Autoscopic Individualism: A Comparison of American and Japanese Women's Fashion Magazines

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1. Introduction

There are no shortage of claims that Japanese are conformist collectivists, whereas Westerners, especially North Americans, are freedom and independence loving individualists. These assumptions are so entrenched in both academic literature and the zeitgeist of the early twenty first century that it would hardly seem necessary to assess their verity. This paper will argue, however, that not only is there little academic support for these assumptions, but also that little is biased methodologically, and that these assumptions are in fact incorrect. Moreover, based upon a re-analysis of Japanese and American magazines, it will be argued that the there is little difference in levels of conformism and independence, but rather a radical difference in the way in which Japanese and Westerners conform, and the way in which they express their individuality: visually and verbally, respectively.

The significance of this research is to call into question the presumed centrality of language as a medium of self-expression, self-evaluation and thought. If this can be achieved then it will also call into question the ongoing Westernisation-by-verbalisation of Japanese education and industry, and draw attention to the sphere in which Japanese cultural, innovation, and individualism may still be flourishing.

2. Background

That Japanese are conformists and Westerners individualists is claimed to be a given (see Takano, 2008). The ubiquity of such claims gives rise to the need to draw an initial distinction between that which is said and that which is true, since they can often be assumed to be the same thing. There can be no doubt whatsoever that Japan is *called* a conformist nation, or that the "ism," as a genre of sayings, exists in and about Japan. Similarly in this same sphere of that which is spoken, there can be little doubt that Westerners call themselves individualists, and that genre of self-sayings exists in and about the West. The initial point that should be stressed by this paper is that linguistic self-statements are not the only barometer of truth and that they do not always align with other expressions and evaluations of reality which may be equally important.

This section will confirm first of all that the "isms" of collectivism and individualism exist in the US and Japan respectively. The constitutional documents in the USA and Japan for instance, emphasize personal freedom on the one hand, and harmony and the avoidance of conflict on the other.

The following are the first lines of Jefferson's notes for the American Declaration of Independence

> We hold these truths to be sacred & undeniable; that all men & created equal and **independent**, that from that equal creation they derive rights inherent & inalienable, among which are the preservation of life, & liberty, & the pursuit of happiness. (Jefferson, 1776, this author's emphasis)

And the following are the first lines of Japan's 7th century "17 Point Constitution"

> 1. **Harmony should be valued above all**, and the avoidance of quarrels your fundamental principle. (Shōtoku, 604/1960: See Merviö,

1992 p. 171. this author's translation and emphasis)[1)]

The extent to which harmony in Japan is placed sacrosanct, above all other values may also be observed in the fact that the Japanese word for harmony, *wa*, is another name for Japan, and for example the same *wa* is used in *washoku* for Japanese cuisine, and *wafuku* for Japanese clothes (Oto, 2016). Since harmony can, if paramount, be achieved through the suppression of difference, the paramount emphasis upon harmony can be interpreted as a proof of the existence of conformism, at least as an "ism".

Similarly numerous commentators and scholars claim that likewise individualism is a, or the defining characteristic of Anglo Saxon culture. The following quote is an extract from a leading British journalist's comment on the Opening Ceremony for the London Olympics.

> "Whatever nit-picking worries anyone has about the Opening Ceremony (for me, it was the almost total absence of **the golden thread of British history, the fight for personal liberty**), it set a tone that was amplified throughout the games. Could a **nation of cussed individualists** ever bring off an opening show to rival the spectacular we saw in Beijing?" (Paxman, 2012)

Further, when commentators and scholars attempt to explain the idiosyncrasies of Japanese culture in comparison to the West, then explanations of "because they are conformists" is often presumed to be the root cause of the aberrant behaviour. The success of Japanese industry is explained by appeal to the high level of conformism required by Japanese companies (see e.g. Ramcharan, 2002), rather than by the innovation of their employees. High levels of suicide in Japan are often explained by

1）一にいう。和をなによりも大切なものとし、いさかいをおこさぬことを根本としなさい。

the pressure upon Japanese individuals to conform (Silva, 2008), less often by the relative absence of cultural and religious condemnation of the act suicide (but see also Pinguet, 1993). Lower levels of crime and violence are explained as a result of Japanese conformism (Leonardsen, 2004; See Takano, 2008, p.36) rather than other explanations such as higher level of morality on the part of Japanese individuals.

This common interpretation of Japanese moral behaviour as being the result of external pressure, resulting in shame, rather than an "internal" moral sense of guilt is one of the first *academic* claims of Japanese conformance (Benedict, 1946/2006). While the notion that Americans' can have an intra-psychic basis of morality has been attacked (Doi, 1973) , the majority of scholars (e.g. Rochat, 2009), including Japanese scholars (e.g. Doi, ibid), continue to maintain that shame is a form of social conformance; something that is imposed upon individuals by external others.

