Talking to the Driver: A Cross-cultural Comparison of Bus Etiquette in Canada and Japan

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Abstract

An iceberg analogy is oftentimes exploited referring to culture. The visible segment of the "iceberg" is a small part of the culture, and the large part of the submerged body of the "iceberg" includes the significant components of culture which uphold the above-water segment as underlying elements. Human behavior, attitudes, and language are the embodiment of the culture including the beliefs, norms, and values which are internalized in the human mind. This study is an attempt to analyze the behavior that I encountered in the bus community in Victoria, Canada. As well, this piece is an endeavor to make a segmental exploration of the culture. Comparing and contrasting the host culture with the Japanese one, I explore the undercurrent of their behavior so that it can help illustrate, in part, the character of Japanese culture.

Introduction

Background

When one stays in a foreign country for a given period with some purpose such as business or study, people ordinarily go through four stages: initial euphoria; irritability and hostility; gradual adjustment; and adaptation or biculturalism (Kohls, 2001).

During this euphoria period, after arriving in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, I took a bus to explore my neighborhood. Inside the buses, I observed the phenomena that I cannot view in my country, which was a most striking encounter to me. People's interactions, specifically, between the passengers and the bus driver were phenomenal and made a great impact on this Asian from Japan in terms of cultural aspects. This experience made me want to know more, so I engaged in fieldwork, which included taking notes of observations and interviews with passengers and bus operators. This endeavor is to discuss how these phenomenal ways of

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interacting are constructed and what lies behind the people's behavior, tracing observable actions in the new culture to underlying values.

Rational

There are several definitions as to what is culture. In general, culture itself includes the tangible and intangible such as arts, ideas, philosophy, beliefs, customs, way of life, and social behaviors of the peoples or society. Gray (2003) notes that "Culture is understood as being actively produced through complex processes... that happens at every level of society and at every moment within cultural processes" (p.12). It indicates that culture has the nature of an intricately intertwined system so that one can hardly unravel the whole system of the culture without commitment of multifaceted endeavors. He also suggests that a wide array of methods are critical to the investigation of complex sets of cultural aspects, such as text analysis, observation, diary analyses of individuals and groups, different kinds of interviews, and participant observation. Lebra (1973) asserts that "two cultures are not comparable if taken as wholes but are comparable as far as some properly selected parts of each culture are concerned" (p.295). Given that I lived in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada for just one year and four months as a sojourner, I focused on exploring the phenomena in the transit system, enabling me to view the landscape inside the bus in light of comparing the cultural aspects, in particular, their gesticulations displayed in the transportation in Victoria with the people's behavior in the bus in Japan.

This also helps explain the base of intricate Japanese cultural orientation as well as the character of its culture in the host country.

Research approach

Method

When carrying out this study, I drew partly on the combination of Gray's and Lebra's models. Carrying fieldwork notes, I engaged in observation inside the bus and interviews with passengers and bus operators inside and outside the vehicle, attempting a qualitative research method based on the ethnographic tradition.

Through this engagement, I took a note each time of what I viewed, heard, and interviewed. I wrote down the salient features and novel phenomena characteristic of the local people in the bus community. Namely, attention was paid to interaction of the people, such as their utterances, gestures and postures, actions, and behavioral markers. These are the basic components for making sense of my study, given that culture-related investigation should be multifaceted. I examined the amassed knowledge with my own analytical view.

I conducted this observation from January 5, 2008, through February 1, 2008. I made it a point to take a bus in the afternoon after 2: 30 on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays. Occasionally, I took the transit system on Tuesday and Friday. The #16 buses I rode, which run on one of the busiest bus routes, are most frequently available in Greater Victoria areas. The time of my observation each day lasted for approximately thirty minutes, and the location of my observation ran between the place I got on the bus near the end of the downtown area in Victoria and the bus depot one stop before the bus terminal of the University of Victoria.

Venue

Victoria is the capital city of British Columbia, Canada, and sits on Vancouver Island on the west coast of the westernmost province in Canada. As well, the City of Victoria is regarded as a central city of the Greater Victoria Region, which consists of thirteen municipalities. The public transit system covers whole areas in this region; in particular, buses in Victoria City are most frequently available to the people in the community.

