

## **The Influence of Communications Technology upon the Style of Communication in Contemporary Japanese Society**

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### **Introduction**

The end of the twentieth century was heralded as the era of ‘electronic revolution’ (Carey, 1989:14). The increasingly widespread use of electronics and cybernetics, computers and information media has given birth to new forms of community and social interaction throughout the world. Since the Second World War, sociologists have studied the trend towards people’s leisure activities taking place within the home as a relatively new phenomenon (Abercrombie, 1988). Because home-based technologies such as radio and television led to changes in society, it was predicted that new technological media like cable broadcasting, the Internet, websites and computer networks would also produce changes. Mostly recently, however, the development of hand-held portable internet-capable cell phones has brought about further changes in society in a new direction, reversing the previous trend by allowing people to communicate wherever they are. The popularity in Japan of cell phones (*keitai denwa* or simply *keitai*) means that it is reasonable to assume that they have had some influence on patterns of social interaction in this country. This paper reports on an investigation which sought to understand the nature of this influence.

This paper begins by reviewing the relevant literature on Japanese communication and the new media. It then outlines the theoretical and methodological framework of this study which investigated:

1. The preferred method of expression (spoken words, nonverbal cues, and silence) for different age groups in their daily life.
2. Whether age groups differences exist in the use of speech or

silence in cases of disagreement in public.

This article then presents the results of the study with particular emphasis on the similarities and differences between aspects of communication across the four age groups investigated.

### **Theories of silence in Japanese communication**

Much scholarly research given to this topic (see for example, Donahue 1998, Jaworski 1993). Ishii and Bruneau (1988) indicate that in social and public relations, generally the Western tradition has rather a negative attitude toward silence and ambiguity, which is in contrast to the Japanese tradition that takes a more positive attitude toward silence. They further argue that “in Japanese society, silence and silences are generally considered to be positively meaningful; they are socio-culturally accepted to a much higher degree” (313). Similarly, Lebra (1987) indicates that in Japanese society, talking seems to be denigrated as an excuse for procrastinating, and the decisive action is characterized by silence. Thus, a man of few words is probably trusted more than a man of many words.

However, the use of communicative silence very much depends on contexts and relationships. Donahue (1998) argues that “it is simply wrong to think that the Japanese run counter to the lively, the high-spirited, the expressive. On the contrary, in their formal social situations, they can be as animated as North Americans. Their society is strongly context-dependent. Certain contexts require rigid restraint; others, nearly the opposite” (149). Furthermore, in Japan, hierarchical relationships are still paramount. The respect given to one’s elders is reflected in terms of address and levels of language formality (ibid, 152).

This study investigates notions of communication, particularly in relation to two aspects, that of silence and that of technological developments. This is done by investigating preferred methods of communication across age groups and whether there is a difference in the use of silence in varying contexts, such as in close and non-close

relationships.

### **Theoretical framework and objective**

The overarching theoretical framework for this study is social constructionism which views all forms of communication, including silence as socially constructed, historically and culturally situated (Berger and Luckman, 1966). This framework is chosen because Japan is a group-oriented and socially interdependent society (cf. Donahue, 1998). Gergen (1994) argues that in a socially constructed society, social truth/reality emerges through social consensus and self reflection with the help of language. The social nature of truth is seen as an on-going dynamic process in which individuals bring their meanings and negotiate shared understandings. The uses and effects of language are of central importance to social constructionism. Although a few attempts have been made to refute the idea that everything is socially constructed, Berger and Luckman (1966) in their introduction, clarify that they are not investigating “reality” in any deep philosophical sense, only what the common man takes as real on a day-to-day basis. Ron Scollon and Suzanne Wong Scollon (1995:206) state that there are differences in social communications systems of people in the same culture depending upon time and place of birth, particularly between individuals born before and after World War II. They also believe that the roots of age group differences regarding style of communication are buried deeply within the cultural constructs of each cultural group. This paper aims to show how Japanese styles of communication vary across four age groups and the way this intertwines with the development of the new communication technology.

