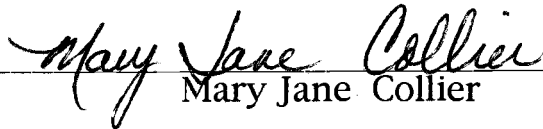


AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Mami Shimizu for the degree of Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies in the co-departments of Speech Communication, Speech Communication, and Women Studies presented on April 30, 1992.

Title: Male and Female American and Japanese Perceptions of Close Friendship

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Mary Jane Collier

This study focused on perceptions of close friendship across gender groups in two national cultures. Four groups: a U.S. American male group, a U.S. American female group, a Japanese male group, and a Japanese female group, were studied. Cultural value differences in individualism and collectivism, "doing" and "being" orientations, masculine and feminine value dimensions, and cultural norms affected the perceptions of close friendships held by males and females from the U.S. and Japan.

Respondents' descriptions and explanations of their ideas about close friendships and of past experiences with close friends were analyzed in this study. The definition of a close friend, the most important requirement of a close friendship, managing conflicts with a close friend, the termination of a close friendship, general demographic information about close friends, and norms and outcomes of a close friendship were examined. This study used

thematic content analysis to analyze the responses from the four groups.

There were several similarities in the perceptions of close friendship across national groups and gender groups. For example, "trust" was mentioned by all four groups for the definition of a close friend and for the most important requirement in a close friendship.

Differences in the perceptions of close friendship also appeared among the four groups. These differences could be influenced somewhat by cultural values and norms. For example, individualism, a doing-orientation, and femininity values may have affected Americans' definitions of a close friend in such categories as "expectations about other's character" and "shared activities." On the other hand, Japanese defined friendship as "comfort" and "mutual improvement." This may be indicative of collectivism and masculinity values. For the most important requirement of a close friendship, American male respondents verbalized "interdependence" more than other groups, perhaps because of their strong individualistic value or femininity value. Only Japanese females described "empathy." This may be because of their strong collectivistic value or the social expectations of them in Japan.

The results also suggested that it was more difficult to have a close friendship with the opposite gender in Japan than in the United States. This result could be explained by a strong masculinity orientation in Japan. In this study, results showed that national cultural groups shared more similarities than gender groups in the perceptions of close friendship, because national cultural groups seemed to share more value orientations than gender groups.

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MALE AND FEMALE AMERICAN AND JAPANESE
PERCEPTIONS OF CLOSE FRIENDSHIP

by

Mami Shimizu

A THESIS

submitted to

Oregon State University

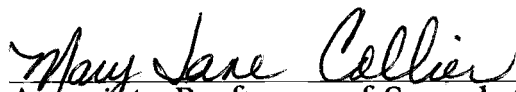
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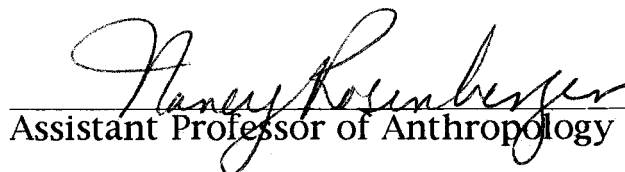
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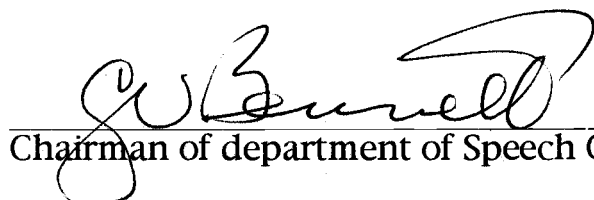
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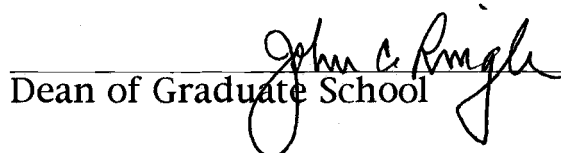
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Rationale	1
Literature Review	8
Culture, Communication and Friendships	8
American Friendships and Japanese Friendships	11
Gender	13
Collectivism and Individualism	16
Doing (Activities) Orientation and Being Orientation	19
Conflict Management	21
Termination of a Close Friendship	23
Norms and Outcomes	25
Methodology	26
Creation of Questionnaire	27
Establishing Japanese Equivalence of the Instrument	29
Subjects	31
Procedures	32
Analysis of Data	33
Interpretation of Data	36
Results and Discussion	38
The Number of Close Friends	38
The Definition of a Close Friend	41
The Most Important Requirement in a Close Friendship	48
Conflict Management with a Close Friend	57
Termination of a Close Friendship	64
General Information about Respondents' Close Friendships	72
Norms and Outcomes	74
Implications	76
Review of Results	76
Overall Conclusion	80
Limitations and Directions for Future Research	83
References	88
Appendices	
Appendix A: Research Questionnaire in English	93
Appendix B: Research Questionnaire in Japanese	96

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. The Number of Close Friends	40
2. The Definition of a Close Friend	42
3a. The Most Important Requirement in a Same-Sex Close Friendship	49
3b. The Most Important Requirement in an Opposite-Sex Close Friendship	50
4a. Conflict Management with a Same-Sex Close Friend	58
4b. Conflict Management with an Opposite-Sex Close Friend	59
5a. Termination of a Same-Sex Close Friendship	66
5b. Termination of an Opposite-Sex Close Friendship	67

MALE AND FEMALE AMERICAN AND JAPANESE PERCEPTIONS OF CLOSE FRIENDSHIP

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In this chapter, the reasons why this study was conducted will be discussed. The literature review will also be included.

Rationale

The United States and Japan have been associated for more than 190 years. Especially after World War II, Japan and the United States have interacted in many different fields, such as cultural arts, politics, business and economics, trade, education, technology, and others (Reischauer, 1978; Mitarai, 1981; Yamaguchi, 1986). Because 1991 is the 50th anniversary of Japan's attack Pearl Harbor, many TV programs and newspapers have featured the relationship between the two cultures. Also, many scholars (Reischauer, 1978; Mitarai, 1981; Hall & Hall, 1987; Ozaki, 1980; Albrecht, 1986) point out the significance of the relationship between the United States and Japan. Moser (1986) describes, "In fact, the United States and Japan enjoy a very strong bond of common interests and attitudes towards the world" (p. v). Reischauer (1978) notes the significance of the future relationship between the United States and Japan.

The relationship Japan has already developed with the United States and to a lesser extent with the other Western industrialized nations is the first example in world

history of broad and deep cooperation on the basis of equality across the major cultural and racial lines that divide the world. Its relationship is far from perfect or complete, but it is the beginning of a type of relationship that some day must embrace all the people in the world. (p. 425)

Secretary of State, James A. Baker also stated the importance of the relationship between Japan and the U.S. in his speech, "The U.S. and Japan: Global Partners in A Pacific Community," on November 11th, 1991, in Tokyo. He said that Japan and the United States needed to establish a new partnership to help shape the 21st century.

However, the imbalance of exports and imports between the two nations has caused some ill will and public insults, characterized as "Japan bashing" and "U.S. bashing." The mass media have been an influence and negative feelings between the two nations have increased.

Although the United States and Japan have several similarities such as the fact that both are industrialized countries, have capitalistic economies, and a democratic political system (Moser, 1986; Barnlund, 1989), they are different in culture. Moser (1986) argues, "Many problems in the U.S. relationship with Japan have a cross-cultural dimension" (p. 21). Therefore, in order to understand and create an effective relationship between Japan and United States, it is very important to know the differences between the two nations.

According to the U.S. Department of International Education, 36,610 Japanese students enrolled in American colleges or universities in 1990/91. This number is about three times greater than 10 years ago (13, 610 in 1982/83). Therefore, Japanese and American students have increased opportunities to get to know each other.

Japanese and American students at universities have increased opportunities to build friendships. Therefore, intercultural friendship may be very important in affecting the future relationship of the United States and Japan. Not only am I interested in intercultural friendship, but I have noticed that friendship in the two countries are quite different. I came to the United States from Japan four years ago. From my experience, American friendships are viewed differently from Japanese friendships.

To illustrate the differences, I will describe my own experiences. The first experience happened six months after I moved to the United States. I visited the room of one of my American friends in the dormitory, and he showed me pictures of his ex-roommate. He said that the person in the pictures was his best friend and they did many things together when both of them were freshmen. "We were like brothers," he said. Then I asked him what the friend was doing right now. His answer surprised me. He said, "I do not know what he does now. I do not know where he is because he transferred from Oregon State University."

I was curious about their friendship. Why could he say that they were best friends even though they did not keep in touch? Of course I have lost contact with some of my friends from elementary school. I do not know what they are doing right now; however, I still keep in touch with all of my close friends from high school and college even though I have lived in a different country for four years. I still know where they live and what they are doing.

I have made some American friends while living in the United States. However, I am not sure whether some of them were my

close friends or not, even though they said that we were. For example, I felt that one relationship I had was very superficial. When I did something with this friend, she told me that how close I was to her. But she did not call me, even though she said that she would give me a call. It seems to me that this friendship was not as important for her as I had thought at that time.

When I complained about those friendships with Americans to my Japanese friends who live in this town, many of them told me that they had similar experiences. They thought that they could not count on their American friends as much as they did on their Japanese friends.

I also had an interesting experience with another American friend, which made me realize that Americans could have different perspectives from Japanese about friendships. I consider her as one of my close friends in the United States. We took classes together, studied together, went out in the evening together, and we talked about everything such as family backgrounds, grades, and even about boyfriends. One day we started to have an argument about a very small thing on the phone. Since she was getting angry and starting to shout, I started to keep quiet because I hate to argue. Finally, she hung up the phone while shouting something at me. I felt terrible at that time because I had never had an argument like that with any Japanese friend. I had been taught that arguing with anybody is considered to be rude and immature. To be an effective member of the society, we have to try to understand others' feelings without arguing.

Later after we got over the argument, she said, "I am so glad that we argued. Now, I feel much closer to you than before." She did not change her attitude after the argument; however, I could not talk with her as I used to do for a while. I was really naive and was hurt very much by this argument. It took a while for me to be as I used to be with her.

Since she took an intercultural communication class with me and we had talked about cultural differences between the United States and Japan before, I told her my honest feelings one day. She said that she had already noticed that I seemed to be afraid of talking with her since we had argued. She explained her feelings, saying that she felt that I was very close to her because we could argue. She said that she would have just ignored me if she did not care for me.

It has been almost two years since then, and we are still very close friends. She got married last year and she no longer lives in Oregon. But we still send letters to each other and talk on the phone often. I think that if she did not tell me how she felt about me after the argument, we might have broken off our friendship because I interpreted that event differently.

I went back to Japan in the summer of 1991. Whenever I go back to Japan, I meet with an American friend who was my English teacher before I came to the United States. He has lived in Tokyo, Japan, for more than five years and married a Japanese woman two or three years ago. We usually talk about my life in the United States since he also graduated from Oregon State University. We also talk about his life in Japan.

When I saw him this time, we talked about my thesis. I explained to him that its purpose was to compare the perceptions of Americans and Japanese toward friendships. I told him that I felt that American friendships were different from Japanese friendships. He agreed with me. He felt that there was a difference between American friendships and Japanese friendships in Japan. He told me his story.

His wife, Mayumi, has some very close friends. At least, she said to him that they were her close friends. One day, Mayumi called one of her close friends, who worked at a watch company, to ask her to give some discounts to Mayumi's husband who was buying a new watch. Her close friend said, "Yes, I can do it for you!" When they met at a coffee shop, Mayumi's friend brought the catalogue for them. Then she offered him some discounts. After he bought a watch, Mayumi called her friend and said thanks for her kindness. Then they did not keep in touch for a while.

After one year or so, this close friend called Mayumi to ask her husband to introduce an American friend to some of her friends, because they wanted to learn English. Mayumi asked him to choose a nice person for friends of her friend. At this time, they met again. He told me that he had a very strange feeling about Mayumi's friendship at that time. He felt that they just used each other when they needed somebody's help. He said that he did not have any friends in the United States any more to ask for help when he needed, because he had not kept in touch with them since he left for Japan. He does not know where they live and what they do. He also

thought that they had already made new friends and they did not think that he was their close friend any more.

When I heard this story from him, I did not feel strange about Mayumi's friendship. My idea of a close friend is a person whom I can count on any time when I need help whether I keep in touch with her/him often or not often. Once we have a close friendship, we can count on each other any time.

Because of all of these experiences, I began to believe that there are some differences in perceptions of close friendship between Americans and Japanese. I decided to check on this belief and conduct a cross-cultural comparison of Japanese and American friendships.

The purpose of this study was to identify national cultural differences in perceptions about friendship. To what extent are Americans' views of friendship different from those of Japanese? Do different values and norms affect friendships? I believe that knowing each culture's perceptions of close friendship may help our understanding of the other culture, which may lead to less conflict and less negative stereotyping between the two cultures.