According to the 2006 metropolitan area census (Statistics Canada, 2009), Greater Victoria boasts a population of some 330,000. Ten percent (approximately 33,800 people) of the whole population is visible minorities, whereas the immigrant status people occupy some twenty percent. International migrations of the peoples display the complexity to generalize the regional cultural characteristics. The percentage of visible minorities and international immigrants in the Greater Victoria Region is far below the one represented in the whole British Columbia province.

As far as the mode of transportation to work is concerned, ten percent (some 16,000 people) of the total employed labour force of fifteen years of age and over use the public transit in the region.

Purpose

This piece is an attempt to examine the observable actions and behavior, thus delving into the undercurrents of the host culture and Japanese culture, by comparing and contrasting what I observed in light of my experience in living in Japan.

Result

Notes and analysis

Launching into the above agenda, I will outline the main descriptive items in terms of my observational framework: (1) the number of the passengers who are on board and boarding during my observation in the bus; (2) interactions between a passenger and a bus operator; and (3) salient features from my cultural viewpoint. My observational occasions in the vehicle totaled

fifteen days, and whenever I climbed aboard the double-deckers and regular buses, I never saw the same bus driver twice during these fieldwork days.

When I first took a bus in Victoria, I found how amazing it was to exchange greetings between a driver and a passenger as well as to interact with passengers in a lively fashion inside the bus; this phenomenon is critical to my viewing the new culture. Given that their "communications" made a great impact on me, the first impression was so strong in the bus that I may have made an assumption that most people say "hi!" and "thank you" in the bus community.

Over the course of the fieldwork, I checked the number of the people who said "thank you" to the driver when they got off by the time (and at the time) that I got off the transit system. Below is the table (Table 1) representing the number who said "thanks" and did not say "thanks" when they got off the bus.

		Said	Not Said
		"Thanks"	"Thanks"
Day1, Sat Jan 5, Female driver, got at 4:10		4	10
Day2, Mon Jan 7, Male,	2:30	3	5
Day3, Wed Jan 9, Male,	2:30	4	8
Day4, Thus Jan 10, Male,	3:40	0	0
Day5, Mon Jan 14, Male,	3:50	3	5
Day6, Tues Jan 15, Male,	2:24	6	20
Day7, Wed Jan 16, Male,	4:05	3	4
Day8, Thus Jan 17, Female,	6:15pm	3	10
Day9, Mon Jan 21, Male,	4:20	2	3
Day10, Wed Jan 23, Male,	3:30	3	8
Day11, Thus Jan 24, Male,	5:25	0	3
Day12, Mon Jan 28, Male,	2:35	4	7
Day13, Wed Jan 30, Male,	3:30	2	2

Table 1

The number of persons who said	"thanks" and did not say "thanks."
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Day14, Thus Jan 31, Male,	6:25	10		25
Day15, Friday Feb 1, Male,	12:00	3		18
		Total: 50	Total: 109	

Browsing my field notes, the number of people of saying "hi!" and "thank you" is not larger than I first anticipated (see Table 1). However, some fifty percent of all the passengers alighted the bus saying "thanks." This figure suggests that the local people make it a point to say "hello" and "thank you" in a habitual manner, being a feature of the host culture. People do not have a practice of this kind on Japanese buses. This difference between the two cultures may rest on such variables as verbalized traits of expressions on one hand and non-verbalized features of expression on the other. In particular, a tacit form of communication is characteristic of Japanese culture, a high context culture, whereas in the host culture a verbalized form of communication, which is imbedded in their minds, is normative.

The excerpts of my fieldwork notes.

Wed, Jan 30, Male, 3:30, 2/2

Around 15 passengers are already on board. One person is sitting at the back of the bus very quietly. Dad and his two children get off from the rear door saying "thank you", and then the driver responds raising his right hand seeing a rearview mirror. To the passengers who are saying "hi", while swiping the boarding bus cards, the driver responds to them, just moving his mouth and widening and tightening his lips like a grin, with his mouth raising slightly upward.

Thurs, Jan 31, Male, 6:25 (could not count clearly, too dark)

Around 25 passengers on board. Three people are reading. When the middle aged lady gets off from the back door, she says "good night" raising her left hand to the driver. He also says "Good night" vivaciously. When I get off, I say "thank you" at the front exit, the driver replies saying "have a good evening" in a gentle fashion.