One of the first quantitative analyses of Japanese collectivism is the widely cited analysis by Hofstede (1980), based upon a exploratory factor analysis of work attitude data, responses to a twelve item scale, from more than 10,000 IBM employees in 56 countries and regions worldwide. Of the four factors statistically revealed, it was found that the US ranked first in the factor which Hofstede named "individualism" whereas Japan ranked 22nd, well below most advanced post industrial nations. Hofstede defined collectivism as "the extent to which individuals are integrated into their groups," suggesting that Japanese individuals are suppressed, constrained and forced to conform by ties of group loyalty.

The lack of interiority argued by Benedict (1946/2006) continues in the field of cultural psychology inaugurated by Markus and Kitayama. Markus and Kitayama's seminal, theoretical, review paper (1991) drew primarily upon two previous research results. The first was Cousins' (1989) comparison

of answers to twenty free-response self-descriptive statement tests (TST) which found that American's stated their personal characteristics whereas Japanese stated their group affiliations. When however respondents were provided with three contexts and asked to define themselves again, the situation was reversed such that Japanese respondents were more likely than Americans to state their character. Secondly Markus and Kitayama introduced unpublished research by the second author that found Asian subjects to be lacking in verbally reported uniqueness bias, affirming "I am similar to others" more than "others are similar to me," the reverse of the tendency among American subjects. Markus and Kitayama argued that rather there being Japanese individuals that are oppressed by groups, that the Japanese believe themselves to be constituted by the social context and group affiliations, and motivated solely by external factors such as 'feeling of connection' and shame: positive and negative appraisal from others. This viewpoint has been supported by research (Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999) using for example the ten item Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale, which demonstrates a lack of linguistically expressed hubris and pride among Japanese, and which claims therefore that "the Japanese do not have a need for positive self-regard" at all.

These cultural psychological views of the Japanese resonate with the theories of some Japanese scholars that claim that Japanese culture has an empty centre (Kawai, 1982) like an octopus pot (Maruyama, 1961), with the Japanese self, claimed to exist in an intersubjective space "in between" persons (Hamaguchi, 1982; Kimura, 1972).

The case against this selfless, economic animal motivated only by external rewards, is on the other hand, made by some Japanese psychologists who claim that Japanese collectivism is limited in sphere.

Yamaguchi and colleagues have claimed that Japanese collectivism is,

rather than being some national character trait, simply a modest affectation, which is only a skin deep. Yamaguchi claims that Japanese do not lack individual pride but rather hide positive self-evaluations due to a cultural emphasis upon humility. He and his colleagues support this assertion by research on implicit attitudes that shows faster sorting of self-positive other-negative symbols, compared to the reverse pairing, to be equal in both Japanese and Americans (Yamaguchi et al., 2007). Yamaguchi and colleagues argue that when Japanese are unaware of their pride being tested, their desire to be modest is unaroused and their self-positive attitudes are exposed. As mentioned above, positive self-evaluation (as opposed for the desire for positive evaluation from others) is thought to co-vary with individualism, so this result would suggest the existence of a covert Japanese individualism.

Yamagishi and colleagues demonstrate that some of the behaviours argued to demonstrate Japanese collectivism disappear depending upon social context. For example the lack of preference displayed by Japanese for unique objects (Kim and Markus, 1999) disappears when there are no other subjects being offered the same choice (Yamagishi, Hashimoto, & Schug, 2008). Yamagishi and colleagues argue that Japanese have no less desire to express their uniqueness, but rather simply refrain from usurping (*enryou suru*) this expression in others, just as Japanese do not wish usurp other's desire for food by eating the last piece of cake. Yamagishi shows that Japanese preference for equal, rather than fair, distribution of rewards disappears when Japanese are unable to observe and censure each other's behaviour (Yamagishi, Mifune, Liu, & Pauling, 2008). Yamagishi argues therefore that tendencies for sameness and equality are not the product of a national character but due to 'schema' operating within Japanese society, such as the censure of last-piece-of-cake eaters, or of those who leave early from work.

In a review of self reports of collectivism and conformance, Takano (1999) claimed the preponderant notion of Japanese collectivism to be an "unsupported common view." Takano also carried out Asch style (see Takano, 2008) conformism experiments using the response format employed in Japanese television game shows and festivals, were respondents were required to 'vote with their feet', and move to an area expressing their response to general knowledge questions. His results demonstrated that Japanese were no more likely than Americans to conform with a barrage of confederates walking to the incorrect area. Further, and in contradiction to claims of Japanese conformism, when all the confederates were instructed move to stand in the square indicating the correct answer, Japanese but not American subjects showed a rebellious, 'just to be different' tendency to stand in the square indicating the incorrect answer. Based upon this research and a review of the literature Takano wrote a book called the "Fantasy of Japanese Collectivism" (Takano, 2008, this author's translation), arguing that the ideology applied only to a limited period of twentieth century history when the Japanese were obliged to band together as part of their war, and post-war reconstruction, efforts.

