

# **The Images of the Japanese in the Western World**

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## **ABSTRACT**

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Japan and Japanese have been very popular issues to study during last three decades in the Western world. Especially the Western people have been keen on learning how the Japanese economical miracle was built after Second World War. In the mid of 1970s started a real boom of Japanese Miracle literature. The boom concentrated on explanations of the secret of Japan's commercial and industrial success which was seen as something unique and respected. That time great number of books were published in the field of business management and business communication including etiquette.

The main task of this study is to find out what kind of images were created of the Japanese in the Western world during this boom of the Japanese Miracle literature in 1980s and 1990s. The study is based on the content analysis on guidebooks targeted to the Western people, those who are thinking of visiting Japan and/or intending to do business with Japanese.

To understand the image of that time and today I have also reexam the images created since the Marco Polo (1307) when he as a first European reported about the island called Chinpagu (Japan).

In addition to the images of the Japanese this study aims to arrive at deeper understanding of the meaning of image and stereotypes from the perspective of intercultural communication. In this study I have chosen the concept of stereotyped image.

**Key Words:** Image, Intercultural Communication, Japanese, Streotypes

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### **Tourist cues: DO'S and DON'TS**

- ❖ Leave your shoes at the entrance when entering Japanese home or Japanese-style restaurant
- ❖ Never call a Japanese a "Jap" (insulting)
- ❖ Do not stare at the Japanese (can cause trouble)
- ❖ Never raise your voice
- ❖ Be calm
- ❖ Do not kiss in public

(Cochard, Jr. & Hardiman, 1971)

## **I THE FRAMEWORK**

### **1 INTRODUCTION**

In this study I concentrate on two concepts which have been very popular in 1980s and 1990s: the Japanese and images.

Japan has been universally acknowledged as the pre-eminently successful economy in the world. After Second World War the Western world became interested in the fast commercial and industrial development. Last three decades Western world has been keen on learning how the secrets of the Japanese economical miracle.

In the mid of 1970s started the great boom of Japanese "Miracle literature" in the Western world. In the 1980s in the Japanese economical miracle was the vogue in Western World and the answers to the Japanese success were found in the unique Japanese Business Management system. 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 Japanese style Management to the West (Suvanto, 1993; Merviö, 1995, Lillrank, 1991; Fukuda, 1988). Most of the books and the studies had the tendency to create far-reaching conclusions on the characteristics of Japanese society on the basis of just a few examples of large, successful companies (Merviö, 1995:28) (See chapter Nihonjinron 1.1.).

In addition to the Japanese Management books, there was a great number of books focusing on Japanese business etiquette and communication. The purpose of these books was to help Western businessmen to understand the general principles of Japanese business culture by giving practical advice, hints and guidelines like following example adapted from Kato & Kato, 1992, *Understanding and Working with the Japanese Business World* shows:

“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

These books emphasize the 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 frictions between Japan and other countries.

Though this study is focusing on the great boom of the Japanese it is important to notice that Japan has been very interesting subject to the Western world much longer, since Japan opened her doors to outside world in the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century.

But why study more the Japanese and Japan? There are already a great number of books, articles, and studies concerning this nation. Like 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“. It is very easy to agree with Wilkinson. Thus, the purpose of this study is not actually to write anything new about Japan or the Japanese, but to find out have been written about the Japanese and what kind of images have been created of them?

In this study my aim is to find out what kind of images are built of Japan and the Japanese based on the boom of Japanese Miracle literature (especially the period 1980-1995) in West focusing on Japanese-style management, business etiquette and communication. To understand the image of that time and also today I have also briefly reexamined the historical images since 1307.

The great boom of Japanese style management literature was also time of growing interest toward issues like internationalization, globalization, international relations, intercultural communication, image, management knowledge and so on. The list of these topics could be much longer (Lehtonen, 1993, 1998; Lebra, 1993; Yokoyama, 1987; Furusten, 1999).

Because of the fast globalization and competition the need for better understanding and communication at multicultural platform has grown rapidly. Especially there has been a great demand for finding right solutions to succeed in the fast developing global market.

According to Furusten (1999:3), since the 1980's there has been a dramatic period in the globalization of popular management culture in the Western World, manifested by gurus with books selling millions and world wide seminar tours. Alongside the popular management boom there was a number of books and seminars related to issues such as business culture in different countries, different business etiquette and communication. Intercultural competence - ability to communicate effectively and successfully in multicultural platform - has become more important.

Success or even surviving in the global market has not been the question of business sector only, but that of the whole nation - "successful nations must be globally competitive" (Johanson, 1998:149). Especially today 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 the role of good national image and reputation are playing a more important role in nations' wealth and success (Karvonen, 1999; Lehtonen, 1993; 1994; Kunzick, 1997). Furthermore, Karvonen (1999) has argued that every actor of this world of media depends on good image and reputation.

In the next chapters I will try to find the answer to the question what kind of images have been created of the Japanese and by whom?

**2.1 The Method of the Study**

In this study I use content analysis which is “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context”(Krippendorff, 1980:21).

The research data is focusing on text and pictures of guidebooks on Japan and the Japanese targeted the Western travelers and businessmen. This study will adopt the intercultural communication approach.

The main concepts are national image and a part of it, stereotyped image. When content analysis is focusing on images there are two approaches possible to form of analysis

- Attributes, frequency profiles, distributional properties
- Associations

(Krippendorff, 1980:112)

In this study I have chosen the attributional point of view meaning that “an image of something is systematic presentation of all that is known or said to be unique about that something” (Krippendorff, 1980:113). Thus to find the answer to my main question what kind of images have been created of the Japanese in the Western world I have to find the answers to the following questions:

- What has been written about the Japanese and by whom?
  - What kind of people Japanese are and are not?
  - What the most popular expressions of Japanese woman and Japanese man?
  - What are the most used/ popular pictures of the Japanese in these books?
  - What are the most used characters describing Japanese?
  - What has been written about the Japanese communication styles, business communication and etiquette?
- To get also the picture of Japan itself, the country where Japanese live (99%):
  - What are the most used symbols of Japan?
  - How Japan is described to “gaijin” (foreigner)?

The process of the analysis leads to direct validations giving the opportunity to comparisons between hypotheses based on different types of material in different time periods. They also lead to several questions and new hypotheses for further studies, which will be suggested at the end of this study.

One of the tasks of this study is also to test if these pictures of the Japanese which most of us have in our mind will be found in this research material:

- ♦ Japanese are polite
- ♦ Japanese hard-working people
- ♦ Japanese live in exotic and different country that produces most of our home-electronics and cars
- ♦ Japanese woman is same as geisha
- ♦ Japanese man is a business man in dark suit or samurai with sword

Content analysis is considered one of the most important methodologies in communication research (Krippendorff, 1980). It is quite common to use content analysis when the research problem is related to images. I collected material on the Japanese culture, business culture and communication for years and I found it to be the only possible process to create this study through content analysis.

I am trying to create as objective a picture of the Japanese as possible using critical analysis and try to keep distance from my own experiences of the Japanese society. But still I cannot escape my own images of the Japanese created before and after analysis of the material, my own cultural background which is not the same as Anglo-American and my own values and beliefs. But like Merviö (1993:79) argues, the relation between culture and ideology which includes symbols, values and beliefs, and other forms of human thought is complex. It also means that the beliefs and values of the researcher are part of the study results (Merviö, 1993:79)

## **2.2. The Research Material and Structure of the Study**

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 ordered because there was a great interest to learn about Japanese Training and Education among the Finnish companies. After this report I have been involved in different kinds of projects related to Japanese business field and Japanese business communication. A great part of this study has also been done at London University, Library for Asian and African Studies and at Japan Foundation Library, Tokyo.

The first part (chapters 1-2) focuses on the framework of the study. This part will be followed by chapter three which focuses on historical perspective. Content analysis in this part is mostly based on books and notes written by western authors who were well-known in their own time and their writings are still often quoted. The chapters focusing on the time after the War also include a guide published in Japan. Especially the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's seems like period when Japanese had to rebuild their image to the outside world. The whole time period is historical part is from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century till the end of the 1970's. Collecting the material

for this chapter a big help in finding the authors was Wilkinson's book "*Japan versus Europe- Images and Realities*". Also Littlewood's book, "*The Idea of Japan Western Images, Western Myths*" (1996) is very strongly related to topics of my study especially in this chapter. However, I found this very late so I have used it perhaps less than I should have.

The main part of analysis starts with brief introduction of Nihonjinron literature. After this I will concentrate on two books written by Dean C. Barnlund and William B. Gudykunst. They are well-known American authors in the field of communication cultures in America and Japan. The purpose of the chapter is to give a view on the image of Japanese built from the perspective of intercultural communication and academic perspective. The part of the Japanese Miracle, chapter seven will continue this analysis focusing on more on popular literature, though the line between these two types of literature is not very clear. However the Western world has been very keen on learning how to communicate with the Japanese whose communication culture has described so different and unique.

The part of Japanese Miracle consist chapter six focus on the Travel and ordinary "Western Tourists", the symbols and pictures behind their images of Japan and the Japanese. This chapter is based on guidebooks for ordinary non-Japanese travelers published in West and Japan by well-known publishers like Berlitz, Baedeker, Fodor, Kodansha International, Charles E. Tuttle Company in 1980s and 1990s. An important part of this chapter are the photos published with the text. It is good to remember that most of the images are based on the pictures. We receive a great deal of information through pictures. However, pictures usually are not as respected as written language, but it is also true that we do believe things easily if we can see them with our own eyes (Hietala, 1996).

The chapter seven concentrates on the Japanese business world. The analysis is based on Business Management literature and guidebooks on Japanese business communication for Western businessmen published during the great boom on Japanese Miracle Literature these issues in 1980-1990. The authors of the books are both Western and Japanese, but the guides are clearly targeted to Western readers and are mostly published in English. One important criterion especially for the guidebooks is that they are good examples of the books that can be easily found at International Airports, they are sold in international books stores in Tokyo, London, New York, Los Angeles, and so on. The material focusing especially on the structure of Japanese industry and companies include writers like Dore, Macmillan, Van Wolferen, Clark, and so on.

As mentioned before, there were a great number of books, studies and articles on the Japanese and Japan in the 1980s and the 1990s, during the "Japanese Miracle " boom. I have chosen the books introduced on the previous page from a vast selection in London University Library, Japan Foundation Library and tried to get those that represent the most typical examples of this genre. The biggest problem in choosing the books was that especially the books dealing with business etiquette and communication and travel books repeated each other and I started to feel that I could just as well take either all of them or just one.



But, the most important criteria were that these books were targeted to Western readers and especially to Western businessmen or/and travelers. Those who are think to visit Japan and/ or doing business with Japanese or even compte Japanese in their own market area or just survive in this difficult market.

Another criterion was that the books should be widely distributed and also that the names of the books were known, they have been taking part in the general discourse. Of course there are some examples of books that are written by names which are more "ordinary" travelers. Behind all this is the popularity of the topics.

The books which are analyzed in the part of Japanese Miracle are introduced (author, publisher, place of publishing, edition, the content) in appendix 1.

### **2.3. The Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework is based on concepts of culture, image and intercultural communication. I have chosen concepts that seem to have as many definitions as there are users of these concepts.

#### **2.3.1. Culture**

Culture is, above all, a way of living (Barnlund; 1989:44). Thus culture includes 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 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". In this study I am not interested in creating any new definitions for culture, but concentrate on the perspective of communication.

Like Hall says: "Culture is communication. It is a system of communications and responses". It gives guideline for individuals 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 tries to effect the way we act in a strange culture (Lehtonen, 1994:51).

Communication is sending messages and creating meanings. Trough the communication we create and manifest cultural differences and similarities (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994:19). According to Barnlund (1989:98) one of the most important function 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 formal occasions we discuss culture with special etiquette and protocol. These are the norms, which form the practice and customs concerning communication, business negotiations, formal meals, visits and so on. Though 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).

### **2.3.2 Communication between Cultures**

The situation where 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 have different rules, norms, expectations, habits and values based on our different cultural backgrounds. Though the culture is behind our communicational choices there are different personalities and personal abilities to communicate and behave in different situations and settings 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. Like Lippman (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. Saying it in another way, attitudes and stereotypes create expectations that very often lead people to misinterpret each other's messages (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994:2).

Intercultural communication and generally the knowledge related to global understanding, there have been several warnings about creating too generalized and simplified stereotypes of different nations. (Littlewood, 1997; Salo-Lee, 1996; Lehtonen, 1994). Lebra (1993:51) has pointed out that there has been warning against overstating cultural differences but instead to exhort to find sameness behind these differences. But on the other hand, there has been demand to be sensitized to cultural differences, ignorance of which would be detrimental to intercultural communication.

However, the differences and misunderstandings seem to play a great role in intercultural communication research (Nagatani & Edgington, 1998; Aoki, 1999; Salo-Lee, 1996; Neupstun, 1993, Morsbach 1984 etc.).

The development of intercultural studies and research started in American Universities in the 1940s and it was the relations between USA and Japan that was the start (Lehtonen, 1998:310).

In the 1940s R. Benedict was asked by American government to write a manual on Japanese behavior. Other American anthropologists trying to interpret the behavior of Japanese and trying to give some basis to understand 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 contrast to the United States, a New-World, machine-age culture..." (Embree, 1975:3).

As mentioned before, Management Knowledge Literature, Intercultural communication research and literature and research focusing on Japanese economical issues have very strong American influence. This can be explained by historical reasons (mentioned above) and also that the largest percentage of these studies compare communication between America and Japan (Gudykunst, 1993:6-7). Gudykunst explains this with 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. Compared with other different cultures, Japanese culture is more accessible for Americans.
- There have been several conferences devoted to discussing communication in Japan and USA.

### 2.3.3 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”*  
These are definitions to the concept of image by The Collins English Dictionary (The Collins, 1986 pp.421).



In this study I will concentrate on images as mental picture or the mental experience of something (mielikuva).

The concept of image is a very complicated one. There are literally hundreds of different definitions of image. The concept of image as it is defined today (see above) was born in the USA in the middle of the 1950s when the more visualized (visualize = to form a mental image) culture became popular through TV. (Karvonen, 1999). The studies about images are usually written from the perspective of business marketing or journalism (Karvonen, 1999).

According to Kunczik (1997:2-5), images are formed through a very complex communication process involving different sources of information. Most of the images of other cultures are based on school books, popular encyclopedias, popular literature, guidebooks, fictions, newspapers, magazines, radio and TV, especially international programs. Also cultural exchange programs, sports, movies, light operas, theater and so on have a crucial role in how the 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 it is still the main source of information on foreign countries (Kunczik, 1997:7).

Image can be seen as the combination of emotional attitudes, prejudices or illusions, information, knowledge and experiences (see e.g. Lehtonen, 1994). I want to approach the concept of image as a model or structure in our heads that represents the reality around us. We need these models as tools to manage the chaotic world around us (Karvonen, 1999). The importance of the images is that we all form them all the time and not only of the present reality, but also of the future. Thus images act as our instructions when we make choices and decisions. They control our perceptions (Karvonen, 1999; Salo-Lee, 1996; Boulding, 1973; Lippmann, 1965). Boulding (1973: 6) agrees with the earlier, but expresses it more strongly, saying that "behavior depends on images.

We create these tools to manage the chaotic world around us through the complicated communication processes where many different information sources are involved (Kunczik, 1997:5). The raw material of our images is messages (Boulding, 1973). The receiver of the message forms the image. Thus the image cannot, actually, be built by the sender of the message. Sender can only give the material for forming the image (Karvonen, 1999).

The relationship between image and message is an important one. The meaning of the message is actually the change it can make to the images. (Boulding, 1973: 7). The level of information of the message depends on the present images. So, if the message contains enough information to change the image, we say that we received new information from that message (Karvonen, 1999; Boulding, 1973).

Boulding(1973:7-8) proposes the following arguments between images and communication focusing on the meaning of message. When a message hits an image, three things can happen:

- 1) The image remains unaffected
- 2) There is an effect of a message on the image
- 3) There is a revolutionary change in the image

He argues that our image is in itself resistant to change.

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**

<b>National Identity - What Japan and the Japanese really are or are not?</b>	
There are over 120 million Japanese living in a country which has different regions and cultures - who can tell what they really are? One could answer that Japanese themselves are the best to answer. However this is not main question of this and this study is not going to find the answer to this problem.	
<b>National Profile - How the Japanese like to be seen by non-Japanese?</b>	<b>National Image - How are Japan and the Japanese seen by non-Japanese?</b>
This question will be partly answered by analyzing the Nihonjinron literature and guidebooks published and written by Japanese.	This is the main focus of this study.

For many countries national images have a crucial impact on their economy. The national image effects the opportunities of the country to attract foreign investments as well as tourists and it also has an important effect on the export industry. National images influence evaluation of existing products and also may be transferable to new or unfamiliar products (Agarwal, Sikri, 1996).

### 2.3.4 Stereotypes and Stereotyped Images

Stereotype is "*standardized image or conception of a type of person etc.*" (Collins, 1986 pp. 847).

It seems to be same thing as it is with the concept of image: there are as many definitions of the stereotypes as there are authors who formulate them. However there are always some general definitions that most of the authors can accept. One of them is: "*stereotypes are shared beliefs about person attributes, usually personality traits, but often also behaviours, of a group of people*" (Leyens, Yzerbyt & Schadron, 1994:11).

Individuals have social categories in which they place people. Stereotypes provide the content to these categories and tell if the people are like the different categories (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994). Stereotypes are very often negatively colored. As the danger of stereotypes has often been seen their way to generalize and simplify things. They make us see things before we actually do so. Thus, they create too strong expectations teaching us what to look for (Lippmann, 1965; Littlewood, 1997; Salo-Lee, 1996). According to Lehtonen (1991 :175), "in initial interaction with strangers, stereotypes play 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”.

However, it is argued that stereotypes are usually hard to change. Sometimes they even become myths (Salo-Lee, 1996). According to Kunczik (1997: 3), "...once established in a group stereotypes tend to persist". Almost nothing in the world seems to be able to shift the images of 40% of population even within one decades”.

The negative aspects of stereotyped images are influenced by the argument that they are created based on very slight information and knowledge and there are too many feelings and attitudinal prejudices involved. People are put in different categories too easily with little information. Stereotyped images have often been seen as opposite to truth. Authority is another question when discussing the truth of the images. The simplest answer to the question if images are true or false is that they can be either. I found it more important ask if people are willing to look for further information and change their stereotyped images if necessary. Furthermore, I wanted to find out, what kind of information can change our images and also what is the role of the authority in this process? (Lehtonen, 1994; Boulding, 1973)

In this study I will concentrate on stereotyped images which are part of National Images. According to Lehtonen (1994:44), national image is the combination of all the feelings, values, expressions, information that a group of people connect to a certain country or nation. Stereotyped images in this study are seen as standardized mental pictures of nationalities shared by group of people. We use them as a tools to understand and manage the world around us.

### **2.3.5 What is the West**

The material I will analyze in this study is mostly focused on the differences between the West and Japan. Usually the concept of West is defined in a very general way. There are many authors who have even left the whole concept without any definition. Those who define the concept, the West are the same as Europe or/and North America. These definitions lead to the conclusion that there is one Western culture, one Japanese culture and between those two cultures there is a series of contrasts in cultural values. Furthermore, Littlewood points out in his book, *"The Idea of Japan, Western Images, Western Myths"* (1997: xii): "To talk of "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"* the following way: "In talking about of the Western Image I'm guilty of gross over-simplification, whose only excuse is that these are convenient shorthand". He continues with argument that not all-European countries have held the same images of Japan and also American images have differed from European ones. He also points out that the concepts of East and West give the false impression of complete opposites.