Mon, Jan 28, Male, 2:35, 4/7

18 passengers are inside. The driver appears to say almost nothing to the people coming in. To the man getting off from the front door, the driver seems to have said something, but it seems to me that he mumbles something. To the "thank you" at the back exit, the driver nods. Two people in the middle of the bus are chatting. To the people who say "thank you" at the front door, the driver says "Bye".

Mon, Jan 21, Male, 4:20, 2/3

The entire 20 passengers are silent. One passenger in the first row seat is talking with somebody by cell phone in a moderate-level voice. Another person in the second row seat starts to talk by cell phone. A wheel-chaired passenger comes in. People sitting in the "priority seat" move backward for him. The driver fixes the wheelchair in a friendly manner. To the people who say "thank you" he responds, saying "There (Here?) we go."

Thur, Jan 24, male, 5:25, 0/3

Two pairs are talking in the bus. One woman in the priority seat is using a cell phone. The other woman is talking by a cell phone. They do not seem to be conscious of bothering others. Today I am sitting in the middle of the bus very close to the rear door. A guy and a woman start to chat. To me, the noise level of the engine of the bus is too loud. Here and there, people start to chat. Ambience in the bus is "normal" regarding the chatting communication. Other two ladies start to talk by cell phone. A wheel-chaired person and his attendant get off without saying anything to the driver.

Wed, Jan 16, Male, 4:05, 3/4

Nobody speaks in the bus. Very quiet passengers; 25 people on board. The driver is very calm to the people who swipe the bus card and says "thank you" to them. One passenger approaches the driver, asking something, and the operator seems to answer it appropriately.

An ebbing tide. When passengers in the priority seats find an elderly person coming in, the phenomenon of an ebbing tide occurs. They all go backwards to surrender their seats to the senior. The same thing occurs when a wheel-chaired person rolls in. The passengers' behavioral patterns show that the surrender of their seats to them can be a norm in the host culture. In the transportation at home, this type of scene can be observed. In addition, the bus drivers devote themselves to the wheel-chaired passengers, hooking the wheelchair to the bus seat properly. It is understood that the attitudes of caring about vulnerable people are "universal". Obviously, people across the cultures share the same or similar code as humans in this regard.

Erroneous perception. In the process of fieldwork on the bus, I have found that not all the people who step into the bus say "hi" to the driver. I found that my original idea that all the people greet the bus operators was erroneous. Facing the reality in the bus community,

my perception had to be altered. Some people step in the bus as if they could not see the bus operators at the wheel. The scenes were the same as in the bus at home. When considering cultures in a comparative manner, researchers are to view the phenomena from the analytical perspectives, not from a lopsided perspective. One more thing I would like to mention is that the wheel-chaired person and his attendant did not say "thanks"; in other words, I could not observe any clues indicating their sign of showing gratitude to the operator. My internalized core assumption arose in thinking that expressing appreciation in some kind of fashion to those who have done me good is critical to communication between people. On the reverse side, I also found that I was trying to rationalize the gap between the host culture and the Japanese one from the Japanese perspective. Observers of other cultures need to tolerate ambiguity, not molding what is laid out but accepting the reality from multifaceted viewpoints.

Common gestures. Raising his/her hand and nodding are common gestures across the cultures. Verbalized information and messages in communication are accompanied by nonverbal behaviors such as waving hand(s), nodding, facial expressions, and postures, which better clarifies the intent and emotions of the people concerned. The modes of raising his/her hand and nodding are common gestures across the cultures. The gesture that the middle-aged lady made (on January 31), and saying "thank you" is understood that she expressed her genuine appreciation to the driver, and I can imagine that she feels closeness to the bus community, including the operator. When she expressed her thankfulness to the driver, she made a slight bend. This is a distinct behavioral marker that I noticed at this moment. To me, her appreciation was exhibited by multi-layered modes of gesticulation. Each type of gesture she made is defined by culture so that the gesture is considered to be culture-specific. In other words, meanings of the gestures may vary. However, in this case, the meaning of her gesticulation, I trust, is comprehensible to me or compatible with our culture. In effect, her overall behavior was noticeable to an outsider to the host culture.