In addition to national culture, gender also affects friendship. Since males and females are socialized differently and are taught to behave differently, gender differences need to be studied. In this study, I look at two different groups--national and gender cultural groups--and their effect on friendship.

Literature Review

Culture, Communication and Friendships. The term "culture" has been defined in many different ways by many scholars. Mitarai (1981) points out that "At any rate, the concept of culture is not only so broad but also so abstract and complex that it may not provide great specificity" (p. 15). Hall (1959) writes, "Culture is learned and shared behavior" (p. 202). Barnlund (1989) proposes, "Culture is the agency and symbols, the instrument by which each new generation acquires the capacity to bridge the distance that separates one life from another" (p. xii).

Since people learn how to communicate with others based on their cultures, many scholars define culture from a communication perspective. Collier and Thomas (1988) define culture as an historically transmitted system of symbols, meanings, and norms. Porter and Samovar (1988) point out:

Culture manifests itself in patterns of language and in forms of activity and behavior that act as models for both the common adaptive acts and the styles of communication that enable people to live in a society within a given geographic environment at a given state of technical development at a particular moment in time. (p. 19)

Barnlund (1989), as well as Porter and Samovar, points out the importance of the linking of culture and communication. Barnlund proposes, "It is through communication that we acquire a culture; it is in our manner of communicating that we display our cultural uniqueness" (p. xiv). Porter and Samovar also argue:

The link between culture and communication is crucial to understanding intercultural communication because it is through the influence of culture that people learn to communicate. (p. 24)

Thus, it is important to define culture from a communication perspective for this study. Culture is defined as the process of communication, such as symbols, norms, and meanings, which are passed down to each new generation by parents, friends, and schools in this study.

Since we learn language, norms, and meanings consciously and unconsciously, people from different cultures misunderstand each other easily when they communicate. People usually cannot explain norms governing the conversation, because they do the thing which is natural to them (Barnlund, 1989). Barna (1988) states that:

Each of us seems to be so unconsciously influenced by our own cultural upbringings that we at first assume that the needs, desires, and basic assumptions of others are the same as our own. (p. 323)

Gudykunst and Kim (1984) also argue that:

In any interpersonal relationship there are certain expectations individuals develop regarding each other's attitudes and behaviors and toward the relationship itself. Such interpersonal expectations are shaped substantially by culture rules, norms and values. (p. 128)

In particular, when people understand the language, they tend to ignore the different norms and values in the conversation.

While we have extensive information about many languages of the world, we are largely ignorant of the interactional norms that might help in communicating across cultural borders. We know almost nothing about how people of various cultures become acquainted. We do not know what behaviors attract or alienate people in forming friendships. (Barnlund, 1989, p. xiv)

Barnlund proposes the difficulty of communication between cultures. Gudykunst and Kim (1984) argue that when people from different cultures communicate, they need to understand each other's culture

and patterns of behavior. Neither of their cultural perspectives is "right" or "wrong"; they are usually just different.

"Marshall McLuhan characterized today's world as a 'global village' because of the rapid expansion of worldwide communication networks (e.g. , jet airplanes, communication satellites, and telephones)" (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p. 3). Since the world is getting smaller and smaller because of the contributions of the mass media and transportation, people have more opportunities to communicate with others from different cultures. Brislin (1986) points out that intimate friendships break down barriers between different groups. Therefore, having friendships across cultures may be the first step toward understanding another culture. However, people have difficulty developing friendships with strangers from other cultures because their communication is often ineffective (Barnlund, 1989; Gudykunst, 1992). Since values, meanings, and norms are different in different groups, people may not know others' values, meanings, and norms. Miller and Sunnafrank (1982) write:

Knowledge about another person's culture-its language, dominant values, beliefs, and prevailing ideology-often permits predictions of the person's probable response to certain messages. (pp. 226-227)

Here is an example. Somebody who comes from an individualistic culture meets a person who is from a collectivistic culture. In this relationship, if the person from the individualistic culture thinks of her/himself first more than of her/his friend, then her/his friend who is from a collectivistic culture may think that the person is selfish rather than that the person is independent. Because of this, the two may not develop a friendship. Therefore, it is important to know the

other's values, norms, and meanings when people from different cultures develop relationships.

Perspectives on friendships are shaped differently in different groups and people usually do not notice these differences until they begin comparing their experiences. Even though Bell (1981) argues that development of a friendship is based on private negotiation rather than cultural norms, most scholars would agree that cultural background differences may affect what is said to friends, what is viewed as appropriate, and what friends do together. Collier (1992) argues that ethnic groups use different messages and have different norms. Since friendships are developed through communication and communication is a cultural process, it is necessary to examine "what is friendship?" across different cultural groups.

American Friendships and Japanese Friendships. Many scholars have already examined the differences between American friendships and Japanese friendships. For example, Hall and Hall (1987) propose:

In the United States, developing friendships is easy enough. In fact, people in this country can become friends in a very short time. As we explained earlier, Americans have a world wide reputation for being able to form only superficial informal friendships that lack the exchange of deep confidences. Americans start out immediately trying to be jovial by first naming and "glad-handing." Such behavior doesn't fool the Japanese for a minute. . . . Since close friendships in Japan, as well as being personally significant, are crucial to business, we caution Americans never to attempt to fake a relationship. (pp. 107-108)

Gudykunst and Kim (1984) compare Western and non-Western cultures:

Time spent with a friend (meaning anyone, from a passing acquaintance to a lifelong intimate) centers around activity, a thing, an event, or a shared history. . . . This activity oriented nature of friendship reflects one of the central Western values-the importance of each individual and the maximization of the fulfillment of individual needs. . . . As people move from one residence or job to another, few old friends are retained in a lasting relationship. Instead, people tend to look forward to establishing a new circle of friends with whom they share mutually helpful and satisfactions and activities. Compare such a functional, impermanent orientation toward interpersonal relationships to the more stable and lasting one found in many non-Western cultures. . . . Such intense commitment between intimates is the source of an emotional stability and security and often transcends individual needs and desires. (p. 128)

Rohlen (1986) also argues:

The Japanese see Americans as very friendly and open. It is sometimes a great relief for them to get out of Japan and be with Americans, because we (Americans) do not have the same set of expectations that their fellow Japanese have about their behavior. But our friendliness and openness can also be disturbing. It can make them feel that there is no basic form to social relations. They like reliable forms and procedures. Our informality, directness, and candidness can cause them to doubt our reliability. (p. 18)

Different perspectives about friendship may lead Americans and Japanese to misunderstand each other when they try to have friendships.

Gudykunst and Nishida (1986b) rate the intimacy of relationship terms by culture. They used a nine-point scale with 1=intimate and 9=nonintimate. According to them, the American mean for intimacy of Companion (*Tomodachi* in Japanese) was 3.08, which was almost the same as the Japanese, 3.05. However, the Japanese mean for Close friend (*Shinyu* in Japanese) was 1.83, while the Americans' was 2.85. The result of this study showed that close friendship meant a more intimate relationship in Japan than in the United States. It could be more difficult for the Japanese and Americans to try to develop

close friendships without understanding the different expectations for their friendships.

Gender. Gender identity, like national identity, is another factor affecting perspectives of friendship. Since men and women have been brought up differently and they have different social expectations and identities (Collier, 1992; Tannen, 1990; Gilligan, 1982; Rubin, 1985), they create different values, norms, and meanings for each gender culture. Collier (1992) argues that members of gender groups are socialized to acquire particular values, styles of symbolic activity, and interpretations of language. Therefore, the definition of friendships and behavior with close friends could be different for men and women. Gilligan (1982) argues that male relationships reflect disconnectedness, differentiation and individual separateness and female relationships reflect connectedness, relatedness and interdependence. For this reason, gender as well as national culture may be affected by the degree of the individualism and collectivism. Traditionally, the male is expected to be individualistic while the female is expected to be collectivistic or relationship oriented.

The difference between activities (doing) orientation and being orientation also affects gender groups. Rubin (1985) argues the differences of friendships:

Generally, women's friendships with each other rest on shared intimacies, self-revelation, nurturance and emotional support. . . . In contrast, men's relationships are marked by shared activities. (p. 61)

Stewart (1972) proposes that males and females are socialized differently on the value dimension of doing versus being. Collier (1992) also proposes:

Males talk more commonly about what they did, or will or want to do; females talk more commonly about how to be. . . a better relationship partner, what it means to be a friend, how to be more attractive, etc. (p. 17)

Collier (1992) concludes from her research that male respondents described companionship as characterized by shared interests and activities, while female respondents described companionship as empathy, encouragement, appropriate advice, and openness. She suggests that gender differences in these orientations require study.

Rubin (1985) also points out that men tend to have friends with whom they can enjoy an argument. Maltz and Borker (1982) note that men and women possess different cultural assumptions about friendly conversation. Boys and girls acquire language in different ways because they learn how to carry on friendly conversation in very different social contexts. Collier (1992) writes that, "Females described themselves as avoiding difficult topics or direct conflict while males were more direct" (p. 19). Thus, when they face a conflict situation, each gender group may have different values and norms, and use different negotiation styles.

Maltz and Borker (1982) propose that:

Norms of appropriate behavior for women and men serve to give power and interactional control to men while keeping it from women. To be socially acceptable as women, women cannot exert control and must actually support men in their control. (p. 199)

The roles of females and males in Japan is similar to those in the United States. Rosenberger (1992) notes that Japanese men and

women feel a responsibility to fulfill societal needs that demand specific gender behavior. Japanese women are generally described as having restricted freedom and behaving with complete subordination to men (Reischauer, 1988; Condon, 1985).

Rosenberger (1992) argues that Japanese males and females have different "power" in different contexts; Japanese males' power is related to status and authority while Japanese females' power is related to nurturing and harmony. Even though Japanese females have more power than males in more intimate contexts, "The woman endures tension at the level of the individual for the sake of creating meaning at the level of the relationship and group" (Rosenberger, 1992, p. 10).

Thus, both countries, the United States and Japan, have similar expectations for each gender; boys are brought up to be "masculine" while girls are raised to be "feminine." Collier (1992) describes:

National cultural background and environment is an important influence upon gender identity. Persons learn what it means to be male and female and what is appropriate and inappropriate within a national cultural context. (pp. 7-8)

Since both countries have similar expectations for each gender group, it is possible to think that the perceptions of close friendships may be similar between the same gender groups across national cultures. In other words, gender cultural identity may have more of an effect on perceptions of friendship than national cultural identity.

Regarding gender, there is another factor which should be examined in this study. That is the comparison of close friendships between same-sex and opposite-sex.

According to Hofstede (1980), Japan scores the highest in the masculinity dimension. Masculinity refers to individual achievement, acquiring material possessions, and success in Hofstede's study. Femininity refers to caring for others and quality of life. The masculinity dimension also emphasizes differentiated sex roles (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988).

Specifically, the masculinity-femininity dimension influences perceptions of communication behavior associated with opposite- versus same-sex relationships. . . . opposite-sex relationships are formed and develop more easily in feminine cultures than in masculine cultures. (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1984, p. 191)

According to Hofstede's (1980) masculinity dimension, the score of the United States is in the middle while the score of Japan is high (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1983; Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1984). Therefore, it is possible to think that the difference in emphasis on the masculinity dimension may affect the friendships in cross-sex relationships between Japan and the United States. They may experience same-sex friendships and opposite-sex friendships differently. For all of these reasons, perceptions of close friendships within gender groups, and also by friends in cross-gender friendships should be examined.

Collectivism and Individualism. It is generally argued that the American culture is individualistic while the Japanese culture is collectivistic (Yamagishi, 1987; Lebra, 1976; Argyle, 1988; Cathcart & Cathcart, 1988). Ozaki (1980) says that the American loves individual freedom while the Japanese makes much of group harmony. Barnlund (1989) uses terms "dependence" and "independence" to

describe this difference; Americans emphasize independence and Japanese emphasize dependence. Reischauer (1978) describes Americans as self-reliant people and the Japanese as group-oriented people. Gudykunst and Kim (1984) also argue:

People of the United States see themselves as individuals first and members of groups second, while people in high-context cultures like Japan see themselves as members of groups first and foremost. (p. 46)

Moser (1986) describes differences in values between the U.S. and Japan:

It is not surprising, therefore, that Americans and Japanese apply rather strikingly different value systems as they attempt to cope with the world. Even within the process of socialization, we manifest these differences. Americans, for example, tend to stress individual accomplishment, and to view the worth of activity in terms of the efficient use of time. The Japanese, on the other hand, stress the importance of the group, the importance of obligations and other ties between individuals; and the success of an individual's activity was traditionally evaluated in terms of personal honor and commitment to social obligation. (pp. 21-22)

According to Hofstede (1980), the United States is the most individualistic country out of forty countries, while Japan ranks twenty-second in individualism.