Cultural psychologists responded to the Takano controversy by claiming that his review of previous research was incomplete, and that the results of cross cultural surveys of groupism and conformance were confounded by the reference group effect (Heine, Lehman, Peng, & Greenholtz, 2002). The latter effect encourages, for example, Japanese and Americans to rate themselves equally thin, or even for Japanese to rate themselves less so (Mukai, Crago, & Shisslak, 1994), despite objective differences in BMI, due to the fact that respondents tend to evaluate themselves in comparison with their peers. In a review of 'experts' familiar with and able to evaluate both cultures, however, the overwhelming conclusion was once again that the

Japanese are collectivist (Heine, et al., ibid).

When further and more comprehensive review (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002) of previous research on cross cultural comparisons of individualism and collectivism, was found once again to reveal no difference in levels of collectivism between Americans and Japanese, cultural psychologists have attempted to explain this absence using epidemiological and behavioural data (see Morling & Lamoreaux, 2008 for a review) such as: the way Japanese and Americans colour pictures (Ishii, Miyamoto, Rule, & Toriyama, 2013), the number of insignia T-shirts that they possess (Yuuki, 2013), their preference for unique objects (Kim & Markus, 1999) and shapes (Kim and Sherman, 2008), and the inspiration for this paper, taglines in Asian and American magazine advertisements (Kim & Markus, 1999). Before reconsidering the latter research, it is necessary to tackle the question as to pertinence of the visual and verbal expressions of self.

3. Turning the Linguistic Tide

This paper argues that many of the presupposed differences in levels of individualism and collectivism between Japanese and Americans are due to the focus upon linguistic indicators, such as the aforementioned statements and surveys, of American and Japanese psychology.

Objection to this emphasis upon linguistic indicators of cultural psychology are twofold. First of all, at a superficial level, as mentioned at the outset, while it is clear that the "isms" of individualism and collectivism exist in America and Japan respectively, there is controversy regarding the lived cultural realities and behavioural preferences of individuals. Additionally, and more profoundly, there is research that claims that Western self-expression is especially linguistic for cultural and religious reasons, whereas East Asian and particularly Japanese self-expressions is not. A focus upon linguistic

expression may therefore bring the Western self into the spotlight, while losing the Japanese self in the wings.

This prejudice that privileges linguistic self-expression, or logocentrism (Derrida, 1998), has itself been overlooked due to a number of factors and its refutation will require three stages. Firstly there are many claims of the centrality and unique appropriateness of linguistic expressions for thought and self-expression. These assertions of the universality of logocentrism will first be addressed and refuted in section 3.1. Secondly research that demonstrates that East Asians are in some sense non-linguistic will be introduced in section 3.2. Thirdly, in section 3.3, attention will be returned to cross cultural analyses of visual self-expression.

3.1 Limited Logoland

A great number of philosophers and psychologists claim that language is uniquely appropriate for self-expression and thought and the central, defining characteristic of humans worldwide. Western psychologists describe the human species as a whole as "homo narrans" (Kerby, 1991) or "homo negotius" (Rochat, 2009, p.149) "the storytelling animal" (Gottschall, 2012) and to have a "narrative self" (Bruner, 1987; Dennet, 1992).

Mead, the founder of social psychology, claims that it is only in the verbal gesture - self spoken words - that humans are encouraged to understand their own meaning from the perspective of others. This assertion is based upon the physical fact of sonic reflexivity - that we hear ourselves speak - whereas visual gestures and behaviours require that we use a mirror or the reactions of other people. Mead writes,

> It is only the actor who uses bodily expressions as a means of looking as he wants others to feel. He gets a response which reveals to him how he looks by **continually using a mirror**. He registers

> anger, he registers love, he registers this, that, or the other attitude, and **he examines himself in a glass** to see how he does so. When he later makes use of the gesture it is present as a mental image. He realizes that that particular expression does call out fright. If we exclude vocal gestures, it is **only by the use of the mirror** that one could reach the position where he responds to his own gestures as other people respond. (Mead, 1934/1967 pp. 65..66 this author's emphasis).

The same argument is found in Lacan (1949/2002) where again it is argued that that children recognised themselves in mirrors, and see their behaviours reflected in the faces of their spectators, but it is only language that allows us to free ourselves of an "orthopedic" (ibid, p.78) external crutch.

These arguments for the universality of language as a medium of self-evaluation can be rejected for several reasons.

