not speak foreign languages, but also because their culture is so different. They have very a strict protocol and they respect punctuality. They are harmony-seeking people who avoid saying negative things to maintain harmony and save others' faces. They do not say things like they are and they do not have to say everything. They are quiet and calm people. They do not like talking to people they do not know.

8.1.1 Great Contradictions

As early as the 16th century in missionaries' reports the Japanese and their customs, rites and ceremonies were seen as the "reverse" of Europe. After the reopening of Japan in the 19th century Japan was seen a topsy-turvy land where everything was done opposite to how it was done in the Western world. Even such imitated everyday things like locks were used completely differently than anywhere else. Perhaps one of the most popular lists of these contradictions was made by Benedict (1946:2): "Japanese are, to the highest degree, both aggressive and unaggressive, both militaristic and aesthetic, both insolent and polite, rigid and adaptable, submissive and resentful of being pushed around, loyal and treacherous, brave and timid, conservative and hospitable to new ways". In the beginning of 1970s when the Japanese miracle was under away, Dore wrote about Japanese men in his book *British Factory - Japanese Factory* (1973): "The Japanese are followers, ambitious, submissive to their superiors, diligent, childishly naive, and very insecure and they care little what happens outside their group."

The most popular image of Japan used today is one of the harmonious combinations of a unique Japanese culture and traditions with a modernized society and high technology. These contradictory attributes represent two opposed worlds: that of men and that of women. The women's world consists of all the traditional icons. Throughout the history Japanese women have been described as kind, gentle, faithful, pretty, polite, very womanly, well-cultivated, and educated. These images have lasted over the centuries, such as in the drawings, and later photos, of Japanese women wearing the kimono and playing the koto or serving tea, or just being pretty. Japanese women have played a crucial role in the image of Japan as an exotic Lotusland, a highly

aesthetic nation with beauty and politeness. Thus the women's world represents traditional Japanese society. The men's world consists of modern icons with elements from the past. Japanese men have been seen as samurais, soldiers, trade soldiers, businessmen. Today their world represents the modern high tech country. However behind their busy Western surfaces you can find the calm samurais. Japanese men are polite, impolite, cruel, reliable and unreliable, full of contradictions.

The Japanese have surprised and even shocked the outside world at several points during their history. First, the Jesuits were surprised to find a highly developed culture and civilization, something different from the pagan nations discovered so far. The Japanese surprised the Western world after reopening its borders by their fast industrial and economic development. Militarily Japan shocked Western world by beating Russian in 1905. The next surprise and real shock was seen when Japanese attacked Western colonialists in South-East Asia and American troops in Pearl Harbour. After war the real surprise was the economic miracle, which became a long-lasting image of the Japanese.

8.2 True or False?

Are images true? The best answer might be that images can be either true or false. Littlewood has argued that stereotyped images gain their acceptance because there is a basic element of truth in them. Or as Fält has said, they are pictures of reality, but no reality itself. So a more important question is: are these images harmless or harmful?

The Japanese themselves have actively encouraged the image of Japan as an exotic, different, unique country where old and new can be combined in harmony. A high tech country with hard working and motivated *sarariimen* in black suits on the one hand, and on the other a traditional country with polite and beautiful women in colorful kimonos.

In this study I wanted to raise the question of the reliability of images in relation to the people who provide the raw material for image creation. Who are the people who give others the material and tools to create their images of Japan and the Japanese? Although we live in the information society with access to the World Wide Web, satellite TV and other media, we are still, as we were centuries ago, dependent for our information on a country and its people on the opinions of people who have been in the country. What is these people's relationship with real life, in this case the life of the Japanese? Chamberlain wrote at the end of 19th century, that "an eight week's residence was the precise time qualifying an intelligent man to write about Japan". It is difficult to agree with this. Sonnenborn (1998: 27) has written an article on his experiences of working in Japan and this following comment is close to my own experience: "I met quite a number of foreigners living in Japan for many years who tried to avoid Japanese people, not to get in touch with the Japanese culture and were

actually frustrated...these people can tell you a lot of stories about the Japanese way of doing things. They make fun of it. Sometimes they write books and call themselves experts”.

As Lippmann has argued, too many important decisions are based on superficial knowledge and images created from this knowledge. We have been warned against drawing too quick conclusions about people from other cultures purely on the basis of the stereotyped images. We have been asked to collect more information, knowledge and experiences from "real life" and "more serious literature". But before doing this, we have usually already created these stereotyped images. As Hirano has argued, people are now better informed about other nations' cultures than before, but this knowledge is still quite superficial. Thus, people who act according to their stereotypes and prejudices with only superficial knowledge may be the cause of many cultural conflicts.

The material analyzed in this study consists of photos, which give credence to the textual representations and descriptions. Travel books, especially, utilise a lot of photos of interest. There are photos, which represent authentic situations: Western tourists walking in busy streets, calm temple areas or taking part in a tea-ceremony or geisha party etc. Do such pictures act as a proof of real situations and thus invest these images with more reality than the others? This is a question, which this study does not seek to answer. Similarly there are several other questions that could be a topic for future studies. Are the stereotyped images found in this study similar to those that we already have in our minds about the Japanese and Japan? Are we ready to change our stereotyped images of the Japanese and if so how?

YHTEENVETO

Tämä tutkimus käsittelee imagoja, kansainvälistymistä, kulttuurien välistä viestintää ja Japania. Erityisesti Japani nousi länsimaissa suosituksi aiheeksi 1970-luvulla, jolloin heräsi kiinnostus japanilaiseen talousihmeeseen. Todellinen boomi aiheesta syntyi 1980- ja 1990-luvuilla, jolloin julkaistiin suuri joukko tutkimuksia, monografioita, ja artikkeleja japanilaisesta yrityskulttuurista, liikkeenjohtamisesta ja ylipäättään japanilaisen liikemaailman toimintatavoista.

Esilläoleva tutkimus kuuluu teoreettisesti ja metodisesti kuvattututkimuksen alaan. Työ keskittyy selvittämään populaarikirjallisuuden, lähinnä erilaisten opaskirjojen välittämää stereotyyppistä kuvaa Japanista ja japanilaisista länsimaalaisille. Opaskirjallisuus työssä käsittää sekä perinteiset matkaoppaat, esitteet että erityisesti liikemiehille suunnatut oppaat japanilaisesta liiketapakulttuurista ja yritysmaailmasta laajemmassa mielessä. Näin ollen materiaalia jakautuu kahteen osa-alueeseen: matkailu ja liikemaailma. Tutkimuksessa analysoitava materiaali käsittää sekä tekstejä että kuvia.

