

論 文

A Legacy of Innovation and Perceptions of Young Japanese Women

Lisa Rogers

同志社女子大学
現代社会学部・社会システム学科
准教授

A Legacy of Innovation and Perceptions of Young Japanese Women

Lisa Rogers

Department of Social System Studies, Faculty of Contemporary Social Studies,
Doshisha Women's College of Liberal Arts,
Associate Professor

Abstract

Many of the oldest universities have legacies that continue to influence values and beliefs of the organizations. However, as societies change and population composition changes, many of these institutions of learning have been forced to change as well. This paper briefly examines the legacy of leadership in the founding of the Doshisha organization, the organizational culture of Doshisha Women's College, and students' attitudes towards uncertainty management, in essence diversity management, one aspect of leadership. It then poses questions for contemplation regarding the remaining founding legacy and ideologies and influences on current students to be leaders of innovation in Japan.

This paper includes portions of the research project "Diversity Factors in Leadership," (no. 26590223), funded by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research in Challenging Research, awarded by MEXT, Japan.

Like human development, organizations and their development continue to be popular research topics. In fact, one of the most popular aspects of organizational development currently is leadership. One reason is the pervading idea that leaders are the most influential human element of an organization's success or failure. However, leadership theories and research point to cultural aspects as well. Leadership and organizations cannot be fully understood without considering cultural factors (Schein, 1997; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2012, 2010; Hofstede, 1997, 2003). Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012, 2010) have created a model to examine types of organization cultures and argue that

organizations exhibit certain qualities that show how they innovate, such as whether they are more innovative internally or externally, in product development or in their workforce. Educational organizations are like any organization and can be examined using Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's theories as well. In an organization such as Doshisha Women's College of Liberal Arts (DWCLA), it can be beneficial to examine the organization itself as well as its students. In his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (2000) described the influence of individual human development on community and societal development. He contends that it is necessary for students and educators to cooperate, unify, organize and

form a cultural synthesis and shape individuals who will influence community, organizations and society. Based on this idea, it is essential to examine students studying at DWCLA and how they might influence community and society through acting as leaders and interacting in organizations. This paper briefly examines the legacy of leadership in the founding of the Doshisha organization, the organizational culture of Doshisha Women's College, and students' attitudes towards uncertainty management, in essence diversity management, one aspect of leadership. It then poses questions for contemplation regarding the remaining founding legacy and ideologies and influences on current students to be leaders of innovation in Japan.

Tradition of an Organization

Doshisha is a large educational organization consisting of two universities, four high schools, four junior high schools, two primary schools and a kindergarten. However, it began as a school founded by a pioneer who defied the Japanese government's isolationist policies to travel to the United States in 1864 (Founding Spirit and Joseph Neesima). During his time studying, living and interacting with members of northeastern American communities, Joseph Hardy Nijima, (even though historical documents and Doshisha organizational literature use different spellings for his family name, this paper will use this spelling in keeping with outside research about his life), studied education systems while becoming a Protestant minister. He returned to Japan with a strong ambition to establish a private school that would teach Christian values to youth with the goal of creating independent free thinkers who would lead Japan to have moral ideals (Yoshinaga, 1998; Founding spirit and Joseph Hardy Neesima). His privileged position as a member of the samurai social class, his ideas, and his strong determination helped him gain support from American church board members, Japanese government officials and others who would help him establish his Christian school for boys and eventually gain approval for it to become an official school of higher education which would eventually become Doshisha

University. It also placed him in a position to meet other highly placed members of society in Kyoto such as Yamamoto, Kakuma, a member of the privileged social class and an advisor to the Kyoto Prefectural governor. Meeting Yamamoto resulted in Nijima procuring land for his school and led to his introduction and subsequent marriage to Yamamoto's sister, Yamamoto, Yaeko (Motoi, Noda & Wajun, 2012).