First of all as Mead (1934/1967) and Adam Smith (1770/2002) make plain, sonic reflexivity is insufficient for the evaluation of self, since we are required not only to hear our speech, but also understand and evaluate it from the point of view of an other. Mead draws attention to speech acts (such as threats) and points out that humans understand their aggression and fearfulness because they hear them from the point of view of another, whereas lions are not made afraid by their equally audible roar (Mead, 1934/1967, pp.63-64). Mead stresses that it is not sonic but social reflexivity that is essential,

> in order to become aware of himself, as such he must, to repeat, become an object to himself, or enter his own experience as an object, **and only by social means - only be taking the attitude of others towards himself - is he able to become an object to himself** (Mead, 1934/1967, p.226, this author's emphasis).

Adam Smith likewise argued similarly that unless we are able to understand ourselves from the point of view of another we would not be able to evaluate ourselves, which in both Mead, and Smith is the prime motive for narrating the self at all. Smith writes,

> When I endeavour to examine my own conduct, when I endeavour to pass sentence upon it, and either to approve or condemn it, it is evident that, in all such cases, **I divide myself**, as it were, into two persons; and that I, the examiner and judge, represent a different character from that other I, the person whose conduct is examined into and judged of. The first is the spectator, whose sentiments with regard to my own conduct I endeavour to enter into, by placing myself in his situation, and by considering how it would appear to me, when seen from that particular point of view. The second is the agent, the person whom I properly call myself, and of whose conduct, under the character of a spectator, I was endeavouring to form some opinion. The first is the judge; the second the person judged of. **But that the judge should, in every respect, be the same with the person judged of, is as impossible**, as that the cause should, in every respect, be the same with the effect (Smith, 1770/2002, p1001, this author's emphasis).

In this way both scholars argue that social reflexivity is the necessary and sufficient condition for self (-evaluation), leaving sonic reflexivity as a developmental stimulus at best.

Additionally it should also be clear from the experience of shame and embarrassment, generally regarded as a visual mode of self-evaluation (see e.g. Darwin, 1965/1872), that we can be aware of how embarrassing and shameful our behaviours would appear to others before we are aware of whether or not our behaviours have been witnessed. We look around and

may be relieved to find that we were not observed making this or that mistake, but we were well aware how excruciating our behaviours would have appeared without having seen a mirror or the reaction of someone else's face. Experimental research has demonstrated "contrary to popular belief" (Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996, p.1256) that in addition to guilt, both shame and embarrassment occur when subjects are alone, and indeed more so in the case of shame. In other words it is not only as linguistic interlocutor that an other may be internalised, but also as gaze.

Despite the aforementioned evidence some readers may still feel that it is physically impossible to see the self without a mirror. In response to such doubts, finally, it should be noted that the demand that we need a mirror to see ourselves presupposes that our mind is inside our head, leading to the conclusion that we would need a mirror to turn our mind around to see its housing. However, from phenomenalist position outlined by scientists such as Ernst Mach (1897), or in more radical form by Kitarou Nishida (1990), it can be argued that both our head and our self are sensations and theories about our sensations in mind. From this perspective the self is no more nor less real than "a centre of gravity" (Dennett, 1992, p. 275) and whether this centre be felt to be the hero of our narrative as claimed by Dennet (ibid), or our face as claimed by Watsuji (2011), will depend upon the extent of identification with mental self-representations in either media.

Further, returning to Mead's point regarding the importance of sonic reflexivity, it should be noted that linguistic thoughts are more often than not inaudible, and it is not as a result of the properties of sound that allows us to be aware of them. It is rather simply because our thoughts are in mind and we have the power to bring them there. All thoughts, so far as they are in mind, in phonic, or visual, and or any other mode of sense perception such as we may be able to bring to mind, are necessarily capable of becoming the

subject of our awareness in so far as they are in mind. Further this space in which we can give rise to thoughts is the same as, or indistinguishable, from that in which we perceive the world. As Virginia Woolf wrote in "To the Lighthouse", our thoughts float "in and about" (1927/2015, p.18) the trees in our vision, competing with sounds that we hear. We have thus, like Pokemon GO software, the ability to augment reality with self-created stimuli, which, sharing the space of the perceptual, and along with perceptions themselves, appear as to ourselves as they would to another. We need neither sound nor a physical mirror for this reflexivity. In this sense, in its ability to mix self-stimuli especially self-representational self-stimuli, with perceptions, mind is its own mirror[2].

Finally, while beyond the scope of this paper, recent experimental research on the existence of mirror neurons (Iacoboni, 2009), autoscopic hallucinations in psychiatric patients (Blanke & Metzinger, 2009), and the current author's research on the absence of the effect of mirrors upon Japanese (Heine, Takemoto, Moskalenko, Lasaleta, & Henrich, 2008) demonstrate respectively that people in general, some psychiatric patients very consciously, and Japanese chronically, are capable of and often unable to avoid being visually aware of themselves even in the absence mirrors.

3.2 The Periphery of Logoland

When psychologists and cultural theorists have assessed the extent to which Asian communication and thought is linguistic they have often found that both are less linguistic than in the case of Westerners.