Tutkimuksessa etsitään vastausta kysymykseen: ”Millaisia kuvia (image) Japanista ja japanilaisista on luotu länsimaalaisille suunnatussa populaarikirjallisuudessa 1980- ja 1990-luvuilla?” Tavoitteena on löytää materiaalista niitä kuvauksia, representaatioita, jotka toimivat rakennusaineina länsimaalaisten luodessa mielikuvaansa Japanista ja japanilaisista. Varsinaiset mielikuvat luodaan hyödyntäen tätä rakennusmateriaalia sekä aikaisempaa tietoa, kokemuksia, tunteita jne. Tämä tutkimus ei yritä kuvata mielikuvien syntyä tai luomisprosessia; sen tavoitteena on herättää lukija kriittiseen pohdintaan siitä, mihin hänen Japani-kuvansa perustuu ja miten hän on sen itselleen luonut?

Työn tavoitteena on myös ymmärtää syvällisemmin käsitteitä ”maankuva”, ”mielikuva”, ”stereotypia”, ”representaatio”. Nämä samoin kuin käsitteet kulttuuri ja länsi ovat monessa mielessä problemaattisia käsitteitä jo siksi, että niille on olemassa hyvin monta erilaista määritelmää ja käyttötapaa.

Tutkimus rakentuu kolmesta osasta. Aluksi selvitetään puitteet, taustat ja teoriat. Tässä osassa erityisesti historiallisella Japani-kuvalla on olennainen asema. Seuraavaksi päästään tutkimusmateriaalin esittelyyn esimerkkeineen ja analyysiin, jota seuraavat viimeisessä osassa loppupäätelmät.

Japania on kuvattu vastakohtien maaksi, josta syntynyt kuva on tavallaan ajaton. Japani-kuva, kuvaukset eksoottisesta, erilaisesta ja vaikeasti ymmärrettävästä maasta ovat säilyneet ja toistuneet vuosisatojen ajan. Tämän päivän kuva Japanista on yhdistelmä, jossa teknologinen ja moderni yhteiskunta elää harmoniassa vanhojen traditioiden kanssa. Modernin yhteiskunnan symboleita ovat luotijuna, neonvalot, pilvenpiirtäjät, elektroniikka, vilkkaat kadut, jotka täyttyvät kiireisistä, tummiin pukeutuneista japanilaisista liikemiehistä. Vanhaa, traditionaalista yhteiskuntaa edustavat geishat tai kimonopukuiset naiset, temppelit, kirsikankukat, Fuji-vuori, teeseremoniat ja sumopainijat. Yksi lähdemateriaalissa käytetyimmistä uuden ja vanhan kohtaamisen kuvista on luotijuna ohittamassa Fuji-vuorta.

Japania voisi myös jakaa naisten ja miesten maailmaan. Naisten maailma edustaa traditioita. Naiset kuvataan traditionaalisten symbolien kanssa ja japanilaisesta naisesta kerrotaan yhä samoin adjektiivein kuin 500 vuotta sitten. Japanilainen mies taas edustaa teknologista ja modernia Japania. Hän on tummiin pukeutunut liikemies, jonka tehtävänä on ollut valloittaa maailman markkinat ja ylläpitää Japanin mainetta korkean teknologian maana. Länsimaalaisia kuitenkin varoitetaan siitä, että japanilaisen liikemiehen nykyaikaisen ja länsimaalaisen ulkomuodon takaa voi löytyä vanhan ajan samurai. Kuva yllätyksellisestä ja myös epäluotettavasta japanilaisesta on elänyt pitkään.

Erityisesti liikemaailmalle suunnatun kirjallisuuden tarjoaman kuva japanilaisista miehistä on "saraariman": He näyttävät samanlaisilta tummissa puvuissaan, he työskentelevät suurissa yrityksissä koko heidän elinikänsä, he tekevät pitkiä työpäiviä ja matkustavat pitkät työmatkat ruuhkaisissa junissa, he ovat ahkeria, motivoituneita, he työskentelevät ryhmissä ja ovat innokkaita oppimaan uutta, heidän yrityskulttuurinsa perustuu senioriitti -järjestelmään, heidän yrityksensä on ensisijaisesti yhteisö, suurperhe, joka huolehtii heistä, he ovat lojaaleja ryhmälleen, he valmistavat korkealaatuisia ja kalliita tuotteita vientiin.

Länsimaalaisille liikemiehille heidän japanilaiset kollegansa kuvataan samoissa opaskirjoissa seuraavasti: He ovat käytökseltään hyvin muodollisia ja ystävällisiä, heidän kanssaan on hyvin vaikea kommunikoida, ei ainoastaan siksi, että he puhuvat huonosti vieraita kieliä, vaan siksi, että heidän kulttuurinsa on niin erilainen, heillä on tiukka protokolla ja he arvostavat täsmällisyyttä, he ovat harmoniaa kunnioittavia ihmisiä, jotka pyrkivät säilyttämään tämän harmonian välttämällä negatiivisten asioiden ilmaisemista ja kasvojen menettämistä, he ovat ihmisiä, jotka eivät puhu liikaa eivätkä asioiden oikeilla nimillä - kaikkea ei tarvitse sanoa, kuulijan on ymmärrettävä asioita myös ilman sanoja, he ovat rauhallisia ja hiljaisia ihmisiä, jotka eivät mielellään keskustele tuntemattomien kanssa.

Japania on kautta historia ihailtu ja vihattu, joskus jopa samanaikaisesti. Japanista ja japanilaisista on kirjoitettu hyvin paljon sitten maan rajojen uudelleen avautumisen. Varsinaisen boomin aikana parhaimpien teosten painosmäärät ylittivät uskonnollisten kirjojen, kuten esim. koraanin, painosmäärät ja alettiin jopa puhua omasta *Nihonjinron* -uskonnosta.

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Appendix 1

Name	Author (s)
Doing Business with the Japanese	John A S Abecasis-Phillips Author is German observer who lives and works in Japan and has the first-hand experience of the culture and procedures, both social and commercial.
Type of book	Publisher
Business guidebook	NTC Business Books
Place of the publication	Edition
USA	1994 (The first edition was published in UK 1992)
<p>Target of book and content (based on the Introduction to the book)</p> <p>"This is not a manual for doing business with the Japanese, but guide to understanding what is going on behind the seemingly inscrutable face of the Japanese". At most it can offer hints , guidelines from simple etiquette to how find office space or set up an agency.</p> <p>The book is written by an observer, not by either expert or a businessman.</p> <p>The book is divided into two parts:</p> <p><# Doing Business in Japan including topics like: Training for Japan-preparing for the Unexpected, The Japanese business Scene, Trying to Enter the Market, Identifying the Gaps, Settling Down, Foreign Companies in Japan.</p> <p><# Doing Business with Japan Abroad consists of the topics: Japanese Business with the World and Japan and the Future.</p>	