Nodding and bowing. Nodding has several implications in communication. In our culture as well as in some other culture, it is, in general, interpreted as an agreement or acknowledgement. Bowing is regarded as a tradition of Asian culture, showing gratitude, respect, and the like. On January 30, when I saw a young man bow or nod slightly to the driver without saying any words when getting in, it was a surprise to me. I did not expect the occurrence of this type of behavior, wondering if he was of Asian descent. And yet, I did not have a clue about it. As stated earlier, the composition of Asians is represented in the demographics in Victoria. Putting aside whether he was of Asian descent or not, his bowing can be explained as a

representation of greeting in the form of a non-verbal action in this context. In this regard, when culture is considered, the notion that the bowing is only an Asian tradition should be flexible, and bowing does not necessarily indicate the same meaning as in Asian contexts. Cultures tend to evolve in accordance with the contact of the people. As for the driver on this day, I intuitively sensed that he was feeling fatigued or bored at the wheel so that he responded to the passengers with only the movement of his mouth. His emotions and inner feelings are displayed by the lack of verbalized greeting.

Chat on the cell phone. Frequent cell phone use by the local people in the bus overwhelmed me. I have a code inside me that I should not take out my cell phone in public transport since passengers in the transportation in Japan are strongly encouraged to refrain from using cellular phones. That I should abide by a moral code as a Japanese is instilled, and the observance of the "quasi-rule" in the transport is paramount to me in light of the benefit of the people who share the space with me. I am aware of people's well-being, particularly, in public spaces, which seems characteristic of Japanese culture. My perception and local culture in terms of cell phone use in public spaces are so different that the gap between the two should be negotiated in a sense of sensitivity to the occurrence in the vehicle. Whenever local people need to talk on the phone, they take out the gadget. Tapping the keys and talking on the phone are not constrained by the external circumstances even when they are situated in public spaces. Individuals' needs override others'. Sensitivity, attitudes, and beliefs of the host culture are manifested in a different manner from my case.

Make connections with people. On some days, I got on the bus on which very few people talked and chatted with others. However, the reciprocal phrases and gestures between passengers and drivers were identified whenever the front and back doors opened. People in the bus community provided the obvious signs as well as verbalized forms of expressions. This behavior displays their cultural protocol of communication and is the embodiment of their internalized feelings. When they employ their verbal phrases, what they mean to say can be identifiable by even the outsider to the host culture. In tandem with this dimension, I found passengers chat with drivers while the bus is in operation. My perception is that drivers are not allowed to divert their attention from operating the vehicle. Therefore, passengers would hardly talk to the drivers while they are behind the wheel. My normative framework above is culture-specific and appropriate in Japan. In this host culture, their norm does not conform to the Japanese norm. Passengers converse with the drivers, discussing trivial daily matters, queries of the transfer point, and destinations. It does not seem that people hesitate to communicate with others in the

bus. They dwell on their feelings and thoughts in an upfront manner as if they were friends and acquaintances. In this way, the bus community is the place where people make connections with others. People behave in accordance with their norm, and the behavior is appropriate in a given culture.

Well-being of others. In contrast to the outward-orientation of the bus community in Victoria, the bus transportation in Japan is like a "dead" community. The mode of silence and inertness is a salient feature. In general, no verbal interaction between passengers and drivers takes place. Inside the vehicle, silence prevails as if they are conditioned and each passenger gets off the bus silently when it arrives at his/her destination. Since a bus is not a spacious "box", the people in the small "box" are conscious of others lest they should bother other passengers, with all the individuals being concerned with maintaining silence. As well, people's consciousness that the bus is public transport interferes with tangible forms of communications. Thus, inside the vehicle, people tend not to break the silence, making them reticent communicators. People are inured to thinking where they are situated in light of the common good. This demonstrates that the well-being of others takes precedence over an individual's need. This is characteristic of Japanese culture, in which the whole overrides the individual. In sum, collectivity is demonstrated in this societal structure.

Discussion

Nature of the cultural study

Gray (2003) notes that "Culture is understood as being actively produced through complex processes. It is broadly the production of meaning, or 'signifying practice' that happens at every level of social and at every moment within cultural processes" (p.12). Therefore, clarification and unraveling Japanese and host cultural identity cannot be easily achieved. The discussion of specific aspects of the cultures is relevant such as the phenomena that I experienced in the bus community in Victoria. I employed my own comparative approach. In the broader context of the study, a sense of my "cultural" bias inevitably will be included in terms of the views of the host culture when I shed light on the behavior of local people inside the bus community.