"Individualism-collectivism indicates the degree to which a culture relies upon and has allegiance to the self or the group" (Lustig, 1988, p. 58). Since these cultural values of individualism and collectivism are related to relationships, it could make the perspective toward friendship in each country different.

Characteristics of friendship are different between collectivist and individualist cultures (Triandis, Bontempo, & Villareal, 1988; Cushman & King, 1986; Hofstede, 1980). Triandis, Bontempo, and Villareal (1988) point out that the quality of friendships is different between

two cultures. According to them, people in individualistic cultures make friends easily, but friendship does not mean intimate relationships. On the other hand, people in collectivist cultures have a hard time making new friends, but once they have a friendship, it usually lasts throughout their lives as an intimate relationship with many obligations.

In collectivist cultures the relationship of individual to the ingroup tends to be stable, and even when the ingroup makes highly costly demands the individual stays with it. On the other hand, in individualist cultures people often drop those ingroups that are inconveniently demanding and form new ingroups. (Triandis, et al., 1988, p. 324)

They also state that, "The emphasis is usually on people more than on task in collectivist cultures, and the reverse happens in individualist cultures" (1988, p. 325). Hofstede (1980) also proposes that people in collectivist cultures form friendships that are predetermined by stable relationships formed early in life while people in individualist cultures form specific friendships.

Hall and Hall (1987) say that close friendship in Japan is personally significant. Barnlund (1989) summarizes the social intercourse emphasis on obligation among the Japanese.

One reason, then, for Japanese reluctance to form casual friendships is thought to be the responsibilities one assumes with respect to friends. Such debts are considered both permanent and virtually unpayable in full. Mutual obligations, therefore, may play a larger role than mutual affection in mediating personal relations in Japan. All of this would suggest the Japanese might be more highly sensitive to their commitments and be more self-sacrificing in giving assistance to acquaintances on whom they depend.

In contrast, American culture emphasizes individual autonomy, spontaneity, and freedom from responsibility, and these qualities would seem to lessen the depth and duration of commitments to associates. Americans, though highly approachable, might be less willing to give

assistance or repay assistance. The emphasis on contractual agreements, even between close companions, may reflect a lack of concern for the welfare of others. . . . If societies are held together by intersecting sets of "rights" and "obligations," Japan may emphasize the latter over the former, while the United States stresses rights over obligations. (Barnlund, 1989, p. 151)

It is possible that Japanese friendships emphasize people because of the responsibility and obligation in relationships, while Americans emphasize task and individual benefit. Therefore, Japanese friends may count on each other for assistance more than Americans.

Although Americans are perceived to be very friendly and usually do not take a long time to develop their friendships, these friendships are often viewed as superficial by those outside the culture. On the other hand, the Japanese do not make casual friendships easily, because they have to be responsible for their relationships. Therefore, there could be cultural differences in the way that close friendships develop. To find out the different perceptions of close friendships between the two national cultures using the value difference; collectivism and individualism, the following research questions were developed.

- RQ1: How many close friends do Japanese and American males and females have?
- RQ2: How do Japanese and American males and females define close friendship with each other?
- RQ3: What are the important requirements for Japanese and American friendship among males and females?

Doing (Activities) Orientation and Being Orientation. Another cultural difference which might influence perceptions of friendship is

that Americans are considered to have a "doing (activities) orientation" while the Japanese have a "being orientation."

"In the United States relationships are developed and maintained primarily according to activities" (Stewart, 1972, p. 54). Gudykunst and Kim (1984) also argue:

Time spent with a friend (meaning anyone, from a passing acquaintance to a lifelong intimate) centers around activity, a thing, an event, or a shared history. Thus North Americans have friendships that originate around work, children's schools, political activities, charities, leisure activities, and various occasions for sharing food and drink. This activity-oriented nature of friendship reflects one of the central Western values-the importance of each individual and the maximization of the fulfillment of individual needs. . . . Compare such a functional, impermanent orientation towards interpersonal relationships to the more stable and lasting one found in many non - Western cultures. . . . Once a relationship has developed into an intimate one, it often is expected to last throughout life. (p. 128)

They also write that, "North Americans tend to limit friendships to an area of common interest" (1984, p. 130). This activity-orientation value results in interpersonal relationships tending to be relatively unstable (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984; Yamaguchi, 1986). Gouldner and Strong (1987) also point out the differences between activity-oriented friendships and conversation-oriented friendships. "It was easier to replace a sports partner, a quilting enthusiast, or a film buff than a person with whom the core of the relationship was verbal communication between them" (p. 60).

Barnlund (1989) did research on the different activities pursued by close friends for Japanese and for Americans. Even though he states that the Japanese and Americans ranked activities in almost the same order of importance, the order of the first two was reversed between the two countries. The Japanese perceived that personal

activities (sharing doubts, hopes, fears) were first, and leisure activities (playing games, watching television, listening to records) were second. On the other hand, Americans ranked leisure as the most important activity and personal as the second.

Thus, it may be that the way Americans and Japanese spend time with their close friends could be different. American friends may spend their time involved in activities while Japanese spend more time involved in sharing their personal thoughts.

Also, an activity-orientation value may be one of the reasons for Americans to terminate their friendships. When the interest in the activity decreases, so does the interest in the friendship.

Conflict Management. Since Japan is a group-oriented culture, people stress strongly the value of harmony. To maintain harmony, the Japanese tend to avoid conflict. On the other hand, it is very important for Americans to face conflicts and articulate their own opinions, since the United States emphasizes individualism.

Barnlund (1975) points out the different approaches for conflict situations between Japanese and American college students. Japanese students tend to avoid a confrontational approach and use indirect forms of communication in conflict because of their strong desire for group harmony. Barnlund also describes that American students use a more direct approach to conflict.

"The role models of American society are people gifted in articulating their ideas clearly and powerfully" (Barnlund, 1989, p. 113). He contrasts Japanese role models. "Admired people are, for

the most part, distinguished by their modest demeanor, lack of eloquence, their public modesty" (p. 115).

American culture, with its emphasis on the individual and self-expression, its tradition of freedom of speech, and its commitment to decisions through argument, stands in sharp contrast to Japan. . . . One of the most frequent shocks experienced by Japanese in coming to America is the resilience of friendships in the face of such strong clashes of opinion: Friends are able to confront each other, to vigorously argue contradictory views, and continue to be close friends in spite of their differences. Even when arguments disrupt a relationship, Americans are able to revive them; sometimes such conflicts even nourish deeper involvement and commitment. (Barnlund, 1989, p. 157)

He also points out how these different values affect friendships differently in the two groups.

Interpersonal crises, too, carry different implications in the two cultures. Friendships in the United States are assumed to involve conflict. A certain amount of tension and disagreement is viewed with both resignation and excitement: resignation because it is an unavoidable consequence of two people sharing their lives and excitement because it offers a chance to learn more about themselves and each other. To Japanese eyes one of the most shocking features of American life is the way friendships survive frequent and even violent confrontations. The Japanese view of conflict is dramatically at odds with this. (p. 43)

Since conflicts happen commonly in the United States, it is natural for Americans to maintain close friendships after having conflicts. On the other hand, the Japanese tend to avoid having conflicts between close friends to protect harmony. If conflict takes place between close friends in Japan, it might terminate their close friendship (Barnlund, 1989). While restoring a friendship is easier for Americans, it is less likely to be restored for Japanese.

For that reason, knowing how to face a conflict situation with a close friend in each country may give some ideas for understanding

the perceptions of friendships in each country. Therefore, the following question was included in the questionnaire.

RQ4: How do Japanese and Americans manage conflict with their same-sex and opposite-sex close friends?

Termination of a Close Friendship. If American friendships are more "superficial" and Japanese friendships are "lasting," ending friendships could be more common in the United States. Barnlund (1989) says, "Of course, friendships do end in both cultures (Japan and the United States)-and for a variety of reasons" (p. 42). However, he points out that ending friendships among American friends is more common than among the Japanese.

When asked to describe how friendships might end, one Japanese was astonished at the question: "The ending of a relationship. . . it is a strange thing even to think about." It is claimed that Japanese friendships involve a lifelong responsibility for others. Among Americans such ties are claimed to be more tentative and temporary. The greater geographic and occupational mobility of America may make permanent ties less feasible, or it may reflect a feeling that changes in one's self and others make permanent commitments problematical. (p. 43)

Rubin (1985) points out problems which terminate friendships.

People make best friends and lose them for the same variety of reasons that all friendships are made and broken-time, distance, unresolved conflicts, changes in one or both friends that make the friendship untenable. (p. 176)

Since Japanese and Americans have different perceptions of when relationships should terminate, and since relational termination can be painful, cultural values and norms which may influence the ending of friendships were also examined for this study. The value of an activity (doing) orientation vs. a being orientation and conflict processes also relate to friendship termination.

Geographic proximity is also a factor when we think about terminating the friendship. Japan is smaller than the state of California. Considering proximity and accessibility of friends in the two countries may be important.

Japan has historically been an agricultural country; therefore, people have traditionally stayed in the same place. On the other hand, the United States has a "frontier" spirit. It is common for Americans to move to a different place to change jobs or adopt a new lifestyle.

Barnlund (1989) argues:

Separations also occur in Japan, but they appear to be more strongly resisted and are rarely seen as truly terminated. Even when distance makes contact difficult, friendships remain on "hold," ready to be renewed should circumstances change. (p. 43)

Rubin (1985) proposes about long-distance friendships in her book, Just Friends:

Long-distance friendships are, of course, common in our mobile society, many of them representing deep and lasting ties. People speak often of the importance of such friendships, giving evidence of a connection that's undeniable, telling tales of how, after months of separation, they come together and pick up where they left off, as if no time had elapsed. These people, however, know where to find each other, certainly maintain contact more than once in ten years. (p. 6)

Thus, Americans may be able to maintain long distance friendships with a minimum of contact. However, moving could be a significant reason to end a friendship. Parlee (1979) says that moving is the most frequent reason given for terminating friendships in the United States. Therefore, learning how people evaluate long-distance friendships in the United States and Japan could be important for this study.

RQ5: How do Japanese and Americans terminate their close friendships with their same-sex and opposite-sex friends?

Norms and Outcomes. The last two research questions addressed perceptions of norms and outcomes regarding how close friends developed their friendship and spent time together. These may be affected by all of the value dimensions previously discussed. Violating rules may damage the relationship.

RQ6: How do Japanese and American close friends develop their friendships and spend time together with their same and different sex friends?

RQ7: What are the norms and outcomes of Japanese and American male and female same and different sex friendships?

CHAPTER 2

Methodology

A qualitative approach, which is interpretive and descriptive, is being used in this study. Gudykunst, Gao, Sudweeks, Ting-Toomey, and Nishida (1989) argue, "To fully understand personal relationships, it is necessary to examine the participants' interpretations, conceptions, and explanations of their relationships" (p. 231). They also argue that accounts are important to the study of personal relationships because they are "real people's self representations of their real relationships" (Weber, Harvey, & Stanley, 1987, p. 114).

Collier (1991) also mentions that focusing on respondents' descriptions and interpretations increases representational (cultural) validity and helps set appropriate limits on generalizability. For all these reasons, the respondents' descriptions and explanations of their ideas about their close friendships and experiences with their close friends were focused upon. For this study, respondents from the United States and from Japan, including males and females, were asked to recall and describe the communication process in their close friendships.

Creation of Questionnaire

The questionnaire for this study consisted of mostly open-ended and some closed-ended questions including demographic questions. Please see Appendix A for the questionnaire.

First, respondents were asked to list the number of their close friends. This question had two purposes. One purpose was to remind respondents to think about their close friends. The second purpose was to find whether there were some differences in the number of close friends between national groups (Japanese and American) and gender groups.

Rubin (1985) points out that over three-fourths of single women in the United States identify a best friend as a person from the same-sex. Gender differences may affect the development of an individual's close friendships. In order to see the differences between same-sex and opposite-sex friendships, respondents were asked to list the number of their same-sex and opposite-sex close friends.

The respondent's definition of what a close friend meant to each individual was addressed in the second question. Armer (1973) points out, "The same word in two languages may have different connotations" (p. 51). Therefore, comparing the definition of a close friend between Japanese and Americans is important for this study. Also, as indicated earlier, value differences, such as individualism/collectivism (Hofstede, 1980) and an activity (doing)/being orientation (Stewart, 1972), may affect how females and males define a close friend.

The third question addressed the respondents' ideas about the most important requirement for close friendships. Since words may connote different things to different individuals, examples were also asked for. Olebe and Koester (1989) point out that validity of interpretations is a particularly important issue for intercultural studies. For this reason, respondents were asked to provide examples from their own experiences which could explain the requirement.