<p>Name</p> <p>Understanding and Working with the Japanese Business World</p>	<p>Author (s)</p> <p>Kato, Hiroki & Kato, Joan Hiroki Kato is a widely recognized authority on US-Japan cross-cultural communications. He is vice president for Asian development, Chicago Mercantile Exchange, and a former faculty member of Northwestern University. Joan Kato is his wife who has American and Japanese clients in her law business.</p>
<p>Type of book</p> <p>Guide of Business & Business Etiquette</p>	<p>Publisher</p> <p>Prentice Hall, Business Information & Publishing Division</p>
<p>Place of the publication</p> <p>USA</p>	<p>Edition</p> <p>1992</p>
<p>Target of book and content (based on the Introduction to the book)</p> <p>"...this book is for all corporate professionals and government officials who do business with the Japanese – and want to succeed".</p> <p>With this guidebook "you will be able to</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <# Understand the Japanese style of decision making, etiquette, entertainment, and nonverbal language <# Comprehend the Japanese mindset, including patterns of thought and philosophy <# Master specific Japanese protocol, such as how to give and receive compliments, address people by name and more." <p>The first part of the book focuses on "fundamental tenets of Japanese culture" like:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <# Japan is a homogeneous island nation <# Operating on Japanese time <# Japanese ageism, sexism and racism etc <p>The other three parts of the book concentrate on how to make connections and verbal & non-verbal communication. At the end of book there are several guidelines of the Japanese language.</p> <p>This book is one of the books analyzed in the 5. 2.</p>	

Appendix 1

Name Simple Etiquette in Japan	Author (s) Dr Morsbach, Helmut. Dr Morsbach is Lecturer in Psychology at the University of Glasgow and is known internationally for his specialist work on Japanese society, especially in the field of non-verbal communication.
Type of book A guide to Etiquette	Publisher Simple Books Ltd
Place of the publication Kent, UK	Edition 1991 reprinted (First published in 1984)
<p>Target of book and content (based on the Introduction to the book)</p> <p>"This book gives much useful advice on how to behave in Japan, a country where courtesy and formality still form an intrinsic part of veryday life". This book should provide "a complementary and useful adjunct to other sources of reference, and that you will enjoy reading it."</p> <p>The book consists following topics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <# General Information about Japanese customs (politness, groupism, bowing etc.) <# Business Matters <# Wining & Dining <# The Japanese Home <# Gift Giving <# Conversation & Communication <# Useful Phrases 	

<p>Name</p> <p>Japanese Etiquette Today A Guide to Business and Social Customs</p>	<p>Author (s)</p> <p>Vardaman, James M. Jr. & Vardaman, Michiko Sasaki James M. Vardaman, Jr (born in USA) is a translator and professor of English at Surugadai University in Saitama prefecture, Japan. Michiko Vardam (born in Japan) is a teacher of English and the wife of James.</p>
<p>Type of book</p> <p>Guide to Business and Social Customs</p>	<p>Publisher</p> <p>Charles E. Tuttle Company</p>
<p>Place of the publication</p> <p>Tokyo</p>	<p>Edition</p> <p>1995 third printing (first published in 1994)</p>
<p>Target of book and content (based on the Introduction or/and references to the book)</p> <p>"The authors look at a variety of formal and informal occasions governed by subtle rules – visiting a Japanese office and home, giving and returning gifts, attending weddings and funerals and much more. The result is an informal overview of Japanese society and a manual of practical advice on getting along in the society".</p> <p>"...handy guidebook which explains what to do and perhaps more important what not to do, what to say, what to wear, indeed, whatever you need to observe the complex rules of modern Japanese etiquette."</p> <p>Authors of the book have had the assumption that "non-Japanese can, with sensitivity and some assistance, learn the everyday forms of Japanese etiquette."</p>	

Appendix 1

Name	Author (s)
Japanese Etiquette, A matter of Course	Tan, Raelene Tan is, an Australian married to a Singaporean, is cofounder of The Cosmopolitan Women's Club (for women who are partners in cross-cultural marriage) and she is an expert on difficulties in cross-cultural interaction.
Type of book	Publisher
Guide to Etiquette	Landmark Books PTE Ltd
Place of the publication	Edition
Singapore	1994 second edition (first published in 1992)
<p>Target of book and content (based on the Introduction to the book)</p> <p>"This book is not a guide to customs and traditions, but a guide to good food etiquette..." The book helps to answer questions on Japanese table and social etiquette. "The wearing of indoor slippers, the significance of some numbers and the presentation of business cards are important in the Japanese way and have been highlighted in this book."</p> <p>"The author delves into all aspects of Japanese etiquette: from gift-giving, seating arrangements for formal dinners, serving sake, coping with unfamiliar food, to business entertainment and festive occasions".</p>	

Appendix 1

Name	Author (s)
Business & Pleasure The Best of Asia (TIME presents)	Finkbeiner-Zellmann, Peter Peter Finkbeiner (born in Berlin) is an author-photographer-publisher of life-style magazine and travel guides. He is best known, however, as creator of the in World Guide.
Type of book	Publisher
Travel guide	Signum Publishing INC
Place of the publication	Edition
USA	1994
<p>Target of book and content (based on the Introduction to the book)</p> <p>This is guidebook that introduce the whole of Asia. "The Best of Asia is the first up-market guide to the entire continent, based on author's personal travels from Karachi to Kyoto". This guidebook is mostly targeted at business travellers. It gives tips on how to behave in Asia, general information about every Asian country and most of all it is guide to find the right hotel and restaurant.</p>	

<p>Name</p> <p>Discover JAPAN Words, Customs and Concepts (Vol. 1)</p>	<p>Author (s)</p> <p>This book is contributions by 62 different writers from Europe, USA and Japan</p>
<p>Type of book</p> <p>Guide to Customs</p>	<p>Publisher</p> <p>Kodansha International</p>
<p>Place of the publication</p> <p>Tokyo</p>	<p>Edition</p> <p>1987 (first edition 1982). This book was previously published as A Hundred Things Japanese in 1975 by Japanese Culture Institute</p>
<p>Target of book and content (based on the Introduction of the book)</p> <p>Discover Japan consists of a great deal of Japanese words and concepts from "Aisatsu" to "Yohaku". Every concept and word has its own author who explains the meaning.</p> <p>For example MEISHI (a business card, a calling card) "Possession of a meishi, the central prop in the act of selfintroduction, is imperative for anyone in business or professional worlds in Japan. Without meishi to present, a Japanese feels unequipped for meeting new people". This is followed with more detailed instructions how to exchange meishi.</p>	

Appendix 1

Name	Author (s)
The Insider's Guide to Japan	Popham, Peter. Peter Popham is a British author and journalist who has lived in Japan for nine years. His works appears in newspapers and magazines around the world.
Type of book	Publisher
Travel guide	Merehurst Press
Place of publication	Edition
London	1987 (First published in 1985)
<p>Target of book and content (based on the Introduction to the book)</p> <p>"Japan, much larger than most people think, has an extraordinary history, artistic and cultural heritage, unique traditions and philosophies and has made immense technical and industrial achievements." Japan is a complex nation which confronts the visitor with a vast, bewildering range of choices".</p> <p>The book consist following parts:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <# The Island of Japan (geography and history) <# The Culture of Japan <# Japan: The Broad Highway (introducing Honsu and Kyushu) <# Japan: Off the Beaten Track (trips from Tokyo including Hokkaido, Shikoku and other Islands of Japan) <# Travellers' Tips (Accommodation, Visas, Shopping etc) and Instant Japanese 	