For example Edward T. Hall, the founder of intercultural communication,

2) Mind's ability to mix self-representational thoughts with perceptual stimuli and thereby act as a mirror for the simulation of social self-reflexivity help to answer "The Hard Problem of Consciousness" (Chalmers, 1995): why we have conscious sensations at all.

innumerate ways in which Japanese culture favours non-linguistic channels of communication favouring instead the titular "Silent Language" such as "*dojo*", empathy, (Hall, 1973, p105) of "*kimochi*" (ibid.) feelings, of others. Leaving this words in Japanese, helps to disguise the fact that "The Silent Language" is often quite straightforward visual communication by means of facial expressions.

East Asian communication is not always solely more visual. Ishii, Reyes, & Kitayama (2003) analysed the results of Stroop Tests using mismatched vocal tone and linguistic meaning in emotion words finding that Japanese focused on the tone of voice whereas Americans focused on the linguistic meaning. Adopting Hall's theoretical framework, the authors' argued that "Americans attend primarily to verbal content, Asians pay closer attention to vocal tone and other **contextual** information" (Ishii, Reyes, & Kitayama, 2003, p.39, this author's emphasis)

Even as these researchers assert that channels other than language are more important to East Asian communication, however, it is unclear why they continue to hold that these favoured methods of East Asian communication are "contextual", a term which can but mean the field which surrounds the focal, central human method of linguistic communication. These researchers are by implication claiming that East Asians are on the periphery of language-centred humanity, despite research that demonstrates that it is Western Educated Industrial Rich Democratic cultures that are, in both name and substance, *WEIRD* (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). If Japanese methods of communication to others are often non-verbal, then there is little reason to assume that East Asian self-communication, or thought, should be any different. If so it is possible that another channel of communication is central, whereas linguistic communication is a context or even *noise*. Before arguing that the central mode of Japanese thought

is visual in the next section, this section ends by introducing research that demonstrates precisely this latter contention: in East Asians, linguistic thought is noise; it just gets in the way.

Heejung Kim, a former pupil of Hazel Markus, took up the question as to the form of Asian thought in her ground-breaking paper, "We talk therefore we think?" (2002). Kim argues that while in the West thought has traditionally been represented as "the soul's discourse with itself" (Kim, ibid, p.289) this is not the case in East Asia. To demonstrate a radical difference in mode of thought, Kim performed a series of experiments on the effect of language on problem solving (of Raven's Progressive Matrices) in European and Asian Americans.

In one experiment Kim showed that European Americans problem solving ability was marginally but not significantly increased by thinking out loud in language, whereas East Asians' problem solving ability was significantly decreased in the linguistic, thinking out loud condition. To counter claims that this result was simply due to Asian preference for *silent* but still linguistic thought, Kim carried out an experiment on the same subject groups in three conditions (1) control, (2) 'thinking' out loud in language and (3) language suppression wherein subjects were required to recite the alphabet over and over again. Kim found once again that European American subjects' problem solving ability was increased by thinking out loud compared to the control condition whereas Asian American subjects problem solving ability was decreased. In the language suppression condition, however it was found that whereas Asian American subjects were little effected, European American subject's performance was greatly reduced (see Figure 1).

These results can be explained using Kim's initial hypothesis that European Americans are thinking in language, and their problem solving

ability increases when language is stimulated and decreases dramatically when languages is suppressed, whereas Asian Americans are thinking in another mode or channel such that "thinking out loud" while problem solving is akin to being required to perform two tasks at once: solving the problem and talking about it. In the language suppression condition, on the other hand, the Asian American subjects where able to autopilot their chant of the alphabet while hardly impeding whatever mode of thought they are employing.

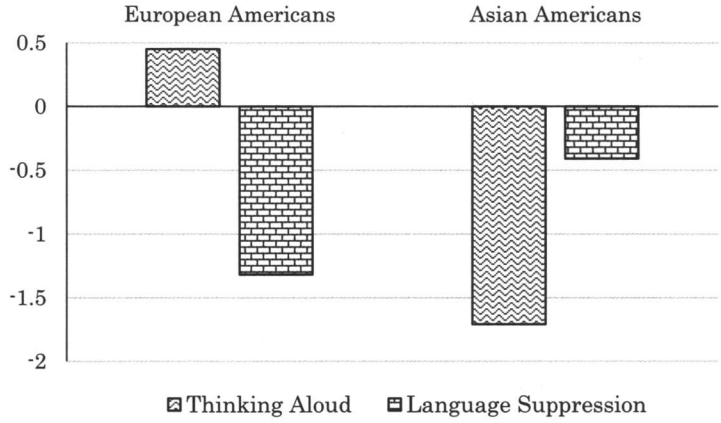

Figure 1: 'Thinking' Aloud and Linguistic Suppression in European and Asian Americans Based on Kim, 2002, Table 3, p.836

Kim followed up this research with another (Kim & Sherman, 2007) which demonstrated that, not only in the field of problem solving, but also self-expression, the use of language is very much more important for European Americans than it is for those of Asian descent. Kim did not in either paper however propose a medium of Asian thought, suggesting that it is "intuitive," requiring no conscious representations (Kim, 2002, personal communication).