As indicated earlier, people may have different perspectives and expectations for their close friendships with the opposite-sex and same-sex. People expect different things from an in-group and from an out-group. When people see the same-sex as an in-group and the opposite sex as an out-group, people may have different expectations from same-sex friendships and from opposite-sex friendships.

Also, Gudykunst and Nishida (1983) propose that the Japanese place less emphasis on opposite-sex relationships than people in the United States. According to them, opposite-sex relationships are formed differently between masculine and feminine (Hofstede, 1980) cultures; Japan is considered to be a high masculine culture, while the United States is midway between masculine and feminine. For these reasons, different expectations between same-sex friendships and opposite-sex friendships between the two national cultures may be observed. The following four questions in the questionnaire addressed same-sex close friends and opposite-sex close friends.

The next question dealt with conflict management. As indicated in the former section, the way to deal with a conflict may be different

in different cultures. Respondents were asked to recall their past experiences and to describe those situations to find out what behaviors are used or avoided in conflicts.

Termination of friendships takes place in every culture and the reasons for termination are varied (Barnlund, 1989; Rubin, 1985). In order to identify differences in terminating close friendships between cultures, respondents were asked to describe their experiences.

The next series of questions addressed general information about respondents' close friends; two same-sex friends and one opposite-sex friend. I did this because same-sex friendships were more common than opposite-sex friendships (Rubin, 1985). The questions addressed such areas as "How long did it take to develop close friendships?" "Is it possible to have long-distance relationships?" "Do close friends correspond with each other?" "How often do they maintain contact?" "What did/do they do together?" "What is inappropriate behavior for their friendships?" and "What did they experience as outcomes from those friendships?"

Demographic questions regarding gender, age, major, year, the place one lives and nationality were included at the end of the questionnaire.

Establishing Japanese Equivalence of the Instrument

For cross-cultural and intercultural research, equivalence is essential to validity (Olebe & Koester, 1989). Olebe and Koester (1989) say, "Validity is related to the extent of equivalence the researcher can establish between two (or more) cultures

represented" (p. 335). Armer (1973) also points out that appropriateness of conceptualization is a major methodological problem when researchers compare two or more cultures.

Appropriateness requires feasibility, significance and acceptability in each foreign culture as a necessary (but not sufficient) condition for insuring validity and successful completion of comparative studies. . . . comparativists must inquire whether there is sufficient equivalence in the research concepts and methods to permit meaningful comparisons across societies. Even if the concept and methods in different societies are outwardly identical, the meanings or implications may not be. (pp. 50-51, 1973)

Thus, the equivalence of the questionnaire in Japanese and English is a central issue for validity in this study.

At first, the instrument was translated into Japanese by the researcher. Then, Professor Nancy Rosenberger, who is an American from the Anthropology Department at Oregon State University and speaks Japanese fluently, and Ms. Setsuko Nakajima, who is Japanese and teaches Japanese language at Oregon State University, examined the Japanese translation. After both of them checked the Japanese translation of the questionnaire, both English and Japanese questionnaires were pretested on a small sample of American and Japanese students who living in the United States. The Japanese students were allowed to answer in Japanese.

After collecting the results, the researcher, Professor Rosenberger and Ms. Nakajima compared all of the answers by Japanese subjects with the answers of American subjects. As was indicated earlier, the same words may have different connotations in the two languages. Therefore, the pretest was very important to assure the equivalence of the questionnaire in Japanese and English.

After all of them agreed that the Japanese questionnaire was equivalent to the English questionnaire, the researcher took the questionnaires to Japan. At Seikei University in Japan, Professor Masahiro Okuno of the College of Literature recommended minor changes in some parts of the questionnaire. Since he has extensive research experience in Japan, he knows the appropriate Japanese style for the questionnaire. The Japanese translation of the questionnaire is in Appendix B.

Subjects

Allan and Adams (1989), and Rubin (1985) point out the importance of studying friendship and age together. Rubin states, "Unlike with kin, however, who our friends are and what kinds of relationships we have with them are dramatically affected by the turning points along the way of life" (1985, p. 34). Because it could be important to consider the relationship between close friendships and age, this study limited its focus to junior and senior year university students of a particular age.

The differences between national cultures and between gender cultures were examined for this research. Therefore, the subjects consisted of four groups: twenty U.S. American male students; twenty-eight U.S. American female students; twenty-seven Japanese male students; and thirty-five Japanese female students. The age of the respondents ranged from 20 to 26 with a mean of 21.7. The average age of each group is as follows: American male, $\bar{X}=22.3$; American female, $\bar{X}=21.6$; Japanese male, $\bar{X}=22.1$; Japanese female,

$\bar{X}=21.2$. For this study, one male respondent from the United States stated his nationality as a black-American and two males from the United States indicated themselves to be Asian-Americans. Since Collier (1992) points out that different ethnicities have different perspectives of their friendships, these three respondents were excluded from the study. Thus, only Euro-Americans in the United States were included in the American group.

Both American and Japanese respondents were chosen from students in the Liberal Arts. For the American subjects, all were United States students in Communication classes. The Japanese subjects were mostly students in the College of Literature at Seikei University. Since the number of Japanese male respondents was too low from the College of Literature students, male students from the College of Economics were also included. The courses of study in Japan and the United States were somewhat similar, which makes comparison of the groups more valid.

Since Japanese students who have studied in the United States could have been influenced to some extent by American cultural values, the researcher decided to study only Japanese students who live in Japan.

Procedures

The questionnaire was distributed to American students at Oregon State University in the United States and Japanese students at Seikei University in Japan. Sarbaugh (1984) points out that, "School teachers also have seemed to be highly dependable and effective

data collectors in most parts of the world" (p. 76). For this reason, the researcher asked Professor Mary Jane Collier to distribute the questionnaire in her Intercultural Communication classes. The researcher also asked Professor Masahiro Okuno to distribute and collect questionnaires in Japan. All of the students were allowed to take the questionnaire home, so they could spend as much time as they wanted to answer the questions.

In spite of the results of the pretest, some students in Japan and in the United States wrote down that they could not understand the meaning of the questions. Some students did not answer all questions. These answers were omitted from the analysis of the data.

Analysis of Data

All of the answers of the questionnaire were interpreted and categorized. Since this study focused on the explanation of respondents' descriptions and experiences, thematic analysis was performed by the researcher and coders. This method style has been used by Collier, Ribeau, and Hecht (1986) and Collier (1988, 1992) when competent communication among ethnic acquaintances was investigated.

The data analysis for this study was based on thematic content analysis. For this case, the researcher's national background was an issue for increasing representative validity. Collier (1991) says, "Cultural validity is strengthened when coders have some experience with the ethnic group being given attention" (p. 142). The researcher

is Japanese; however, she has lived in the United States for more than three and a half years and has studied and experienced American culture. Therefore, it is reasonable for the researcher to act as a coder for the open-ended responses. For each national group, the researcher paired herself with a male or female coding partner. For the Japanese male responses, for example, a Japanese male and Japanese female (researcher) made up the coding team.

The first step was the separation of questionnaires by Japanese and Americans, and of males and females. Then, the researcher read all of the questionnaires in each of the four groups to have a sense of the group as a whole. In the next step, the researcher divided the description for each question into smaller examples and wrote down each example on a small slip of paper.

Most respondents listed more than one definition for their definition of a close friend. They also described many ways of managing conflicts. So, the researcher divided the descriptions as much as possible to the level of single descriptive ideas or utterances. For example, one respondent described the definition of a close friend as, "Someone who will always be there, talk to you and make sure you are okay." That single response yielded three slips of paper. One read, "someone who will be always there." The second slip read, "someone who talks to me," and the last slip read, "someone who makes sure you are okay."

When the researcher divided the sentences and wrote them down on the slips of paper, direct quotations were used. Direct quotation is "close to the data" (Holsti, 1969) and allows readers to see the respondents' descriptions (Agar, 1986). Direct quotations

increase the likelihood of accurate categorizing of the descriptions when the coders analyze the data.

When the slips were completed for the four groups, the researcher and a representative of each group acted as coders. First, the researcher and the representative coder read all of the slips from the representative group and individually divided them into thematic categories (e. g., for the definition of a close friend "I can do anything for you," "who is there for you," "supports me," were combined into one category later named "interdependence"). Coders were instructed to derive a maximum of ten themes for each question. This process is described by Collier (1991).

The intent in the coding process was to identify the making of the particular theme or norm of the respondent in the context of the conflict and close friendship. When repetition of key words or phrases or what was interpreted as similar meaning was evident, then a category or "pile" of responses emerged. (p. 142)

After each of the coders sorted all of the slips for each question into categories individually and recorded the sort on a summary sheet, they then compared their categories and slips which made up a category. Two coders discussed differences of themes until they reached consensus about a final set of categories. If coders could not reach consensus on where to place a slip, it was placed in a "miscellaneous" category. When coders agreed on their final set of categories, they also agreed upon a label for each category. In this way, themes were identified.

Interpretation of Data

To compare American and Japanese males and females, the most common themes for each group were selected out. I took a qualitative approach to interpret themes. Each group was analyzed separately and then compared. Themes identified were particular to each group.

For example, both American male and female groups mentioned "shared activity" for the definition of a close friend. But neither Japanese group had this theme for their definitions. Both Japanese groups had "comfort," but neither American group had that theme.

In some cases, the same theme emerged for each group; however, the meaning was somewhat different. For example, all groups frequently mentioned "trust" as a requirement of a close friendship. However, the connotation of "trust" was somewhat different across gender groups, including self-disclosure for male groups and keeping confidences for female groups.

Sometimes, examples of similar behaviors were placed in different categories by the coders. For example, very few American respondents mentioned "listening" in conflict situations, so coders put these slips into a category they called, "mutual engagement." On the other hand, quite a lot of Japanese respondents mentioned "listening." Therefore, Japanese coders called the theme category, "listening."

Comparing percentages of frequencies with which categories were mentioned was therefore not appropriate, nor was statistical

analysis appropriate. For these reasons, I used a qualitative approach to interpret the data using respondents' direct quotations.

CHAPTER 3

Results and Discussion

In this study, several important factors regarding perceptions of close friendships were described from four groups: a U.S. American male group, a U.S. American female group, a Japanese male group, and a Japanese female group. The important issues in this study were: the number of close friends, the definition of a close friend, the most important requirements of close friendship, conflict management with a close friend, and termination of a close friendship. In addition to these issues, some general information about respondents' close friendships such as, the time necessary to develop close friendships, proximity, the manner of correspondence, and how close friends spend time together were discussed. Unacceptable and inappropriate behaviors, and outcomes of close friendships were also included in this study.

The Number of Close Friends

Research Question 1 asked respondents to describe the number of close friends they had from each gender. Differences in the number of close friends emerged among the four groups. In the American male group, the average number of same-sex close friends was 7.32, and of opposite-sex close friends was 5.15. For American

females, the average number of same-sex friends was 6.39, and of opposite-sex friends was 3.84. The average number in the Japanese male group for same-sex friends was 5.19 and 2.41 for opposite-sex friends. The Japanese female's average number for same-sex friends was 3.68, and was 2.03 for opposite-sex friends. See Table 1.

In this study, the American groups claimed to have more close friends than the Japanese. This result can be supported by Hall's and Hall's (1987) idea that Americans more easily develop friendships than do the Japanese. This result may also be explained by the masculinity/femininity value dimension. According to Hofstede (1980), American culture is more feminine than Japanese culture. Since feminine cultures place emphasis on the relationship, Americans may have emphasized friendship more than the Japanese. This result also showed that within both national cultural groups, males reported a higher number of friendships than did females.

All four groups mentioned a larger number of close friends from the same gender than from the opposite gender. This result could be supported in part by Rubin's (1985) research. She finds that most American women named their close friends as persons from the same gender. It may be more common to have same-sex close friends than opposite-sex close friends for both gender groups in both national groups.

An interesting difference emerged between the two national cultures. It was that quite a lot of Japanese respondents from both the female and male groups mentioned that they did not have any opposite-sex close friends. Many Japanese said that they

Table 1
The Number of Close Friends

		Same-sex Friends	Opposite-sex Friends
		\bar{X}	\bar{X}
American	Males	7.32	5.15
	Females	6.39	3.84
Japanese	Males	5.19	2.41
	Females	3.68	2.03

had "zero" opposite-sex friends. This result may be supported by Gudykunst's and Ting-Toomey's (1984) idea that opposite-sex relationships develop more easily in feminine cultures than in masculine cultures.