Low context

Each culture has its distinctive features. In order to explore the intrinsic nature of cultures, the concept of high context and low context is conducive for people to be able to look into cultures. An attempt at understanding the cultures from the perspectives of high context

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cultures and low context cultures is one of the methods that anthropologists often employ. According to Mooij (2009), the characteristics of the Western culture are that people employ rhetoric and delivery of verbal message when they have to convey something. "Canada engages in low context communications" (Harris, 2007, p.50).

In this regard, what I observed in the buses in Victoria is considered as the features of part of a low context culture. The greetings when meeting others and verbal fashions of "thank you" and "you are welcome" when parting are their normative customs in their daily lives, which are woven into their minds as well as social fabric.

When this is viewed from a different angle, the people in a low context culture do not make any sense without verbal messages with reference to interpersonal relationships. In other words, it is understood that employing the verbal message is an integral part of communications in low context cultures and the norm of the culture here in the Victoria bus community makes people exploit verbalized messages unconsciously.

High context

In contrast, Japanese culture is referred to as a high context culture (Mooij, 2009; Moran, Harris & Moran, 2007). High context cultures are characterized by messages and information that are in a less explicit form in the communications process and by people who share ideas and messages in the physical and tacit context. Hofstede (as cited in Mooij, 2009) maintains "a correlation between collectivism and high context in culture" (p.71). I am from a country with a high context culture. Viewing the human interactions between passengers and drivers, I was aware of the behavioral disparity between the host and the Japanese culture. This experience shocked me and also enthralled me, facing their attitudes and ways of doing and saying things that I had never encountered in the bus community at home. In this respect, when seeing the people in the buses exchange greetings and other short phrases between themselves and drivers, I received a positive impression of their behavior. It is because I rediscovered what I lacked at the intersection of cultures. Whatever culture I may belong to, greetings and "thank you" as well as "you are welcome" are prerequisite and universal to human interactions. My encounter of their conduct awakened me and, in effect, a sense of comfort and pleasure arose.

Japanese people do not say "hi!" to the bus operator when boarding the bus, much less "thank you" when alighting the vehicle. These customs of Japanese people simply cannot be identified only by the theory of high context cultures. This custom is deeply related to the continuum of longitudinal Japanese social background.

When the Japanese culture is considered, Confucianism is inevitably to be discussed. Confucianism has been alive in Japan, going through the unstable trajectory in Japan for the past 1,500 years (Moeran, 1989). Obviously, Japanese mentality is heavily influenced by Confucianism, which enshrines the social principles that people should live a harmonious life, maintaining moral doctrines such as "benevolence, decorum, and sincerity so as to establish the ordering of the states" (Moeran, 1989, p.145). Based on this undercurrent structure lasting for a lengthy period, people's norms have been shaped and people have learned to exhibit the aforementioned behavior.

Universal and culture-specific behavior

Most people behave in light of their cultural norms, and there is human behavior which is shared by people in general as well some types of behavior which have specific meanings in any given group.

When human behavior is taken into account with reference to cultures, the categorization of cultures below is conducive to exploring cultural aspects: universal behavior is behavior that when peoples behave in a similar or the same fashion across cultures, they do not feel unpleasant, uncomfortable, or awkward; on the other hand, culture-specific behavior refers to those which differ in terms of their own modes of action across cultures (Earley, Ang & Tan, 2006). Greeting formulae in the aforementioned setting in Victoria demonstrate different dimensions from those in bus transportation in Japan. We Japanese get on the bus, passing unconcernedly by the operator in the driver's seat. During the time of the passenger's ride, very few messages seem to be conveyed. In other words, little interacting and no greetings are found in this process. This is understood as a form of culture-specific feature. These types of normative features have been learned through observation and experience among people in the Japanese cultural context.

In the meantime, I assume people's greetings between passengers and drivers in Victoria are common practices, and they are pleasant behavior to me as their cultural outsider. Greetings are part of fundamental components of behavior in reference to the human communications. When Japanese passengers demonstrate their culture-specific attitudes in Victoria, the bus operator may feel awkward. As such, to the people who have culturally different backgrounds, the cultural-specific behavior is ambiguous and doesn't make sense, sometimes giving them puzzlement, displeasure, and resentment. Every behavior is value-laden, and instrumental in one situation and undesirable in another. In effect, cross-cultural dimension is the intersection of both situations.