Benedict (1954) divided the West and the East, the Americans and the Japanese, "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 the value judgment.

When we discuss the concept of West we cannot ignore the concept of westernization; however, the discussion of it has a little bit different perspective. According to travel guides (for example Baedeker, Berlitz), Japan has been described as the most Westernized country in the Far East. Westernization has been the issue in Japan, which has attracted visitors' attention (Neupstun, 1993:21).

Especially the Meiji Restoration (1853-1912) has been 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 her culture in various fields in harmoniously combining her own traditions and cultural values with western cultural values (Maraini, 1971; Varley, 1974; Tames, 1996 etc.).

The concept of modernization process has been seen as a part of the westernization of Japan. Maraini (1971) argues that westernization means acceptance of the values and ideals of the West and western outlook of life. Modernization involves more than anything else the adoption of technology, which is ideologically neutral: "Japanese spirit and Western technology". He also argues that in Far East Japan is a modernized country, not a westernized one.

Hirano (1988: 160) argues that for Japanese international cultural contacts have always meant the receiving and adapting foreign cultural elements. Since the 19th century it has meant cultural elements from modern Europe and America. According to Neupstun (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 the image of imitators and one could say that it has been one of the most well known images in the Western world since the Meiji restoration (Neupstun, 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 their ethnic diversity of the society. As a European I found the more serious difficulty to talk about typical European person or his/her behavior. But like Lebra says (1993:81), people are ready to make generalizations about outsiders like Americans about Japanese, but are quick to rebut any generalization made about themselves by outsiders.

Concerning the material I analyze in this study, it is important to point out the American influence on the issues I focus on. First of all, intercultural communication studies have had great American influence. The starting point of these academic studies was based on Japanese-USA relations (Lehtonen, 1998). The same situation has been with the Management knowledge literature (Furusten, 1999). Academic research on the Japanese economy and introduction of this work into the University curricula has taken place in America (Linder, 1994). Economic literature on the Japanese companies deals with several attributes. The company itself has been

regarded as culturally unique and somewhat aberrational compared to the Anglo-American orthodoxy of capitalism. This influence can be also seen in the material analyzed in this study. Authors who have the Anglo-American cultural background (Metsälä 1988; Lehtonen 1997) write most of the intercultural studies and books.

On one hand, it is difficult to define the concept of West more specified than Western Europe and North America. On the other hand, comparing the cultural values between Japan and West creates the definition. The Japanese culture has been seen opposite to the Western culture. Littlewood (1997) has solved the problem of using the concept of "West" in his books. He has not tried to do justice to the complexity of the great differences, he has simply selected those images of Japan which recur most often and which have left the deepest imprint on popular attitudes (Littlewood, 1997: xii).

I agree that the concept of West is complexity one and I'm not going to be better definer of the concept than the authors before me. However in my study the factors behind this concept are following ones:

- Most popular books which I analyze in study are mostly written by Americans. There are authors from Western Europe (British, German, Italian) especially the authors of travel guides.
- Target group is Western people including all the people with "Western values, norms and attitudes". These values, norms and attitudes are mostly influenced by American authors.
- The material published by Japanese is targeted to Western people mostly to Americans.
- However the historical part of the study has a strong European point of view until the World War II.

The Western Image of Japan and the Japanese follows Littlewood: the images which recur most often and which have left the deepest imprint on popular attitudes. I assume that these images are mostly based on the material I'm analyzing in this study.



### **3 THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND FOR IMAGES OF JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE**

Though this study is focusing on the boom of the "Japanese Miracle in 1980's and 1990's the images of that period and today can be based on very old descriptions and pictures, the grip of inherited prejudice appears to be as strong today as in the past (Fält, 1992, Wilkinson, 1990; Littlewood, 1997). This historical chapter will give a valuable information to understand the image of the Japanese today.

This chapter will elaborate on the image of the Japanese from the historical perspective based on the first impressions from the 14th century written by Marco Polo until the big boom of the "Japanese Miracle" literature in Europe and USA in the 1970's. It is based on content analysis focusing on popular image built in the "Western" world.

#### **3.1 The 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 made a very positive picture of Japan and the Japanese. He even went too far describing the amount 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).

The first direct contact between Japan and West was made in the mid-16th century by missionaries. It was 1543 when the first Spanish and Portuguese missionaries followed by traders came to Japan and started to build the picture of Japan and the Japanese to the Europeans.

Coming to East the Europeans had generally adopted the role of representatives of superior race. Thus discovering Japan and her highly developed culture and civilization was a surprise, even shock to the new comers. Because of this positive discover most of the missionaries made a very admired picture of Japan (Wilkinson, 1982, 1990, Cooper, 1965 etc.).

Jesuit Francis Xavier wrote first about this new discovery to Europe: "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 sentences of Xavier 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. Beside their polite manners missionaries paid a lot of attention to well-developed education system which was even seen more advanced than the European one (Cooper, 1965; Fält, 1994; Wilkinson, 1990; Karttunen, 1992 etc.).

Most of the images built of the Japanese were very favorable ones. Alongside the positive there was an image of 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 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 polite, hospital, discreet, patient resigned and melancholy Japanese, especially men were described cruel and warlike people who had a very high opinion of themselves. Xavier wrote about their trust on weapons: "They carry a sword and dagger both inside and 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 ).

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, increasing sphere of foreign influence, even possible invasion made decision-makers, shoguns and feudal lords suspicious (Keene, 1969: 1). Alongside this the most important European export items, fireworks were seen too great threat to the Japanese society and leaders made decision to prohibit Christian activities, expelled the missionaries and finally close the borders of the country for two centuries (Keene, 1969; Wilkinson, 1990; Tames, 1996 etc.).

In the time 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 trough the long years of isolation. The Dutch studies provided knowledge of outside world (Comte-Helm, 1996; Tames, 1996; Karttunen, 1992).

The knowledge of Japan and the Japanese in Europe was very limited. Generally speaking the Europeans did not know much about Japan, if anything. The information of Japan was based on a few active writers like von Siebold, Kaempher, and Thurberg, who tried to collect information about Japan and the Japanese as much as they could in difficult circumstances at trading station where they felt themselves more like prisoners (Keene, 1969; Chamberlain, 1890; Fält, 1994 etc.).

The image of Japan and the Japanese during the isolation did not differ from what had already been written 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 other 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).

### **3.2 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. The strong foreign pressure made Japanese open their borders to outside world and the period of isolation came to end.

Japan was under strong foreign and domestic pressure when she started the Meiji restoration in 1868. It was political revolution carried out by samurais. The main aim of this reform was to learn from West with Japanese spirit and thus avoid the fate of the other Asian countries to be colonized by Western world (Varley, 1974, Tames, 1996, Wilkinson, 1990 etc.). Meiji restoration has considered the beginning of the modern Japanese society. According to Morikawa (1993:1) and Kahn (1970:1) post-war miracle rests on solid basis of Meiji restoration when Japan was changed from 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 competitor to the industrialized Western world. Chamberlain described the development of Japan in 1890: "Japanese boast that they have done in twenty years what it took Europe half as many centuries to accomplish" (Chamberlain, 1890:1).

In the end of the 19th century an increasing number of travelers and businessmen found Japan. There was a great curiosity in Western world toward Japan when she was once again opened to outside world. To the Europeans Asia had been the same as China and India, not Japan. Actually still in the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th century Europeans and Americans saw China and India 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 "superior westerns", though they had developed very fast their own domestic industry (Wilkinson, 1990: 98-99).

The image of Japan and the Japanese did not change so much. Still it was mostly described as different, topsy-turvy, exotic fantasyland. Thus the fundamental picture of Japan in the West was a country of extreme and paradoxical contrasts. Authors of the books published in the end of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th

century related to Japan and the Japanese customs seemed to repeat each other. Like Wilkinson (1990: 102) wrote: "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 line and their books begin from the backside. Their locks though they are imitated from Europe, are locked by turning them from left to right..." (Alcock, 1863:101).

Japan was presented in British magazines and reviews in 1850: "Japan remains to us a vague and shadowy idea. Japanese people had remained a mystery for two centuries". Japanese were seen as singular people from forbidden land (Yokoyama, 1987:5).

In the 1880s the image of unreal Japan became firmly established in England. There was an image of civilization without any originality, which was seen as a very romantic idea by Victorian tourists. The image of borrower was found through this romantic idea (Yokoyama, 1987:5).

The image of the polite Japanese 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 they wrote about the Mount Fuji, beautiful gardens, shrines and temples, teahouses and odd Japanese customs like women and men having the hot bath together. 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 innocence of this unspoiled paradise as how they wanted to see Japan. Like Longford has summarized most of the travelers had a positive image of Japan: "The traveller for pleasure, who spends a few happy months among them will have a little but good to say of them" (Longford, 1912:112).

In Europe there was a great interest toward exotic cultures. Also a sudden boom of "Japonaiserie" came to Europe in the mid-19th century. This boom started with prints and "objects d'art". The impressions of Japan were much influenced by the art items like wood block prints, painted screens, textiles and porcelain that came into European shops and showrooms.

In the end of 19th century it spread to many areas of the life, like this following example of 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".

(Adapted form Wilkinson, 1982:36)

### 3.3 "Things Japanese" - a guidebook to Japan by Sir Chamberlain

Englishman Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote a guidebook on Japan titled *Things Japanese*. He was "the leading western student of the Japanese language in the nineteenth century and commentator on the country" (Wilkinson, 1990:102). He arrived Japan in 1873; middle of the big changes.

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

Chamberlain himself describes in 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 encyclopaedia 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 travellers and others" (Chamberlain, 1890: 2). In the introduction Chamberlain warned Western world about the fast development of Japan and her power in the fields of commerce and military. This was something that Western world found difficult to believe.

Very valuable things of the book are that it is combination of different authors, Chamberlain has indicated the names of trustworthy works at the end of the articles and also a list of books recommended concerning the topic of the chapter.

Things Japanese consist of a great amount of topics from abacus to zoology. Chamberlain paid a lot of attention to the topics like art, women, the Japanese people, language etc.

The chapter, Japanese people (227-235) is divided into two parts: Physical Character and Mental Character. The first one is started with 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 the Japanese women very charming and he even devoted the whole chapter for them.

The part of mental character is started 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 one to make one whole analysis concerning the images built of the Japanese during the last 500 years.

In the mental part of the 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 different 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. However, Chamberlain was able to sum up these opinions and find three principal on the credit side which were kindness, cleanliness, a refined artistic taste and three on the debit side: vanity, unbusinesslike habits, and incapacity for appreciating abstract ideas.

### **3.4 The Model of the Japanese lady - Geisha?**

The European artists, connoisseurs and novelists created the exotic-aesthetic image of Japan with all the great stereotypes. They made the picture based on Japanese women that has dominated the Western psyche for over a century (Ma, 1996:9). It was very often singular, nature-loving and naive faces of Japan (Comte-Helm, 1996:23). The Japanese women were often pictured in traditional kimonos in tearooms, gardens, in front of the temples, under the cherry blossoms, serving green tea or playing traditional instruments, dancing or making "ikebana(See appendix 2a-2g and 3b).

The 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).

"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 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).

These charming little women from Lotusland, which 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 famous opera *Madam Butterfly*. The image of Japanese women was formed centuries before the romantic novels. Since the 16th century Japanese women's beauty and graceful manners were greatly admired. Though legal prostitution was strongly criticized by missionaries, it offered Western tradesmen a chance to enjoy prohibited fruit of passion (Fält, 1994; Wilkinson, 1990; Ma, 1996 etc.).

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 have the freedom from the sexual prohibitions placed upon him by his own culture (Cooper, 1965; Ma, 1996; Wilkinson, 1990; Fält, 1994).

In 1841 Siebold wrote about the Japanese women (see Barrow eds. 1973:123): "The minds of the Women are cultivated with 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 also Chamberlain (1890), Clement (1904) and Hearn (1894) paid attention to the fact that Japanese women were more educated and cultivated than their sisters in other Asian countries were.

The geisha has often been seen as a model of the Japanese woman. Especially for the foreign tourists one of the first images of Japan is Geisha (Baedeker, 1983, Littlewood, 1997; Document Program by YLE, The Finnish Broadcasting Company, 1/ 2000). Behind of this are symbols like kimono, white faces with very strong make-up, beautifully made black hair, traditional shoes and so on. These things do not yet make a woman to be geisha. The concept of geisha is more like a professional institution, which has existed for over 400 years. When a young girl or her family decided that she would be geisha she had to leave her ordinary life, move to the "geisha community" and be trained (YLE 1/document program 2000).

Embree wrote about 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 geisha, a girl must undergo an apprenticeship training period and then pass an examination, after which she is licensed by the police. 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."

### 3.5            **Toward the Negative Image**

Chamberlain wrote in 1890 (*Things Japanese* /introduction) that "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 educational Japanese want to be somebody else and something else what they have been and still partly are".

Hearn wrote in 1894 (see Kings 1984:23):"The traveller 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".

However, most Western people wanted to see Japan as an unspoiled Lotusland and ignored the fast development. The frivolous image of Japan was abruptly challenged by the Japanese victory over China in 1895. The real turning point was the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese war 1904-1905. The Western world was poorly prepared for the rapid development of Japan and thus the Victory came to the Western world as a big surprise and shock. Japan had proved to the Western world that the Meiji reform was working and she was taking an equal footing with the major western powers. The fear of yellow peril was awoken (Wilkinson, 1982, 1990; Westney, 1987).

The Western merchants did not build very positive pictures of Japanese in 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 by shilly-shallying things concentrating too much on unessential things and ceremonies (Chamberlain, 1890; Wilkinson; 1990).

Alongside the positive picture of Japanese, especially based on admired Japanese women, the men were seen more often as cruel and 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). The imitations of the Western culture were seen as very amusing by the Western observers (Comte-Helm, 1991; Fält; 1992).

For travelers Japan offered exotic beauty and exotic manners (Macauley, 1967; Ponting, 1911). It remained as image of toy-town country with temples and cherry-blossoms (Littlewood, 1997). "The sudden rise of the Japanese nation from an insignificant position to a foremost rank in the comity of nations has statyled the world" (Kikuchi, 1915:7).

The fear of yellow peril was not only a military one, but also an economic one. It was said that the real danger from the East lay in economic competition. During the First World War Japan was able to increase her export and make a real economical benefit of the war in Asia. During the worldwide recession in 1929-1930 Japan continued to



expand her markets and increase her export. That time Japan was blamed for unfair competition, social dumping, manipulation of the yen exchange rate, and so on. "Made in Japan" meant "cheap and unreliable" (Wilkinson, 1990:129-130).

The popular image of Japan was called "Japan Incorporated" which lived long after the Second World War. This picture described Japan as a monolithic corporation where mass of its workers, the ordinary citizens, followed the orders of 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 toward Western culture, and full benefit of the myth of Asian racial and cultural affinity. The Japanese themselves tried to prove that they had an important role to liberate Asian countries from European rulers. These myths of "Asian" similarities opened the way to present Japanese colonialism (Merviö, 1995:69; 1993:90-91).

It was not anymore only the Western literature building the image of Japan and the Japanese, but growing mass media. In the Western media Japan was not only seen as an economical monster, but as a country of fanatical and inhuman "Orientals". This image was first made in the Western press and the first scenes of warfare films after the Japanese bombings of Shanghai in 1932. However, most people in the Western world wanted to keep the image of charming, unspoiled and exotic Japan (Wilkinson, 1990; Comte-Helm, 1996; Varley, 1974 etc.). Shepherd sum up in his book, *The Land and Life of Japanese* (1937): "At the same time Japan was strongly admired and bitterly criticized".

Still Japan was seen as a land to travel. "Pilgrims, sightseers, traders and agents of every kind fill the trains and motor-buses and crowd the numerous hotels". Among the travellers Japan was known as her Mount Fuji, gardens, temples, rice fields and so on (Shepherd, 1937; Leiviskä, 1933). De Garis wrote in 1934 about the Japanese customs and manners giving "tips" for travelers focusing on their polite and formal etiquette, which was "a sign of modesty and self-depreciation. 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 from their Lotusland would attack the European and American colonies in Asia. However the Western world was hit by a great shock in the beginning of the 1940s when the Japanese army was successfully marching into the Western colonies. The aesthetic picture of Japan was replaced. Japanese were seen as dreadful fighters who were regardless of their own lives (for example "kamikaze" the suicide fliers) They were more or less inhuman. The picture of brutal and cruel behavior of Japanese during the war became familiar and it still has quite a strong influence (Wilkinson, 1990; Comte-Helm, 1991; Littlewood 1997).

### 3.6 The Japanese as "trade soldiers"

The Second World War brought a complete change. Japan was a country in ruins and she was occupied for the first time in her history. The new Constitution of Japan was made under the control of the United States and it 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 has been strongly influenced by the United States, based on 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; Koskiahho, 1995; Kodansha International, 1994).

After the Second World War the Japanese had to start from the ruins. They had a common goal: Japan - 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 world war two and the loss of empire and markets Japan is again one the world major industrial powers" (Hall, 1963:8).

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

The results of the growth were evident in the 1960s when Japan's gross national product reached second place within the market economy countries. Japan's world trade was growing twice the speed of that of Europe and of the USA. Once again this fast development and change came as a great surprise to the Western world. The Japanese economic miracle, at the speed and efficiency overtook the rest of the world (See e.g. Lorriman & Takahashi, 1994; Wilkinson, 1990).

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. The fast industrialization has made Japan as a polluted monster (Comte-Helm, 1996; Wilkinson, 1990; 1982). Japanese were once again seen as machines. They were working like ants and living in small boxes. To 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 it was added the picture of a fanatically warlike, cruel and untrustworthy nation. Soon the Second World War was replaced by trade war (Comte-Helm, 1996; Wilkinson, 1990; Littlewood, 1997).

The images of the cruel and violent Japanese were very deep in Western minds. Popular culture encouraged this image. There are several examples of films like "The Bridge on the River Kwai", Merry Christmas Mr. Lawrence, Objective Burma just to

mention a few examples. Trade war soldiers were also encouraged by popular culture. Good examples of this were films like "You only Live Twice" and "The Rising Sun."

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.

Alongside the warnings of Japanese business soldiers, several articles focusing on the possibilities to learn from Japanese success, economical miracle, also including housing, health care, transport and crime prevention were also published (Wilkinson, 1982:76).

### **3.7 Fuji and Shinkansen - Old Traditions in a Modern Society**

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

After the Second World War Japan was ruined and poor. During the war the image of the Japanese were built as brutal, cruel even inhuman people. The Japanese spirit has shown Japanese loyalty to their nation and especially for their emperor (Embree, 1945; Moeran, 1986; Benedict, 1946). Soon the image of trade soldiers was taken the place and the Japanese spirit had a little bit different.

In the 1960s Japan's economic growth was fast and her international relations with 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 reaching her goal to be on the top of world economy. Alongside this development it was also important to rebuild her image to the outside world (Hirano, 1988:157).

In 1964 Japan was hosting Olympics in Tokyo which also meant the liberalization of overseas travel and inauguration of jumbo jet flights. Japanese travelling abroad increased rapidly (Hirano, 1988: 157). The bullet train, Shinkansen, started its services the time of the Olympics and became one of the most well known symbols of Japanese technological development (see p.33 and chapter 6.1 and appendix 3 c).