Yaeko, who was 30-years old at the time of meeting Nijima, was also a unique individual in Japanese history. After her younger brother was killed in the Boshin War, also known as the Japanese Revolution, a conflict partly over the acceptance of foreign influence, Yaeko dressed in her brother's old uniform and fought in battles in her home of Aizu (the western part of present-day Fukushima Prefecture). In addition to being a warrior, during her lifetime, she was a nurse with the Red Cross, a tea master and supporter of Doshisha University as well as a teacher and administrator at schools, including Doshisha girls' school, which eventually became Doshisha Women's College of Liberal Arts. It is evident that both Yaeko and Joseph were atypical in a Japanese society that was battling over isolationist and anti-Christian ideas and yet succeeded in establishing what would eventually become a large prestigious educational organization that would include education from kindergarten to university.

Legacy of the founders

Nijima, Joseph founded his school with the purpose of teaching Christian values such as equality, even eventually including gender. According to Motoi et al, (2012), Nijima had no desire to marry a woman who would be subservient and was attracted to Yaeko because of her strong will and her wish to be an equal partner in marriage. Yaeko and Joseph were married in the first Protestant wedding ceremony in Kyoto (DWCLA Nishima Yae Research Association, 2014). Joseph supported establishment of a girl's school recognizing the necessity of providing all children, both boys and girls, with education in moral values so that they could eventually lead Japan at a period when women generally were given few opportunities to receive formal education.

Focusing on Christian ideology and Western values as well as empowerment for women were innovative concepts in Japan and far from mainstream. However, they were somewhat successful, and their spirit, or ideology, lives on as can be seen by the references in the Doshisha organization's mission, purpose and goals (Founding spirit and Joseph Hardy Neesima, n.d.; Center for General and Liberal Education, n.d.; Educational philosophy, n.d.).

In spite of being innovative at the time through Nijima's inspirational leadership, critics argue that Nijima's attempts to create an educational organization that taught Christian moral values and that could produce leaders of Japan were not entirely successful. Before his death, Joseph was unable to complete the first school's transition to a university. After his death at the young age of 47, his students and supporters carried out his dream to gain permission to turn the school into a formal private university. While it has since become one of the top elite private universities in Japan, Yoshinaga (1998) contends that Nijima's focus on ideology, while ignoring institutional settings and curriculum development, resulted in an educational institution which did little to distinguish itself from other schools. Yoshinaga goes even further by claiming that Doshisha reduced Christian principles to westernization, never developed internationalism and ignored quality while becoming trapped in a vicious cycle of expansion and mass production, in the same way many other Japanese universities did.

Organization Theory

In order to examine innovation of an organization, using Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's (2012) organizational style metaphors and value orientations can be beneficial. They point out that even though not every culture will clearly fit in one of their metaphorical categories, it can be beneficial to label them so that the complexity of organizations can be examined. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner describe four metaphors, the family, Eiffel Tower, guided missile, and incubator. Family organizations are characterized by preferences for face-to-face interactions, are often

hierarchical, and often mirror the family with the leader acting as a sort of parent with most of the power in the organization. While groups and individuals have tasks, they often bleed into other tasks so that workers have a broad range of duties. The leader is chosen based on ascribed qualities such as relationships and social status, more than actual qualifications. Who one is is more important than one's qualifications and technical expertise. Eiffel Tower organizations are typically bureaucratic with a leader at the top and compartmentalized work teams focused on tasks. Leadership is based on position and qualifications more than ascription. Qualifications, experience, and rules and roles are more important than human relationships. This means that change is affected through changing rules and roles and not personnel.

Like the Eiffel Tower, the guided missile is characterized by rules and strict task definition. Instead of focus on personal relationships, relationships are largely impersonal and task-oriented. The guided missile is more egalitarian, and work groups with leaders do much of the required work and then report to managers, and members all contribute to problem-solving in a direct feedback style so that change is rapid. Finally, the incubator organization is also egalitarian. However, coworkers are peers focused on building and maintaining relationships for mutual development of elements such as relationships, the organization, and products as opposed to being task-driven. They often have minimal structure and hierarchy to allow workers and followers freedom to exert their creativity and innovation for the growth of the organization.