Implication

Soon after my arrival in Victoria, I got acquainted with a Canadian girl on campus. She gave me her insights about Japanese culture, offering words such as "modest", "humble",

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"respectful", and "polite" as regards describing Japanese culture. In retrospect, I learned that she had had Japanese students home-stay with her several times. However, the words she uttered puzzled me, as I considered whether her words were appropriate to me.

I assume that her remarks are considered a generalization about the traits of the Japanese culture. One tends to make a generalization about cultures, which is based on his/her life experience. Pictures, news, books, words, narratives, action and conduct, behavior and other artifacts to which people are exposed are all components about which people make generalizations in their mind. Generalizations are sometimes helpful in analyzing the cultural traits of the people, because the generalizations represent the attributes of the specific groups so that they are relevant to describing the cultures in general. However, there are possibilities for the cultural generalizations to turn to mere assumptions. Assumptions embedded in people's perceptional systems sometimes lead to stereotyping.

When discussing the traits of peoples, one sometimes refers to Japanese people as modest, polite, and respectful. This sweeping generalization is a shared cultural assumption when the Japanese are considered.

A renowned Japanologist Ruth Benedict (as cited in Lebra, 1973) notes that "The Japanese were found to be extremely polite 'but also insolent and overbearing': rigid but also innovative; submissive but amenable to control; loyal but spiteful, and so on" (p.xviii). This demonstrates that the generalization will not be applied to all the individuals in the culture. Individuals with the same cultural background have differing worldviews; as such they behave differently, which rests on their social circumstances such as age, gender, education, political and socioeconomic status. As well, the cultural generalization is often represented in using the concept of the Bell Curve. The middle of the bell shape represents the 50 percent of the people in the cultural group, with 25 percent on either side (Storti, 1999 & Laroche, 2003). This also suggests that fixed and judgmental perceptions regarding each culture are risky. In short, given the complexity of the culture, culture can never be understood by shedding the same linear light.

Incidentally, I am Japanese and over fifty, with my life history that I was born and brought up in the hinterland until eighteen in a large family with a strongly patriarchal family structure. I have lived in the Tokyo area since I left my home town at the age of eighteen. My engagement in education there lasted for years, wondering whether I fit in the mode of the Bell Curve, and if so, where I am situated in the bell curve shape. The utterances of my Canadian acquaintance obviously posed a big question to me in pursuit of my cultural identity with reference to this study.

Since the end of World War II, Japan strove to rehabilitate the devastation wrought by the war. In the process, Western culture encroached on the island country in accordance with the

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advent of cutting-edge technology. Most recently, the influx of Western culture has affected the Japanese cultural milieu. As a result, it is debatable to view Japanese culture from a set valued framework. Especially, Japanese youth are increasingly changing their value system. Mastumoto (2002) argues against the conventional view of the Japanese in terms of the Japanese cultural prototype of collectivism. He provides several pieces of evidence in his own surveys as well as other statistics. Most notably overall, these surveys demonstrate that many young Japanese have more individualistic views than their American counterparts. He suggests the conventional view of Japanese culture as collectivistic, which was proclaimed by Geert Hofstede's study in the 1980s, is now less persuasive, being "not adequate representations of the values, attitudes, and beliefs of large segments of the current Japanese population" (Matsumoto,p.28). However, 67 percent of Japanese working adults (average age: thirty-nine) are categorized as those who have the perceptions of collectivism. Today's Japan is understood as a society of intricate mixture and stratification of cultures.

When my study is considered, I viewed and described the bus community in Victoria as an outsider to the host culture. My analytical view is a part of an endeavor undertaken by an older Japanese native. If I were a younger Japanese fresh from a high school or college, I could see the landscape quite different from what I sensed and portrayed. Sensitivity, flexibility, attitudes, beliefs, and mores and norms are different, engendering differing qualitative product even though the Japanese youth and I live in the same country. It is because culture evolves and takes on multifaceted aspects and can be understood in multitudes of fashions, indicating that the interpretation of culture is never unanimous.

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