Name JAPAN	Author (s) Dr Giesen, Walter (religion, literature, music) & Prof. Dr Hassenpflug Wolfgang (Climate) & Khan Karin (introduction and chapter from A to Z). All authors are German experts in their fields.
Type of book Travel Guide	Publisher Baedeker (Baedeker -AA)
Place of the publication UK	Edition 1983
<p>Target of book and content (based on the Introduction to book)</p> <p>"It is precisely this mingling of different elements that makes the land of the rising sun such fascinating country to visit".</p> <p>The two main parts of the book are the introduction and Japan from A-Z. The introduction consists of topics like geography, history, climate, culture, art, economy etc. Japan from A-Z is wide introduction to Japanese places to visit. The last part of the book called Practical information includes many different tips from traveling to food and good manners. Also a brief language course is included.</p>	

Appendix 1

Name JAPAN	Author (s) Written by the staff of Berlitz Guides
Type of book Travel guide	Publisher Berlitz Publishing Ltd
Place of the publication Switzerland	Edition Sixth Printing 1992/1993.
<p>Target of book and content (based on the Introduction to the book)</p> <p>The 265 pages are targeted to cover the highlights of Japan, grouped by area under seven different headings. "our selection of sights will enable you to make the most of your holiday".</p> <p>"This comprehensive guide offers you all the information you need to prepare and enjoy a fascinating journey through Japan, from the snowcapped perfection of Mt Fuji to the sunwashed beaches of the south, from the quiet gardens and temples of Kyoto to the bustle of downtown Tokyo".</p> <p>"The sights" is the main area (pages 58-185)</p> <p>Other areas are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <# Help on planning a trip <# Where to go <# General background including Japan and the Japanese, Historical landmarks, Facts and figures and History (pages 8-52) <# Entertainment and Activities including Eating out <# The Practical Information including Hints and Tips <# Map Section <# Index 	

Name	Author (s)
The Intelligent Businessman's Guide to Japan	Dr Alston John P. Dr Alston is a professor in the department of sociology at Texas A&M University. He has written several publications and articles concerning the social and cultural differences between Japan and the West.
Type of book	Publisher
Business guide	Charles E. Tuttle Company
Place of the publication	Edition
Japan	Fourth Printing 1992. First edition 1990.
<p>Target of book and content (based on the Introduction to the book)</p> <p>"For Westerners dealing with the Japanese, simple differences in business practices can be troublesome obstacles to successful negotiation". In this book Alston describes common Japanese rules of social interaction and shows how foreigners who understand them can put this knowledge to profitable use.</p> <p>"This guidebook is an invaluable aid for acquiring the extra leads to business success".</p> <p>"Insider's tips that will make dealing with the Japanese both manageable and successful".</p>	

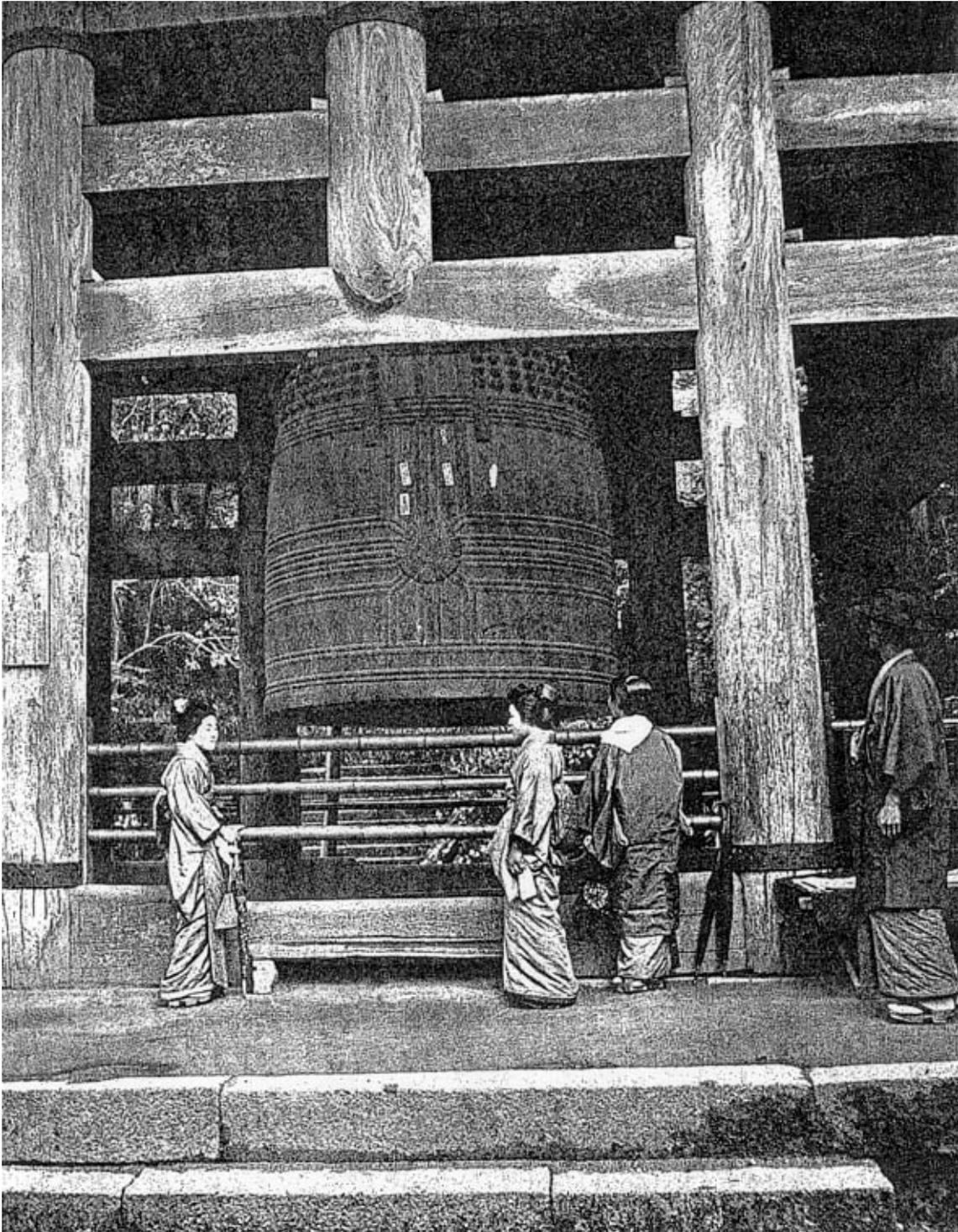
Appendix 1

<p>Name</p> <p>Japanese Etiquette & Ethics in Business</p>	<p>Author (s)</p> <p>Boye Lafayette De Mente</p> <p>De Mente has written several guidebooks including guidebooks for travellers on Japan and the Japanese.</p>
<p>Type of book</p> <p>Guide to Business Etiquette</p>	<p>Publisher</p> <p>NTC Business Books</p>
<p>Place of the publication</p> <p>USA</p>	<p>Edition</p> <p>1995 Sixth Edition</p>
	<p>Target of book and content (based on the Introduction to the book)</p> <p>"As long as key areas of Japanese behavior are based on circumstances and etiquette rather than principles, Westerns and other outsiders must know a great deal about the origin and essence of their situational morality in order to deal with them responsibly and effectively". "...business and political behavior in Japan are direct reflection of the traditional core culture...".</p> <p>The book consists of the following topics to explain the arguments mentioned above.</p> <p>Topics:</p> <p>Tate Shakai Living and Working in a Vertical Society</p> <p>Wa Peace and Harmony in an Up-Down World</p> <p>Kaisha The Japanese Company</p> <p>Manejimento Aspects of Japanese Company Management</p> <p>Nippongo The Magnificent Barrier</p> <p>Yamato Damashii The Spirit of Japan</p>