### **Methodology and sample selection**

Triangulation allows us to gain a more rounded perspective of the phenomenon under investigation. There are various forms of triangulation

such as multi-method triangulation, multi-researcher triangulation and multi-analytic triangulation. In this study, triangulation was gained by a multi-subject approach in which people's opinions and preferences were gathered using a quantitative survey in the form of a questionnaire. Using subjects across varying age groups, locations (Chubu, Kanto, and Tohoku) and occupations (students, salaried workers, civil servants, academic staff, housewives, self-employed) allowed the researcher to use statistical analysis to detect trends and matters of significance. The respondents are divided into four age groups which arose out of the data analysis. Subsequently labels were given to these categories to describe the characteristics of each group and to allow further discussion of the themes. A summary of the main characteristics of the respondent groups is given in Table 1.

Table 1 Details of respondents for Questionnaire survey

Age group	Year of birth	Age in 2003	Male	Female	Total
Prewar	1909-46	57-94	81	72	153 (23.9%)
Postwar	1947-72	31-56	80	121	201 (31.4%)
Infochild	1973-84	19-30	74	104	178 (27.8%)
Cyberkid	1985	under 19	36	72	108 (16.9%)
Total			271 (42.3%)	369 (57.7%)	640 (100%)

In Japan the characteristic medium of communication has evolved from the literacy and oracy of the Prewar group, to the mostly electrical and electronic mode of communication of the Postwar group. The Infochildren are used to home-based machine-mediated communication, such as computers. The Cyberkids' communication has become highly technologized with digital, mobile devices where communication can be conducted without time and space constraints.

### **Analytic tools**

A Chi-square Test was used to identify statistically significant patterns within the responses to every question in the survey. An attractive feature

of the chi-square test is that it can be applied to any uni-variate distribution for which the cumulative distribution function can be calculated. In the present study, a variable's distribution in isolation is first calculated; this is the uni-variate statistic. The association between two variables can then be made by comparing the uni-variate statistic of each variable; e.g., male and female uni-variate distributions can be compared for example the statement "Silence is a virtue." Multi-variate statistics, which subsume uni-variate statistics, are used later to find out the relationship between two or more variables (gender, age) for more accurate control and prediction.

For each question in the questionnaire, respondents were required to choose the degree of agreement with a statement according to a four-point Likert scale (1) (strongly agree, agree, partially agree, disagree). The results of the survey were then analysed statistically. When statistical significance was found, residual analysis was carried out to find out exactly which factors accounted for the significant differences. Residual analysis was not performed when the relevant answers showed no significant difference in the Chi-square Test.

### **Limitations and restrictions of this study**

The attitude scales used in this study provide evidence of opinions, not facts. Moreover, even as evidence of opinions (what people think), these scales and the responses people give (what people say) are not totally reliable. There may well be a gap between what people think and say they will do in a certain situation and what they actually do in such a situation. Attitude scale-based questionnaires ask for a personal reaction towards some phenomena rather than an answer which is externally verifiable as correct (Smith 1975). In other words, attitudes imply evaluation, and are concerned with how people feel about an issue.

A further limitation of this study is that it provided a snapshot in time (namely, 2003) of the respondents' views and yet yielded information

about trends and development overtime. It would be necessary to subject these to further investigation (such as a longitudinal study) or further interpretation by asking questions as: Is use of silence related to time and manner of upbringing or to maturational factors? Is there causal link between cultural expectations and frequent use of silence, and if so, how might this be determined?

However, in spite of the complex nature of the patterns of individual behavior within a culture, there is obviously a normative pattern of behavior commonly observed in a certain age group. Such a “tendency” of an age group gives the pattern a general character and distinction from other age groups. By comparing the different viewpoints across age groups, it may give a clearer picture of how and in what way the style of communication in contemporary Japanese society has changed.

### **Questionnaire format**

A self-administered questionnaire was given to 640 Japanese people, aged from 15 to 94, living in Japan in 2003. The questionnaire, written in Japanese, (English translation is given below) contained six questions divided into two sections.

### **Section One: Preferred method of expression**

Questions:

- Q1. In your daily life, how often (very often, often, seldom, never) do you use the following methods (spoken words, facial expression, body language, gesture, tap on the shoulder or hugging, noticeable silence, silence with expression) to enhance what you want to say effectively?
- Q2. Do you think straightforward and direct ways of expression should be used as the last resort in problem solving? (strongly agree, agree, mildly disagree, disagree)
- Q3 In general, do you think silence is more persuasive than spoken words?
- Q4. Do you think people in your generation are inclined to be non-emotional and non-opinionated in public? (Yes, No, Don't know)

- Q5. Do you think the virtue of silence in today's Japanese society is declining? (Yes, No, Don't know)

#### Section Two: Disagreement in public across age groups

- Q6. In the public sphere, when you have a disagreement concerning an important personal issue with people such as teacher, senior, junior, parents, siblings, boyfriend/girlfriend or spouse, close friends, how often (always express, sometimes express, seldom express, never express) will you state your opinion clearly?