Taking all these things into consideration the primacy of the linguistic self-evaluation and the narrative self can be argued to be culturally limited to a subsection of the human population. Derrida (1998) suggests that this is in part due to a "logocentric" philosophical and religious tradition.

3.3 A Visual Turn

While the vast majority of social psychological research, its "measures" and "tools" are overwhelmingly linguistic, a different picture emerges when non-linguistic indicators are used. As noted above claims that the Japanese are collectivist tend to be based on linguistic data: a 12 item Lickert scale surveys of IBM employees (Hofstede, 1980), free responses to (linguistic) Twenty Statements Tests (Cousins, 1989), and linguistic surveys of positive self-evaluations such as the ten item Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999), statements of self-other and other-self similarity (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), and linguistic taglines in magazines advertisements (Kim & Markus, 1999).

Also as noted above, when, however, non-linguistic behavioural measures have been used, the results have been equivocal to say the least. Initial claims that Japanese do not choose unique objects turned out to be due to Japanese reserve (*enryou*) (Yamagishi, Hashimoto, & Schug, 2008). Behavioural measures of conformance (Takano, 2009) when the subjects were required to 'vote with their feet' showed Japanese to have a greater desire for individuality than Americans. A survey of insignia sweat shirts expressing group membership and conformance (Yuki, 2013) found that American students at the University of Oklahoma possessed on average nearly 14 times more such items of clothing (US 5.24, Japan 0.38) and were six times less likely to "almost never wear" them (US 13% of students, Japan 78%) than those of students of Hokkaido University. This research

demonstrating vastly stronger American, than Japanese, propensity to conform in clothing behaviour remains unpublished. The less "unique" Japanese pictorial preferences found by Ishii, Miyamoto, Rule, and Toriyama, (2013) have been shown to be expression of self-consistency rather than, and opposition to, conformance (Takemoto, 2011).

The first author has also found significantly greater positivity of self-expression in Japanese than American photography (Leuers = Takemoto & Sonoda, 1999), collage (Leuers = Takemoto & Sonoda, 2000), and highly positive self-drawings (Takemoto, in preparation) and self-expressive manga (Takemoto, 2015). Nowhere is the relative importance of linguistic and visual communication more apparent perhaps than in restaurant menus, which in Anglophone countries are 60% text only and 80% show no photographs of food, whereas in Japanese 86% have photos of all or almost all the food items on the menu (Yanagita & Takemoto, in preparation).

Finally, turning to the topic of this paper, when Kim and Markus (1999) analysed taglines from four Korean and four American magazines' advertisements (157 and 136 advertisements, respectively) to assess the extent to which each demonstrates the existence of collectivism and individualism in each country, it was found that the taglines of American magazine advertisements extolled the merits of their products in an individualistic way emphasising choice, independence, and the achievement of personal success. On the other hand it was found that taglines in Korean magazines were more likely to stress group affiliation, tradition, and doing things together. Kim and Markus concluded that these linguistic statements reflect not only the "isms" prevalent in American and Korea, but also the behavioural realities pertaining in these societies. Bearing in mind the fact that Kim subsequently demonstrated the unimportance of linguistics expression to Asians in her seminal later research detailed above (Kim,

2002), this conclusion is surprising. Despite the fact that magazines utilize a dual mode (or if olfactory and tactile information is included, multimodal) medium of expression, Kim and Markus (1999) analysed magazines solely in the linguistic mode later shown to be depreciated, as a mode of thought at least, among East Asians[3]. The current research aims to address this imbalance, and turns instead to examine meaning expressed visually by the photographs which cover a large proportion of area of the pages of magazines.

4. Hypotheses

Bearing in mind the above argued importance of visual communication and self-expression in Japan, in order to assess the levels of individualism and collectivism as lived behavioural realities, analysis will be made of visual expressions of each ideology.

Research of this type has already been carried out comparing Taiwanese and American magazines. In a master's thesis published in Chinese, based upon an analysis of two magazines from each country, Wang (2006) found that Taiwanese magazines were more likely than American magazines to include photographs showing only one individual and that conversely Taiwanese magazines were less likely to include photographs of groups. The reversal was not as complete as found by Kim and Markus (1999) in magazine advertisement taglines, since photographs of individuals were far more prevalent that photographs of groups in both Taiwanese and American magazines, but is a notable result bearing in mind the current prevalent perception that East Asians are selfless collectivists lacking in individuality, motivated solely by relationship concerns. Were this common

3) To be fair, Kim subsequently analysed visual expressions of collectivism (Kim & Sherman, 2008)

view correct, one would expect East Asian magazines to be packed with group photographs of people bonding and admiring each other. This was not found to be the case.