Name Ugly Japanese , Ugly Americans	Author (s) Min Byoung-chul & Nevitt Reagan
Type of book "Guidebook" with humorous slant	Publisher BCM Publishers Inc.
Place of the publication Korea	Edition 1994
<p>Target of book and content (based on the Introduction to the book)</p> <p>"Ugly Japanese, Ugly Americans is designed to give insights into the ways in which Americans and Japanese can misunderstand one another. We do not attempt to analyze cultural behavior in depth, but rather to illustrate potential pitfalls in cross-cultural interaction. The examples are necessarily subjective, representing the views of authors. In fact, not all of the behavioral attributes may really be described as "ugly". Some may be strange, confusing, or merely funny – but all are certainly different".</p> <p>"Americans who live in Japan (or Japanese who live in America) will eventually learn much of the information contained in this book on their own. Our goals is to save culture learners time and trouble as they gradually work toward intercultural accommodation."</p>	



PICTURE 7 A Geisha Dancing (Ponting, 1911)
See page 42/Japanese women.



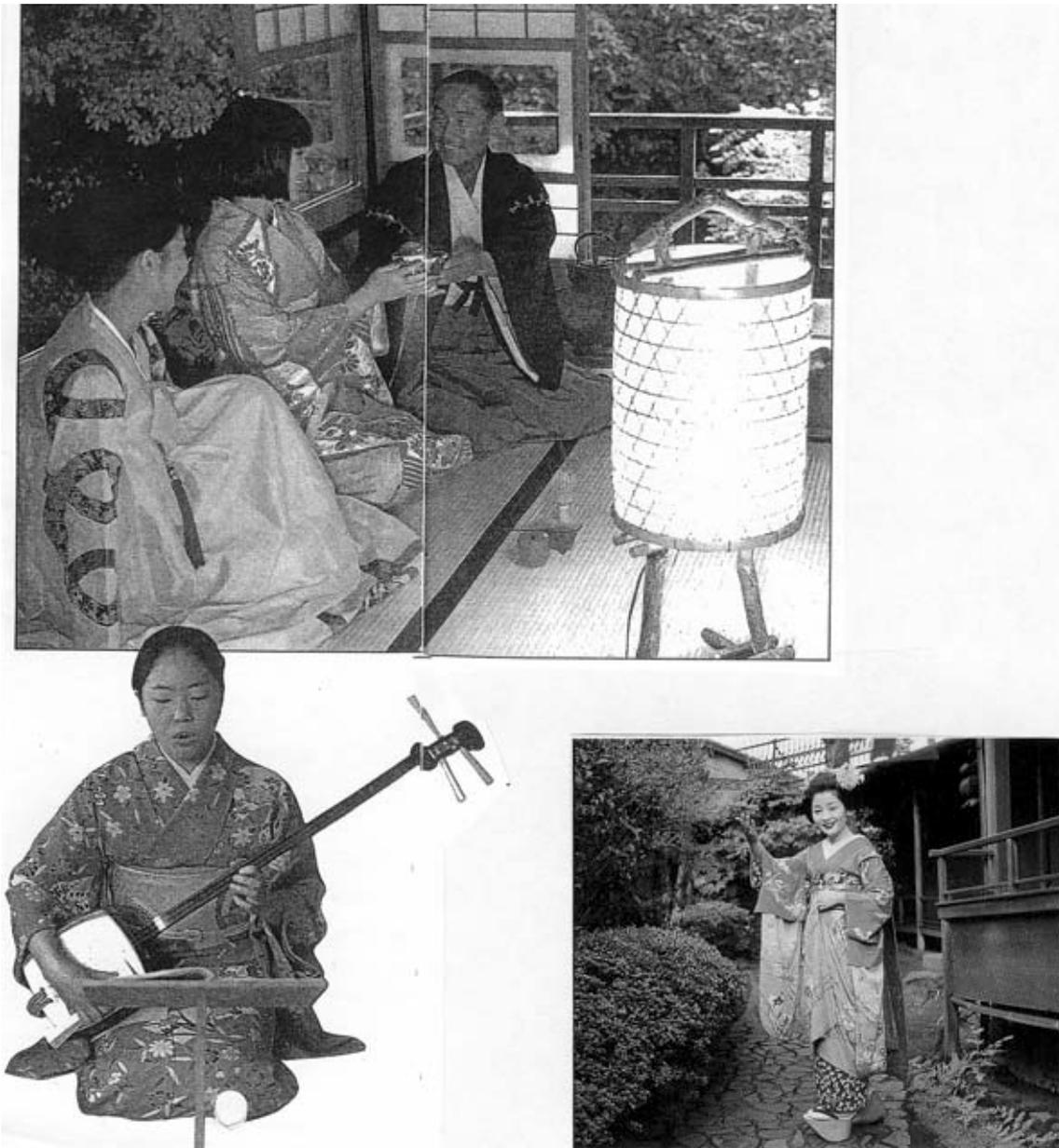
PICTURE 8 The Great Bell at Chio-in Temple (Ponting, 1911)
See page 42/Japanese women.



PICTURE 9 Kinkakuji (The Golden Pavilion) (Ponting, 1911)
See page 42/Japanese Women.



PICTURE 10 A Japanese Lady (Maraini, 1971)
See page 42/Japanese Women.



PICTURE 11 The Tea Ceremony and a Young Mistress of Traditional Nagauta Singing
Accompanies Herself on the Shamisen (Popham, 1984)
See page 42/Japanese women.

PICTURE 12 A Geisha (JTB, 1990)
See page 42/Japanese women.

Appendix 3
Pictures of TABLE 5.1
Kyoto and Nara,
page 56.



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PICTURE 13 Golden Pavilion (JTB, 1994)

PICTURE 14 Nijo Castle (JTB, 1994)

PICTURE 15 Imperial Palace (JTB, 1994)

PICTURE 16 Kasuga Shrine (JTB, 1994)



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Appendix 3
Pictures of TABLE 5.2
Kamakura & Hakone,
Hakone & Fuji and Nikko,
page 57.