Even though Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner have created these four metaphorical categories as a way to examine organizations, they acknowledge that very few organizations are simply one of these types of organizations (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2010). Most are a combination of two or more, either in different sections within the organization or during different stages and periods of the life of an organization. In other words, organizations are rarely so simple and are filled with complexities. For example, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner point out that most organizations in new innovative fields, such as cutting edge technology,

begin as small incubator types of organizations but convert to other types of organizations as they grow and require more formal systems and structures. According to Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, what ultimately matters is not what types of metaphors fit an organization, but how those who make up the organization communicate and work together in creative combinations synergistically that will lead to innovation and intercultural success.

The fact that organizations are complex entities, means that leaders in them must be flexible and innovative to keep up and successfully manage changes and diverse systems and increasingly diverse workforces that are the result of introducing more complexity. This leads one to consider what skills or values members of organizations need to successfully manage diversity and to improve communication; in other words, how members can have successful work relations with people different from themselves. Another factor Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner address is the flexibility of leaders. They maintain that successful leaders must be flexible enough to adapt and guide in various types of organizations due to their complexity and failure to remain static.

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012) argue that while it may seem beneficial to simply limit complexity, this limits innovation and intercultural successes. They point out that countless research has shown that diversity is crucial for innovative teams and organizations. This means that leaders, followers, and coworkers must have sufficient diversity management skills to effectively reconcile and utilize differences to be more successful in organizations. This in turn would influence communities and societies (Freire, 2000).

They contend that the most successful organizations are those that have integrated diversity, those that have learned to reconcile and utilize differences for more effective problem-solving, creativity and innovation. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012) and Hofstede (1997), also point out that a necessary element of managing diversity is the ability to manage uncertain situations and their inherent ambiguity. Uncertainty is unease, anxiety and awkwardness that cause stress

resulting from encountering situations and interactions that have not previously been experienced, (Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010; House et al, 1999). Clampitt and Dekoch (2001) emphasize that discomfort comes from not knowing what to expect, thus feeling insecure when encountering new people and new situations. Uncertainty management is controlling one's reactions in the face of uncertainty and ambiguity. Perhaps the most well-known extensive work which included examining uncertainty management was Hofstede's broad seminal multinational study with corporate employees. He defines uncertainty avoidance as the extent to which members of a society attempt to minimize uncertainty and ambiguity in order to cope with stress (Hofstede, 1997). According to Hofstede, Trompenaars and Hampden-turner (2012), and House et al, (1999), those who go to great lengths to avoid uncertainty and ambiguity tend to create more formal procedures and policies, and follow social norms, rituals and rules strictly to alleviate the unpredictability of future events. Societies that are comfortable with uncertainty tend to be more informal and flexible, show moderate resistance to change and are more likely to be entrepreneurs and successful leaders. Hofstede's research has been used to examine behavior not only at national, organization and group levels, but also at the individual level in cross-cultural studies to explore phenomena such as personality and transformative leadership, market phenomena, and negotiation behavior (Yoo, Donthu, & Lenartowicz, 2011). It is important to understand that, while Hofstede's model can be used to discover general tendencies of members of a society, societies, members, and organizations within societies do change over time and are by nature diverse (Wu, 2006; Hofstede, 1997).

Organization Style Applied

The Doshisha organization includes schools from kindergarten to the its oldest co-educational university and women's college, with co-educational, international and girls' schools. This shows an educational institution which values a comprehensive educational organization to provide education at all levels and for all ages, genders

and nationalities. The organizations also include faculty and staff of all ages, genders and nationalities. Being hired for one school means being part of not only the school, but of the entire Doshisha organization, which is shown by the new employee induction ceremony for all new full-time faculty and staff of all schools. The yearly receptions held for all Doshisha employees to network as well as individual schools is another example of attempts at being inclusive. In tasks, often members of one school will work on committees involving organizational members employed at other schools, and faculty often must do what might be considered administrative duties.