The Definition of a Close Friend

Regarding Research Question 2, some similar and different themes emerged for the definition of a close friend in the four groups. The themes "trust" and "interdependence" were identified by all four groups. See Table 2. Examples typifying what all the coders identified as "trust" were:

I can share secrets. (A, M, 4)¹ (See p. 73 for coding explanation)

. . . someone you can trust. (A, M, 7)

Someone who does not rely on rumors and gossip. (A, M, 21)

We can trust each other for everything. (J, M, 20)

A relationship that has been built on trust over time. (A, F, 4)

Someone who knows me very well. (A, F, 7)

Someone I can trust with private, serious matters regarding myself. (A, F, 9)

We know each other's secrets. (J, F, 25)

Examples of "interdependence" were:

Someone who will be there if I need help. (A, M, 6)

Someone I make sacrifices for. (A, M, 8)

Someone I would do anything for. (A, F, 6).

Someone you can count on when you need them. (A, F, 27)

Table 2

The Definition of a Close Friend

American Males	American Females
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * disclosure * interdependence * trust * shared activities * expectations about other's character * respect 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * disclosure * interdependence * acceptance * trust * shared activities * expectations about other's character * respect
Japanese Males	Japanese Females
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * shared information * comfort * shared feelings * acceptance * respect * trust * mutual improvement * interdependence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * shared information * shared feelings * interdependence * acceptance * comfort * trust * mutual improvement

Someone who will come to see me at any time if I need help.
(J, M, 1)

Someone I can depend on. (J, F, 5)

Someone who supports me all the time. (J, F, 28)

These results were consistent with Collier (1991) who found "trust" and "interdependence" to be important in various ethnic friendships.

Some differences appeared across national cultural groups. Both the American male and female groups frequently said that close friendships were characterized by "disclosure." The following were examples of "disclosure":

Someone who will talk to you. (A, M, 1)

(I) can share most all of my thoughts, feelings and secrets. (A, M, 4)

Someone I choose to self-disclose important things. (A, M, 8)

I could turn to in any situation. (A, F, 6)

A person with whom self disclosure is not uncomfortable.
(A, F, 19)

Someone I can discuss anything with. (A, F, 28)

On the other hand, Japanese coders from both genders divided "disclosure" into two themes: "shared feelings" and "shared information." They thought that "shared information" was more related to activity-orientation because the focus was on the activity of talking, while "shared feelings" was related more to a being-orientation because the focus was on sharing feelings. The following were examples of "shared information":

I can say anything to. (J, M, 4)

I can share every conversation topic such as, private thoughts, politics, religion, and sex. (J, M, 17)

Someone I want to stay and talk with. (J, F, 2)

The following examples belonged to the theme "shared feelings":

Someone I want to share happiness and sorrow with. (J, F, 1)

Someone I can express negative feelings (sorrow and anger) to. (J, F, 26)

I would cry if he(she) moved far away. (J, M, 23)

I can share conversation without voicing my thoughts. (J, M, 26)

In addition to "trust," "interdependence," and "disclosure," both the American male and female groups included "shared activities" and "expectations about other's character" in the definition of a close friend. The category of "shared activities" included the following examples.

A person to go out and have fun with. (A, M, 10)

Someone I do fun things with. (A, M, 15)

I enjoy spending time with. (A, F, 9)

Someone who I have fun with. (A, F, 24)

"Expectations about other's character" meant such things as:

Someone who is forgiving. (A, M, 14)

Someone who is caring. (A, M, 17)

Someone who is compatible. (A, F, 18)

Someone who is open-minded. (A, F, 18)

The Japanese male and female groups did not have these themes. On the other hand, both the Japanese groups showed themes of "comfort" and "mutual improvement" which neither American gender groups mentioned. Examples of "comfort" were:

I feel free when I am with my close friends. (J, M, 12)

Someone [with] whom I do not have to feel stress about when we are together. (J, M, 15)

I feel comfortable when we are together. (J, F, 18)

Someone with whom I do not have to consider her/his feelings all the time. (J, F, 32)

"Mutual improvement" was another theme which appeared only in the Japanese groups.

We can compete with each other for the improvement of both characters. (J, M, 16)

We have the desire to improve each other. (J, M, 27)

We can give power to each other. (J, F, 11)

We can ennoble each other's character. (J, F, 16)

These differences between national cultural groups could have been influenced by cultural values. The reason "shared activities" was identified by only Americans may be due to a doing-orientation value. Since activity is emphasized in doing-oriented cultures (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984; Stewart, 1972), doing something together could mean a lot for their friendships.

"Expectations about other's character" might be related to individualism. People value uniqueness in individualistic cultures and want to know each other as individuals instead of members of a group. It is also possible to interpret this theme by a masculinity/femininity value. Examples of "expectations about other's character" included specific descriptions of "caring," "forgiving," "open-minded," etc. Such descriptions were consistent with what Hofstede (1980) described as a "feminine" cultural dimension. Since American culture is more feminine than Japanese, it is understandable that Americans included this theme for their definition of a close friend.

The themes "comfort" and "mutual improvement," which emerged only in the Japanese groups, may be influenced by collectivism and masculinity values. Since harmony is important in collectivistic cultures, people are taught to think of others. Therefore, the Japanese respondents might have expected that they could feel free, with no stress, or no obligation with close friends. Collectivism could be related to people's expectations of improving themselves in contact with others.

Japan received the highest score of all cultures on masculinity (Hofstede, 1980); achievement and success are important. Because of these reasons, improvement in a comfortable situation may be important for the Japanese.

"Respect" was included by the American male and female groups, and the Japanese male group, but not by the Japanese female group.

A friend is a unique individual who respects my individuality.
(A, M, 3)

Someone who I can respect for who (s)he is. (A, M, 15)

Most of the respondents said that they wanted to respect their friends as unique human beings. As a result, this theme could be influenced by individualism. Males are more often expected to be individualistic and the United States is a more individualistic culture. For this reason, perhaps Americans and Japanese males emphasized "respect" in their close friendships.

Only the American male group did not include "acceptance" in their definitions. The American females and both Japanese gender groups used "acceptance" in the definition of a close friend.

Someone who appreciates who I am. (A, F, 3)

Someone who accepts me as who I am. (A, F, 10)

Someone who accepts both the positive and negative sides of me for who I am. (J, F, 6)

Someone who accepts me if I tell her everything about me. (J, F, 28)

Since males are more individualistic and the United States is an individualistic culture, the American male group may be the most individualistic group among the four groups. "Acceptance" may not be as important to them as to other groups. The American males also related having the highest number of close friends. Therefore, it could be easier for them to replace a friend, if that person did not accept them.

In summary of this section, both similarities and differences in the definitions of a close friend emerged among the four groups. All groups included "trust" and "interdependence" in their definitions. American respondents included "disclosure" while Japanese respondents divided this theme into "shared feelings" and "shared information." "Shared activities" and "expectations about other's character" emerged in the American groups. On the other hand, the Japanese groups included "comfort" and "mutual improvement" in their definitions of a close friend. Only the Japanese female group did not include the theme "respect," and the American male group was the only one which did not have "acceptance."

From these results, it is possible to conclude that individualism and collectivism, masculinity and femininity, and the doing-orientation and the being-orientation values somewhat influenced the definitions of a close friend. However, it seems that the definition of a close

friend was influenced by not only one value dimension but by several value dimensions and norms. Friendship may be a context in which all cultures are more feminine than masculine, or traditional values may not hold true in friendships among a relatively young and educated group. The results did suggest that definitions of a close friend were more similar in the national cultural groups than in the gender groups. Japanese females shared more similarities with Japanese males than with American females in this study. Maybe this is because people shared more similar values and norms in the national cultural groups than in the gender cultural groups, or perhaps friendships is less influenced by gender socialization than by national cultural socialization.

The Most Important Requirement in a Close Friendship

The most important requirement in a close friendship was investigated in Research Question 3. "Trust" was included frequently as the most important requirement in both same-sex and opposite-sex close friendships for all four groups. See Tables 3a and 3b. This result was consistent with *the definitions of a close friend* discussed in the previous section. The American groups stressed "trust" for both same-sex and opposite-sex close friendships. However, the connotation of "trust" was different across gender groups in both national cultures.

When the researcher compared examples which explained "trust," a difference emerged across gender groups. For both American and Japanese females, "trust" often meant keeping

Table 3a

The Most Important Requirement in a Same-Sex
Close Friendship

American Males

- * trust
- * interdependence
- * companionship

American Females

- * trust
- * honesty
- * commonalities
- * companionship

Japanese Males

- * trust
- * openness
- * mutual improvement

Japanese Females

- * trust
- * openness
- * privacy
- * empathy

Table 3b

The Most Important Requirement in an Opposite-Sex
Close Friendship

American Males

- * trust
- * companionship
- * interdependence

American Females

- * trust
- * honesty
- * commonalities
- * companionship

Japanese Males

- * openness
- * non-romantic relationship
- * trust

Japanese Females

- * non-romantic relationship
- * trust
- * openness
- * privacy

confidences between close friends. The following were examples of "trust" as explained by females.

If I was to tell something in confidence, I would not like them to tell other people. (A, F-F, 1)²

If I tell one of them something about another one, I trust them to keep it to themselves. (A, F-F, F-M, 15)

All of the confidential things we shared would, without saying, stay between us. (A, F-F, 16)

We have to keep all the secrets between us. (J, F-F, F-M, 7)

If (s)he tells me some secrets, I would not tell them to anybody. (J, F-F, 17).

On the other hand, very few male respondents described "trust" in the same way. For both Japanese and American males, "trust" meant that they could do anything in a close friendship without losing the friendship. Examples of "trust" from male respondents included the following:

He always sticks by his words. (A, M-M, 6)

If something I was doing was bothering him, I would trust him to say what it was so that we could change the situation. (A, M-M, 7)

Someone who does not change his attitude toward me because of rumors or gossip. (J, M-M, 14)

I can voice my own feelings even though it might bother him. (J, M-M, 20)

The results showed that "trust" may have different connotations across gender cultures. The descriptions given by the respondents and the label of "trust" agreed upon by both sets of coders indicated that respondents may be talking about different ways to establish trustworthiness. Therefore, looking at not only the categories of responses but also examples which respondents gave was important in this question.

"Commonalities" was mentioned by the American female group. This theme appeared in other groups; however, American females described "commonalities" in values and ideas more frequently than other groups. Examples were:

I have a friend who has the same goal as me. (A, F-F, 4)

Someone who has to have similar values. (A, F-F, 5)

"Interdependence" was frequently mentioned by American males for both sex friendships. This theme was also identified by the Japanese and the American female groups; however, the American male group more frequently stated "interdependence" than any other group.

Stick up for me if need be. (A, M-M, 18).

Someone who helps me through rough situations. (A, M-M, 19)

Someone who answers my questions about personal problems. (A, M-F, 18)

There were several ways to interpret this theme. The reason that the American male group emphasized "interdependence" might be that they needed to verbalize the requirement of "interdependence." Actually, the American male group is considered to be the most individualistic group among the four groups, because males are expected to be more individualistic than females and the American culture is generally individualistic while the Japanese culture is generally collectivistic. American males may be taught to be more verbal and assertive than females. People in the other groups may not feel the need to mention "interdependence" here, because "interdependence" could be an implicit rather than explicit requirement for any type of relationship in collectivistic cultures.

Another interpretation of the results is to point out that males in general, and American males in particular, may be more collectivistic and feminine than Hofstede's (1980) findings propose. Perhaps the value dimensions should be viewed as dialectics. Here, male friends may be more collectivistic in friendship contexts and more individualistic in professional contexts, or vary between individualism and collectivism.

Only the Japanese females included "privacy" as a requirement in both same-sex and opposite-sex close friendships.

We have to keep some etiquette in our friendship. (J, F-F, 3)

I should not give my opinion which is not appreciated by her. (J, F-F, 10)

I will think of her first. If I feel that she needs some privacy, I would not bother her. (J, F-F, 35)

I should not restrict him in his movement. (J, F-M, 10).

This idea was the opposite of the theme "interdependence" which was mentioned by the American male group. Since "privacy" here referred to respect for the other person's needs and desires, this theme could be influenced by collectivism. The Japanese female group was expected to be the most collectivistic among the four groups. Americans may assume "privacy" is a basic requirement for any type of relationship. Therefore, "privacy" might be an implicit, but still important requirement for the other groups. Another possible interpretation is that the Japanese are valuing individual success and that females are becoming more individualistic and see the need to respect self and other's needs for some distance.

Japanese females also emphasized "empathy" in same-sex friendships. Other groups did not have this theme.

I have to think of her feelings all the time. (J, F-F, 6)

We have to think of each other's feelings. (J, F-F, 13)

The Japanese female group was considered to be collectivistic in this study; therefore, it was understandable that they emphasized "empathy." Japanese women's role in the society might also support this theme. Rosenberger (1992) points out that Japanese females value relationships and groups in intimate contexts. "Empathy" could be a basic norm for Japanese females in the relationships.

The Japanese male group included "mutual improvement" as a requirement for their same-sex close friendships.