### **Findings**

The results of this survey are set out here section by section with each section's results. These are then summarized and their implications discussed in the conclusion.

### **Result of Section One**

(1) The frequency of use of spoken words, silence, and nonverbal communication with regard to question 1.

From the results, it can be seen that differences between the four age groups are very clear with regard to saying what one wants to say using spoken words, silence, and nonverbal communication. The Prewar group claims they often use spoken words but seldom use noticeable silence (e.g. made a sad face) to replace what they want to say. This is in contrast to the Cyberkid and the Infochild who might use these types of noticeable silence quite often. The Infochild age group stands out as using spoken words and facial expression the most to convey what they want to say. The youngest age group, Cyberkid, appears to be the group that uses spoken words the least but nonverbal cues (body gestures and patting on the shoulders) the most. This is in contrast to the oldest age group, the Prewar group who tended not to use this nonverbal communication but preferred spoken words when they had something to say. This finding contradicts the traditional stereo-type in which Japanese are seen to value silence but will be explained later in relation to the closeness of the relationship. The

Postwar group emerges as the age group which does not have a strong opinion regarding the items being tested.

In short, in the realm of interpersonal communications, as the age groups become younger, the more they report they use body gestures and facial expression to convey their messages when communicating. The Infochild and the Cyberkid groups use silence explicitly and intentionally as a tool for communication, whereas the older age groups use spoken words to say what they want to say.

(2) The differences in the degree of agreement in the preference for silence or spoken words according to age groups with regard to Questions 2, 3, 4 and 5.

The data show that the Prewar group strongly agrees that direct and straightforward expression should be used as the last resort for problem solving. The respondents from this age group say they are inclined to be non-emotional and non-opinioned in public and they see silence as a virtue. It is obvious that although the Prewar group says that they often use spoken words to say what they want to say, deciding whether or not to speak directly is also something which they would consider carefully.

The respondents from the Infochild group report that they use a lot of spoken words and consider the spoken word as the most effective tool for communication. Even though this group of people does not consider silence as a virtue, they think that direct and straightforward expression should be used as the first resort rather than the last resort for problem solving and many of them recognize the persuasive power of silence when wanting to express something. When it comes to the youngest age group, the Cyberkid group appears to be the group which has difficulty in judging whether the valuation of silence as a virtue is declining. This might be due to their immaturity and/or lack of life experiences or it might suggest that they are confused with the present situation where they notice people who are older around them valuing silence as a virtue but this is not the attitude

shown by the people in their own age groups. This confusion might make it difficult for them to judge what the real meaning of silence is.

In this evaluation of the preference for using silence or spoken words in interpersonal communication, the Postwar group emerges to be the age group that is hardest to interpret. They show no statistically significant preferences in the first four questions. However, they claim that they seldom use noticeable silence and report that the virtue of silence in today's Japanese society is declining. These statistically non-significant results along with their noticing that the valuing of silence as a virtue is declining may signal a transitional state from a non-expressive to an expressive society. The Infochild group also shows this tendency but not the youngest age group of people, the Cyberkid appears to possess a different attitude towards using silence and spoken words to express themselves compared to the preceding groups.

## **Section Two: Generational differences regarding disagreement in public**

Question 6 was set to investigate (1) when people are with someone with whom they have a disagreement concerning an important personal issue, whether they keep quiet or state their disagreement in public (2) will the attitude of keeping silent/saying what they want to say change according to the closeness of a relationship?