These activities and events show that Doshisha is a family-type of organization according to Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's model (2012). It fits the description of mirroring a family, welcoming new members and providing opportunities for face-to-face interactions. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner also explained that family types of organizations are characterized by less clear boundaries between tasks and have a broad range of duties. The fact that faculty members have duties besides teaching and research can be seen as an example of this.

However, Doshisha can also be viewed as what Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012) describe as an Eiffel Tower organization. As an organization providing formal education at all levels, employee qualifications are essential. While human relationships are important, rules and policies are necessary to maintain orderliness within such a large association of so many institutions. Rules and policies applicable to each school exist as well as overall rules and policies for all members of the organization. This creates a pyramid system with the all-encompassing organizational leadership at the top, followed by various schools below. However, like the Eiffel Tower in Paris, the pyramid shape acts as scaffolding for the various components of the organization to use for support while not completely enclosing and stifling them.

The family-Eiffel Tower hybrid organization describes the legacy and ideology of Nijijima. Nijijima, Joseph's ideology of inclusive education can be seen in the family metaphor. Moreover, the description of students and Nijijima, Joseph and Yaeko living together at the school

in the beginning is a physical representation of a familial structure (Motoi et al, 2012). However, even though originally the schools were all within close proximity, today's logistical changes have created some break down of physicality. In addition, perhaps faculty, staff and students no longer living together have created another weakening of the family values, in spite of the various face-to-face opportunities for Doshisha employees to interact.

The weakening of family-type values may have contributed to the rise of the Eiffel Tower style of compartmental and clarification of rules and policies. As employees and students no longer lived in the same vicinity and as facilities became spread out, more official policies became necessary. Some could argue that this is an inevitable progression into modernity and economic climates. However, there are educational organizations with similar legacies that have maintained systems of living on campus by the majority of students and many faculty and staff. Ironically, universities such as Mount Holyoke, which was established in 1893 in the United States and was one of the models for the DWCLA system, lists 93% of its students living on campus and more than 150 student organizations for 2,189 students from 74 countries (Mount Holyoke: Students, n.d.; Mount Holyoke: Student Life, n.d.).

Study of Uncertainty Avoidance

Since 2014, a study has been conducted regarding the attitude university students have towards uncertainty avoidance and its relation to managing diversity, (a Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research project "Diversity Factors in Leadership" in collaboration with Soo im Lee of Ryukoku University, which is being reviewed for publication). This project takes a mixed methods approach, incorporating a quantitative survey component as well as a qualitative interviews component with male and female students at two universities in Kyoto. Creswell (2014) explains that mixed methods research essentially combines quantitative and qualitative research components to collect data so that more than one angle of analysis can be conducted to enrich a study. However,

this paper will incorporate preliminary quantitative results related to data collected only from DWCLA students.

As part of the preliminary quantitative data collection, 81 students responded to two online surveys using SurveyMonkey (<https://jp.surveymonkey.com/r/1-Diversity-and-Leadership> and <https://jp.surveymonkey.com/r/JP-ENG>). Even though all questions from the English and Japanese versions of Hofstede's values survey module (VSM) 2013 questionnaire (2013), were given to participants to preserve validity, only the results for questions regarding uncertainty avoidance are presented here. There are three questions from Hofstede's VSM related to uncertainty avoidance: How important is it to have security of employment? (あなたにとって雇用の安定性があることはどれくらい重要ですか。), How often do you feel nervous or tense? (どれくらいの頻度で神経質になります「いらいらします」か。), and How strongly do you feel that a company's or organization's rules should not be broken - not even when the employee thinks breaking the rule would be in the organization's best interest? (あなたはどれくらい会社が得することでも、会社の規則は破るべきではないとおもいますか。) In addition, students were asked the question In the future, where would you like to work? (将来どこではたらかきたい。), to discern their possible interest in working outside Japan or their hometown.