The Japanese tourist authorities like Japan Travel Bureau created the image of Japan using traditional symbols like Fuji together with new symbols presenting the fast technological development like Shinkansen or Jumbo-Jet. The image of Japan was the combination of unique Japanese culture and traditions with modernized society and high technology; together in a great harmony. 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 country with perplexity:" 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 the different country and different culture was continued by both 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 Western authors and published in the West soon started to use this rebuilt image of exotic country with unique traditions and high technology. The typical picture was Japanese lady in colorful kimono, Mount Fuji and Shinkansen, beautiful temples and busy streets of Tokyo. Foreign visitors again attracted the contrast theme. "Contrasts are everywhere, the modern and traditional walk side by side" (Buck, 1966:14).

There was also criticism toward this "official picture". For example Rebinschung wrote in 1972 (he wanted avoid all these 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).

## II THE JAPANESE MIRACLE

In the end of the 19th Century Japan was found by Western tourists. The first tourist innovation hit Japan in the end of the 19th century and the beginning of 20th century. Also the boom of "Japonaiserie" hit Europe. First it started with "objects d'art", but soon spread to other areas of life. The fast economic and industrial development of Japan at the same time seemed to be hidden from the Western world or, actually, it seemed that Western world did not want to see the exotic unspoiled Lotusland to be changed into a world-class military power and industrialized country. Chamberlain wrote in 1890 (introduction) that "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 educational Japanese want to be somebody else and something else what they have been and still partly are". From the Western perspective the first "Japanese Miracle" took place in the end of 19th century.

The second time Japan surprised the world was with its miraculous recovery from devastation of World War II and its rapid climb to a world-power status. This resulted in massive new efforts to describe and explain the attitudes and behavior of the Japanese to the Western world. In particular 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, Japan's phenomenal rise to economic superpower. The great boom of the "Japanese Miracle literature" hit the Western world in the end of 1970s and in the 1980s Japan was real vogue in the Western World.

"The Japanese Miracle" was criticized and admired at the same time. In the Western World there was a great interest to learn what was behind this success and to find the solutions to the unbalanced trade between Japan and the West.

The Japanese economical growth did not only mean positive attitudes toward the system. Complaints about Japanese as unfair trade partners remained. Trade friction with USA and EU caused serious problems. Especially the American mass media and movie industry (movies like the Rising Sun, The Black Rain) encourages the picture of Japanese as the unfair and brutal businessmen who have come to buy the whole America. Behind this was Japan's challenge to America's hegemony.

Japan had become a major challenge to America's economic positions in the world and also in the 1980s Japanese direct investments in the USA grew very fast including their "national heritage" show business. Japan has also been the biggest foreign holder of American government bonds (Hook 1993:120-121,129).

Tourists found Japan as well. The picture of Mount Fuji with Shinkansen became well-known trademark of Japanese tourist industry. For the tourists, ordinary travelers and businessmen the image of Japan was created to be a combination of new and old - fast economical and industrial development together with traditional Japanese culture.

The part of Japanese Miracle is divided into four parts.

First part is just a brief introduction to the discussions on Japanese, Nihonjinron. The second part, "Japanese Communication Culture" is one the popular topics during the boom of the Japanese Miracle. This part gives an example of two American authors' academical studies on this field. The same topic will be discussed in chapter 7 focusing on the analysis of the guidebooks. The last two parts 6 and 7 concentrate on the main analysis of guidebooks targeted to Western audience, travelers and business travelers.

"Japan is a complex nation of 120 million racially homogeneous people set apart from the industrialized Western countries by its tradition and cultural heritage, yet distance from the rest of the neighboring Asian countries by its incredibly rapid rise to become an economic superpower" (Fukuda, 1988:1).

The Japanese themselves have supported the picture of unique, different and homogenous nation. The Japanese uniqueness has been explained to be based on "Yamato spirit with the Western Learning" and respect of the old Japanese traditions. Ninety-nine percent of the Japanese belong to the "Yamato race" sharing a single, common ancestor called Amaterasu. These factors have been seen as the explanation why the Japanese draw sharp line between themselves and foreigners; in Japanese "gaijin" (meaning outsider). Many found "Japan closed" to foreigners and the "real opening" seems to be very difficult to the Japanese. It seems that in many ways Japan is still today isolated from the rest of the world (Tames, 1996; Merviö, 1993; Tsukaguchi-Le Grand, 1991; Tiililä, 1991; Ito, 1998 etc.). Robins-Mowry (1993:74) argues that "for foreigners and those outside the Japanese core groups, racism in Japan is clear and evident." She (p.75) also points out that isolating and excluding is part of the routine practice in group-oriented societies such as Japan.

Though Japanese want to go their own way, they seem to be very sensitive to what gaijins think of them; what is the image of them (See e.g. Koskiaho, 1995; Morton, 1984). According to Neupstuny (1993:19): "Few countries and few people have been as unsuccessful as Japan and the Japanese communicating with the mainstream of the Western world and other nations. Much of this has been the result of the great cultural distance between Japan and the West." He also adds that there are things from historical configurations that have a certain influence.

The economic growth of Japan caused a boom of discussion on the essential characteristics of Japan and the Japanese culture, society and people. There have been different names for theories of Japan and the Japanese: nihonron, 'theory of Japan', nihonjinron, 'theory of Japanese' and Nihon bunkaron, 'theory of the Japanese culture' (Tsukaguchi-Le Grand, 1991:143). Merviö (1991:166) has defined Nihonjinron as debate on the Japanese people. In general sense Dale (1986/Introduction) says that Nihonjinron could be defined as "works of cultural nationalism concerned with ostensible uniqueness of Japan in any aspect and which are hostile to both individual experience and the notion of international socio-historical diversity".

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

The idea of Japanese uniqueness has a long history in Japanese literature. In the Tokugawa period Japanese uniqueness was seen to be based on "wakon kansai" meaning "Japanese spirit with Chinese learning". In Meiji period it was "wakon yosai", Japanese spirit with Western learning (Tiirilä, 1991; Oe, 1995). Typically Japanese authors have explained Japanese uniqueness with concepts like: homogeneity, harmony, consensus, groupism and contextualism (Tiirilä, 1991; Tsukaguchi-Le Grand, 1991; Befu, 1993 etc.). Nakane Chie, Watsuji Tetsuro and Doi Takeo are some examples of the well-known Japanese authors in the field of Nihonjiron literature. They have not been ready to accept everything what is said about Japanese by Western authors (Tiirilä, 1991; Koskiahho, 1995; Befu, 1993 ).

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

- The Chrysanthemum as 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)Merviö,
- Tate shakai no ningen kankei by Nakane Chie (1967)
- No to ieru nihon by Morita Akio and Ishihara Shintaro (1989)

The American literature on Japan and the Japanese was 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 how to deal with the Japanese. In the study she focused especially on child-rearing practices, values and attitudes about proper behavior, and hierarchical organization in Japan (Gudykunst & Antonio, 1993; Benedict, 1946). It was an anthropological research like most of the studies of that time. (Gudykunst & San Antonio, 1993:20-21). This could be seen as a beginning of the Nihonjinron literature in the Western world (Tiirilä, 1991:36-38). Most of the Nihonjinron literature, written in English by non-Japanese authors, has focused on Japanese character (Tiirilä, 1991:35-36).

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

In the mid-1970s started the boom of "Japanese Miracle" literature in Europe and the USA. This literature presented Japanese economy and its success prospects to the 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. Especially in the field of business management there have been a great number of books which have taken as



their task to point out how the "Japanese Miracle" was made and how it could be applied to Western business world. Common to these books is the tendency to concentrate on differences, notably in social values and social structures, between Japanese society and "the West" (Merviö, 1995; Tiirilä, 1991; Lillrank, 1992; Reischauer, 1985 etc.).

Dale (1986) argues very strongly that the translations and Western books we read do not give the picture of Japan as 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". I see this was strongly related also to his argument about results of works done together by Western and Japanese scholars who have been seen to prove the "oriental thought" of the work.

Since the 'Japanese Miracle' boom, the mid-1970s, Nihonjinron literature became quickly a mass consumer product. Thousands of books on one and the same subject were published in millions and millions of copies during the boom. This can only be compared with the Bible or the Koran. Perhaps that is why Japan and Japaneseness were even seen as a religion. Most of the publications that became best sellers were written by academic authorities (Tsukaguchi - Le Grand, 1991:155).

"Western Japanophiles are forever paying homage to the same few cultural icons" (Schilling, 1997:9). In the time of the Japanese literature boom many authors have been complaining that too many people are writing the same things about Japanese with the same examples (Wilkinson, 1990; Beedham, 1996). "In the West the descriptions of Japanese social values were taken very often as some kind of insider's revelation of the secrets of the Japanese clan. The parts emphasizing Japanese uniqueness and the homogeneity of Japanese society fitted well with the old exotic stereotypes of the Japanese being fundamentally different" (Fukuda, 1988:78).

The boom of the Japanese Miracle literature included a great amount of books focusing on the differences between the Japanese communication styles and Western communication mostly concentrating on American communication styles. Many problems between the Japanese and Western world was seen to be caused by differences between these communication styles.

Next chapters will focus mostly on works of Dean C. Barnlund and William B. Gudykunst. These kind of studies beside many guidebooks into the secrets of Japanese communication culture define the picture of Japanese as different communicators.

Both authors' works focus on comparisons between Japanese and American communication cultures. Gudykunst & Nishida in their book, *Bridging Japanese / North American Differences*, have taken a goal to "explain similarities and differences in patterns of communication in Japan and in the USA and to demonstrate how understanding similarities and differences can help Japanese and North Americans communicate more effectively". Target group of the book is Northern Americans. Another book by Gudykunst is *Study of Communication in Japan and the United States*

Barnlund focuses in his book *Communicative Styles of Japanese and Americans - Images and Realities* on the images of Japanese and Americans communicative styles and their relations to reality through several studies. In this book Barnlund tests empirically the images of the Japanese based on studies by well-known names like H. Befu, T. Doi, T.S. Lebra etc.

The conclusions made in these studies are mostly based on comparisons made between Japanese and American communication by American authors; thus the approach of this chapter is very American.

My main aim is to discuss Japanese communicative styles as a part of the answer to my question what kind of people Japanese are. This chapter focuses on the academic perspective of Japanese communication culture through the content analysis based on the books mentioned above. Later this study will discuss the issue concentrating on books for popular consumption. However, to draw a clear line between the academic studies and popular literature is not as easy as I thought when I started this study. This will be discussed more in depth in the last chapter.

This chapter follows the most typical concepts concerning the explanations of Japanese communication culture. These are for example group and harmony and the main concepts related to these like *tatemaie*, *enryo*, *amae* and so on.

The studies and books written during the great boom of the Japanese Miracle literature have been criticized as making too simplified conclusions of the Japanese society based on just a list of the core values of Japanese culture like *amae*, *on*, *giri*,

ninjo and so on. The conclusions have usually been that Japan is unique and different (Merviö, 1995;).

The task of this study is not to revalue or interpret the conclusions of these authors, but to re-examine or better present what they have written assuming that people in West have formed images of Japan and the Japanese based on these writings.

This chapter focuses on a more academic approach to the Japanese communication culture. Chapter seven will re-examine the Japanese communication culture from the perspective of popular literature, guidebooks. The comparison between these two chapters could be a very fruitful one concerning the relationship between authority and the truth of the images. Are the studies by well-known professors more truthful, more reliable than guidebooks written by journalists, travelers or businessmen? Or is a guidebook more serious when it is written by professors like quite many bestsellers seem to be?

## **5.1 Basis of the Japanese Communication Styles**

Japanese communication focuses on non-verbal aspects and in the case of verbal communication Japanese emphasize indirect way of communication. It is important to understand how to read the messages from the context, to read cues (High-context culture)(Barnlund, 1989; Gudykunst, 1993; Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994).

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

- Traditional mental telepathy
- Taciturnity
- Atmosphere
- Indirect communication
- Tatemae and Honne.

It seems to be impossible to discuss the intercultural communication without mentioning Hofstede's four-dimension model of Cultural Differences and how he sees Japan in it

**Table 5.1 Hofstede's Four-Dimension and Japanese Culture**

<p><b>1 Individualism -Collectivism</b></p> <p><i>Japan is collective society</i></p>	<p>In individualism an individual looks her/his own interest as opposed the collectivism in which people from the birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioned loyalty.</p>
<p><b>2 Power Distance</b></p> <p><i>Japan is large power 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><b>3 Uncertainty Avoidance</b></p> <p><i>Japan is a society of a 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 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 personal risk, and relatively tolerant.</p>
<p><b>4 Masculinity- Femininity</b></p> <p><i>Japan is 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 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 the value stress is different in these two cultures.</p>

Hofstede's project covered cultural differences among societies in over 50 different countries. The survey included 32 valued questions to 117000 IBM employees from 40 countries. The results were tabulated and correlated in relation to each other.

- In a case of Japan she was correlated the most Masculine country; the next three after her were Austria, Venezuela and Italy.
- As a society of a strong uncertainty Japan was seventh after Greece, Portugal, Guatemala, Uruguay, Belgium and Salvador.
- As large power society Japan had one the highest indexes together with other Asian and Latin American countries.
- In the indexes of individualism and collectivism Japan was ranked in the middle.

Gudykunst & Nishida (1994) have used the model of Hofstede and explained Japanese communication as follows:

**Table 5.2 Model of Hofstede and Japanese Communication**

<b>1</b>	<b>Individualism - Collectivism</b>
<p>"Japanese is a collectivistic culture where people conceptualize themselves as interdependent with one another". Japanese emphasis on harmony (wa) in the ingroup and on enryo (explained in following chapter) and amae (see previous concept) in interactions with others. Because of harmony Japanese draw a distinction between tatemae and honne (see above).</p>	
<b>2</b>	<b>Power Distance</b>
<p>Japan is a large power distance society meaning that Japanese emphasize status in communication. Power distance leads also to importance of on and giri in the relationships between people.</p>	
<b>3</b>	<b>Uncertainty Avoidance</b>
<p>Japan is a high uncertainty avoidance culture. Japanese pay a lot of attention to rituals and the specification of relatively clear rules in most communication situations.</p>	
<b>4</b>	<b>Masculinity- Femininity</b>
<p>Japan is highly masculine culture which means that they emphasize on communicating with members of the same sex and separation of the sexes in many social situations.</p>	

## 5.2. Groupism

According to Barnlund, (1989: 177) Japan as a culture emphasizes status, group, membership, harmony, modesty, obligations and sensitivity to others.

Groupism has been very popular issue in discussion on Japanese society and culture. Groupism and group membership - family, school class, workgroup, corporation and so on - are concepts that are stressed by most writers (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994, Barnlund 1989). In the research data of this study I argue that there was no writer who did not stress the Japanese groupism.

Japanese society is one of the groups: everyone must belong to a reference group and they say that everyone wants to belong to a reference group (Suvanto, 1993; Hendry, 1988; Lebra, 1976 etc.) These reference groups vary widely from small to large, intimate to impersonal, formal to informal (Lebra, 1976). "Reference is found not only in the *gemeinschaft* based on "blood ties" or "geographical ties", but more importantly, in "company ties" (Lebra, 1976).

"The Japanese concern for belonging relates to the tendency toward collectivism, which expressed by an individual's identification with the collective goal of the group to which he belongs" (Lebra, 1976: 25). "Japanese person stresses his position in a social frame rather than his individual attributes" (Lebra, 1976:22). Japanese are said to identify themselves by current belonging and origin.

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 the their own group".

Japanese found the group based on information, such as age, sex, status and so on necessary before dealing with other people. They prefer to have background information as much 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.

Japanese themselves have actively used "group-model" when building their national profile in the West. "Group-Model" has been used as a model, which concentrates on the internal structure of the groups. (Moeran, 1986 65) Group-model has also been criticized strongly because it ignores one important part of the Japanese society, namely personal networks.

### 5.2.1 Dependence and Loyalty

According to Barnlund (1989:163), strong group ties require the Japanese to subordinate their individualism to the welfare of others. Obligations have a higher priority than rights. Concept of self has been one of those popular topics of Japanese culture (For example Doi, 1988 Lebra, 1993 etc.).

Moeran (1986:64) argues that Japanese group means that Japanese prefer to act within the framework of group which is hierarchically organized and run by paternalistic leader. He continues discussion on the group with Japanese concept of amae, "passive love", which he sees as a psychological process underlying the structure of group (Moeran, 1986:64-65). Amae is one of the often-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.

The Japanese concept of enryo, reserve or restraint, has been used to explain the Japanese loyalty and solidarity to a group, such as nation, family, corporation and so on (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994: 25-26) Like Lebra has pointed out (1994), the enryo is a response to group pressure for conformity. However, enryo is not limited to personal opinions, but it does involve restraint from expressing wishes and desires and it also includes side-stepping chances 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).

Barnlund (1989: 41) has listed concepts like obligation (on), indebtedness (giri), humanity (ninjo), face (kao), responsibility (sekenin) and duty (gimu) as such concepts which all emphasize dependence on others and the way Japanese adapt their actions to the needs and moods of others.

According to Barnlund (1989:42), for the Japanese conversation is "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...."

### 5.2.2 Harmony and Face

Members of the group are expected to avoid open conflict and competition by conforming and cooperating with one another. In order to reduce or eliminate conflict or embarrassment, behavior is very formal and ritualized. The main emphasis is on harmony (wa) of the group (Moeran, 1993:64).

The Japanese emphasis is on face-defensive behavior. The Japanese "take great pains to ensure that their own and others' face are not "lost" (March, 1996: 28). The definition of face, kao, includes according to Gudykunst & Nishida (1994:79): honor, pride, claimed self-image, trustworthiness, individual standing or rank, politeness, respect extended by others, considerateness, and dignity. Gudykunst & Nishida (1994:79) argue that Japanese perceive that they lose face when they are not able to maintain ingroup harmony.

In addition to the groupism, the Japanese harmony, (wa) is one of the main concepts of the studies on Japanese culture. Gudykunst & Nishida (1994:23) express this in the following way: "Virtually all writers on Japanese culture indicate that wa is a central value." According to Embree (1975: 225) "Japanese lay great stress on smooth relations among members of a community. Every effort is made to avoid open hostility and face-to-face actions which might lead argument and the consequent embarrassment of one or other party".

The Japanese rules of social relations demand that disagreement and enmity remain unexpressed hidden "under the flowered veil of remarkable politeness" (Barnlund, 1989:114). In addition to the concepts of group and obligations behind the Japanese social harmony (wa) Barnlund (1989:39) found specific skill in the use of ambiguity, circumlocution, euphemism and silence in blunting incipient disputes.

There is still one concept I have to mention, namely spirit, seishin. It is connected to harmony and group. Seishin includes concepts like self-discipline, enryō; loyalty and devotion, giri, on, chu, ko. Especially the Japanese spirit has been seen as a strong part of the nationalism. During the Second World War seishin was connected to heroic patriotism like suicidal dash- the Human Bombs (kamikaze). The Japanese army was ready to do anything for the Emperor and their country (Embree, 1975; Benedict, 1946; Moeran, 1986).

Seishin has also been defined as spiritual wellbeing and harmony with the self. This leads to the concept of bushido, the way of the samurai and other martial arts like kendo, judo, karate, not forgetting tea ceremony, calligraphy and so on, which all contain strong elements of seishin in their instruction and practice (Moeran, 1986: 65-70).

It is also said that seishin acts as a kind of interpretative lens through which the Japanese like to view their own culture and society (Moeran, 1986: 70).



### 5.3 The Japanese Communicative Styles Based on Group and Harmony

The emphasis to aim 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 said like they are in order to keep harmony and face. "They do not say what they want to say because they sincerely hope not to hurt 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 keep harmony and to avoid damaging the relations with people on whom one depends, 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 do 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 consists of a great amount of honorifics. Because Japan is a hierarchical society, the 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 conversational attitude, but also the linguistic structure. Japanese is seen as a language, which requires various forms of the speaker's empathy with the other.