We can give stimulus each other to improve ourselves. (J, M-M, 21)

Someone who criticizes my negative points. (J, M-M, 24)

Since Japan is somewhat collectivistic and masculine, it may be important for an individual to achieve or succeed while keeping group harmony. Especially, males are expected to succeed in a masculine culture. Therefore, it could be very important for Japanese males to enhance each other's ability to succeed.

"Openness" was frequently mentioned by Japanese groups with close friends from both genders and "honesty" was mentioned by American female groups. The connotation of "honesty" was very close to "openness," as the examples below show.

Be able to talk to about anything [with] one another without making each other uncomfortable. (A, F-M, 1)

She always tells me the truth whether or not I want to hear it (A, F-F, 25)

I am going to tell her everything even though it is hard to tell. (J, F-F, 8)

I can talk about everything with him openly. (J, M-M, M-F, 15)

This theme may be partly influenced by individualism and collectivism values. American males are encouraged to be aggressive and talkative, so "openness" could be an implicit requirement for their friendships. Since Japan is a collectivistic culture and American females seem to be more collectivistic than American males, people in these groups may not be able to tell their honest opinions openly for the other's sake or for the group harmony. Therefore, it could be an important requirement for Japanese and American females to be open and honest in front of their close friends.

One of the most interesting differences which emerged between national cultural groups was that quite a lot of the Japanese respondents from both gender groups mentioned that "non-romantic feelings" were required for their opposite-sex friendships. Examples were:

I should not have feelings of more than a close friend. (J, M-F, 18)

We have to know each other's love life; otherwise, we cannot be close friends. (J, F-M, 5)

We must not have a physical relationship. (J, F-M, 14)

Half of the Japanese female respondents mentioned that "non-romantic feelings" were required for an opposite-sex close friend. This theme showed that romantic relationships were excluded from close friendships in Japan. This result could support the reason that many Japanese mentioned that they did not have any opposite-sex close friend. These ideas were supported by Gudykunst's and Ting-Toomey's (1984) ideas that it was not easy to develop an opposite-sex relationship in masculine cultures.

Comparing same-sex friendships and opposite-sex friendships, half of the respondents from the American groups mentioned that the requirements for a close friendship were the same regardless of the sex of the friends. With opposite-sex friends, both American groups mentioned "companionship" often. Examples of "companionship" were:

We enjoy each other's company. (A, M-F, 12)

A person who encouraged me to get out of the house. (A, M-F, 20)

Someone who is able to enjoy your company. (A, F-M, 23)

In summary, some similarities and differences in the most important requirement of a close friendship were found among groups. "Trust" was mentioned by all groups. "Interdependence" was a strong requirement mentioned by the American male group. The American male group was also the only group which did not emphasize "openness." The Japanese female group was the only one which mentioned "privacy" and "empathy" as requirements. The Japanese male group included "mutual improvement" in their requirements. The American female group mentioned, "commonalities" the most frequently of the four groups.

"Non-romantic feelings" were important for cross-sex friendships among Japanese respondents. Especially, the Japanese female group focused on this requirement for opposite-sex friendships. On the other hand, Americans focused on "companionship" for opposite-sex close friendships.

The results showed that common requirements or themes for close friendship might be influenced by cultural value differences. If

groups are individualistic, activity oriented and so forth, they are more likely to share perceptions about their requirements for close friends, whether they are male or female or Japanese or American. National cultural groups shared more similar requirements for close friendship than gender groups. It may be because national cultural groups shared more similar cultural values and norms that applied to friendship. However, it was found in this study that cultural values are interrelated, complex and probably dialectic.

Conflict Management with a Close Friend

In Research Question 4, respondents were asked to describe the way they manage conflict with close friends from both genders. "Straight forward strategies" was mentioned by all groups; however, it was the most frequently mentioned category by Americans from both genders. See Tables 4a and 4b. "Straight forward strategies" included voicing one's feelings or opinions. The following were examples:

If something is on my mind, I will tell them. (A, M-M, M-F, 6)

I flat out say - I disagree. (A, F-F, 10)

Tell them that I do not agree. (A, F-F, F-M, 11)

"Avoiding conflict" was also identified in American and Japanese same- and cross-gender friendships. Examples were:

Usually give in to avoid conflict. (A, M-M, 8)

I do just anything to avoid conflict. (A, F-F, F-M, 21)

I just approve her opinion. (J, M-F, 2)

Table 4a

Conflict Management with a Same-Sex Close Friend

<p>American Males</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * straight forward strategies * talking it out together * destructive behaviors * avoiding conflicts 	<p>American Females</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * straight forward strategies * talking it out together * positive strategies * avoiding conflicts
<p>Japanese Males</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * talking it out together * straight forward strategies * avoiding conflicts * listening * reflecting 	<p>Japanese Females</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * straight forward strategies * listening * accepting a different opinion * avoiding conflicts

Table 4b

Conflict Management with an Opposite-Sex Close Friend

<p>American Males</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * straight forward strategies * talking it out together * avoiding conflicts 	<p>American Females</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * straight forward strategies * talking it out together * avoiding conflicts * positive strategies
<p>Japanese Males</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * straight forward strategies * talking it out together * listening * reflecting * avoiding conflicts 	<p>Japanese Females</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * straight forward strategies * listening * avoiding conflicts * accepting a different opinion

If it is not a very serious issue, I do not say anything. (J, F-F, F-M, 32)

Americans and Japanese described the use of "straight forward strategies" and "avoiding conflict," which seems contradictory. These two themes may be explained in that persons may want to view themselves as individually flexible.

In addition to "straight forward strategies" and "avoiding conflict," "talking it out together" emerged frequently for American females and males. The theme "talking it out together" seemed to be used to involve both individuals in a conflict situation such as:

I argue to make my point known. (A, F-F, 1)

I discuss it openly. (A, F-F, F-M, 31)

Try to work it out. (A, M-M, M-F, 10)

American males also tended to use "destructive behaviors" for same-sex friendships.

Tell them to "shut up!" (A, M-M, 4)

I will let out my frustration verbally and somewhat physically. (A, M-M, 5)

This theme appeared only from the male respondents. Arguing, fighting, or yelling are more acceptable for American males in conflict situations. These are ways in which males may negotiate status and dominance (Tannen, 1990). This result also was consistent with previous research showing that males are more often perceived as aggressive and direct than females (Collier, 1992; Tannen, 1990).

Among American females, the theme "positive strategies" appeared. "Positive strategies" included the particular behaviors, attitudes, or words which one should or should not use in a conflict

situation. This theme was mentioned by all groups, but American females noted the use of positive strategies most often.

Avoid words such as "always" or "never." (A, F-F, F-M, 7)

I will use "I did this because. . ." or "we need to talk." (A, F-F, F-M, 21)

Never personally attack them or insult them. (A, F-F, F-M, 25)

I avoid accusation. (A, F-F, F-M, 27)

Since most American females were Speech Communication majors, they might be more aware of the need for positive strategies to increase the likelihood of effective conflict management. Collier (1991) also found that Anglo females were likely to collaborate and solve the problem together in conflict contexts.

The Japanese female group also mentioned "straight forward strategies" frequently for friendships with both sexes. In addition, they strongly emphasized "listening" and "accepting a different opinion." Here were some examples of "listening":

I listen to close friend's opinion first. (J, F-F, F-M, 6)

I try to listen to and understand her opinion first. (J, F-F, 31)

The examples of "accepting a different opinion" were:

I will accept her opinion if it is different from mine. (J, F-F, F-M, 1)

It is possible that there are different opinions, because each person is unique. (J, F-F, F-M, 6)

These themes seemed to suggest an "orientation toward other." As indicated in the previous section, the Japanese female group may be considered to be the most collectivistic among the four groups. It could be very important for them to accept the other's opinion and still preserve the friendship.

Japanese males most often mentioned "talking it out together" for same-sex friendships, and they also mentioned "listening."

"Talking it out together" included examples such as:

We discuss until we can solve the problem. (J, M-M, 1)

We have to modify each other's opinion to make a compromise. (J, M-M, 16)

The examples of "listening" were:

I will let them talk. (J, M-M, 19)

I am going to listen to my friend's opinion. (J, M-M, M-F, 6)

I am going to take a role of listening. (J, M-M, 19)

No theme of "listening" appeared in American groups. Possibly, "listening" may be influenced by individualism and collectivism dimensions. To keep harmony in the group, "listening" and "accepting a different opinion" are important factors in collectivistic cultures. On the other hand, making individual opinions clear is important in individualistic cultures and may be important in cultures which emphasize verbal messages. Therefore, American respondents emphasis on "straight forward strategies" and "talking it out together" is consistent.

The Japanese male group also described behaviors which indicated a need to "reflect" on the friend's opinion in friendship with both genders. Many Japanese males mentioned that they would rethink their opinions before discussing them.

I will calm down and think about my opinion again. (J, M-M, M-F, 7)

At first, I will think why my friend has a different opinion. (J, M-F, 23)

This theme might also be related to collectivism. Since harmony is important in collectivistic cultures, people try to avoid conflict as much as possible (Barnlund, 1975). Therefore, before articulating an individual opinion, people may try to think about the different ideas which emerged between them, so eventually they might reach consensus.

Half of the American respondents' descriptions showed that they took different approaches in a conflict situation depending on the gender of their friend. The American male respondents stated that they could not confront a conflict with an opposite-sex friend as strongly as with a same-sex friend.

My tone of voice may not as be strong and harsh compared to male friends. (A, M-F, 4)

Most of the time, it is harder to confront the situation with female close friends. (A, M-F, 10)

The response of the American females was the opposite of that of males. They stated that they could face a conflict more directly with opposite-sex friends. Here are some examples:

I usually confront males more. (A, F-M, 4)

With same sex friends, perhaps respect the other opinion, but usually don't discuss it. (A, F-M, 6)

Since males are perceived to be more aggressive than females in conflicts (Collier, 1991) and conflict with them is more common than with females (Tannen, 1990), females might become more assertive and face a conflict more directly with male friends.

The responses of the Japanese groups were divided into three categories. The first category was that they had no opposite-sex friends. The second was that they had no conflict with opposite-sex

friends. The last was that they treated conflict with opposite-sex friends the same as with same sex-friends. This result was consistent with the result of Research Question 3. In Research Question 3, the most important requirement in a close friendship, Japanese answers were also divided into three groups. The first group did not have any opposite-sex friends. The second group emphasized "non-romantic relationships" in opposite-sex friendships. The last group said that they had the same requirements for same-sex and different-sex friendships.

To summarize, national culture seemed to be more influential than gender in affecting conflict management. While Japanese and Americans differed overall, within each national group, males and females in both groups were fairly similar. For example, both American gender groups identified the themes "straight forward strategies" and "talking it out together." These results can be explained by individualism and doing-orientation values. These themes were also consistent with Collier's results for the characteristics of Anglo American friendships (Collier, 1991). Japanese also placed emphasis on "straight forward strategies" and "talking out together." However, they also strongly emphasized "listening," which could reflect collectivism and the need to keep group or relationship harmony.

Termination of a Close Friendship

Research Question 5 addressed termination of a close friendship. Some similarities and differences emerged in the way of

terminating a close friendship among the four groups. See Tables 5a and 5b. A comparison of the answers from all groups revealed that fewer Japanese answered this question. Also, some Japanese mentioned that they did not have experiences in which close friendships were terminated. These results confirm the research of Barnlund (1989); pointing out that termination of friendships is much less common among Japanese than among Americans.

"Lack of contact" appeared as a reason for terminating a close friendship among all groups with both gender friends.

We wrote back and forth for only one year. (A, M-M, 8)

A loss of contact occurred. (A, M-M, 11)

I didn't work at continuing it. (A, F-M, 20)

We quit communicating. (A, F-F, 10)

I did not correspond with her. (J, F-F, 1)

We started to have few chances to meet each other. (J, M-F, 23)

In addition to "lack of contact," "breaking up" was mentioned frequently by American males and females in opposite-sex friendships.

I was dumped for no apparent reason. (A, M-F, 13)

I got sick of her. (A, M-F, 16)

When we broke up - we could never be close friends again. (A, F-M, 5)

Since both Japanese gender groups tended to view romantic relationships with a member of the opposite-sex as different from close friendships, the theme "breaking up" as a reason for friendship termination did not emerge. Rather, some Japanese respondents said that they terminated close friendships when either friend wanted

Table 5a

Termination of a Same-Sex Close Friendship

<p>American Males</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">* distance* lack of contact* conflict	<p>American Females</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">* problems* distance* lack of contact
<p>Japanese Males</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">* lack of contact* broken trust* conflict	<p>Japanese Females</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">* broken trust* changing environment* lack of contact

Table 5b

Termination of an Opposite-Sex Close Friendship

<p>American Males</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">* lack of contact* breaking up* conflict	<p>American Females</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">* distance* lack of contact* breaking up
<p>Japanese Males</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">* misunderstanding* broken trust* lack of contact	<p>Japanese Females</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">* different expectations* lack of contact

a more romantic relationship. The Japanese females most frequently described "different expectations" as the reason of the termination with opposite-sex friends. Half of the descriptions cited belonged to this theme. They said that when either friend started to expect more than a close friendship, it ended the friendship. Examples of "different expectations" were:

My friend started to like me more than a friend. (J, F-M, 5)

When I told him that I liked him more than a friend, he started not to talk with me. (J, F-M, 9)

An interesting example appeared from the Japanese female group.