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- PICTURE 17 Toshogu Shrine (JTB, 1988)
PICTURE 18 Kegon Waterfall (JTB, 1988)
PICTURE 19 Mount Fuji (JTB, 1994)
PICTURE 20 Great Buddha (JTB, 1994)



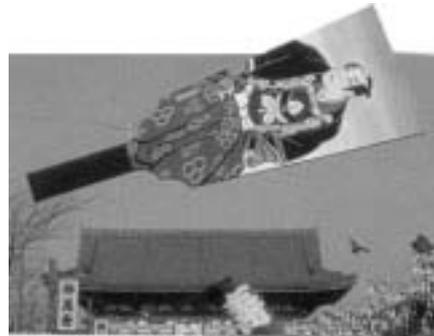
21



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- PICTURE 21 Geisha Party (JNTO, 1985)
- PICTURE 22 Sumo (JNTO, 1985)
- PICTURE 23 Crystal Room Revue (Gray Line, 1989)
- PICTURE 24 Asakusa Temple (Gray Line, 1989)
- PICTURE 25 Meiji Shrine (Gray Line, 1989)
- PICTURE 26 Imperial East Garden (Gray Line, 1989)
- PICTURE 27 New Car Pavilion (Gray Line, 1989)

Appendix 3
 Pictures of TABLE 5.4
 Modern Symbols of
 Japan page 59.



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PICTURE 28 Shinkansen (JTB, 1986)

PICTURE 29 Skycrapers (JTB, 1989)

PICTURE 30 Neon lighting and Electronics/Akihabara (JTB, 1994)

PICTURE 31 Neon lighting and Electronics (Berliz, 1989)

Appendix 3
Pictures of TABLE 5.5
Traditional Symbols
of Japan I, page 60



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- PICTURE 32 A Geisha (Berliz, 1989)
- PICTURE 33 Mount Fuji (Baederker 1983)
- PICTURE 34 Temple (Baderker 1983)
- PICTURE 35 Festival (Berliz, 1989)

Appendix 3
 Pictures of TABLE 5.6
 Traditional Symbols
 of Japan II, p. 62.



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PICTURE 36 Tea Ceremony (Baedeker 1983)

PICTURE 37 Ikebana (Baedeker, 1983)

PICTURE 38 Kabuki (ISEI, 1989)

PICTURE 39 Sumo (ISEI, 1989)