Figure 1 shows survey participant responses to the three VSM questions related to uncertainty avoidance. When asked a question from Hofstede, regarding the importance of job security to them, 84% answered it was "of the utmost importance" or "very important", while 13% answered it was "moderately important". A mere three percent of respondents replied that it was of little importance. Another question respondents answered were how often they feel nervous or tense. Approximately 22.2% answered "always" or "often". 60.1% replied "sometimes", and 17.3% said "seldom". None answered they never felt that way. The other question from Hofstede's dimensions related to uncertainty addressed breaking social rules even for the benefit of their organization. Approximately 53% agreed or somewhat agreed that breaking company rules should

never be broken, 18% replied there might be times when it was acceptable to break rules, 28.4% said they were undecided, and 1% said they strongly disagreed.

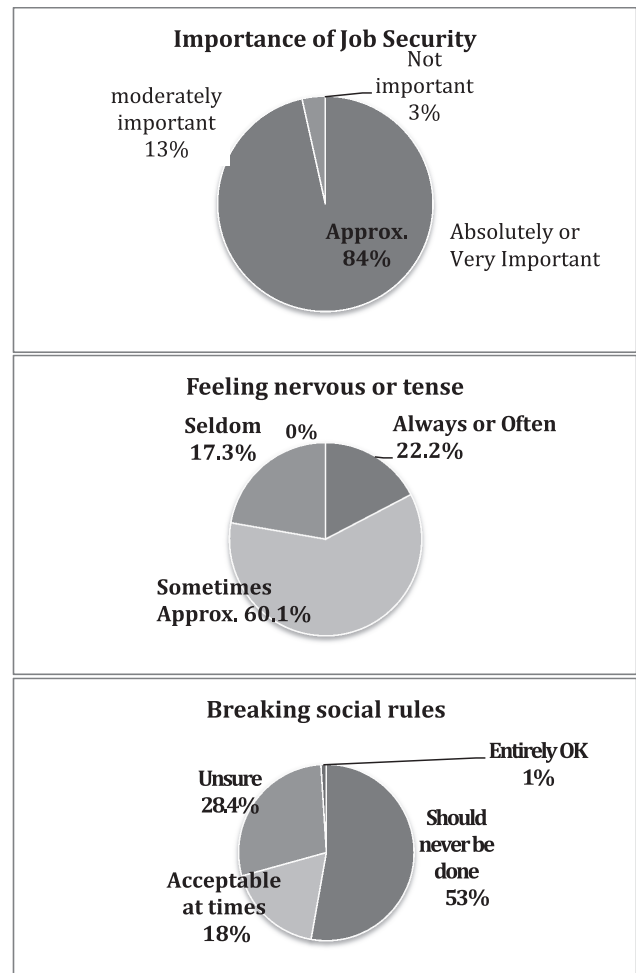


Figure 1. Responses to Hofstede's VSM questions (2013).

Figure 2 shows responses for the question regarding places they would like to work. Multiple responses were accepted. When asked where they would like to work, 85.2% replied "in Japan", 27.2% answered "in their hometown", 22.2% answered "not in their hometown", 35.8% replied "in another country", and 7.4% replied they were "undecided".

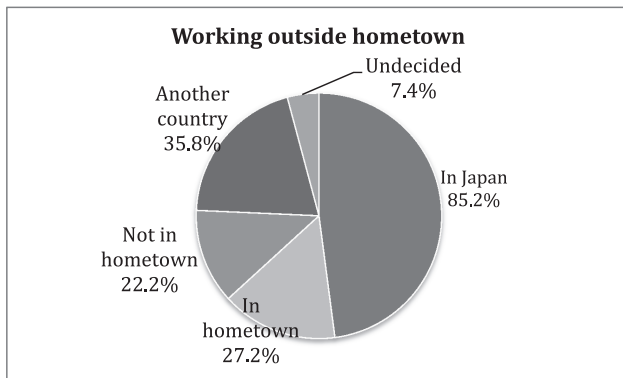


Figure 2. Responses for the question Where would you like to work? (Multiple choices were possible.).