This paper has two objectives. Firstly, correcting the imbalance in Kim and Markus's research (1999), to apply Wang's analysis (2006) to a larger number of Japanese and American magazines. Secondly, following upon the 'visual turn' of this paper, which argues that collectivism and individualism do not explain the cultural difference between Western and East Asian society, so much as the modality of expression of individualism, and the mode in which members of each are inclined to conform in each society, this paper hypothesises therefore, that Wang's results will be repeated in a comparison of American and Japanese fashion magazines, such that

1) American magazines having a higher proportion of photographs of groups

2) Japanese magazines haveing a higher proportion of photographs of individuals

And further that, since it is herein argued that the central, focal modality of Japanese self expression is visual, a third hypotheses that

3) Japanese magazines have a far higher ratio of images of individuals per page (with little difference in the incidence of photographs of groups).

5. Method

This paper focuses solely upon women's fashion magazines, due to their availability and the interests of the student upon whose graduation thesis this research is based (Iwaizono, 2016). The top ten fashion magazines in Japan and the USA, in terms of circulation found by Internet search are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Ranking of the most popular fashion magazines in Japan and US (Based on Takarajima, 2014 and Alliance for Audited Media, 2014)

	Japanese Magazines	US Magazines
1	In Red	Cosmopolitan
2	Sweet	O, The Oprah Magazine
3	MORE	Glamour
4	VERY	Redbook
5	non-no	Seventeen
6	Seventeen	In Style
7	Liniere	More
8	with	Vogue
9	GLOW	Vanity Fair
10	Otona Muse	Allure
11		Elle

The total number of magazines, pages, and photographs from each country are given in Table 2.

Table 2: Volume of Magazine Data Analysed

	Japan	USA
Magazines	10	10
Total Pages	2768	1839
Total Photos	5910	1977

The Japanese magazines were purchased from bookstores. The American magazines were purchased from the online magazine distribution outlet, Zinio.com. Since the 7th most popular American magazine, *More*, was unavailable online and due to the expense of and delay in obtaining a paper copy, the 11th most popular American magazine, *Elle* was used instead. The first author counted the number of individual photographs, group photographs and pages. In order for people to be classified as present in the photograph faces which did not have at least one eye and a part of a mouth were excluded as were drawings and images of covers of other media since they were often too small or too complex to analyse.

6. Results

The proportion of individual photographs and group photographs as a proportion of total photographs is shown in figure 2.

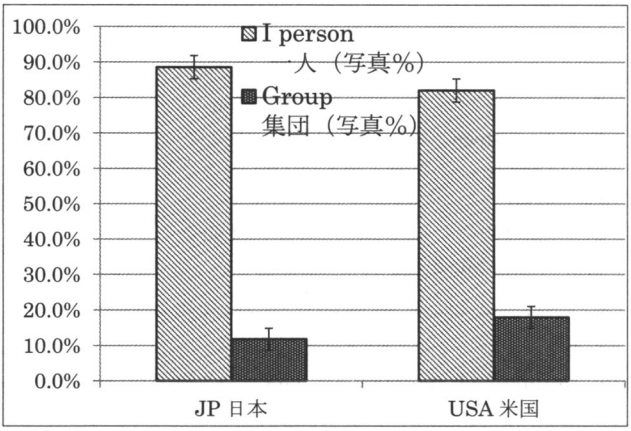

Figure 2: 1-Person and Group Photographs as a percentage of Total Photographs in Japanese and US Magazines

The results of a Chi squared test suggests that there is an extremely significant association between culture and the type of photography (Chi squared = 63.373 with 1 degree of freedom, $p < .0001$) The results of a t-test showed that there were significantly more individual photographs as a proportion of total photographs in Japanese fashion magazines (JP 88.6% USA 81.1% $p < 0.03$) and that conversely US magazines had a significantly higher percentage of photographs that were photographs of groups (US 18.9 JP 11.8 $p< .03$).

Further the incidence of individual photographs per page showed a very great and highly significant ($p<0.004$) difference with Japanese magazines containing more than twice as many images of individuals per page than American magazines. Japanese magazines had pictures of individuals at a rate of almost two photographs per page (199% of pages), whereas American

magazines had photos of individuals on only 85% of pages. The difference in incidence of group photographs (Figure, 3) per page was not significant ($p > 0.17$).