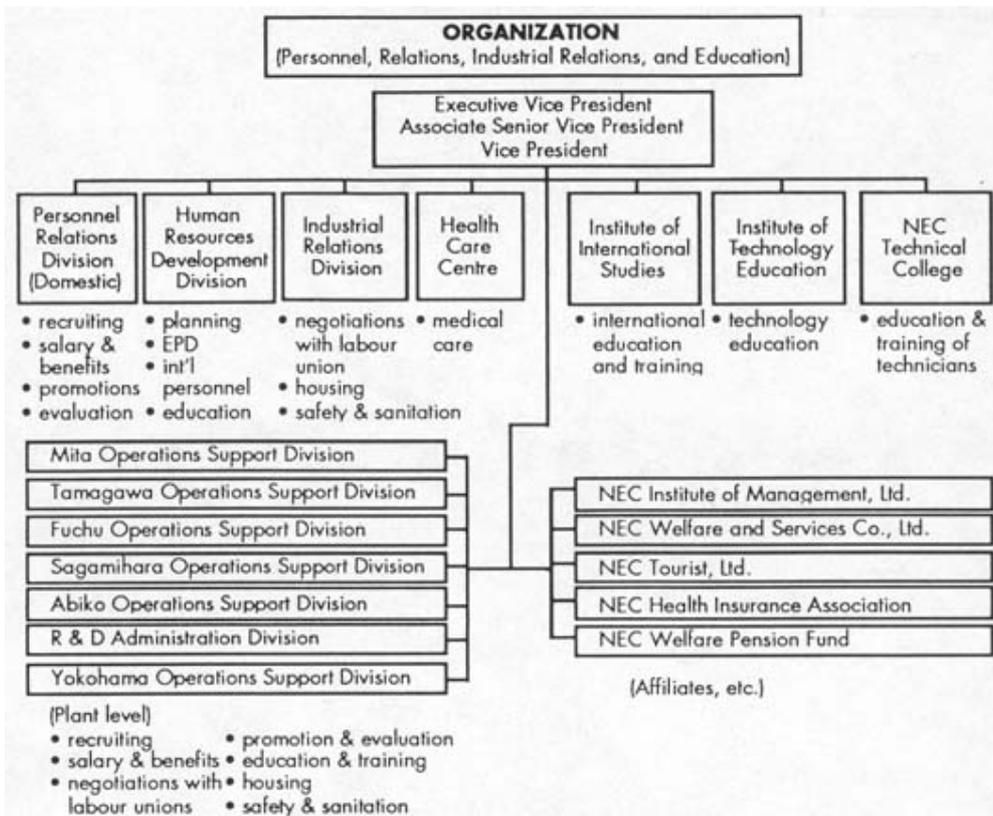


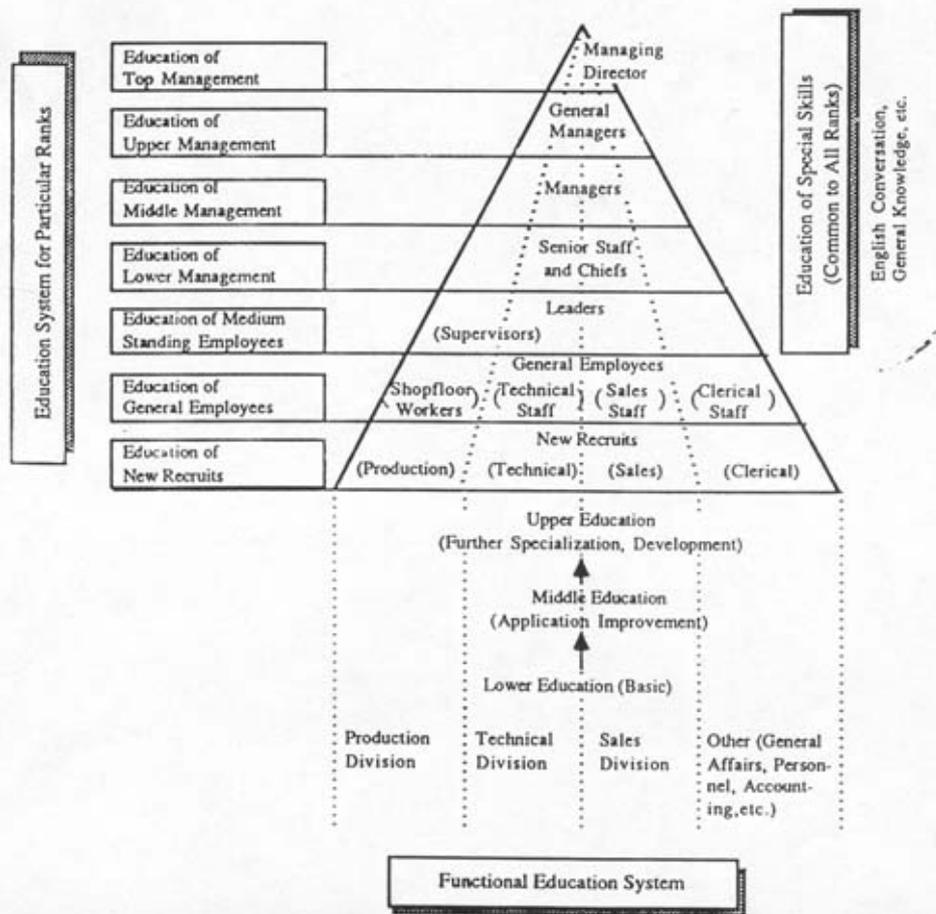
FIG. 5.1. Personnel Organization of NEC



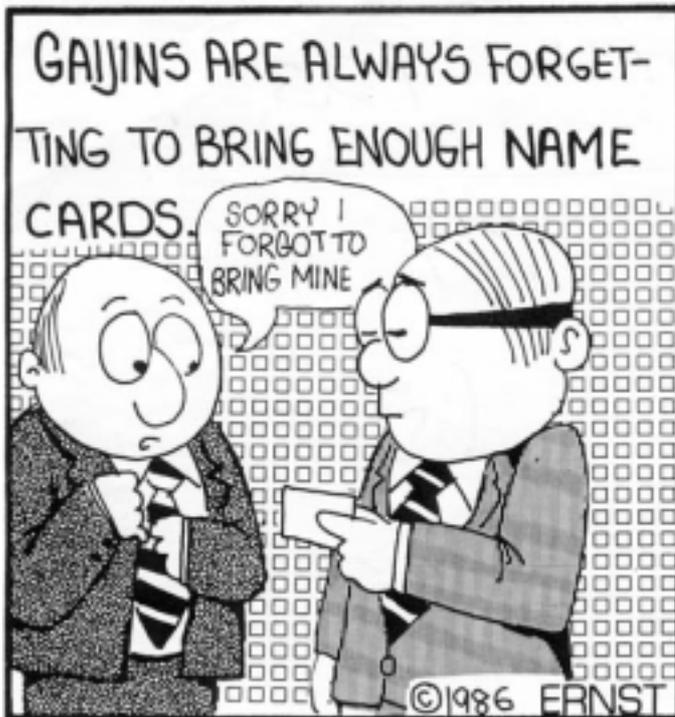
Education and training is a very important part of Japanese company culture¹ and one may say that understanding education and training in its wider meaning, it is actually wrong to separate corporate culture and training under their own titles, because both concepts deal with matters that assist the company in reaching its long-term goals. Conditions for successful training are very important elements of Japanese company culture like lifelong working relationship, teamwork, distribution of knowledge, rotation and career processes, long-term planning which always includes training and education. It is said that training is a part of the job without a separate function. Japanese company culture motivates its employees to develop themselves which is the basic idea for the lifelong learning.

Education and training are the natural aspects of leadership in a Japanese company. Almost all the workers of a company take part in training and education in one way or another, and this involvement is total.

The education and training systems are very effective and systematic in Japanese big companies, but the situation is very different in small companies. The Japanese government has been taken an active role in enhancing lifelong learning providing training not only to respond the growing demand for leisure-oriented learning activities but demand for SMEs.



Model of the Training Programme in a Japanese Company

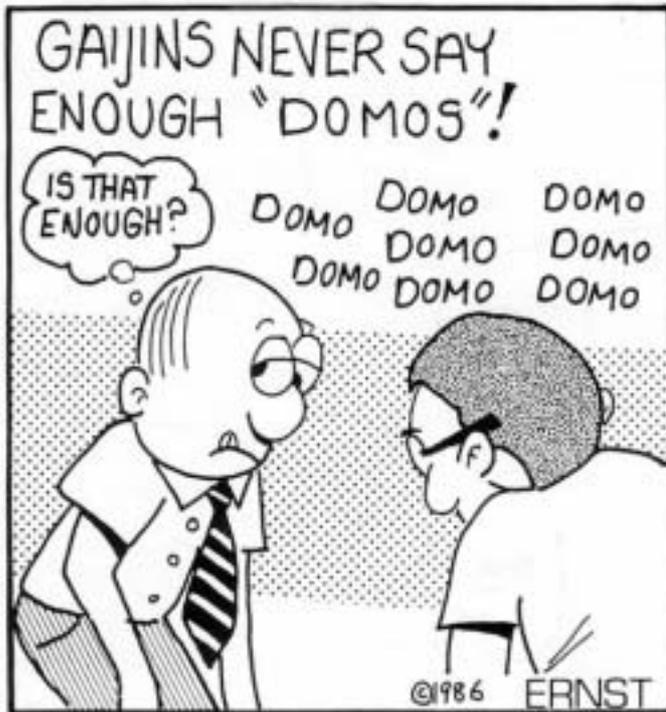


また足りないや パーティなどで初対面の人とすぐ名刺を交換するのが日本人、10~20枚などすぐなくなってしまう。外国ではセールスマンは別として一般の人は音声で相手の名前を覚える習慣をもつ。職業について語ることはあっても、地位や肩書きは言わないまま別れることさえある。

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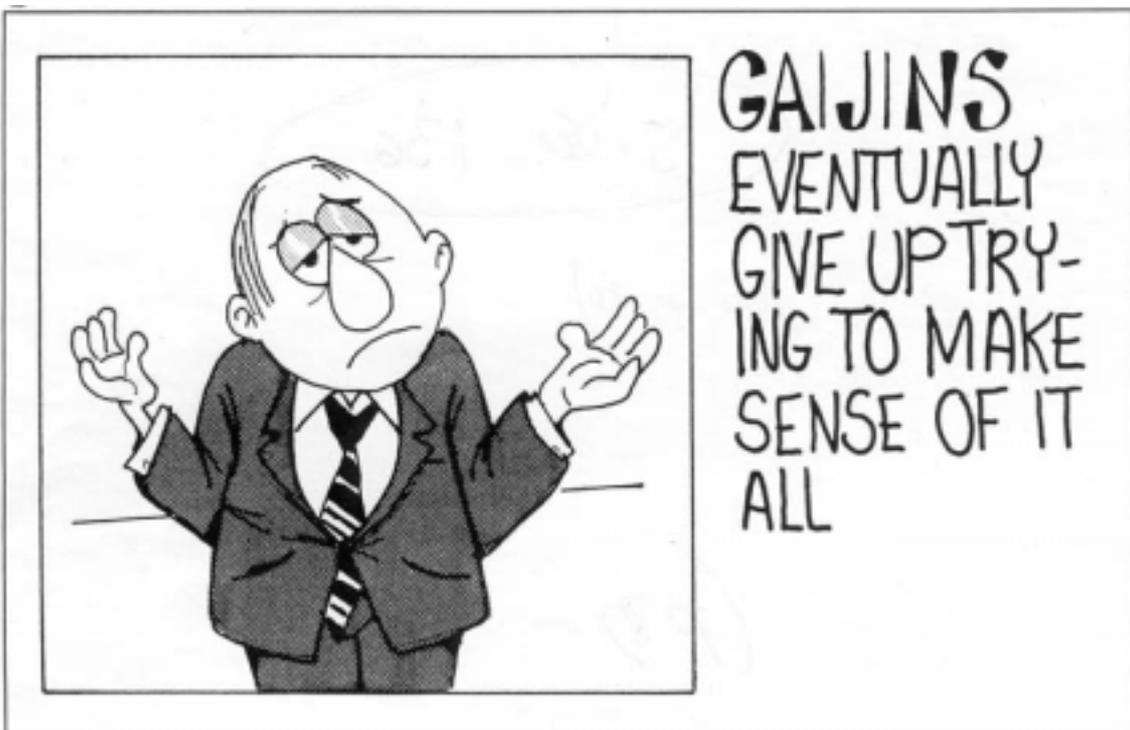