Since he became my boyfriend, we ended a close friendship. (J, F-M, 17)

These results also emerged among the Japanese male respondents. For all of these reasons, it is possible to say that romantic relationships and close friendships may be very distinct for Japanese respondents.

For Japanese females with same-sex friends, "broken trust" and "changing environment" were reasons to terminate a close friendship. "Changing environment" meant that the environment was changed such as going to a different school, choosing a different major, etc.

Examples of "broken trust" were the following:

I did irresponsible things to a group for a while, she (a member of the group) did not talk with me any more. (J, F-F, 2)

She told something confidential between us to somebody else. (J, F-F, 17)

Among these answers, the respondents often mentioned that they ended a close friendship, but a friendship which was not close still remained.

Very few Japanese males mentioned reasons for terminating a close friendship with opposite-sex friends. Actually, fourteen out of twenty-seven respondents did not answer this question. Besides leaving it blank, seven respondents mentioned that they had not even experienced terminating a close friendship with an opposite-sex friend. Among those who did answer, a common reason to terminate a close friendship with an opposite-sex friend was "misunderstanding."

I try not to voice my real idea for her sake. Then she took my attitude in a different way. (J, M-F, 11)

We did not try to understand each other. (J, M-F, 15)

In cultures who are masculine, different sex roles are emphasized (Hofstede, 1980). Therefore, it could be more difficult for Japanese to understand the opposite gender group than Americans.

For same-sex friendships among Japanese males, "broken trust" was mentioned followed by "lack of contact." The examples of "broken trust" were:

He started to go out with my girlfriend without saying anything to me. (J, M-M, 4)

He broke my trust about a financial problem. (J, M-M, 6)

"Broken trust" appeared among all groups. Since every group included "trust" for their definition of a close friend and an important requirement of a close friendship, it was predictable that they terminated close friendships when either friends broke trust.

The theme "conflict" emerged only for Japanese males with same-sex friends. The same theme emerged for the American male group in friendships with both sexes. This theme did not emerge at

all for either the Japanese female group or the American female group.

We have never apologized to each other after the conflict. (J, M-M, 9)

We argued, then we hit each other. (J, M-M, 21)

We had a big disagreement. It caused a lot of hate between us. (A, M-M, 10)

Tannen (1990) says "To many men, conflict is the necessary means by which status is negotiated, so it is to be accepted and may even be sought, embraced, and enjoyed" (p. 150). Since conflict has different definitions and different norms of management are used by females and males (Tannen, 1990; Collier, 1991), it is predictable that this theme would appear only among male responses.

"Distance" was also an important reason to terminate a close friendship for the American respondents. Since very few Japanese mentioned "moving," coders placed this example among other factors which categorized a "changing environment" instead of "distance." However, "distance" was mentioned frequently by both American gender groups. So, "distance" appeared to be an important reason for terminating a close friendship among Americans.

When a buddy of mine went to school at Stanford. (A, M-M, 7)

He moved to the east coast. (A, M-M, 15)

She moved away - back to where she comes from. (A, F-F, 15)

After high school, he went to school in California and I went to Idaho. (A, F-M, 4)

American females mostly mentioned "lack of contact" and "distance" for both sex friendships. The difference between "distance" and "lack of contact," was that if an example included

something about distance or moving, it was sorted into the category called "distance." "Distance" included:

She moved out of state. (A, F-F, 1)

I transferred from New Mexico to Oregon State University. (A, F-M, 11)

We live far part. (A, F-M, 18)

while "lack of contact" included

We just meet less and less until we weren't meeting any more. (A, F-F, 4)

I did not see him much anymore - lost contact. (A, F-M, 13)

I do not make an effort to communicate with him. (A, F-M, 14)

The theme "problems" was identified by coders for only the American female group with same-sex friends.

She wiggled out on me. . . couldn't cope with anything. I cannot really explain it. . . She just wacked out. (A, F-F, 2)

We became close quickly, shared a great deal, she became too dependent, then I turned cold. (A, F-F, 9)

She stabbed me in the back-told other friends of mine things I had said and got everyone to hate me. (A, F-F, 20)

In summary, more Japanese respondents mentioned that they had not terminated a close friendship so far in their lives. The theme "lack of contact" commonly occurred as a reason for the termination of a close friendship among all groups. "Breaking up" was a theme for only American respondents with opposite-sex friends. "Distance" was also an American theme in terminating a friendship. This was supported by Barnlund (1989) and Parlee (1979), who say that moving is the reason to terminate a close friendship in the United States.

On the other hand, Japanese respondents frequently mentioned "broken trust," and they had "different expectations" for their opposite-sex friendships. "Conflict" appeared to be an expected norm among male respondents, which could be influenced by valuing a doing-orientation, individualism and masculine values. The American female group was the only one which mentioned "problems" with same-sex friends, Japanese females identified "changing environment" for their same-sex friendships, and Japanese males included "misunderstanding" for their reasons for terminating opposite-sex close friendships.

General Information about Respondents' Close Friendships

In Research Question 6, respondents were asked to describe more specifically their close friendships. They were asked about two same-sex close friends and one opposite-sex close friend.

Regarding the time needed to develop close friendships, there was no prominent difference across the four groups. Most of the respondents indicated one or two years. However, each group had a few respondents who said that it took more than 5 years to develop those friendships. There was no difference with same-sex friends and with opposite-sex friends for the time needed to develop close friendships among the four groups.

Regarding proximity, most respondents chose to describe friends who lived close to them. Very few respondents described long-distance friendships. It may be that respondents could most

easily describe activities and communication with their close friends who lived close to them for this question.

Next, the idea of how respondents maintain contact with their close friends was addressed. "Telephone" was the most familiar way of contact for all groups. Both the American and the Japanese females frequently mentioned "letters" as a mean of correspondence; however, only one Japanese male and two American male respondents mentioned "letters" and only with their opposite-sex friends. The most frequent response was seeing each other a couple of days a week. However, American respondents with an opposite-sex friend frequently mentioned "seeing each other every day," because they often chose a person who was a romantic partner.

The American males mentioned seeing their same-sex friends more frequently than in any other group. These results could be supported by their doing-orientation value. Since American male friendships are developed by activities (Rubin, 1985), they may spend more time together doing activities than other groups.

Some differences and similarities emerged in descriptions. For the question, "How do/did you spend time with him/her when you are/were together?" "Talking" was the most frequently stated response by American females and both Japanese gender groups. The American male group emphasized "activities" such as doing sports. Actually, many American male respondents mentioned "doing sports together," but only one or two respondents from the other groups mentioned "sports" for this answer. This result was consistent with the American doing-orientation value and Rubin's idea

(1985) that American female friendships were based on intimacy while American males placed emphasis on activities.

Norms and Outcomes

The last research question (Research Question 7) addressed norms and outcomes of friendship. Respondents were asked to describe unacceptable and inappropriate behaviors in their close friendships. These results were consistent with the most important requirement of a close friendship. Most respondents from all groups mentioned such things as "breaking trust," "cheating," "telling them a lie," "dishonesty," etc. In addition, with an opposite-sex friend, quite a lot of Japanese respondents mentioned "having a romantic relationship" or "liking each other more than a close friend" as unacceptable and inappropriate. This result was consistent with their requirements of an opposite-sex friendship.

Outcomes of close friendships were also given attention. Most American respondents answered "girlfriend," "boyfriend," "true love," "(future) wife," and "(future) husband," as outcomes of opposite-sex close friendships. This result and the result of unacceptable behaviors in close friendships showed the different connotation of close friendship among Japanese and Americans. For Americans, opposite-sex friendships included their romantic relationships while the Japanese strictly excluded their romantic relationships from their opposite-sex close friendships. Most of the Japanese answered "different view of the world," "opposite-gender's ideas," "the power to live," etc., as outcomes in an opposite-sex friendship. Sex-roles

in high masculine cultures were found to be significantly different (Hofstede, 1980).

NOTES

1. The culture from which the respondent comes (e.g., J=Japanese), the gender of the respondent (e.g., M=male), and the number of the respondent questionnaire (e.g., 2) are given for each quote.

2. The culture from which the respondent comes (e.g., A=American), the relationship between genders (e.g., M-F=male respondent with female close friends), and the number of the respondent questionnaire (e.g., 14) are given for each quote.

CHAPTER 4

Implications

This chapter will present the overall conclusions, limitations of this study, and directions for future research. First, the results of each research question will be reviewed.

Review of Results

The results of this study showed that all four groups: U.S. American males, U.S. American females, Japanese males, and Japanese females, perceived some similarities and differences in their close friendships. The results indicated that these similar and different perceptions were at least partly influenced by cultural values. In this study, the definition of a close friend, the most important requirement of a close friendship, conflict management with a close friend, and the termination of a close friendship seemed to be somewhat influenced by the individualism and collectivism value dimension (Hofstede, 1980), the doing and being value orientation (Stewart, 1972), and the masculinity/femininity value (Hofstede, 1980).

The result of Research Question 1, number of close friends, showed that the Americans listed a larger number of close friends than the Japanese. This may be because the United States is a more

feminine culture, valuing relationships, than Japan. Such a finding then seems inconsistent with arguing that Japan is more collectivistic and the U.S. is individualistic. Within each national cultural group, male respondents stated that they had more close friends than did females. All groups mentioned having a larger number of close friends from the same gender than the different gender. Also, many Japanese respondents said that they did not have any opposite-sex close friends while no American respondent did.

The definition of a close friend showed some similarities and differences among four groups. All groups mentioned "trust" and "interdependence"; however, "respect" did not appear among Japanese female respondents and "acceptance" did not appear in the American male group. These differences could be partly influenced by individualism and collectivism values. American groups of both genders included "shared activities" and "expectations about other's character," which may be due to a doing-orientation, individualism, and femininity values. On the other hand, Japanese showed emphasis on "comfort" and "mutual improvement" which could be explained by collectivism and masculinity. Also, Americans mentioned "disclosure," and Japanese divided this theme into "shared information" and "shared feelings."

"Trust" was included for the most important requirement in a close friendship by all groups. Both Japanese groups and the American female group emphasized "openness," while American male groups emphasized "interdependence." "Privacy" and "empathy" emerged only among Japanese female respondents. All of these ideas could be influenced by individualism and collectivism, and

masculinity and femininity values. It is possible to think that American males needed to verbalize "interdependence" because of their strong individualism. Japanese females could be very collectivistic in the bulk of their professional and social life, so they need "privacy" in their close friendships. However, there is another possibility for interpretation of these themes; American males may be more collectivistic than they are stereotyped to be, and Japanese females are more individualistic than they used to be.

It is also possible to explain these themes by the masculinity and femininity value dimension. According to Hofstede (1980), Japan is the highest masculine culture and United States falls in the middle (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey, 1984). Masculinity put emphasis on "independence" and femininity does on "interdependence"; therefore, American males may emphasize "interdependence" and Japanese females emphasize "independence" by this value dimension. Since this study did not explore the degree of each value dimension for each group, it was hard to say which value influenced these themes. It is also possible to think that not only one value but also several values and norms influenced these themes.

The process of understanding perceptions of close friendships may be more complex than analyzing themes by only one value dimension. "Companionship" was frequently mentioned by American groups for a requirement in an opposite-sex close friendship. On the other hand, Japanese frequently mentioned "non-romantic relationships" for their opposite-sex close friendships. Japanese respondents tended to exclude romantic partners from their close friends.

Conflict management processes also showed some similarities and differences among four groups. All groups mentioned "straight forward strategies," "avoiding conflicts," and "talking it out together." However, Japanese people also emphasized "listening" which may be due to collectivism. Japanese males also included "reflecting" and Japanese females identified "accepting a different opinion." All of these Japanese themes seemed to be partly influenced by their collectivistic value orientation. American males mentioned "destructive behaviors" with same-sex close friends, while American females most frequently mentioned "positive strategies" among all of the four groups.

Research Question 5 addressed the reasons for terminating a close friendship. Fewer Japanese respondents answered this question. "Lack of contact" was stated by all groups. "Distance" was also a common reason for American groups, while Japanese groups often mentioned "broken trust" for their reason. "Conflict" emerged only with male groups. "Breaking up" was a common reason to terminate opposite-sex friendships among American respondents, while Japanese females mentioned "different expectations" and Japanese males included "misunderstanding," which could be influenced by masculinity value, for their opposite-sex close friendships.