Because of the indirect way of communication, the main burden for successful communication places upon the listener. Cues, guessing what somebody is meaning, *sasshi*, play a great role in the communication process (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994; Barnlund, 1989; Lebra, 1993).

According to Barnlund (1989: 42) who has cited Befu's ideas about Japanese nonverbal communication: "One crucial thing about learning to be Japanese is to know what people mean without saying it". Like Barnlund continues, intuition is valued among the Japanese.

It is also said that instead of discussing their feelings in so many words, the Japanese can express them through external object or action like traditional Japanese art: *ikebana*, 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 for the

consensus, dislike verbal argument and prefer visceral over cerebral forms of empathy. This leads to the conclusion that the use of physical mode of communication is greater than verbal modes. For example silent language, such as posture, facial expression, glances and pregnant pause should play quite a large role in relating to companions. But Barnlund continues that the Japanese place emphasis on situational formalities, dislike public displays of emotion and disapprove of physical demonstrativeness. 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. Japanese are said to prefer greater distance and avoid touching people or being touched (Barnlund, 1989; Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994).

Though Barnlund (1989: 131, 182) says that samurai tradition to emphasize strength through silence is still alive in today's Japan, there are perhaps more myths behind the Japanese silence to encourage the image of unique culture. According to Gudykunst and Nishida (1994: 51-53), several reasons can be found behind the Japanese silence and nothing so mystical. Silence can save Japanese from being embarrassed, it allows them to be socially discreet. Silence can also be related to the hierarchical situation such as there is a senior person present who has the superior to initiate speech.

Gudykunst & Nishida (1994: 67) argue that Japanese attitude toward time is different when dealing with foreigners than with their own people. When dealing with foreigners Japanese do pay more attention to time, schedules, plans, and being prompt.

Many books focusing on Japanese etiquette and customs have stressed nonverbal issues such as: gift-giving, entertaining, greetings, introductions and so on. In these cases Japanese do pay more attention to the rituals of the gift giving, entertaining, greetings and so on than many other people (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 Japanese and do so more spontaneously and as symbol of affection rather than because it is appropriate or required". However, gift giving has many different variations in Western cultures. Anyway, in all the guidebooks for Japanese etiquette the Japanese gift giving is introduced as one of the most important issues (see chapter 5.4).

There have been several different explanations for Japanese groupism and harmony. The most used ones are such as long history - especially the period of isolation, influence of Confucianism and great homogeneity of the nation (Embree, 1975; Barnlund, 1989; Koskiaho, 1995; Garant, 1997 etc.). Barnlund (1989: 38) argues that in addition to Confucianism there is also great influence of Buddhism, such as sense of humility and fatalism, preference for the simple and concrete and Shintoism things, such as empathy with nature and search for harmony (see also chapter 1.1 Nihonjinron).

The image of Japan has remained in the 1980s and the 1990s as a fascinating and exotic country with great contrasts. The people of Japan have unique and different customs based on the ancient traditions (Finkbeiner-Zellmann, 1994; Gibbon & Smart, 1979; Baedeker, 1993; Berliz, 1989 etc.). "Japanese 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 immerse difficulty understand it" (Random, 1987:11).

Japan is the most "Western" country in the Far East. However, the Western influences have been confined to externals and behind the Westernized surface there is Japan's conception of itself, unchanged and established by centuries of tradition. (Baedeker, 1993:10). The ancient customs and attitudes of Japanese have remained deep in the art of bonsai, sumo and karate. (Finkbeiner-Zellmann, 1994:122-123.).

"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). One of the "exotic topics" of the guidebooks is Japanese cuisine. Most of us have first learnt about the Japanese eating habits that they eat a lot of fish and rice. According to Children's Atlas (1989), "The Japanese eat more fish than people in any other country...".

As everything else in Japan, also the cuisine has been seen as very different (Baedeker, 1993; Fodor 1989 etc.). The best known meals to foreigners are sukiyaki, sushi and tempura (Fodor, 1989; Baedeker, 1993).

But, the most important things about the Japanese meal are, beside the manners, the following ones (see chapter 5.1.4):

- Unity of taste
- Appearance
- Table setting
- Atmosphere

All these aspects involve simplicity and beauty (Baedeker, 1993; Durston, 1989, Berliz, 1989).

According to Befu (1993:38), symbols of Japaneseness are: Mt. Fuji, geisha, blossoms of cherry trees as traditional symbols and today such symbols as bullet train, semi conductor and Walkman. According to several guidebooks for tourists, (Berliz, 1989; Baedeker, 1993; Fodor, 1989; Kodansha International, 1987 etc.) I would like to add Japanese gardens, shrines and temples as traditional symbols and skyscrapers and neon lights as icons of today.

However, I could argue that nearly everybody has the image of Japan as the country from where most of his/her home electronics have come as well as the car he/she is driving. There is also a little bit more negative image of the same thing "Japan 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).

For the following chapters I have collected the most often used pictures of Japan and the Japanese. The pictures and texts beside them are adapted from guidebooks published by Berliz, Baedeker, Fodor and Kodansha International during the 1980-1990.

## **6.1. Traditional Symbols**

The pictures of tables 6.1 and 6.2 present the traditional symbols of Japan and the Japanese. The tables 6.1- 6.2 and appendix 3 concentrate on the traditional symbols of Japan like geisha, Fuji, Cherry Blossoms, Temples, Shrines and Japanese festivals. These tables give just a few examples how these icons have been described in guidebooks. These texts with pictures (appendixes) help or actually are the material to build the images.

I have read dozens of guidebooks and tourist brochures published by Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB) which can be found in embassies, travel agencies and hotels in Japan and in all these the following icons can be found. Also the advertisements mostly from JTB and Japanese Airlines & Japan Rail Company have these icons. I would agree with Befu's argument that geisha, cherry blossoms and Mount Fuji are the icons of Japaneseness (see appendix 3 a).

In order to demonstrate how these icons are used and how they are described in guidebooks for travelers, I have chosen four guidebooks by well-known publishers which are easy to buy all over the world.

Guidebooks used in these tables are:

- Berliz Japan (1992/1993)
- Baedeker Japan (1983)
- Fodor Japan (1989)
- Kodansha International: The Insider's Guide to Japan (1987)

**Table 6.1 Traditional Symbols I (see also appendix 3a)**

<b>ICONS</b>	<b>Berliz</b>	<b>Baedeker</b>	<b>Fodor</b>	<b>Kondasha</b>
<b>Geisha</b>	"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, Japanese geishas are highly skilled entertainers..."	"Geisha still entertain, albeit at prices out of reach for most of us".	"The hostess-entertainers know as geishas (art-persons" have excited so much curiosity for so long abroad that many foreigners probably know more about them than most Japanese"
<b>Fuji</b>	"While most of the civilized world's national symbols are man-made...Japan's Mt. Fuji; phenomenon of nature".	"The Finest and Best known Japanese volcano".	"The highest mount 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".
<b>Cherry Blossoms</b>	Recommended season to visit Japan is the Cherry Blossoms months- March and April. "Picnickers come out to enjoy the cherry blossoms in parks".	"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 sakura.
<b>Temples and Shrines</b>	"The Golden Pavilion a luxurious hideaway from worldly cares"	"Kamakura is busy tourist center...with many shrines and temples and features of interest".	"Garden's and Temples in Kyoto attract tourists from all over the World".	"Kyoto has an amazing number of temples some 1500. Many of most charming are located around the city's edges..."
<b>Festivals</b>	"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 Japanese..."	"The Japanese calendar is spotted with so many festivals full of resonance and seasonal cheer ..."

The following table (6.2) and appendix 3 b describe the best known or at least well introduced in the guidebooks Japanese traditions concerning the arts: tea ceremony, ikebana, kabuki and sumo. These are especially paid attention to in guidebooks published by the Japanese. Having studied several guidebooks, leaflets and advertisements, these are the issues emphasized more by the Japanese.

## 6.2 Traditional Symbols II

<p><b>Tea Ceremony</b> The traditional way of preparing and serving tea, macha.</p>	<p>"True spirit of 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 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).</p>
<p><b>Ikebana</b> Flower arranging Traditional Japanese art, "flower arranging".</p>	<p>"...the genius of Japanese civilization" (Kodansha International, 1987:147).</p>
<p><b>Kabuki</b> Theater</p>	<p>"Everything in Kabuki is on 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).</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).</p> <p>"Kabuki is filled with fantastic colour, movement, action, high drama and low comedy: The actors are folk heroes..." Living National Treasures" (Berliz 1992/1993).</p>
<p><b>Sumo</b> Wrestling</p>	<p>"Sumo is wrestling is Japan's national sport. The origins of sumo date back over a thousands years...". "In sumo as in most Japanese arts, form and ceremony play a major role in creating the proper atmosphere". (Kodansha International, 1987: 136)</p>

## 6.2 High Tech Country

The following two tables (9-10) describe the modern icons of Japan: shinkansen, skyscrapers, electronics and neon lights. ( See also appendix 3d) There could also be a table about the "modern Japanese art" such as karaoke, pachinko or comics. Karaoke was well known while pachinko and comics were less known in the 1980s and 1990s and not popular topics in guidebooks.

**Table 6.3 The percentage of the modern symbols of all the pictures**

### • SHINKANSEN

Japanese trains are described as the world's most famous and the fastest trains. "Thanks to their punctuality, speed, cleanliness and comfort the Japanese railways are the most used form of public transport..." (Baedeker, 1989). Shinkansen is very often pictured with Mt. Fuji or with Cherry Blossoms. (see appendix 3c)

### • SKYSCRAPERS

Tokyo - town scape is dominated by series of modern high-rise blocks. These skyscrapers or tall buildings are usually pictured together with old traditional buildings - in a great harmony (see appendix 3 c).

### • ELECTRONICS AND NEONLIGHTS

- can also be seen together in the part of shopping: "This is greatest sound and light show on Earth. That is Akihabara which merchandise mart for anything and everything that runs an electricity" (Fodor 1989). Neonlights has also been used to describe the busy nightlife in big cities like Tokyo and Osaka (see appendix 3c)

The combination of traditional and modern symbols are presented in appendix 3d. Like discussed already in chapter 3.7 the most popular image is the combination of traditional and modern Japan. One of the most used pictures is Mount Fuji and Shinkansen. I would even argue that this picture can be found from every guidebook concerning Japan.

The icons introduced here both old and modern ones can be find from all the guidebooks analysed in this study. These icons are usually placed on the front page or back page or they are the biggest pictures in these books. So these icons can't be ignored by the reader.

## THE MIRACLE MAKERS - THE "KAISHA" AND ITS "SARARIIMAN"

The rapid economic and industrial development of Japan was attributed to the big Japanese companies and their effective management. During the years shortly after the World War II families and companies played important roles as sustainers of wealth (see e.g. Suvanto, 1993). During the boom of the "Japanese Miracle" literature Western world was interested in Japanese work life, Japanese company culture and the Japanese style management. It was generally agreed that Japan's economic miracle was mostly based on its unique style of management (see e.g. Fukuda, 1988).

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

Especially in the 1980s more books, including several best sellers, articles in business magazines and academic studies were published on the Japanese working life mostly focusing on a few big Japanese companies giving very narrow picture of the situation. Numerous studies have been carried out to determine the transferability of Japanese style Management to the West (Suvanto, 1993; Merviö, 1995, Lillrank, 1991; 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) Related to this the most well known concepts of the company groups are zaibatsu, keiretsu and sogo-shosa, that are virtually explained in all the Japanese Business Management books.

According to Clark (1988:70-71) there are three main types of industrial groups:

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

Zaibatus dominated numerous sectors of the Japanese economy until their dissolution under the Allied occupation after Second World War. Zaibatsu were a group of diversified businesses owned by a single family or an extended family. Most of the Japanese industry and commerce was controlled by zaibatus that had also very close ties with bureaucracy and leading political parties. Outside world learnt about Zaibatus since 1920s. The picture of Japan Inc. was closely related to zaibatus,



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 zaibatsu. The biggest keiretsus like Mitsubishi, Mitsui and Sumitomo have their basis on zaibatsus (Argy & Leslie, 1997; Miyashita & Russel, 1994 etc.). Most Japanese companies are explained to belong to alliances known as keiretsu. They are spread across large companies in different industries, called horizontal keiretsu (Clark: 2/Bank Group) and input supplier called 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 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 terminology related to the Japanese company groups can be confusing. One very often-used term is also "sogo shosha" which according to Abecasis-Phillips (ibid. P.44) is defined as holding company, originally zaibatsu in the pre-war period. They are seen as essentially trading conglomerates. Most authors see the "sogo shosha" as a part of the horizontal keiretsu.

There have been different images of the keiretsu. They have been seen as good examples of efficiency co-operation and solid basis for long term planning (Suvanto, 1993; Argy & Stein, 1997). Keiretsu has also been seen as a part of the Japanese strong protectionism. Danziger (1996:98) has expressed this briefly: "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 co-operation. This co-operation has made the Japanese market very difficult to enter by foreigners (Lillrank, 1989; Robins-Mowry, 1993; Macmillan, 1989 etc.). This criticism has also hit the close co-operation between Japanese big business and government.

Behind the Japanese economical miracle has been seen the special relationship between government and business. Macmillan (1989:63) points out that Japan is one of the few countries to have managers in private and public sectors with a vision where the country fits in the global system and where it should go.

Japanese government and business community has 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 idea of Japanese internationalization has been first and foremost an economic matter. Often the process of internationalization has been seen to be separate from the changes in Japanese society and self-identity of the Japanese (Merviö, 1993: 84-85).

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

## **7.1 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). 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 Japanese companies are: employment, the seniority system and the 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, sightedness, and consensus in management (Lorriman, 1985:47; Suvanto, 1993; Argy & Stein, 1997 etc).

Japanese company culture has been said to encourage the 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, Japanese Company has also been defined as a learning organization (Suvanto, 1993; Ojala, 1994. See also appendix 4a-4b).

Stuart (1993: 218) proposes four major Japanese management practices which make the Japanese organization so different from American one: cohesive work groups, quality circles, participatory decision making and company-sponsored services. It has also been popular to explain Japanese business management system as based on values of Samurai culture (See e.g. Alston, 1986).

According to Lebra (1976:31), who has cited the study of Abegglen (1958) on the Japanese employment system, the following list of characteristics of the system has 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 Japanese Style Management in his book "Japanese Style Management Transferred. The experience of East Asia". In this book he has especially focused on the transferability of Japanese-Style Management to East Asia, not to West like so many other authors.

### **Table 7.1 Japanese-Style 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.

#### **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 responsibility are highly diffused.

#### **COMPREHENSIVE WELFARE PROGRAMS**

The company provides to all employees total welfare programs, incorporating recreational / medical facilities, housing, company loan, and so on.

#### **SENIORITY BASED PAY/PROMOTION**

The length of an employee's service at 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 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 "Japanese business management" there has been a tendency to compare and present contrasts in the fields of work organization and work attitudes between the Japanese and Western companies (See e.g. Merviö, 1995; Drucker, 1988). There are several examples of these comparisons written by Western authors and also the Japanese authors. I have adopted here just a couple of examples from both sides to give the idea what kind of issues these comparisons focus on.

The following table 7.2 is adapted from Clark's book, *The Japanese company* (1979: 221-222). Clark is a well-known American author. This example is typical how differences between Japan and the West have been compared in the books focusing on Japanese management. Like Clark himself says, these 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 country but between different countries in the West. But this is of course the main problem with the concept of the West.

**Table 7.2 Japanese and Western Management Practices from Western Perspective**

<b>JAPAN</b>	<b>THE WEST</b>
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 the company and employment practices.
Size of the company correlated with quality of work force.	Size of the 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 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 function, 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 practiced by labor challenged ideologically and practically by trade unions.

The following table 7.3. compares Japanese and American management practices. Table is adopted from Stuart , American author (1993: 218-219).

**Table 7.3 Japanese and American Management Practices**

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

The following table 7.4 is based on an interview and material from Professor Inuka (1989). He is professor of International University of Japan in Niigata. It does not differ so 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 Japanese style-management during the great boom.

**Table 7.4 Japanese and Western Management Practises from 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 closed labor markets.	Open labor market is principle.
Lifelong employment is an ideal one.	Lifelong employment is not popular, most of the work relationships are short.
Salary is based on seniority system and promotion .	Mobilization is often condition for a raise the salary.
Career development creates multitalented geniuses.	The goal is to create specialists.
The company is first of all community.	The personnel is alienated from the company.
Hierarchy is based on groups.	Hierarchy is based on individuals and fixed positions in the organization
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 means process from top to Bottom.
Communication is very efficient in groups and between groups.	Everyone holds on to his own ideas.
Training expenses are paid by the company.	Training expenses are paid by the employee.
Trade unions are based on the companies.	Trade unions are based on professional fields.
"I'm a worker at Sony"	"I'm engineer"

## 7.2 "Sarariiman" - the Man of the Company

In the western literature sarariiman has become more a model of a company employee, but can also be the employee of different organizations.

Based on the books and studies of the Japanese business management and working life a common view of the Japanese company employee, "Sarariiman" (salaryman) was also created. "The diligence and loyalty of the Japanese worker became almost legendary" (Tames, 1985:13).

Sarariiman lives in a small apartment with his wife and 1,7 children (in the end of 1990s 1,4 children):

- He is up at 6 or 7 am, 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 to his company:
  - \*Like Samurai, he puts his job before his family.
  - \*He works late hours. He does not leave 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; member of the group. He is seldom home before 11.00 p.m.
- He works 6 days a week and spends even his free time with his colleagues playing golf.
- He has a two-week holiday a year spending only part of it.
- At some point of his career he may be transferred to another city temporarily for one or three years. This usually means separation from his family.

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

"We can almost say that sararii-men 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 (real home)"(Tsukaguchi-Le Grand, 1991: 149).

Sarariiman's company (large-size) is like a family to him taking care of his whole life. He has a lifelong contract with the company. He joined the company after graduation from "a good" university (whose entrance examination has been his job of life before the career in the company) put on the "salaryman uniform" and learned the "company philosophy". The contemporary president of the company promised to his parents to take care of his physical, emotional and moral development and provide him with a decent job (Van Wolferen, 1989; Suvanto, 1993; Lorrinan, 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 seniority system.

- His career development is based on seniority system, rotation system and 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 decision is based on consensus.
- He can trust his life on 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 Sarariiman has such predictable concerns and habits that it has become common in Japanese to speak of "Sarariiman culture" (Van Wolfren, 1989:159).

Japan Travel Bureau books call "A Look into Japan" (1984:119) gives very specific picture of this Sarariiman "who has brought about Japan's stunning economic growth". There is picture of a man wearing dark suit and carrying 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

In the appendix 5 there is also a picture and description of Sarariiman based on "Japan at a Glance" by Kodansha International, 1997.



According to other JTB books (1980s), the negative aspects of sarariiman by generation are as follows:

- The 50's "The Bournout 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 burnout.

- The 40's "The Workalcholics"

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.

- The 30's "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.

- The 20's "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 whole life to their companies. At the outermost extreme, sarariiman in perpetual overdrive has succumbed to karoshi (suicide) or death from overwork (Watanabe, 1998; Paljakka, 1998; Koskiaho, 1995; Danziger).

French Prime Minister, Ms Cresson launched her idea about the Japanese sarariimen in 1991: "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). I found this quite common when the discussion is related to the unbalanced trade issues between Japan and EC or Japan and America and Japanese investments especially on production lines in Europe and particularly in America.