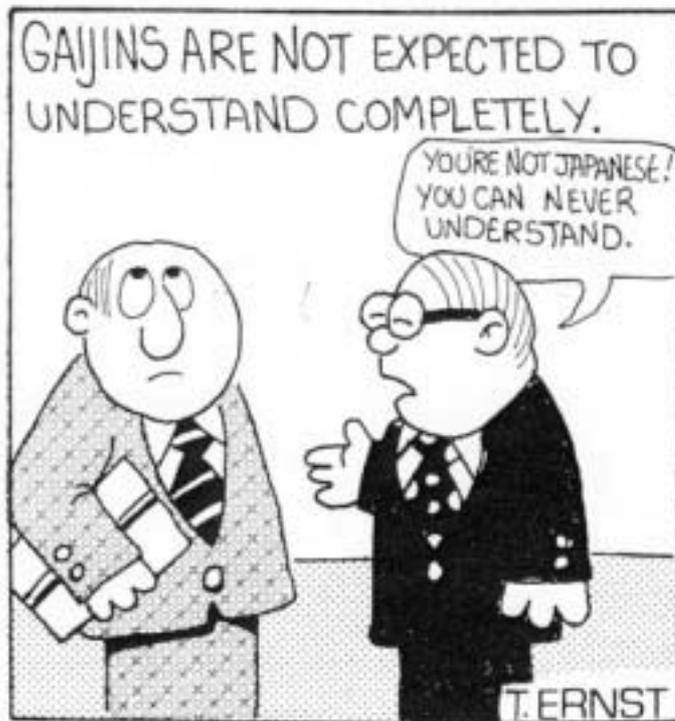
GAIJINS
ARE ALWAYS
TRYING TO
READ
JAPANESE
FACES



「どうも」ばかり 「どうも」は最近の日本人の口癖の一つでもあるが、挨拶のほか、感謝する時、陳謝する時などほとんど際限なく使うこの言葉に彼らは目を白黒(?)させる。英語に比べて曖昧性の強い日本語のその最たるものが、この「どうも」である。

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ええ、どうせわかりませんよーだ 外人は日本のことなど到底理解し得ないと頭から決めてかかっている日本人が少なくない。最近では日本語の弁論大会に参加したり、能を舞ったり、漢字を駆使した日本語の随筆を書いたりする外人もあちらこちらに存在する。先入観を捨ててかからねば、

- 1 MERVOLA, PEKKA, Kirja, kirjavampi, sanomalehti. Ulkoasukierre ja suomalaisten sanomalehtien ulkoasu 1771-1994. - From newsbook to newspaper. The appearance spiral and the outward appearance of Finnish newspapers from 1771 to 1994. 429 p. Summary 17 p. 1995.
- 2 PÖRHÖLÄ, MAILI, Yksin yleisön edessä. Esiintymisjännitykseen ja esiintymishalukkuuteen liittyvät kokemukset, käyttäytymispiirteet ja vireytyminen yleisöpuhetilanteessa. - Alone in front of an audience. Cognitive experiences, behavioral features and physiological arousal in speech anxiety and willingness to speak. 203 p. Summary 6 p. 1995.
- 3 KUUTTI, HEIKKI, Tutkiva journalismi. Journalistinen suuntaus ja suomalaisen journalismin tutkivuus. - Investigative reporting. The journalistic trend and the investigative nature of Finnish journalism. 325 p. Summary 8 p. 1995.
- 4 LÜUKKA, MINNA-RIITTA, Puhuttua ja kirjoitettua tiedettä. Funktionaalinen ja yhteisöllinen näkökulma tieteen kielen interpersonaalisiin piirteisiin. - Spoken and written science. Functional and social perspective on the interpersonal features of scientific texts. 158 p. Summary 12 p. 1995.
- 5 ISOTALUS, PEKKA, Toimittaja kuvaruudussa. Televisioesiintyminen vuorovaikutuksen näkökulmasta. - Presenter on screen. Television performance as interaction. 208 p. Summary 10 p. 1996.
- 6 PURO, JUKKA-PEKKA, Towards a phenomenological theory of interpersonal communication. - Kohti keskinäisviestinnän fenomenologiaa. 214 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 1996.
- 7 HURME, PERTTI, Acoustic studies of voice variation. - Puhe- ja lauluäänen akustiset piirteet. 148 p. Yhteenveto 5 p. 1996.
- 8 GARANT, MIKEL DEL, Intercultural teaching and learning. English as a foreign language education in Finland and Japan. 322 p. 1997.
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- 11 HUJANEN, JAANA, Journalismin maakunnallisuus. Alueellisuuden rakentuminen maakuntalehtien teksteissä ja tekijöiden puheessa. - Regional journalism. The construction of regions and regionalism in Finnish newspaper texts and in journalists' talk. 281 p. Summary 5 p. 2000.
- 12 PIETIKÄINEN, SARI, Discourses of differentiation. Ethnic representations in newspaper texts. - Etnisen toiseuden rakentuminen uutisdiskurssissa. 330 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 2000.
- 13 LI, ZHENYI, Cultural impact on international branding. A case of marketing Finnish mobile phones in China. 147 p. Yhteenveto 1 p. 2001.
- 14 VAAHTERIKKO-MEJÄ, PÄIVI, Cultural differences in ibero-nordic communications. Perceptions about finnish and colombian negotiators. - Kansainvälistyminen, globalisaatio ja lokalisaatio vaikuttajina Suomi-Kolumbia-kaupassa. 174 p. Yhteenveto 7 p. 2001.
- 15 SUMIALA-SEPPÄNEN, JOHANNA, Nomadit rippituolissa. Medioidun uskonnon moraallisen järjestyksen dynamiikka (post)modernin television ja kulttuurin kontekstissa. - Nomads in the confessional: mediated religion in the context of (post)modern television and culture. 212 p. Summary 2 p. 2001.
- 16 SUVANTO, MARI, Images of Japan and the Japanese. The representations of the Japanese culture in the popular literature targeted at the western world in the 1980s - 1990s. 134 p. Yhteenveto 2 p. 2002.