Respondents were asked to describe general information about their close friends such as, the time needed to develop close friendship, proximity, the manner of correspondence, and how close friends spend time together. There was no prominent difference regarding the time and proximity among four groups. "Telephone"

was the most frequent means of contact for all groups. "Letters" were frequently mentioned by both American and Japanese female groups. Both Japanese groups and the American female group mentioned "talking" while the American male group emphasized "activities" in their descriptions of how they spend time with their close friends. The American male's strong doing-orientation may account for this result.

"Breaking trust," "cheating," and "telling a lie" appeared among all groups in their descriptions of unacceptable and inappropriate behaviors. Only Japanese groups mentioned "having a romantic relationship" and "liking each other more than a close friend" as unacceptable in their opposite-sex close friendships. Japanese males and females excluded their romantic relationships from close friendships. On the other hand, American respondents frequently mentioned, "girlfriend," "boyfriend," "true love," "(future) wife," and "(future) husband" as outcomes of opposite-sex close friendships; they clearly included their romantic partner in the category of close friend.

Overall Conclusion

There were several similarities regardless of the respondents' national group and gender groups. For example, "trust" emerged among all groups for their definition of a close friend. "Trust" was also mentioned for the most important requirement of a close friendship by all groups. Thus, "trust" was a very important factor for close friendship for all groups across nationalities and genders.

"Straight forward strategies," "avoiding conflicts," and "talking it out together" were common themes in conflicts among all groups. Even though each group had different values and norms, there were several similarities in perceptions of close friendships.

The Japanese female group was the only one which did not have the theme "respect" for the definition of a close friend. However, this group had themes of "privacy" for the most important requirement in a close friendship and "accepting a different opinion" in conflicts. These themes were very similar to the idea of "respect." Japanese females did not use "respect" for the definition of a close friend, but "respect" was definitely an important factor in their close friendships. Even though several differences emerged among all groups, basic ideas of a close friendship may be the same across national cultures and across gender cultures.

The results of this study showed that there were more similarities in the perceptions of close friendship in the national cultural groups than in the gender groups. In this study, perceptions of close friendship were found to be more similar in the national cultural groups, perhaps because they may share more similar cultural values and norms. In general, Japanese friendships seemed to be characterized by more collectivism and a being-orientation than American friendships which showed individualism and a doing-orientation. Even though males in Japan may be expected to be more individualistic than females in Japan, both genders in Japan may be more collectivistic than males and females in the U.S.

There is a unique finding in this study. The number of described characteristics and behaviors were different across national cultural

groups. For all questions, the number of American respondents' descriptions and examples were larger than those of the Japanese. For example, the 20 American males gave 61 examples of characteristics of close friends. The 28 American females generated 90 examples of characteristics. The 27 Japanese males gave 47 examples while the 35 Japanese females listed 64 examples. American respondents used more words for their definitions of a close friend than did the Japanese. Americans generated more examples than the Japanese respondents on all questions.

These findings can be supported by Hall (1976). He points out that the United States is considered to be relatively low-context while Japan is a strongly high-context culture. His definition of "high-context" and "low-context" is:

A high context (HC) communication or message is one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. A low-context communication is just the opposite; i. e., the mass of the message is vested in the explicit code. (Hall, 1976, p. 79)

Therefore, it is possible to think that the American respondents answered all the questions in explicit ways, while the Japanese respondents did so in implicit ways. It would have been invalid to compare the frequency of particular categories across national cultures. Japanese responses might have several implicit connotations for a single word.

Because of the low- and high- context difference and because of different connotations of the same word, cultural validity was a major concern in this study. A qualitative method was appropriate. In this study, the researcher chose a coder from each national group,

so Japanese coders could read the hidden meanings more easily than if Americans had coded Japanese responses. This approach was also intended to increase cultural validity for this study (Collier, 1991). Reliability of this study was also high, because two coders were required to reach consensus on their final sort.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

This study had several limitations. In this section, these limitations and some recommendations for future research will be discussed.

Despite the pre-test, many respondents did not answer all the questions. The possible explanation for this result could be that respondents were not interested in this study, they had difficulty explaining their ideas in writing, or they could not understand the questions very well.

The result of this study showed that many Japanese respondents mentioned that they did not have any opposite-sex close friend. They also tended to exclude their romantic partners for their close opposite-sex friendships. This may be because it is more difficult to develop opposite-sex relationships in masculine cultures (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey, 1984), or this may be because Japanese friendships are based on life-long responsibility (Barnlund, 1989). Romantic relationships tend to be more easily broken than friendships; therefore, romantic relationships may be separated from friendship in Japan. For future research, asking Japanese respondents about both their friendships and romantic relationships,

to understand more about their opposite-sex relationships is strongly recommended.

The researcher tried to compare long-distance friendships across groups. However, Japan and the United States have different transportation systems. In addition to this fact, American college life is very different from Japanese college life. American students in this study live in a college town, while the Japanese college students usually do not live in the same town with the college, because they may live with their parents. It is interesting that even given these lifestyle differences, there were still no appreciable differences in how Japanese and Americans manage their long distance friendships. It is important to consider respondents' lifestyles when researchers compare more than one national cultures.

Comparing students in Tokyo, which is one of the largest cities in the world, to students in Corvallis, which is considered to be a small college town, may not be a valid comparison of the two countries. Usually people in the city and in the countryside have different expectations for their lives. For example, college students in Tokyo may not have much time or many places to participate in sports activities compared to college students who live in Corvallis. Therefore, interpreting Japanese friendships as based on a being-orientation and American friendship on a doing-orientation may be somewhat invalid. This geographical cultural difference and impact on value orientations should be considered for future research.

In addition to applying doing-orientation and being-orientation value differences to each country, the individualism and collectivism value dimensions in the two national cultures could also be

oversimplified. The Japanese culture has been called a collectivistic by many scholars. However, according to Ishii (1989), older generations hold the belief of Japanese collectivism, while younger generations of Japanese are dedicated to improving their own lives and value their own profits rather than collective profits. Perhaps younger generation Japanese are becoming more individualistic.

The masculinity value orientation may not apply in this study. Since the Japanese government established the "Equal Opportunity Employment Law" in 1985, the status of Japanese women has been dramatically changing. Therefore, younger generation Japanese may not emphasize the masculinity value as much as older generations.

Religious beliefs may play a big role in the United States. People who strongly follow a religion may be considered to be more collectivistic. Further, the cultural value dimensions need to be approached more as continua or dialectics. For example, Japanese are always generalized as highly collectivistic; however, Japanese males may be more individualistic than Japanese females. Therefore, it is very important to determine the degree of individualism and collectivism, doing and being orientation, and masculinity and femininity values for each group and how they might change in certain contexts to have more accurate explanations for the results.

Some value dimensions were contradictory in this study. For example, Japanese culture is higher masculinity culture than the United States (Hofstede, 1980). Masculinity puts emphasis on "independence" while femininity emphasizes "interdependence" (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey, 1988). The United States is considered to be highly individualistic, yet males described friendship

requirements of "interdependence," "trust," and "companionship." Because of this and similar contradictions, the explanation of each groups' results will be based only partly on the value dimensions.

Thus, it is very important to know how much each group emphasizes each value in various situations and in various relationships. Future research should investigate the dialectic force of each value dimension for each group to more fully understand each group's perceptions of their friendship. It might also help the researcher to validate the value differences at the same time that the friendship is being investigated, with additional questions or an additional questionnaire.

Friendship is a feminine (caring, nurturance) and collectivistic (group oriented, interdependence) factor to study; therefore, individualism and masculine value dimensions may have less influence on close friendships. Because of this reason, using value dimensions as predictors of friendship communication may not be valid.

Using an open-ended questionnaire was an effective way to acquire interpretive data. Respondents' explanations and descriptions, although not collected "on site," are still their descriptions and interpretations of their experiences in their own words. These provide not only increased cultural validity but in-depth information about their perceptions of close friendship (Collier, 1992). However, as indicated earlier, respondents had difficulty answering all the questions in this study. Therefore, combining interviewing and questionnaire research might help respondents to answer questions in more depth. Ethnographic

observation could also help to understand friendship norms and themes in the two national contexts.

Additional information from interviews and ethnographic observation would increase confidence in interpretations and assumptions about intersubjective meanings of such labels as "responsibility for behaviors." (Collier, 1991, p.151)

Therefore, it is strongly recommended that a combination of interviewing, ethnographic observation, and a research questionnaire be used for future research.

This study only focused on perceptions of close friendship within national cultures. Respondents described and explained their close friendships from the same national cultures. It is very important to identify perceptions of cultural close friendships, because we may have a chance to have an effective friendship if we understand each other's expectations of close friendship. Another reason this study was conducted is because Americans and Japanese have a lot of opportunities to make close friendships across cultures. Therefore, it is also important to understand intercultural relationships. In future research, intercultural close friendships should also be examined. The respondents' descriptions and explanations of their own experiences provide a rich source of information which ultimately can be used to improve relationships.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Research Questionnaire in English

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

I am a graduate student at Oregon State University. I study Speech Communication. This questionnaire is for my thesis research. Your answers will be anonymous and confidential.

* The following questions are about your close friendships.

1. How many of your close friends are males _____
females _____

2. How do you define a close friend?

3. What is the single most important requirement for you to consider someone as a close friend?

*In a same-sex close friendship.

The requirement:

Please give an example of this in your same-sex close friendship.

*In an opposite-sex close friendship.

The requirement:

Please give an example of this in your opposite-sex close friendship.

4. When you disagree with your close friends, what do you do - for example, what words and actions do you use or avoid?

*To your same-sex close friends.

*To your opposite-sex close friends.

5. Think of a close friendship which was important to you and which no longer exists. Please describe specifically what happened when the close relationship ended.
*With your same-sex close friend.

*With your opposite-sex close friend.

6. Some may have been your close friends for many years; some with far less history. Please select 3 of your most important close friends (two of the same gender and one opposite gender), and fill in the following blanks.

	6a	6b	6c	6d
Gender	How did you meet the person?	How long have you known the person?	How long have you been close friends?	Place where s(he) lives now (city and state)
Same with you A				
Same with you B				
Opposite from you C				

*Please complete the following additional information for the same 3 close friends.

6e	6f	6g	6h
How often do you see or have contact with each other, and what kind of contact? (Tel, letter, see each other)	How do/ did you spent time with him/her when you are/were together?	What behaviors would be unacceptable or inappropriate in your close friendship?	What have you gained from each close friendship?

A

B

C

* Please answer the following questions about yourself.

A. Sex: Male _____ Female _____ (Please check).

B. Age: _____ (Please fill-in the blank).

C. Major, Year: Major _____ Year _____ (Please fill in the blank).

D. Where do you live now? (City, Town or District):

_____ (Please fill in the blank).

E. Nationality: _____ (Please fill-in the blank).

Thank you very much for your time!

5. 過去に、あなたにとって大事な親友関係が壊れたことがあれば、なぜ、またどのような形で壊れてしまったのか回答してください。同性、異性の親友から一人ずつ選び、具体的な例を挙げて説明してください。

(1) 同性の親友との間で。

(2) 異性の親友との間で。

6. 長年にわたる親友もいれば、知り合って間もない親友もいることと思います。その中から、あなたが大切だと思う親友三人（同性の親友を二人、異性の親友を一人）を選び、それぞれについて下記の各欄に具体的に記入してください。

	6a	6b	6c	6d
性別	知り合ったきっかけは何ですか？	知り合ってから の年月はどの位で すか？	親友になって からの年月は どの位ですか？	親友の現在住んで いる場所はどこで すか？ (都道府県、区／市)

同 性
A

同 性
B

異 性
C

*以下の項目についても、前述と同じ親友について、回答してください。

6e	6f	6g	6h
どの位の割合でお互いに 連絡を取り合いますか？ 又、どのような手段を使 いますか？ (会う、手紙、電話、等。)	どのように、その親友と 時を過ごしますか、又は 過ごしましたか？	それぞれの親友関係に おいて、してはならな いと思っていることは 何ですか？	その親友関係か ら、あなたが得 たものは何です か？

A

B

C

*以下の項目については、あなた自身について、回答してください。

1. 性別： 男 _____ 女 _____ (チェックしてください。)
2. 年齢： _____ (ブランクを埋めてください。)
3. 学部、学科、学年： _____ 学部 _____ 学科 _____ 学年 (ブランクを埋めてください。)
4. あなたの現在住んでいる都道府県 と区、又は、市： _____ (ブランクを埋めてください。)
5. 国籍： _____ (ブランクを埋めてください。)

ご協力、有難うございました！