It was not only the interest to learn from the Japanese Management or do the business with the Japanese, but to learn how to succeed in the Japanese market which was known the second largest in the world and perhaps the most difficult one.

"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).

"At the end of busy day the Japanese businessman goes home and exchange 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).

Alston (1992:9) argues that without an awareness and understanding the general principles of Japanese company culture, Westerners dealing with Japanese businessmen will fail; they will not be able to succeed unless they understand why and how the Japanese act as they do. "Key to success is to respect and follow Japanese business and social style"(Abecasis-Phillips, 1994/Backsheet). These are very typical approaches of the "Business Guidebooks". Most of the problems seem to be cultural, not commercial ones. According to Fodor's (Fodor's 1989: 35) guide book of Japan the following unique customs of Japanese business practices are useful to observe; "Japanese will always appreciate observance of their customs" :

- 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.
- A 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 hints and guidelines for the Western businessmen is based on the content of books written by Abecasis-Phillips, 1994; Alston, 1992; Durston, 1989; Kato & Kato, 1992; Morsbach, 1984; Tan, 1994; Vardaman, 1995. These hints and guideline consist the most common topics of this field.

"Knowledge of Japanese business etiquette is an essential part of your preparation for a first meeting" (Kato, 1992: 61). The typical first tips are: Japanese have very strict protocol and you should be more polite here than at home!

## **BOW**

- Japanese prefer to bow. Bows have various meanings, which are difficult for foreigners to learn. If shaking hands with Japanese (which is quite common these days) remember a light grip and a accompanying nod.
- "The traditional Japanese gesture, upon meeting and taking leave, is bow. It entails a bending of the body from the waist, with the hands either left at the sides or drawn to knees, and the feet kept together. The deeper the bow, the greater the respect" (Tan, 1994: 12).

## **MEISHI**

- "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).
- When introduced, Japanese will first exchange visiting cards. When you give the card use your both hands and remember to nod. The visiting card should tell the most important things: your company and position in it, also in Japanese language.
- Sometimes it is difficult for foreigners to understand how many visiting cards you will exchange during your business visit (see appendix 6a).

## **GO-BETWEEN**

- Because everything in Japan is based on social networks, you need a go-between; a third person to make the first contact and introducing. Trough him you can find the "right contacts" that are a necessity in business.
- "Introductions to a new business contact is important to you, should ideally be made by respected and trustworthy go-between who knows both parties" (Morsbach, 1984:19).

## **GIFTS**

- "Exchange of gifts is significant part of Japanese social relations" (Vardaman, 1995:77).
- Japanese gift-giving is a highly ritualized custom:
  - \*Giving the gift be modest
  - \*Gift should be nicely wrapped
  - \*Do not give too valuable gifts and leave receiver in a "debt position"
  - \*Do not refuse receiving gifts or open gifts in the presence of the giver
- "A gift must be presented and received using two hands, in the Japanese way" (Tan, 1994:21).
- "Take care not to too valuable a gift, since equally expensive return presents are usually required of the receiver" (Morsbach, 1984:37).

## **TIME**

- Being prepared
  - "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:
  - \*You need time to build your network
  - \*The decision-making system is very slow. Everything is based on consensus.
- Become impatient with a 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 a very important part of business world: It is the way to build the networks.
- "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 the issues related to hierarchy and the "insiders" and "outsiders").

- There are several manners to remember when having a Japanese meal. First of all when entering Japanese-style restaurant you will leave your shoes in the entrance and wear slippers, but you are not allowed to wear slippers on the tatami.

According to Durston (1989:73):

- \*Don't 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 in one hand while you eat from it
- \*When having drinks, don't pour your own.

## "RITUALS" AND CONVERSATIONS

- First of all, Japanese communication focuses more on non-verbal communication. Japanese verbal communication is based on indirect communication. The key factor to understand the rules of the verbal communication is that you cannot say what you think or how the things really are (see also appendix 6b).
- Japanese are very formal. The rules of conversation are very strict and hierarchy influences everything.
- Japanese avoid expressing the negative things. "No (iie) 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).
- "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 Japanese way of using words for apologizing or/and thanking (such words like "sumimasen" and "doomo arigatoo" etc. ) so often. It is sometimes even embarrassing for foreigners who are not used to receiving so many polite words (see appendix 6c).

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 name
- 
- Topics like Second World War and politics should be avoided. Emperor is taboo.
  - "Speak clearly and relatively slowly" (Morsbach, 1984:43). Interpreters are commonly used because Japanese do have problems speaking English.

#### **LIST OF DON'TS**

- Don't use 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 tip anybody.

A relieving message to many foreigners can be that the Japanese do not expect foreigners to behave correctly because they are gaijins...(See appendix 6d-e)

### **7.4 Japan at Her Turning Point?**

Japan has been said to be in an identity crisis. It is said that today the Japanese are facing as big changes as during the Meiji-restoration and the changes after the Second World War (see e.g. Robins-Mowry, 1993).

Japan has achieved a lot from the 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 economical, 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 about her passive foreign policy, which has run with low profile since the end of the Second World War (Kodansha International, 1994). Other part of world has been insisting Japan to take bigger share of the 21st century's foreign policy. Japan is demanded to assume greater international responsibilities, to undertake not only economic aid to the developing world, but also peacekeeping tasks (Lee, 1994; Merviö, 1993, 1995).

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. Japanese do 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 her market but also widely the society (Lee, 1994).

However, the problem of today's Japan is not only her position in the international system, but also domestic situation. The whole of the 1990s Japan has been suffering from too high valued yen, lower growth rate, declining consumption rate and high unemployment rate (Asiaweek, 8.8.1997 pp. 12-13). Deep and long stagnation, failing big companies and banks and political and economic scandals have made Japanese to demand structural changes in Japanese society (see e.g. Asahi Evening, 25.2.1998). Since the mid-1990's it has been more negative news from Japan: Kobe Earth Quake, Sarin gas attack in Tokyo, serious accidents at State Nuclear Power Plant near Tokyo growing violence at schools, the burst of the bubble economics which led to big bank collapse.

When reading the articles the basic feelings of safety, honesty and innocence that have somehow been the basis of everything are turning around. "The Japanese born after the war are eager to clean up the murky politics, untangle by zantine bureaucracy and deregulate the economy" (Business Week, 11.10.1993). However, it seems to be a very slow process. The basic structure seems to remain though the discussions on change have been going on since 1970 and especially in the 1980s when the "quality of Japanese life " became a very popular topic (Business Week, 11.10.1993; Suvanto, 1993). According to Ito (1998:), 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 actually happened also to middle-aged middle-class Japanese. However, the younger generation is protesting against the old values related to education, work and family life. They insist on having more freedom and quality for their lives compared to the existing system. It is said that before one nation can reorder its position in international level, it must first change itself domestically (Robins-Mowry; 1986, Merviö, 1995). This must be quite a challenge to the Japanese.

There are many different opinions about the change in Japan (see e.g. Merviö, 1999; Lillrank, 1999; articles in magazines). Concerning the work-life in Japan it is said that Japan's "job-for-life" culture has come to its end. Big changes in traditional salary and human resource management are under way (see e.g. Kishida; Yoshikawa, 1998: 21-29; Imai, 1997; Lillrank, 1999). The whole concept of work is changing in Japan just as much as in other parts of the world (Heinonen, 1999). There are scenarios presented about the changes in the Japanese society. The main feeling is that Japanese are very confused about the direction of their future, which is against the image of Japanese with their excellent visions and long-term plans.

The following scenarios are adapted from Lillrank (1998):

### **MAJOR SCENARIOS FOR JAPAN**

#### **Base Case - Nothing Happens**

- Political gridlock 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

These scenarios of Japan by Lillrank are as confusing as the process of change in Japan. I found once again this perspective a very Western one and a little naive. However, as said before, it is very difficult to say where Japan is going, but it has been like that before in the history. Perhaps Japan will surprise the Western world again.



### **III CONCLUSIONS**

#### **8 WHAT WAS THE TASK OF THE STUDY?**

The aim of this study was to find out what kind of images are created of Japan and the Japanese in the Western world by analyzing books targeted to ordinary Western readers and especially to Western businessmen. The material included texts and pictures mostly from guidebooks for travelers and businesspeople. I also wanted to find out the basis of the most popular impressions such as Japanese are polite, formal, hard-working people from different and exotic country.

Alongside the creation of images, my aim was also to learn to understand the role of the images in the intercultural relations and also the relationship between images and reality.

In this study I concentrated on stereotyped images shared by a group of people, Western people in general and Western businessmen in particular. Making this definition I accept that images are not only the scheme of one individual, though I do agree that images are a combination of emotional attitudes, information, knowledge and experiences, which means that every individual has different background and tools for creating images. Still I do argue that in the case of stereotyped images they are mostly based on mass media and different productions of popular culture like books, magazines, films and so on. Thus the stereotyped image is quite close to the concept of public opinion which is shared by a group of people. I also had an aim to reach deeper understanding of the concept of image but I found more questions than answers.

#### **8.1 What Did I Find?**

To answer the first question what kind of images of the Japanese have been created in the Western world especially in the time of the great boom of Japanese Miracle literature (1980s-1990s).

The basis of today's images can be far in the history. When looking at the images of Japan and the Japanese through the history, it is a nation that has been strongly admired and hated - the two even at the same time.

Missionaries in the 16th century found this nation one of the best in the world. In 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. The "Japonaiserie" became a great boom in the Western world. The positive images were strong in Western minds though there was increasing criticism toward Japanese trade policy. This was the start of the image of Yellow Peril.

The Second World War changed the image from the Mm Chrysanthemum symbolized exotic Lotusland to cruel, fanatically warlike and untrustworthy nation. During the first boom to Japan in the end of 19th century, Japan was seen as "Toyland", exotic culture surrounded with beautiful temples and nature. After the War Japan rebuilt its image as a combination of traditional symbols and modern, fast technological development of the country. One of the most famous images was Mount Fuji as well as Shinkansen.

During the great boom of the Japanese economical miracle in the Western world - from the mid-1970s - the topics focused more and more economical questions. In the beginning of the 1970's there were less positive pictures of hard-working people who were 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 Yellow Peril was re-created again. However, the idea that Western world could learn something from the Japanese Economic Miracle changed the images once more. More and more books were published for Western decision-makers and businessmen to get a deeper understanding of the unique and different Japanese culture. Negative images of the Japanese and economic and political frictions in the Western world were seen as a lack of knowledge and understanding of the differences between Japanese and Western cultures. Especially the communication culture was seen as the most difficult part. There was very strong effect of the image based on the Second World War among the decision-makers.

During the boom there was a great number of books focusing on the difficulties between Japanese and Western communication styles. The main aim of the books was to help Western businessmen to understand better their Japanese colleagues and their habits by giving the guidelines and hints. Alongside these there were books on Japanese-style management whose first task was usually to give the information and hints about the secrets of Japanese economical miracle and how to adapt the best parts of the Japanese-style Management to the Western companies. These books also tried to give deeper understanding on Japanese culture and industrial structure. Based on this literature the image of the Japanese sarariiman was created:

*They all look the same in their dark suits*

*They work in big companies for all their lives*

*They work long days in their offices and communicate 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 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 don't speak foreign languages, but also because their culture is so different. They have very strict protocol and they respect punctuality. They are harmony-seeking people who avoid saying negative things to keep the harmony and save others' faces. They don't say*

*things like they are and they don't have to say everything. They are quiet and calm people. They don't like to talk to people they don't know.*

Stereotyped images focus on differences between cultures. They are often negatively colored. Typically they are very simplified and generalized, which has also caused negative attitudes toward stereotyped images. In Nihonjiron literature there has been a tendency to concentrate on the Japanese character. Typically the literature has created categories where Japanese are like this and Western people are like that. Usually these are opposite characters. Next example of this is adapted from Dore's book (1973) "British Factory - Japanese Factory".

*The Japanese are followers, ambitious, submissive to their superiors, diligent, childishly naive, and very insecure and they care little what happens outside their group.*

Based on the analysis of the material I could argue that the most popular stereotyped images of the Japanese are the following: The Japanese are formal, polite, crafty, untrustworthy, and clean and hardworking. Their nation is different with extreme and paradoxical contrasts.

*Japanese women are kind, gentle, faithfully, pretty and most womanly in their colorful kimonos.*

I could answer to my first question that I have found the images of the Japanese, I have found proof for the hypothesis that basis of the stereotyped images can be found far from the history. They last long, they are based on popular literature and they are simplified and generalized, but are they shared by a group of people and how do they effect our behavior?

Did I find the images that are shared by Western people and Western businessmen? Are their images similar to the ones I found in these books? 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 the Western readers or like Littlewood says (1996), they have left the deepest imprint on popular attitudes. However, I still cannot answer my question of the images of the Western businessmen without testing my findings by interviewing these people and this will be the next task and next study.

Did I find the answer to the relationship between images and reality? Are the images true? Lehtonen has said that they can be either true or false. This is a simple answer and it is difficult to disagree with it. Littlewood has argued that stereotyped images gain their acceptance because there is basis of truth to them. Or like Fält has said, they are pictures of reality, but not reality themselves. Who are those people who give material and tools to others to create the images? What is their relationship with the real life, here, the life of the Japanese? Chamberlain wrote in 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. However, I had to rely on the authors of the analyzed material; after all, they are people who have knowledge and experiences of Japan and the Japanese. I also had to keep in mind that they are individuals with different cultural backgrounds, motives, and values.

Concerning these authors of the analyzed material and the most popular images of the Japanese which have left the deepest imprint on popular attitudes, I doubted that all authors' pictures and ideas of the Japanese were based on their own experiences. When analyzing the material from the 16th century till the end of the 20th century, I was wondering why these authors found so little or nothing else to write about the Japanese than the authors before them. Were they so much influenced already by those earlier writings, or were these repeated pictures and cultural icons of the Japanese the one and only truth of the Japanese. Like Wilkinson has said, "the more I read, the more I found the same things about Japan and the Japanese appearing over and over again".

I myself found this frustrating now and then, but of course this helped me to find easily the answers to my questions what kind of people are the Japanese and where is the basis of the popular impressions of the Japanese. In this study I accepted that stereotyped images do effect our behavior and especially they do have an important role in initial interaction with strangers and thus also in the process of intercultural communication. Concerning this influence there have been several warnings about stereotyped images - that they are too generalized, too simplified, and that they create too strong expectations what to look for or they even make people see things before they actually do. Like Hirano has argued, people are now better informed about other nations' cultures than before, but the knowledge is still quite superficial. Thus, people who act according to their stereotypes and prejudices with only superficial knowledge may cause many cultural conflicts.

On general level I can agree with those authors who have seen for example the images of the Japanese as cruel trade soldiers to effect decisions on political level in the Western World. I also agree, that earlier the image of Lotusland with polite and gentle people lead Western decision-makers to wrong conclusions. Like Lippman has argued, too many important decisions are based on superficial knowledge and images created from this knowledge. But for the level of Western businessmen, I cannot tell how these images effect their behavior. This is once again a topic for another study; to find out how these guidebooks with their hints and tips effect people's behavior and images based on these guidelines. This leads to very difficult process of an individual's behavior when they meet people from other cultures, in different situations, with different skills of communication and so on. It depends on individuals' ability to re-value their stereotyped images. Things are not as simple as the stereotyped images.

We all have pictures in our minds about the things around us or far away from us, we call them images. How we use them, is another question. We have been warned to make too quick conclusions about people from other cultures just based on 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 usually have already created these stereotyped images. Therefore, the question is: Are we able to change these images if necessary?

### **8.3 Next Steps**

My next step will be to deeper analysis of selection of guidebooks concerning especially the role of symbols and pictures as raw material to our stereotyped images of the Japanese. I will concentrate more on comparisons like:  
What kind of images of the Japanese have created by Japanese authors versus Western authors?

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<b>Name</b> Doing Business with the Japanese	<b>Author (s)</b> 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.
<b>Type of the book</b> Business Guidebook	<b>Publisher</b> NTC Business Books
<b>Place of the publishing</b> USA	<b>Edition</b> 1994 (The first edition was published in UK 1992)
<b>Target of the book and the content</b> (based on the Introduction of the book)  "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 an agency.  The book is written by observer, not by neither expert nor businessman.  The book has divided into two parts: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Doing Business in Japan</b> 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.</li> <li>• <b>Doing Business with Japan Abroad</b> consists topics: Japanese Business with the World and Japan and the Future</li> </ul>	

<b>Name</b> The Intelligent Businessman's Guide to Japan	<b>Author (s)</b> 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.
<b>Type of the book</b> Business Guide	<b>Publisher</b> Charles E. Tuttle Company
<b>Place of the publishing</b> Japan	<b>Edition</b> Fourth Printing 1992. First edition 1990.
<b>Target of the book and the content</b> (based on the Introduction of the book)  "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. "This guidebook is an invaluable aid for acquiring the extra leads to business success".  "Insider's tips that will make dealing with the Japanese both manageable and successful".	

<b>Name</b>  Japanese Etiquette & Ethics in Business	<b>Author (s)</b>  Boye Lafayette De Mente  De Mente has written several guidebooks including guidebooks for travellers on Japan and the Japanese.
<b>Type of the book</b>  Business Etiquette Guidebook	<b>Publisher</b>  NTC Business Books
<b>Place of the publishing</b>  USA	<b>Edition</b> 1995 Sixth Edition
<b>Target of the book and the content</b> (based on the Introduction of the book)  <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".</p> <p>"...business and political behavior in Japan are direct reflection of the traditional core culture..."</p> <p>The book is consisting 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>	

<b>Name of the Book</b> Discover JAPAN Words, Customs and Concepts (Vol. 1)	<b>Author (s)</b> This book is a contribution of 62 different writers from Europe, USA and Japan
<b>Type of the book</b> Guidebook to Customs	<b>Publisher</b> Kodansha International
<b>Place of the publishing</b> Tokyo	<b>Edition</b> 1987 (first edition 1982). This book has previously published as A Hundred Things Japanese in 1975 by Japanese Culture Institute
<b>Target of the book and the content</b> (based on the Introduction of the book)  Discover Japan consists a great deal of Japanese words and concepts from "Aisatsu" to "Yohaku". Every concept and word has its own author who explains the meaning.  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.	

<b>Name of the Book</b> Business & Pleasure The Best of Asia  (TIME presents)	<b>Author (s)</b> Finkbeiner-Zellmann, Peter  Peter Finkbeiner (born in Berlin) is the author-photographer-publisher of life-style magazine and travel guides. He is best known, however, as creator of the IN World Guide, an exclusive pocketbook covering the most sophisticated places on earth.
<b>Type of the book</b> Travel guidebook	<b>Publisher</b> Signum Publishing INC
<b>Place of the publishing</b> USA	<b>Edition</b> 1994
<b>Target of the book and the content</b> (based on the Introduction of the book)  This is guidebook that introduce the whole 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 target to business travellers. It gives tips how to behave in Asia, the general information of every Asian country and most of all it is guide to find the right hotel and restaurant.	

<b>Name of the Book</b>  JAPAN	<b>Author (s)</b>  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.
<b>Type of the book</b>  Travel Guide Book	<b>Publisher</b>  Baedeker (Baedeker –AA)
<b>Place of the publishing</b>  UK	<b>Edition</b>  1983
<b>Target of the book and the content</b> (based on the Introduction of the book)  "It is precisely this mingling of different elements that makes the land of the rising sun such a fascinating country to visit".  The two main parts of the book are Introduction and Japan from A-Z. Introduction consists of topics like geography, history, climate, culture, art, economy etc. Japan from A-Z is a wide introduction of 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.	