Discussion

While the number of DWCLA respondents included here is small and all from the Career and Academic Studies in English (CASE) Program and cannot be generalized to all DWCLA students, or Japanese people, they do provide a starting point to discover attitudes of students at the university. Examining the responses from these students, one might think they prefer avoiding ambiguous and situations that might cause them to feel uncomfortable and stress. It is evident that, while most have little desire to leave their home country to work, 85.2%, 35.8% would also like to experience working outside Japan. This is comparable to a Japan Management Association (JMA) report regarding desire of Japanese university graduates to work overseas, which showed that 78.2% of all respondents had no desire to live and work outside Japan, and 57.7% said they would not want to work overseas (Baseel, 2004). However, these numbers may not show all the reality. In the case of DWCLA students, the fact that approximately 58% said they wanted to work outside their hometown, or even outside Japan, could indicate that regarding employment, they strongly prefer to avoid uncertainty, while wishing to try something new such as experiencing working in a new unknown place. Some may view having stable employment as a way to allow them to better cope with the uncertainty of working in a different country. This is assuming that they have not previously had extensive experiences living outside their hometown or Japan. According to Hofstede's most recent data, as a country

constantly in danger from natural disasters, Japan is one of the most uncertainty avoiding countries in the world. He describes how following rules, conducting rituals and ceremonies and pressure to conform are used to avoid the unknown and ease stress and reasons that change is slow in the country (Hofstede, 2003; Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). Due to the inconclusiveness, further questions and interviews would be necessary to gain further insights.

Examination of student uncertainty avoidance tendencies

Reading about the lives and activities of Nijijima, Joseph and Nijijima, Yaeko, it is clear that they were pioneers and innovators of their time. Nijijima, Joseph went to a foreign country few Japanese had been to at a time when travel abroad was forbidden and returned to establish one of the first Christian private schools in Japan. Yaeko had worked as a schoolteacher even before the earliest Doshisha schools were established and was one of the first Japanese women who worked with the Red Cross. (Yoshinaga, 1998). They fit the definition of individuals strong in tolerance for ambiguity and weak in uncertainty avoidance; key characteristics of innovators, leaders and entrepreneurs.

It is easy to discern that the key founding figures of Doshisha and DWCLA were not afraid of uncertainty and highly innovative. However, as a metaphorical hybrid family-Eiffle Tower type of educational organization that has embraced the Nijijima legacy, what kind of influence is there, if any on students attending those schools? Though it is impossible to be certain, limited results from an ongoing study of Japanese university students and their attitudes towards uncertainty avoidance can provide some possible insights.

Upon examining the limited results of this portion of the study including DWCLA students, and the innovators of Doshisha, several questions for further consideration come to mind. One question is why were Nijijima, Joseph and Nijijima, Yaeko, unafraid of uncertainty, particularly at that time in history? Coming from families of relatively high status in Japan, (Yoshinaga, 1998; Miyake, 2013), what motivated them to be unafraid and innovative? Miyake (2013) describes Yaeko as using a situational

leadership style. Would she have been so influential and innovative without Joseph, or if she had grown up in today's society? Lastly, how much influence does the organization, notwithstanding its education curricula, have on students attending DWCLA? In other words, has the legacy of Niijima, Joseph's ideology impacted students, and to what degree, to overcome their level of uncertainty avoidance and challenge societal norms to aspire to be innovative and societal leaders, or is it as Yoshinaga (1998) argues, that DWCLA and Doshisha have become typical Japanese educational organizations? These questions bear further thought and consideration as an organization that combines family-type values with an Eiffel Tower style system so that it can provide a more comprehensive blueprint in continuing to honor and advance the Niijima dream.