A list of reasons for verbally expressing or not expressing disagreement towards a certain person was provided for respondents to choose from. These reasons were chosen after a pilot study was done using 10 people. The suggested reasons are:

1. consideration of the effect (negative and positive)
2. saving face (self face-saving)
3. thinking of the others' personality/character
4. because of your close relationship with the person
5. if you have opinion you say it, regardless of situation or relationship
6. other reasons

The structure and the display of results for this section are divided into two different parts to investigate age group differences according to:

- (1) Disagreement and the reasons for verbally expressing/ not expressing disagreement with someone when in a **non-close** relationship (teacher/professor, senior, and junior)
- (2) Disagreement and the reasons for verbally expressing. not expressing disagreement with someone when in a **close** relationship (parents, sibling, partner (boyfriend/girlfriend/spouse), and close friend)

**The results of differences across age groups regarding disagreement in public and reasons for expressing/ not expressing disagreement.**

(1) Disagreement and the reasons for expressing/ not expressing disagreement with someone when in a non-close relationship.

In general, for the teacher category, each age group shows a tendency to give a different reason for keeping quiet or stating their disagreement in public. People of the Postwar and the Prewar groups, instead of thinking of their own selves first, will think of the interlocutor's social status, character and the closeness of relationship before anything is uttered. The Infochild says s/he will think of the effect on their teachers. However, instead of considering their teachers' pride or the effect on the relationship, the youngest group thinks that saving their own faces is more important. The attitude of considering the other party's position first rather than theirs in the public sphere seems to be absent in this youngest group.

There is still a kind of restrained attitude shown by all the age groups toward hierarchical relationships, particularly toward seniors in the public sphere regarding disagreement. Although people of the Prewar and the Postwar groups will sometimes utter their disagreement, the Cyberkid almost never expresses his/her disagreement to a senior. However, when the opponents are their juniors they will do so because their own pride is concerned. This implies that the elements of "thinking of other's

character” and “close relationship” which the older generation and the Infochild valued are not factors the youngest age group, the Cyberkid, who will not take this into consideration when they have disagreement with their juniors.

In short, in a non-close relationship, when a person has a disagreement concerning important personal issues with his or her teacher/professor, the Prewar group report that they will keep quiet due to wanting to show deference, or to wanting to judge their teachers’ character before deciding whether to state their disagreement or not. The recognition of place (public or private) and hierarchical relationships are two important features that affect the way of communication for the older group of people. The Infochild will think of the positive and negative effect of their utterance with their teacher before arguing. However, the Cyberkid will think of their pride first rather than others’ pride before anything is uttered. It can be inferred from the data that the attitude toward their teacher/professor of the youngest group of people, the Cyberkids, has departed radically from the other age groups with regard to saying what they want to say in public. They do not take into consideration the public nature of a place when they think that the personal issues concerned are important, even when those they are opposing are teachers.

(2) Disagreement and the reasons for expressing/ not expressing disagreement with someone when in a close relationship

Statistical significance of age group differences were found in all the four categories; parents, sibling, partner and close friend. When we examine each individual item, it can be concluded that the younger the group is, the more members express their disagreement to their parents and siblings, particularly the Infochild and the Cyberkid. However, a restrained attitude is found in all groups except the Prewar group when uttering disagreement with their partners. Regarding expressing/not expressing disagreement in a close relationship, statistical significance

was found in all the categories except the close friend category.

In a close relationship, as the age group becomes younger, the tendency to state one's disagreement with parents is obvious. For the Prewar and the Postwar groups, showing deference and not thinking first of their own benefits is the common attitude in public. In other words, it means that silence could be their preferred choice. However, the Infochild, instead of acting out of respect, will think of their relationship with their parents. This indicates that if they think their relationship is close they will say what they want to say to their parents. The Cyberkid will think of their own positions first rather than their parents'. As for the siblings category, for the Postwar group, deference is still a factor they usually consider when deciding whether to state one's disagreement in public with siblings or not. For the younger groups, the younger they are, the more they think of their own pride first rather than the other party's. This is especially true for the Cyberkid, who will not take his/her sibling's character into consideration when stating any disagreement in public.

When it comes to expressing one's disagreement with a partner, apart from the Prewar group which shows no significant difference, a restrained attitude is found in all groups when uttering their disagreement with a partner, including the Cyberkid. The youngest group will think of their partners' characters and the effect on the relationship before disagreement is stated. The reserved attitude shown by the Cyberkid who seldom expresses disagreement could imply that the Cyberkids' relationships with their partners is varied; it is beyond the scope of this research to discuss the reasons for this but one reason might be that the Cyberkid's relationship with his/her partner is not as established as that of the Infochild or the Postwar groups, if age is counted as a factor for establishing a relationship.