<b>Name of the book</b>  Understanding and Working with the Japanese Business World	<b>Author (s)</b>  Kato, Hiroki & Kato, Joan Hiroki Kato is widely recognized authority of 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 in her law business American and Japanese clients.
<b>Type of the book</b>  Business & Business Etiquette Guide	<b>Publisher</b>  Prentice Hall, Business Information & Publishing Division
<b>Place of the publishing</b>  USA	<b>Edition</b>  1992
<b>Target of the book and the content</b> (based on the Introduction of the book)  "...this book is for all corporate professionals and government officials who do business with the Japanese – and want to succeed".  With this guidebook "you will be able to .... <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Understand the Japanese style of decision making, etiquette, entertainment, and nonverbal language</li><li>• Comprehend the Japanese mindset, including patterns of thought and philosophy</li><li>• Master specific Japanese protocol, such as how to give and receive compliments, address people by name and more."</li></ul> The first part of the book is focusing on "fundamental tenets of Japanese culture" like: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Japan is a homogeneous Island Nation</li><li>• Operating on Japanese time</li><li>• Japanese ageism, sexism and racism</li><li>• Etc</li></ul> Other three parts of the book are concentrating on how to make connections and verbal & non-verbal communication. In the end of book there are several guidelines of Japanese language.  This book is one of the books analyzed in the chapter 5. 2.	

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<b>Name of the Book</b> Simple Etiquette in Japan	<b>Author (s)</b> 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.
<b>Type of the book</b> A guide to Etiquette	<b>Publisher</b> Simple Books Ltd
<b>Place of the publishing</b> Kent, UK	<b>Edition</b> 1991 reprinted (First published in 1984)
<b>Target of the book and the content</b> (based on the Introduction of the book)  "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."  The book consists following topics: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• General Information about Japanese customs (politness, groupism, bowing etc.)</li><li>• Business Matters</li><li>• Winign &amp; Dining</li><li>• The Japanese Home</li><li>• Gift Giving</li><li>• Conversation &amp; Communication</li><li>• Useful Phrases</li></ul>	



<b>Name of the Book</b> The Insider's Guide to Japan	<b>Author (s)</b> 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.
<b>Type of the book</b> Travel Guidebook	<b>Publisher</b> Merehurst Press
<b>Place of the publishing</b> London	<b>Edition</b> 1987 (First published in 1985)
<b>Target of the book and the content</b> (based on the Introduction of the book)  <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. To help find the path through this Japanese maze this guide book a carefully considered selection of gourmet's choice for the discerning traveler."</p> <p>The book consist following parts:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Island of Japan (geography and history)</li> <li>• The Culture of Japan</li> <li>• Japan: The Broad Highway (introducing Honsu and Kyushu)</li> <li>• Japan: Off the Beaten Track (trips from Tokyo including Hokkaido, Shikoku and other Islands of Japan)</li> <li>• Travellers' Tips (Accommodation, Visas, Shopping etc) and Instant Japanese</li> </ul>	

1

<b>Name of the book</b> Japanese Etiquette, A matter of Course	<b>Author (s)</b> 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 of cross-cultural interaction.
<b>Type of the book</b> Guidebook to Etiquette	<b>Publisher</b> Landmark Books PTE Ltd
<b>Place of the publishing</b> Singapore	<b>Edition</b> 1994 second edition (first published in 1992)
<b>Target of the book and the content</b> (based on the Introduction of the book)  "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."  "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><b>Name of the book</b></p> <p>Japanese Etiquette Today A Guide to Business and Social Customs</p>	<p><b>Author (s)</b></p> <p>Vardaman, James M. Jr. &amp; 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 teacher of English and wife of James.</p>
<p><b>Type of the book</b></p> <p>Guidebook to Business and Social Customs</p>	<p><b>Publisher</b></p> <p>Charles E. Tuttle Company</p>
<p><b>Place of the publishing</b></p> <p>Tokyo</p>	<p><b>Edition</b></p> <p>1995 third printing (first published in 1994)</p>
<p><b>Target of the book and the content</b> (based on the Introduction or/and reference of 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>	

<b>Name of the Book</b> JAPAN	<b>Author (s)</b> Written by the staff of Berliz Guides
<b>Type of the book</b> Travel Guidebook	<b>Publisher</b> Berliz Publishing Ltd
<b>Place of the publishing</b> Switzerland	<b>Edition</b> Sixth Printing 1992/1993.

**Target of the book and the content**  
(based on the Introduction of the book)

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.

"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.

"The sights" is the main area (pages 58-185)

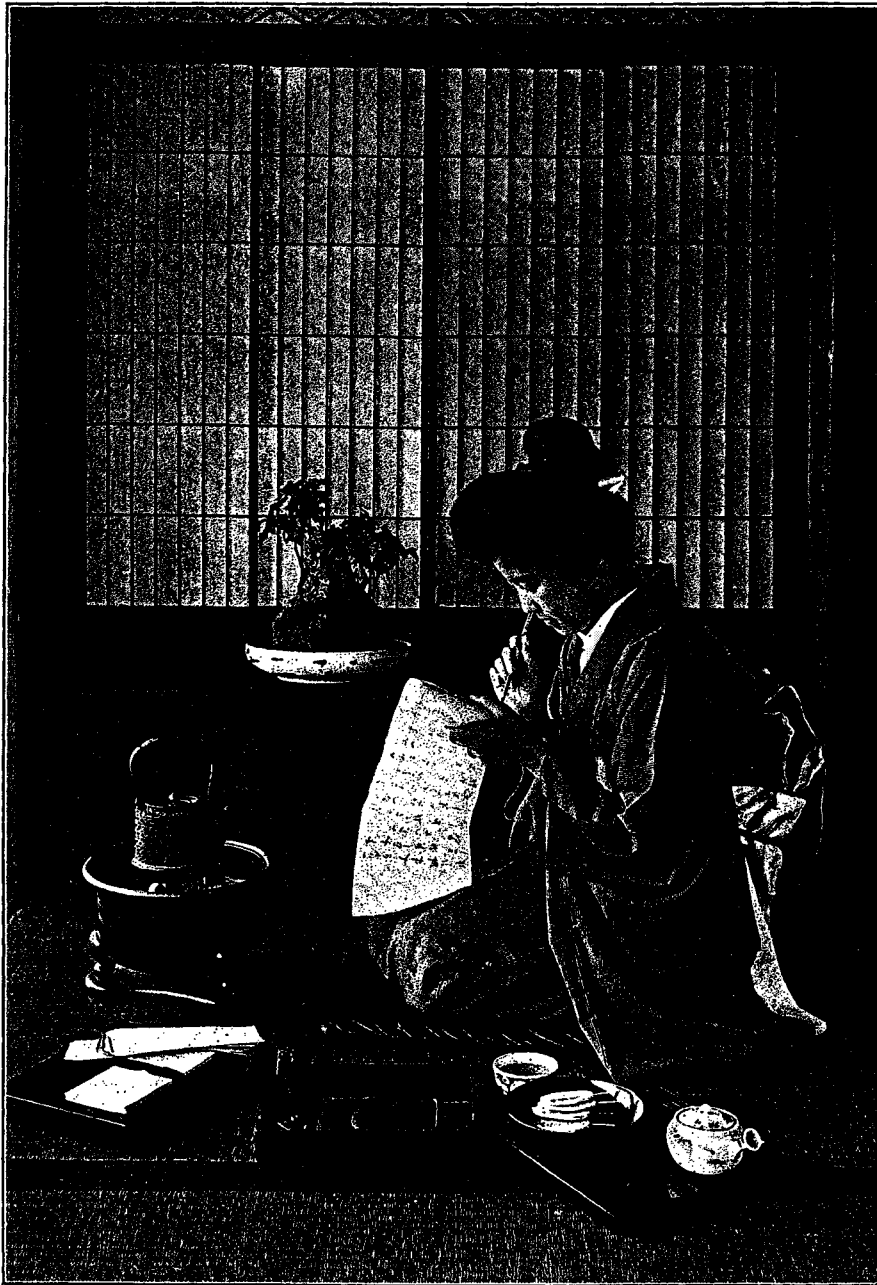
Other areas are:

- Help for planning the 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

<b>Name</b> JAPAN	<b>Author (s)</b> Fodor
<b>Type of the book</b> Travel Guidebook	<b>Publisher</b>
<b>Place of the publishing</b>	<b>Edition</b>
<b>Target of the book and the content</b> (based on the Introduction of the book)	

1911

Appendix 2a)



WRITING A LETTER

1911

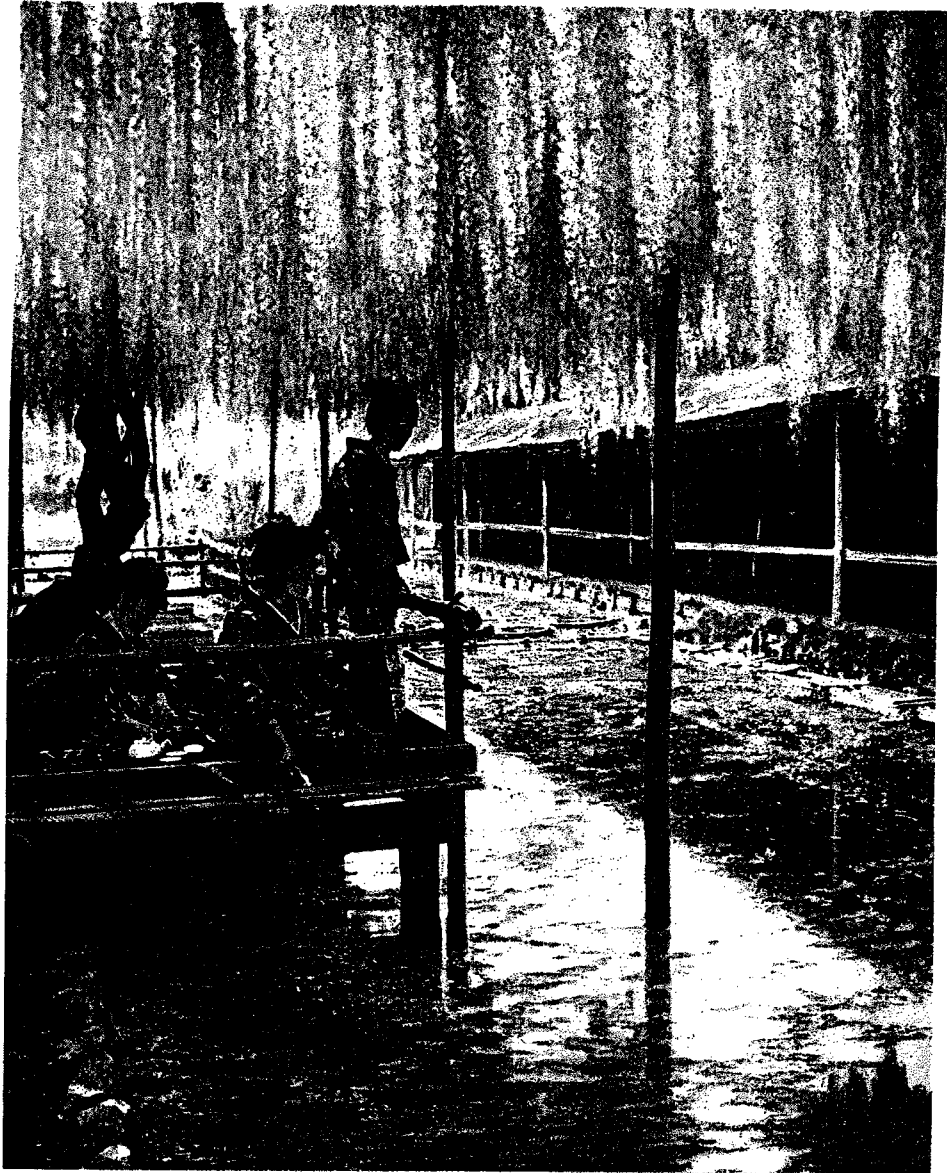


Copyright. H. C. White Co.

KINKAKUJI (THE GOLDEN PAVILION)

1911

Appendix 2c)

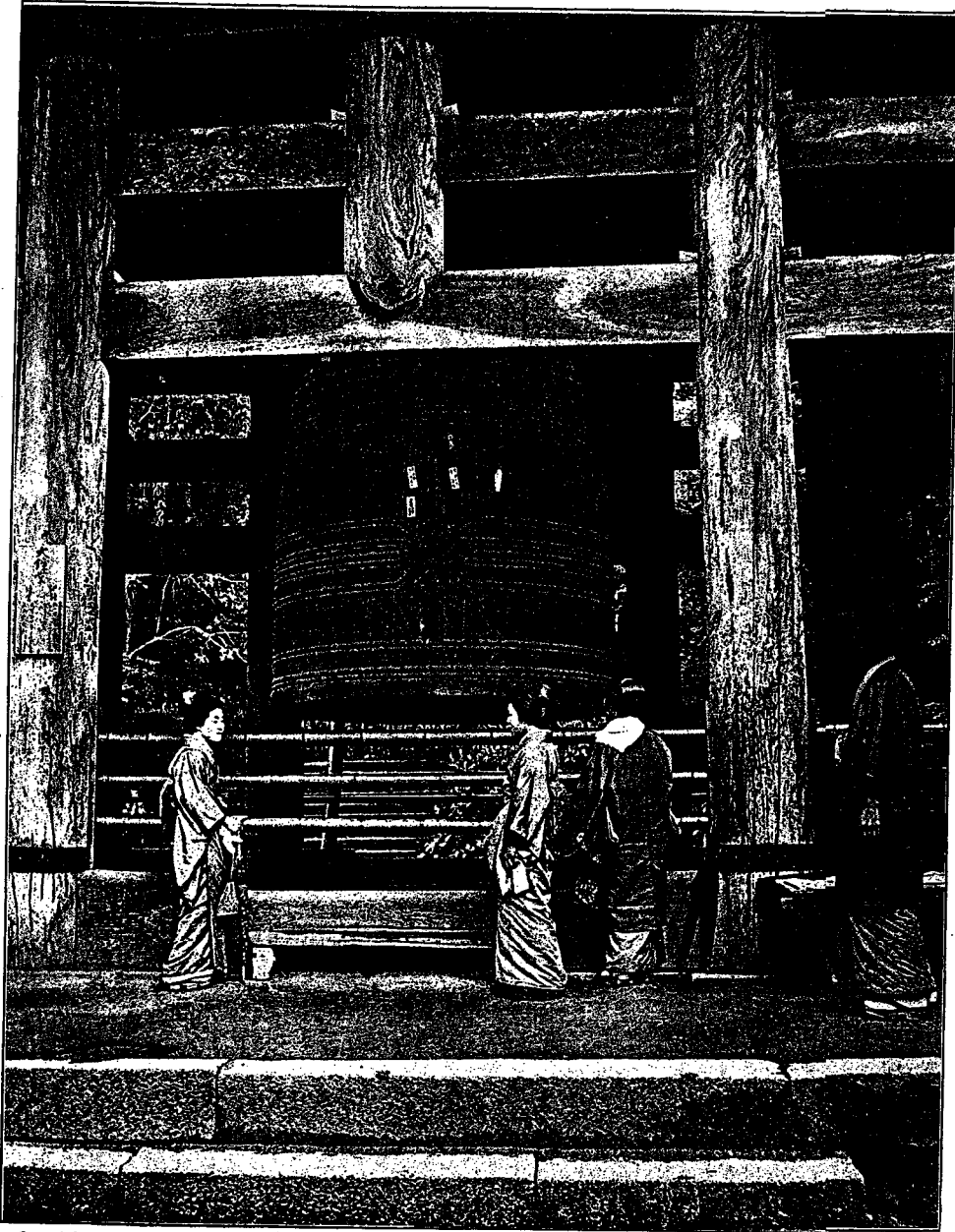


In Lotus-land Japan / Herbert G. Ponting 1911 Lotus



1911

Appendix 2d)



Copyright 1904. Underwood and Underwood.

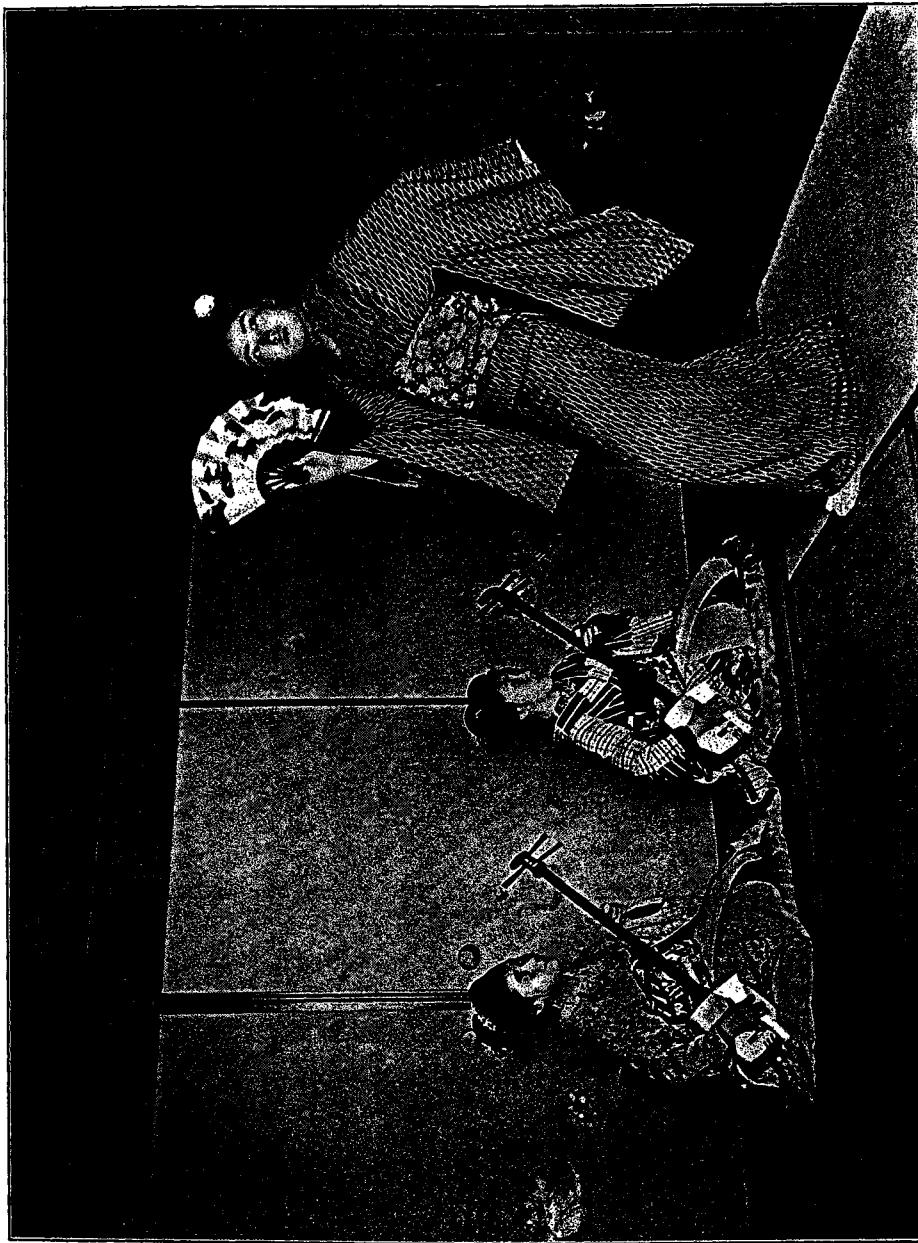
THE GREAT BELL AT CHIO-IN TEMPLE

APPENDIX 4A

1911

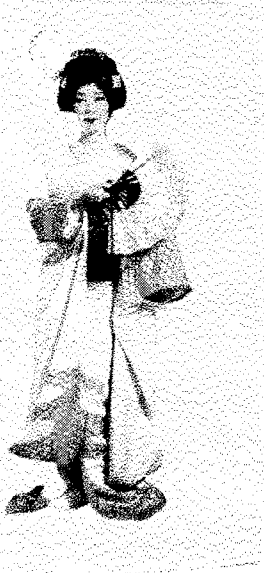
1911

Appendix 2e)