References

- About Doshisha: History and Education. (n.d.). Founding Spirit and Joseph Neesima. Retrieved from <http://www.doshisha.ac.jp/en/information/history/neesima/neesima.html>
- Baseel, C. (2014). Why do so few young Japanese want to work overseas?. *Japan today report*. Retrieved from <http://www.japantoday.com/category/lifestyle/view/why-do-so-few-young-japanese-want-to-work-overseas>
- Center for General and Liberal. (n.d.). In *Education Doshisha University: Education and library*. Retrieved from <https://www.doshisha.ac.jp/en/education/center/cgle.html>
- Clampitt, P. G., & Dekoch, R. J. (2001). Embracing uncertainty: The essence of leadership. Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.
- DWCLA (Doshisha Women's College of Liberal Arts) Nishima Yae Research Association. (2014). *Doshisha's mother Neesima Yae: The life of Yae Neesima* (3rd ed.). Kyoto: Doshisha Women's College of Liberal Arts.
- Educational philosophy. (n.d.). In *Doshisha Women's College of Liberal Arts: About D.W.C.L.A.* Retrieved from http://www.dwc.doshisha.ac.jp/english/about/educational_ideal.html
- Founding spirit and Joseph Hardy Neesima. (n.d.). In *The Doshisha: Chronology of Doshisha*. Retrieved from <http://www.doshisha.ed.jp/english/history/niijima.html>
- Freire, P. (2000). Pedagogy of the oppressed [translated by Myra Bergman Ramos] 30th ed. New York: Continuum International Press.
- Hofstede, G. (1997). *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Hofstede, G. (2003). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications.
- Hofstede, G. (2013). VSM 2013 : Values survey module 2013 questionnaire. Retrieved from <http://www.geerthofstede.nl/vsm2013>
- Hofstede, G., Hofstede, G. J., & Minkov, M. (2010). *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind* (3rd Ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill USA, 2010.
- House, R. J., Hanges, P. J., Ruiz-Quintanilla, S. A., Dorfman, P. W., Falkus, S. A. & Ashkanasy, N. M. (1999). Cultural influences on leadership and organizations: Project Globe. In W. H. Mobley, M. J. Gessner and V. Arnold (Ed.), *Advances in Global Leadership* (2nd ed). (pp. 171-233) Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Ltd.
- Miyake, E. (2013). Leadership style of Yae Niijima: Comparison with Florence Nightingale. *Doshisha Joshi Daigaku Sogobunka Kenkyusho kiyo*, 30. 46-62.
- Motoi, Y., Noda, S., & Wajun, T. (2012). *A Sequel to the manga story of Jo Niijima: The challenge to establish the first private university in Japan* [translated by Saito, N & Chandler, D.] Kyoto: Doshisha University.
- Mount Holyoke: Students. (n.d.). In *Mount Holyoke: Fast Facts*. Retrieved from <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/about/facts>
- Mount Holyoke: Student Life. (n.d.). In *Mount Holyoke*. Retrieved from <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/studentlife>

-
- Schein, E. H. (1997). *Organizational culture and leadership* (3rd ed.). SF: Jossey-Bass.
- Trompenaars, F., & Hampden-Turner, C. (2012). *Riding the waves culture: Understanding diversity in global business* (3rd ed.). NY: Nicholas Brealey Publishing.
- Trompenaars, F., & Hampden-Turner, C. (2010). *Riding the waves of innovation: Harness the power of global culture to drive creativity and growth*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Yoo, B., Donthu, N., & Lenartowicz, T. (2011). Measuring Hofstede's five dimensions of cultural values at the individual level: Development and validation of CVSCALE. *Journal of International Consumer Marketing*, 23 (3-4), 193-210.
- Yoshinaga, K. (1998). *Fields of faith: The struggle of Nijima, Jo* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. (Accession Order No. 9839032)
- Wu, M.Y. (2006). Hofstede's cultural dimensions 30 years later: A study of Taiwan and the United States. *Intercultural Communication Studies*, 15(1), 22-43.