When close friends are concerned, the oldest group will sometimes express their disagreement with their close friends. However, the Infochild shows a kind of reserved attitude towards their close friends even when

the disagreement is concerning an important personal issue.

The younger the age group is, the more it will refrain from stating disagreement to their close friends. However no reason for this could be detected because no statistical significance was shown, no reason for this was sought.

### **Conclusions: The similarities and the differences**

My conclusions focus on the similarities and differences across the age groups as related to their style of communication. Although the Prewar group appears to be the group who use spoken words quite often as the results of Section One indicate, when contexts (public sphere and relationship) are considered, a restrained attitude is shown, as the results in Section Two indicate. The Prewar group will only use spoken words to communicate under two conditions: first, when the relationship is close and, second, when the issue/topic under discussion is one that they consider important. Otherwise they might not speak about it. In a non-close relationship for the older generation, there is an attitude of refraining from using straightforward and direct expression when dealing with conflict. According to Aida (1973), words (*kotoba*) are needed to clarify one's will (*ishi*) or meaning (*imi*) accurately (150), but whether to use them first or last is based on the *kotodama no shinkō* (that is, the belief that spoken words are very powerful to the extent that people will not utter anything lightly unless it is necessary). According to Yamamoto and Komuro (1981), Japanese people are deprived of freedom of speech because of their belief in *kotodama*, which connotes the inseparability of language from the character of the speaker. This is based on the belief that what one utters will become reality (52). The *kotodama shinkō* has perhaps made the Prewar group and the Postwar group more careful in their utterances. They do not say something casually without giving deep thought and as a consequence silence may occur. For older Japanese people, language is normally used for confirmation, not for negotiation or

persuasion. Once something is said orally, the words stand. This may be the reason why they use spoken words as the last resort in problem solving. The results of this study suggest that people in the older age groups seem to believe in *kotodama*. However, their descendants do not seem to follow this practice. The young Japanese, particularly the Infochild, shows an inclination to use spoken words first to say what they want to say, including when problem solving. There is also an obvious change in using bodily actions to convey one's message explicitly; the younger the group becomes, the stronger the tendency shown.

In the public sphere particularly, the Prewar and Postwar groups will not utter disagreement even though the issue concerned is important to them. Among them they display what Yamamoto (1997) calls *kūki* ("Air") which is generated from the *kyōdōtai* (group criteria). *Kūki* is produced by five elements, namely a person's character, feelings of others (*omoiyari*), situations, contexts and the closeness of a relationship. Under the umbrella of *kūki*, members find shelter, comfort, emotional support, and in a broader sense, this *kyōdōtai*'s structure creates a sense of one big family in which a kinship hierarchical relationship is to be maintained among members and group/ *kyōdōtai* harmony is often emphasized. Thus, *kūki* is something one should take into account before anything is uttered. In addition, Japan is a polytheistic society which has no absolute religion or teachings for life guidance and therefore this *kūki* has become dogma to them. In the group-oriented Japanese society, usually a member of a *kyōdōtai* is not allowed to do something against *kūki*, and the behavior and conduct of all members is restrained by *kūki*. The group acts as the decision-maker and keeps surveillance on each member's attitude and utterance (Yamamoto, 1997). As a result, free debate or argument is not allowed as long as they are in the group or want to remain a member of a particular group. This *kūki* trains members of a *kyōdōtai* to become observant, that is "learning by watching," silently but attentively. This is the essential element in the process of *kyōdōtai* socialization. Due to the

belief of *kotodama* and the group orientation basis of Japanese society, where the *kyōdōtai* requires members to be submissive, to do what others do (*yokonarabi*); the widespread social surveillance by *kūki* limits personal expression, self-control is required and expected; consequently silence has become the natural choice of expression for the Prewar group in public.