A GEISHA DANCING

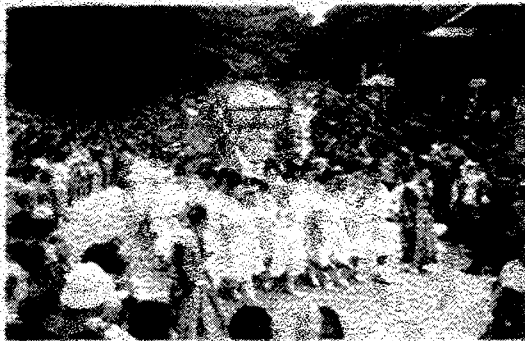
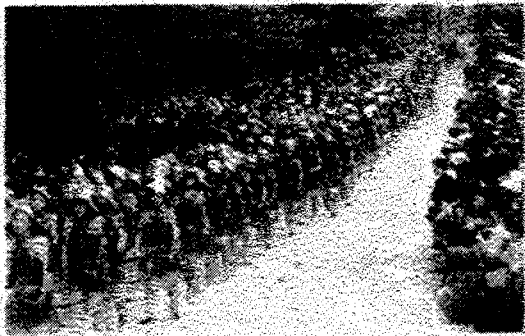
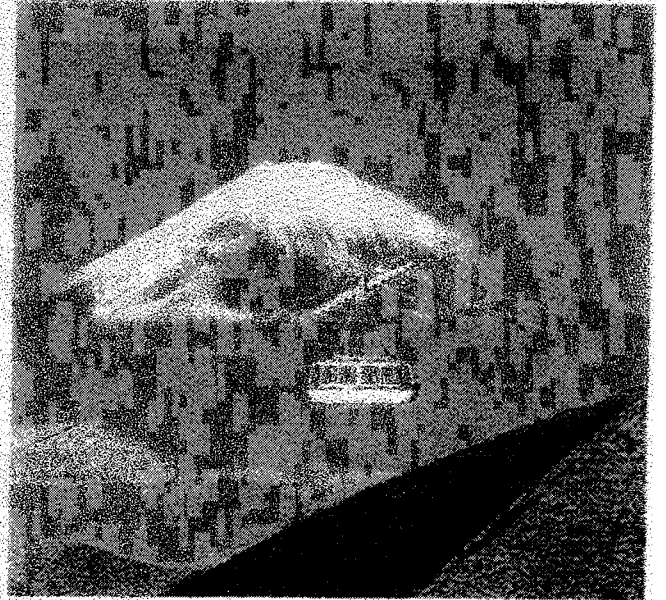
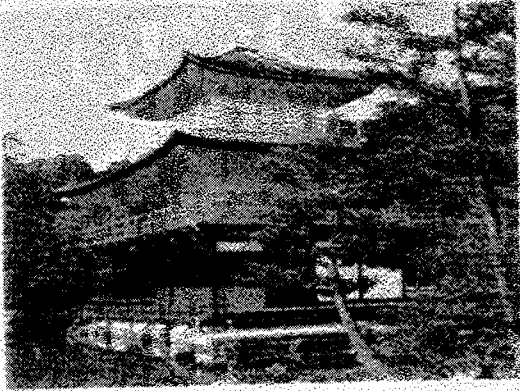


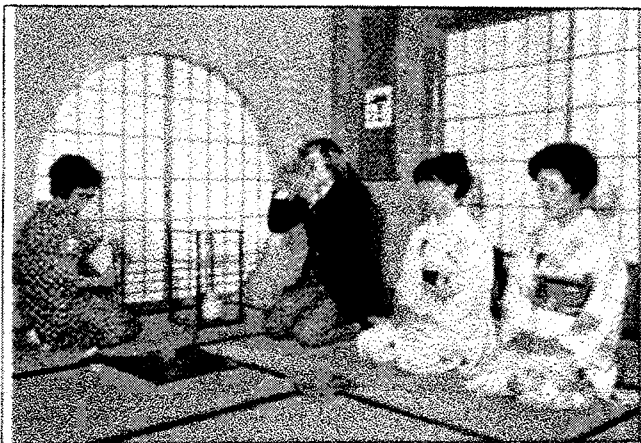


*Berliz*









Tea ceremony is traditional way of preparing and serving green tea, matcha.

It is aesthetic pastime unique to Japan.

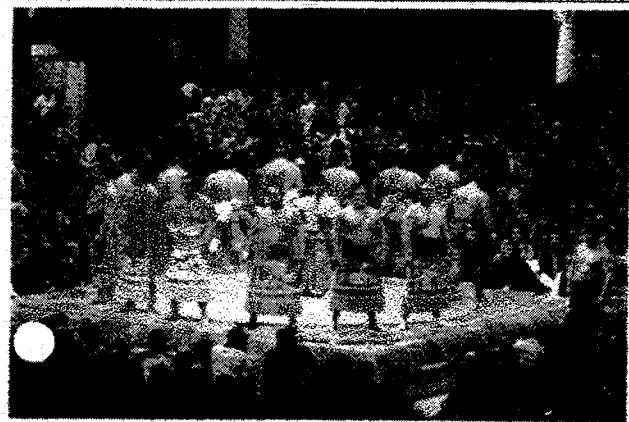
"The true spirit of the Tea ceremony has been described by such terms as calmness, rusticity, gracefulness, and the aestheticism of austere simplicity and refined poverty" (The International Society for Educational Information ISEI).



The art of flower arrangement as an expression of aesthetic sensibility is deeply rooted in the cultural life of Japan.

Ikebana is said to be based on three main lines that symbolize heaven, earth and humankind.

"Ikebana seeks to create harmony of linear construction, rhythm and color" (ISEI)



On each day of a sumo tournament, top-ranking wrestlers perform a special ritual.

Sumo wrestling is ancient and highly ritualized sport .

The popularity of the sumo is strong in Japan and the sumo champions are national heroes.

(ISEI)



Kabuki is combination of acting, dancing and music. It is colorful spectacle on a huge stage.

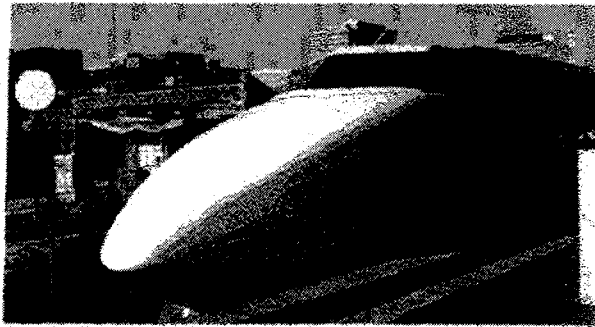
(ISEI)



Tokyo – town scape is dominated by series of modern high-rise blocks.

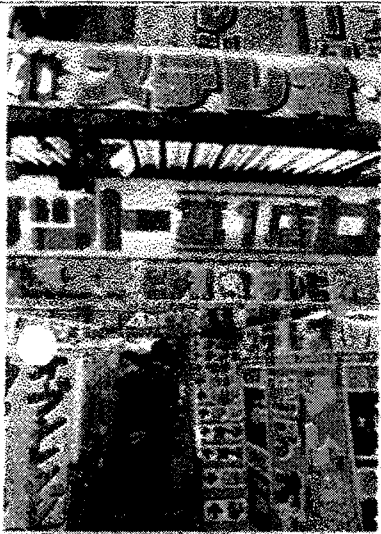
These skyscrapers or tall buildings are usually pictured together with old traditional buildings – in a great harmony.

( See e.g Berliz, 1992/1993, Kodansha International, 1987)



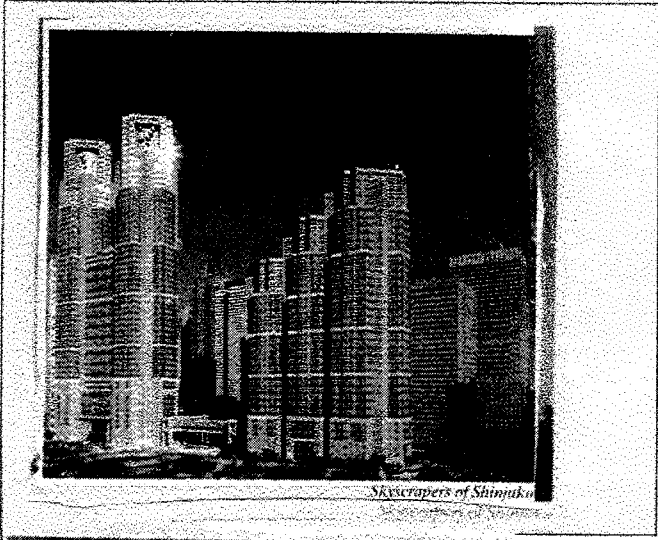
Japanese trains are described as effect and convenient. Especially the shinkansen which has described as the world famous and fastest train...

(See e.g. Berliz, 1992/1993; Baedeker, 1983; Fodor, 1989).



There are pictures from Ginza and its nightlife in Tokyo and of course from Akihabara where you can find all the electronic goods that you can imagine

(See e.g Fodor, 1989; Baedeker, 1983, Kodansha Int. 1987).



Skyscrapers of Shinjuku  
Skyscrapers of Shinjuku



Bullet Train

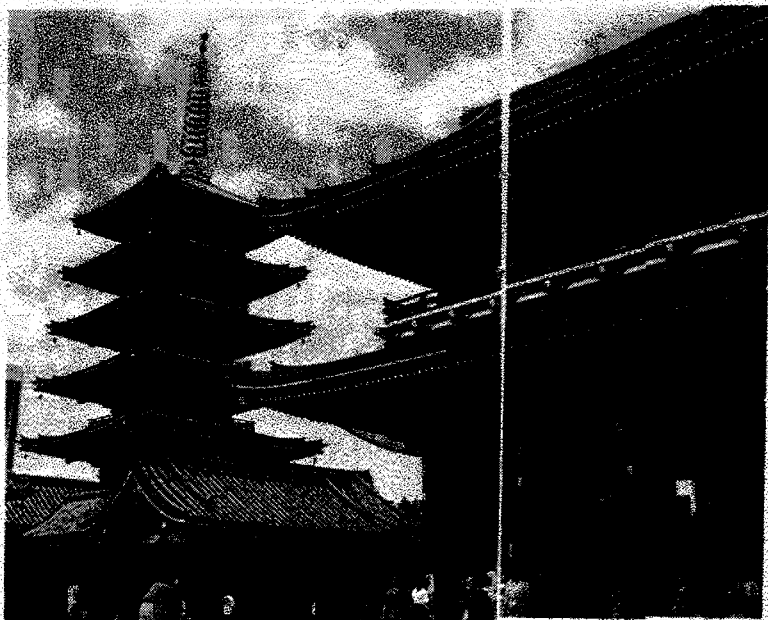
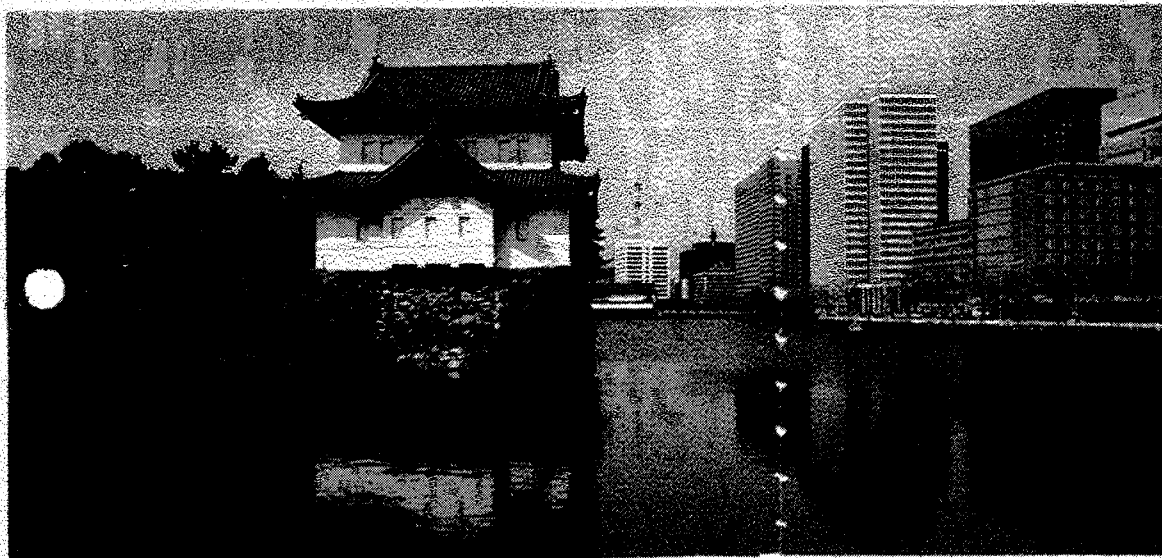
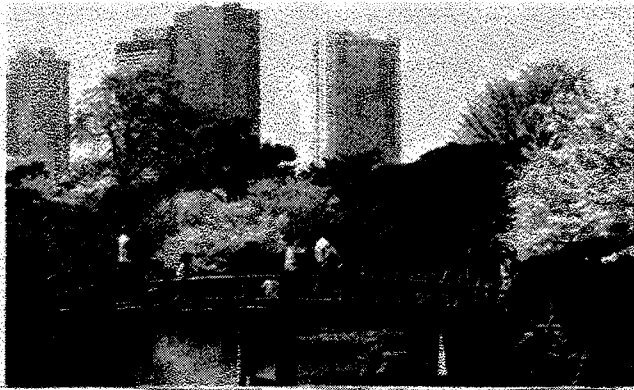


Akihabara





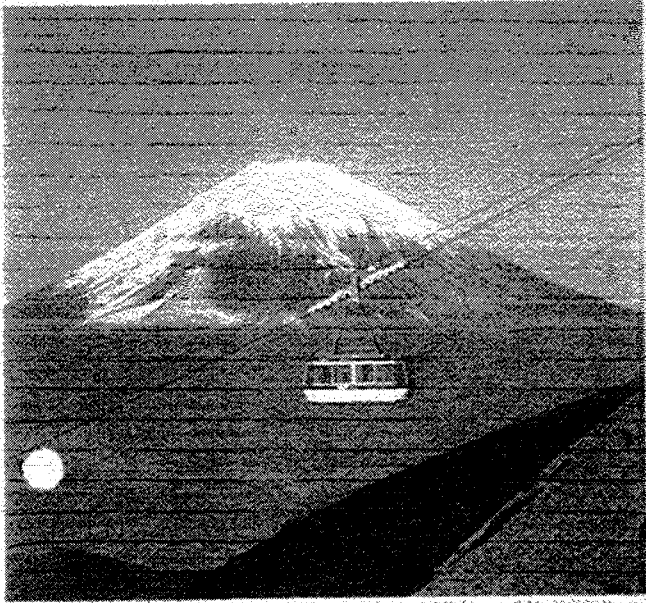
Иппеппах сау



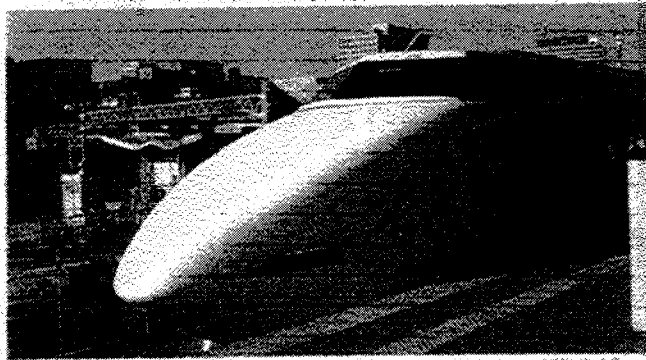
Asakusa Kannon Temple



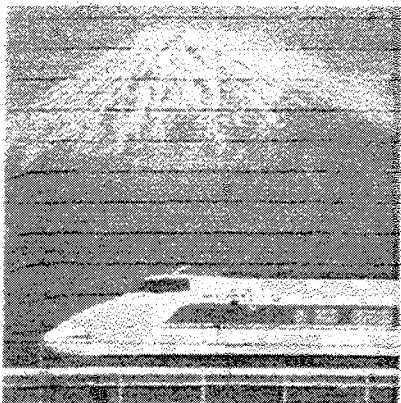
Imperial East Garden



Mr. Kawaguchi, Asahi Clubhouse & Mr. Fujita



JTB - 65 - ?

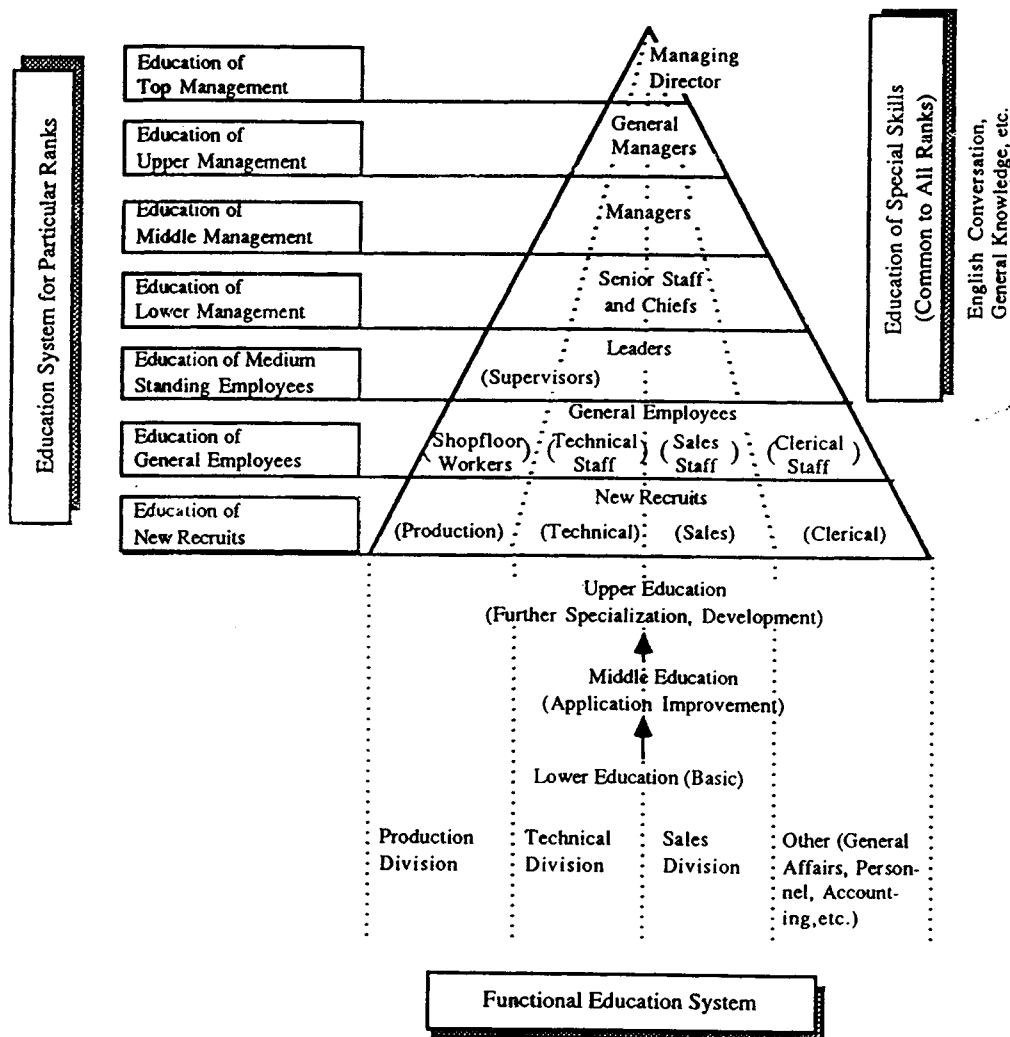


New Japan Solo  
Eiji Kanno  
Constance O'Keefe

Education and training is a very important part of Japanese company culture<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Big companies

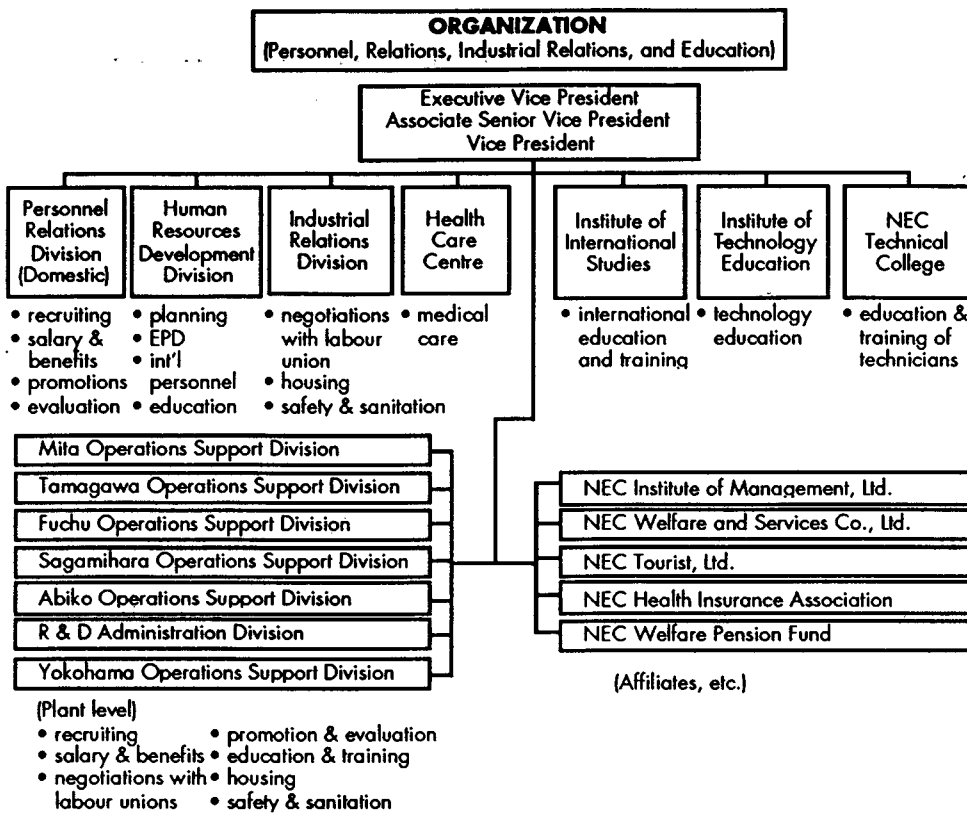


FIG. 5.1. Personnel Organization of NEC

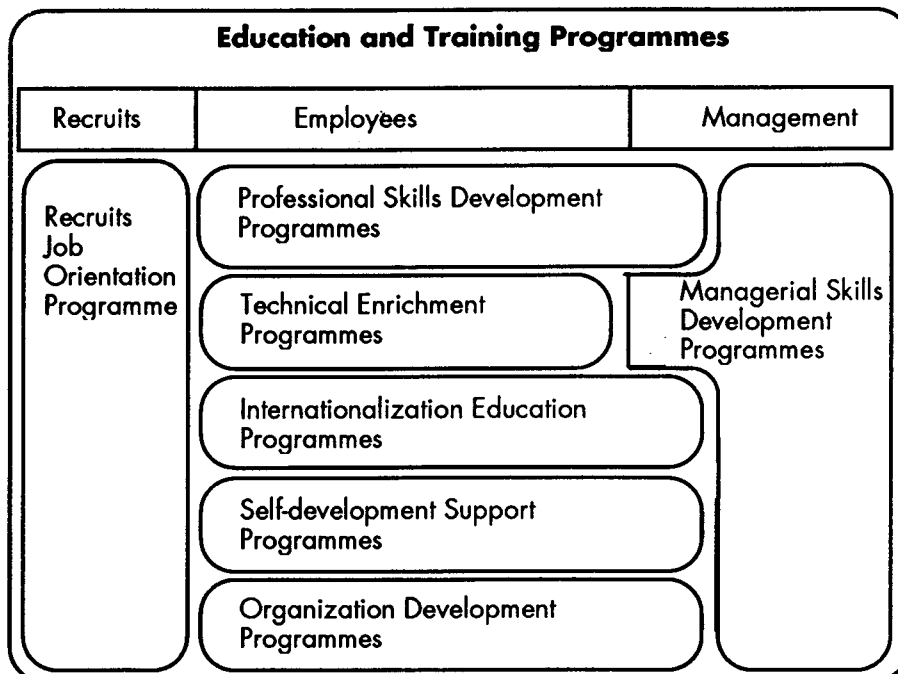


FIG 5.2. Education and Training System of NEC

Japan Travel Bureau books call "A Look into Japan" (1984) gives very specific picture of this Sarariiman "who has brought about Japan's stunning economic growth". There is picture of man wearing dark suit and carrying 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.

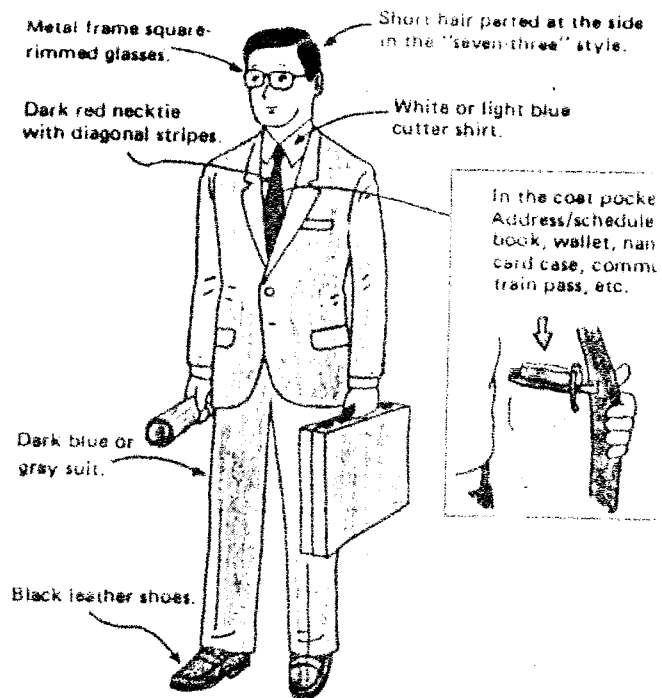
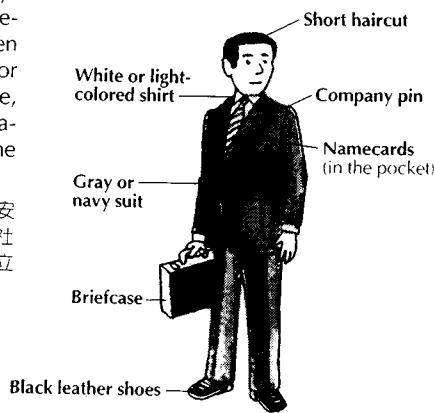
There is also another picture and description of Japanese Sarariiman adapted from "Japan at a Glance" by Kondansha International (1997).

**SALARYMEN**

サラリーマン

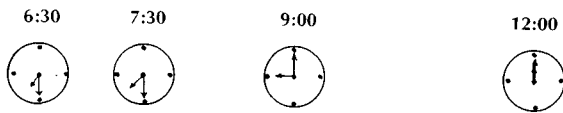
Under the lifetime employment system, there is a give-and-take relationship between labor and management. Labor enjoy a steady salary (hence, "salarymen") and certain status, and in turn are loyal to the company.

終身雇用制度のもと、社員の安定した所得や、身分保障と会社への忠誠心で労使関係が成り立っている。



A Salaryman's Uniform

● A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A SALARYMAN



Get up  
起床

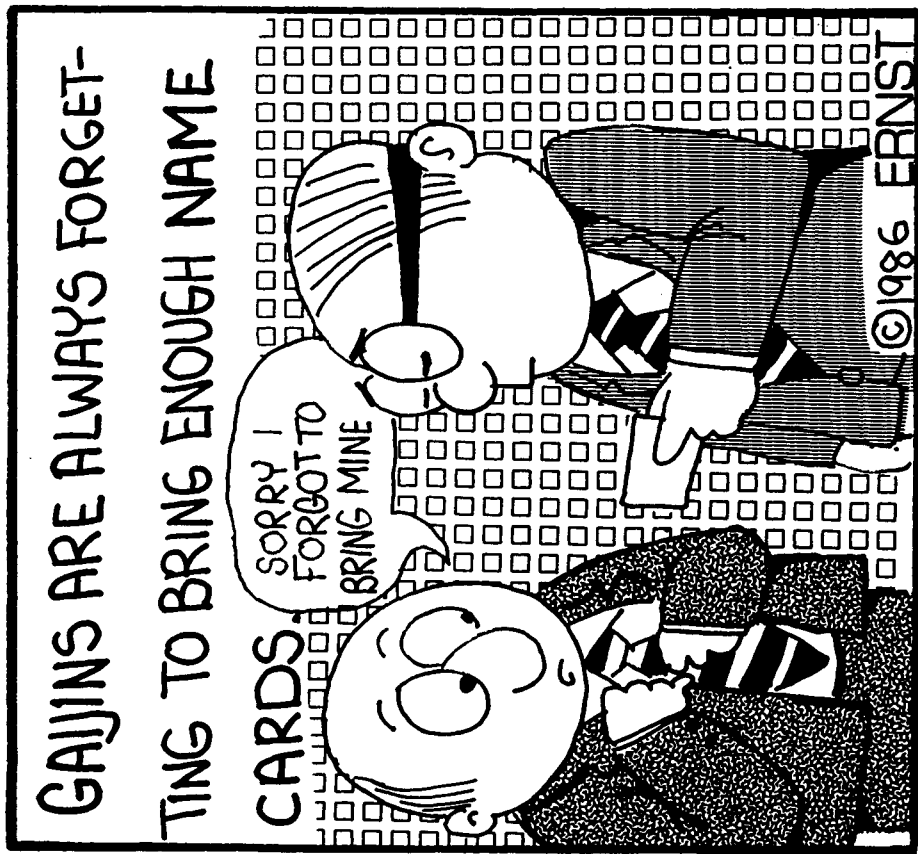
Commute  
通勤

Morning work  
午前の仕事

Lunch  
昼食



- Pack lunch (from home)  
弁当
- Company dining room  
社員食堂
- Restaurant  
レストラン



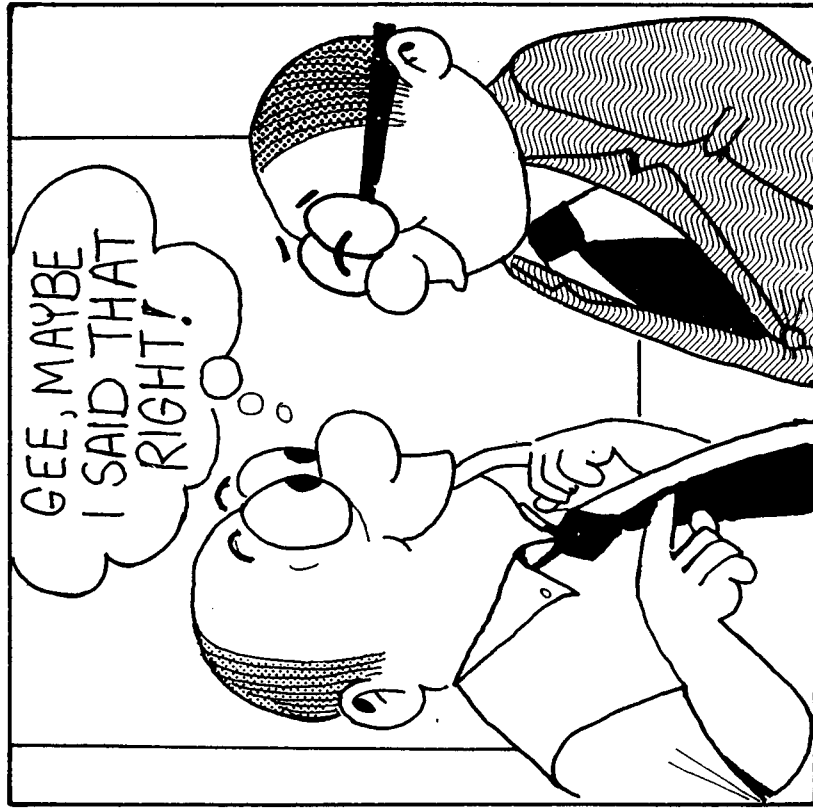
GAIJIN

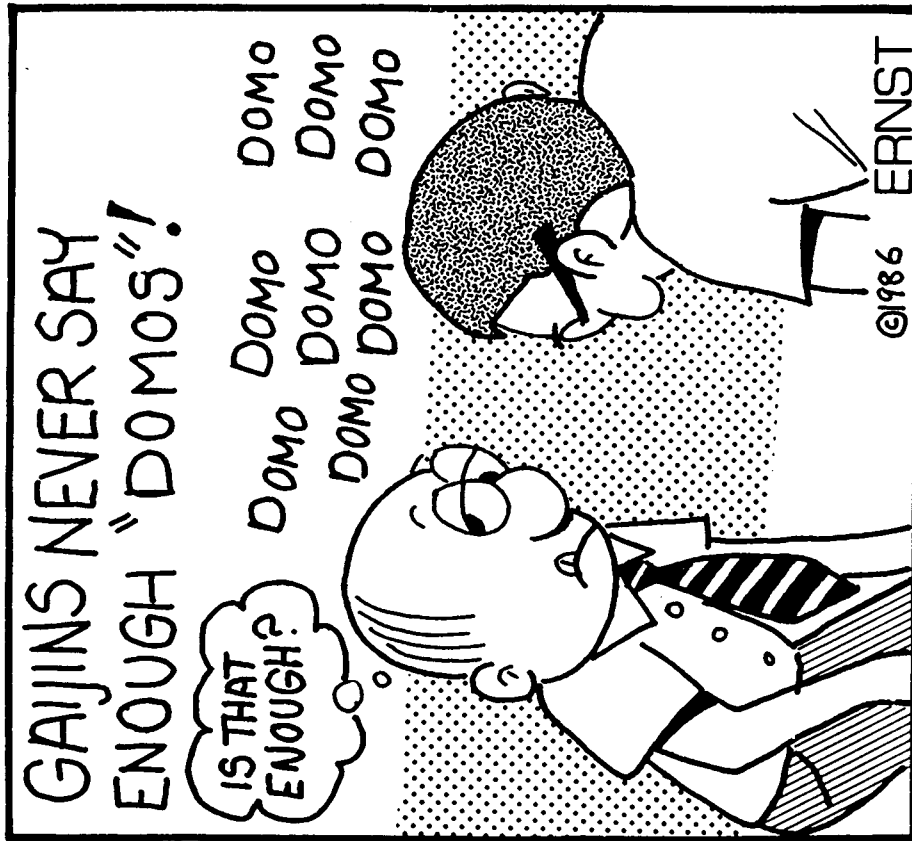
また足りないや パーティなどで初対面の人とすぐ名刺を交換するのが日本人、10~20枚などすぐなくなってしまう。外国ではセールスマンは別として一般の人は音声で相手の名前を覚える習慣をもつ。職業について語ることはあっても、地位や肩書きは言わないまま別れることさえある。

GAIJIN

GAIJIN

GAIJINS  
ARE ALWAYS  
TRYING TO  
READ  
JAPANESE  
FACES





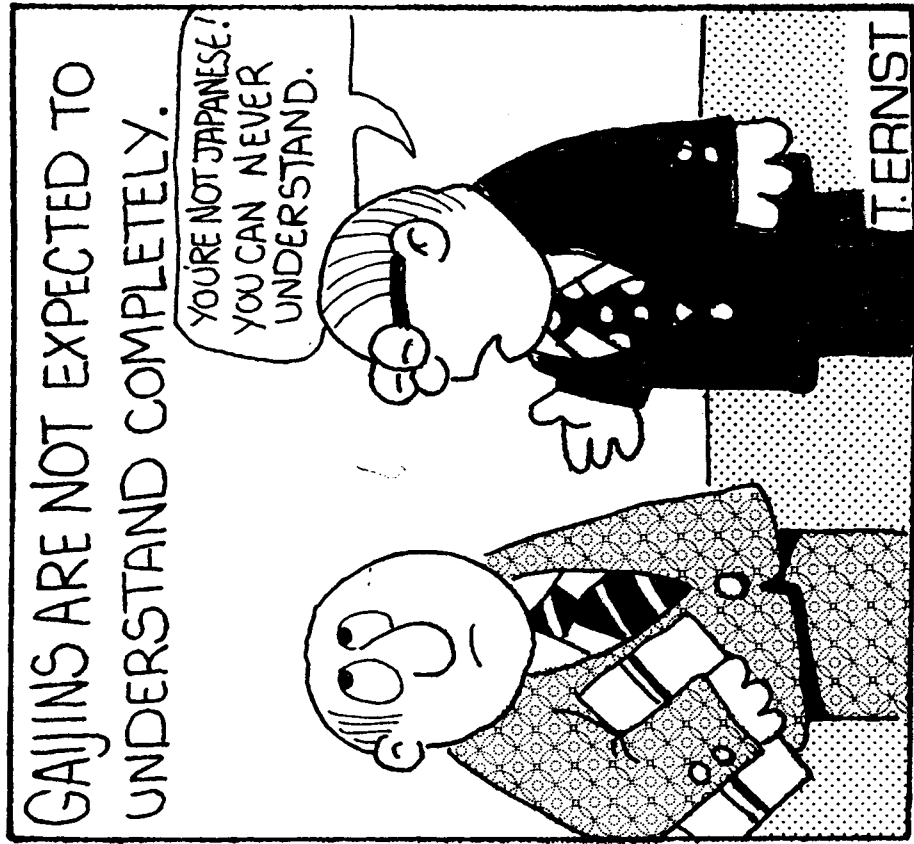
「どうも」ばかり 「どうも」は最近の日本人の口癖の一つでもあるが、挨拶のほか、感謝する時、陳謝する時などほとんど際限なく使うこの言葉に彼らは目を白黒(?)させる。英語に比べて曖昧性の強い日本語のその最たるものが、この「どうも」である。



**GAINERS  
EVENTUALLY  
GIVE UP TRY-  
ING TO MAKE  
SENSE OF IT  
ALL**



Appendix (6e) U



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こちに存在する。先入観を捨ててかからねば。