Since the Cyberkid is born into and brought up in a world of cybernetic affluence, surrounded by visual media and computer-mediated devices, s/he takes Internet-mediated communication for granted. New media communication through the Internet via cyberspace provides people a new public space and a place for expression. The *kyōdōtai* formed through Internet-capable mobile phones is based on convergence of interest. For example, the Internet chat (excluding those, for example, that are academically or politically motivated), where many of the users are teenagers, members can say what they want to say freely without much concern about social constraint such as *kūki*. The lack of surveillance and control in such cyberspace is equated to freeing someone from the control of *kūki*. In a society like Japan, where the invisible power of *kūki* is prevalent, the *keitai* offers a just right compromise by giving an individual a space to express himself/herself freely but in a secret and confidential way. Freedom is promised because communication can be done privately without the scrutiny of either *kūki* or parents. Individuality can be expressed through the the *keitai* through indirect methods such as choosing one's own melody for message receiving, employing distinctive markers of a personal character to symbolize one's identity and affixing them to one's *keitai* strap. Thus, traditional *kyōdōtai* means less to the Cyberkid group; the awareness of *kūki* control in a group is low. What they know about *kyōdōtai* is that it is something they can join and leave freely and where they can say whatever they want without considering *kūki* but only their individual pride. The data on the Cyberkids in this study reflect the power of the new communications media and the

subsequent changes of behavior and attitude.

Regarding the Prewar group, it can be seen that they will not speak their disagreement lightly in public, even to their juniors. A kind of deference and consideration of others are the values that are still held by the oldest group and even the Infochild, still seems to be taking the interlocutor's character or the positive/negative effect of an utterance into consideration before speaking. However, when it comes to the Cyberkid, a change in attitude towards their juniors and teachers occurs in which they seem to think of their own pride before anything else. In addition, the young contemporary Japanese regard being "non-emotional" and "non-opinionated" in the public sphere as remnants of the old tradition. Considerations such as "thinking of others' character" before anything is uttered, showing deference to teachers, and thinking of feelings of others (*omoiyari*) that their seniors possessed, have lost their effectiveness for this youngest group of people. This might be due to the earlier childhood exposure to computer-mediated communication that usually required immediate feedback, to say what one wants to say regardless of place might have become the common practice among them.

When in a close relationship, the Prewar group and the Postwar group demonstrate an attitude of restraint towards their own parents and siblings regarding disagreement. This is in contrast with the Infochild, who tends to voice disagreement if it exists due to perceiving a close relationship with parents and siblings. The change to feeling close to one's own parents and siblings indicates a change of attitude in contemporary Japan; the change to using spoken words to express oneself, indicates that the importance of oral interpersonal communication is beginning to be recognized. Although in a close relationship, the Cyberkid voices disagreement to their parents or siblings regardless of whether the place is public or not, they seem to show a restrained attitude towards their seniors. The same reserved attitude towards seniors is shown by the other three groups of people as well. This outcome may suggest that silence is still

needed in the Confucian-based hierarchical relationships in contemporary Japanese society. The tendency not to state one’s disagreement to partners in the public sphere is another convergent point found and should be investigated further.

In conclusion, a table can be used to show the evolution of mediated communication in Japan to highlight age group differences and how the style of communication has changed over time.

Table 2: The evolution of style of communication and the communications technology across age groups

Age group	Preferred/characteristic form of personal communication	Characteristic Mass Media Technology	Characteristic Interpersonal Communication Technology
Prewar	Spoken words (close relationship), silence (non-close relationship)	Newspapers (mechanical)	Face-to-face, letters
Postwar	Transition from indirect to direct	Radio, Television (electrical)	Telephone
Infochild	Spoken words/actions	Video, computer (electronic)	Computer-based email
Cyberkid	Silence/actions	Internet (optical/virtual)	Internet-capable-mobile phones

The style of communication has evolved from the Prewar group who used oracy and letters as the important means of communication to the Postwar group which starts to show a transitional change from a preference for indirect expression to a preference for direct expression. Starting from the Infochild, spoken words and actions have become their preferable ways of expression. However, the Cyberkids are inclined to use silence and actions to communicate.

Communication is socially-constructed and each society has evolved unique features over time. In Japan people have come to share understandings and possess beliefs in common and these have, in the past, proved a binding force. In Japan, however, as elsewhere, there are global influences at work which have influenced interpersonal communications.

One of these influences is the rise of technologically-mediated communication devices and although my study did not specifically ask about these, they cannot be ignored and warrant further detailed investigation. Such a study would provide further insight into cultural adaptation, global influences and personal expectations in the realm of interpersonal communication.

### Notes

1. Likert scale: A scale developed by Rensis Likert in the 1920's. It is a standardized responses category in survey questionnaires and one of the most frequently used attitude measure in social sciences (cf. Garland, 1991).

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