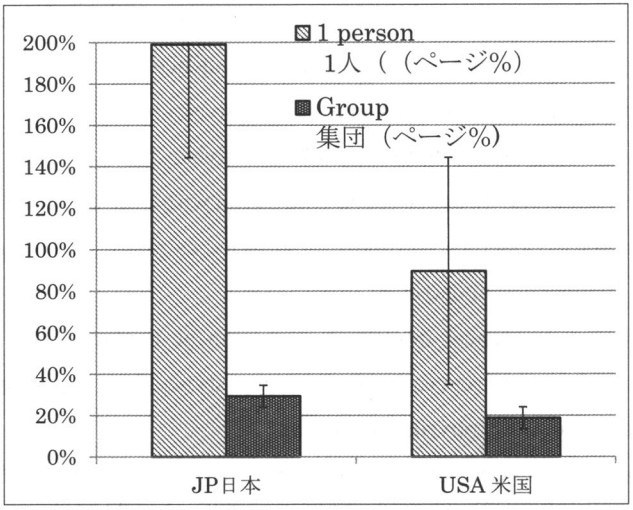

Figure 3: 1-Person and Group Photographs as a percentage of magazine pages in Japanese and US Magazines

7. Discussion

As predicted by hypothesis 1 and 2, Japanese fashion magazines were found to have fewer pictures of groups and more pictures of individuals. While the difference was not as dramatic as that shown by Kim and Sherman's research on magazine advertisement taglines (1999) it was statistically significant and it presents a picture in contradiction to the general view of Japanese as collectivists and Americans as individualists. Further, as predicted by hypothesis three it was found that there were almost twice as many photographs of individuals per page in Japanese magazines than American magazines. These images were almost exclusively positive. It is suggested that this sort of difference in the prevalence and positivity of

visual self-expression mirrors the reverse tendency in language, where it is found that Americans are more likely to linguistically express themselves and do so in positive ways.

From these results it can be argued that the difference between the two cultures can be found far less in the prevalence of individualism or collectivism, with linguistic expressions of collectivism being greater in East Asian taglines and visual expressions of collectivism being greater in US photographs, but in the modality of self-expression with a far greater number of self-asserting US taglines and more than twice as many photographs of individuals in Japanese magazines.

The statistical differences described above can be explained due to the following anecdotal differences in photography styles. Actual photographs are not included due to copyright concerns.

American, but not Japanese, fashion magazines contain the classic fashion photograph style of a group of models arranged in such a way as to show off the clothes they are wearing, in an abstract group form such as may appear at the end of a fashion show catwalk, without any attempt to portray realistic interpersonal interaction. The absence of such body-collage in Japanese magazines might be due to collectivism - groups of people should show concern for those around them - and autoscopic individualism - the human form is too animate, too closely associated with the persona (Watsuji, 2011) for Japanese magazine consumers to feel comfortable with people presented contorted into abstract shapes for the sake of clothing - or from concerns of both types.

American magazines simply contain more photographs of friendly, caring human interaction. The most straight forward difference is as expression of greater concern for that which is portrayed, and therefore a greater degree of groupism or collectivism expressed in American photographs. However,

it might also be argued that the absence of such photographs in Japanese magazines is a reaction against the arduous, conformance-demanding reality from which Japanese consumers purchase magazines to escape (Japanese individualism is often explained away in this way). Or, with Wang (2006) it could be argued that Japanese display fewer group photographs due to the influence of Western culture, just as the clothing and the models are often at least in part of Western origin.

American but not Japanese magazines showed pictures of groups wherein one model is wearing the focal fashion item, whereas one or more others are looking at it with a gaze of approval. The absence of such photographs in Japanese magazines suggests that, as argued above, the Japanese have internalised the gaze of the other, and extrojected the self as image in the mirror of the mind. Autoscopic identification of this type is the core of that which is described as autoscopic individualism.

Japanese magazines contained many more 'multi-me' pages of the same model displayed individually and often isolated in a variety of clothes corresponding to occasions, styles, or days of the week. And finally when both US and Japanese fashion magazines contain commentary or dialogue it is common to include a picture of face of the commentator. In Japanese fashion magazines, however, such faces accompany each and every comment made, as application of Watsuji's theory (2011/1937) could predict. This research argues that, just as Japanese auto-photography is less likely to include group photographs (Leuers = Takemoto & Sonoda, 1999), and as American self statements are less likely to include mention of groups (Cousins, 1989), the vast numbers of individual, isolated photographs in Japanese fashion magazines are demonstration of an identification with, and expression of, visual, autoscopic individualism. Those who remain unpersuaded that the language is as equally interpersonal as vision, may continue to hold that

the obsession with autoscopy (or looking at ideal-self-representing beautiful others) is proof of concern of how one is perceived by others and therefore demonstrates collectivism. This paper argues that if so, then so is thinking in language – whispering to oneself – likewise a demonstration of a concern of how one is perceived by others.

8. Conclusion

This paper argues that self can be expressed in at least two modes, verbally and visually, and that Westerners are more motivated and likely to express themselves in the former whereas Japanese in the latter mode.

The theoretical and real-world significance of this modal distinction are widespread. To name but three, firstly, as Kim (2002) argues, bewailing East Asian students' silence in classrooms would be misplaced if it is true that they using another, non phono-linguistic type of thought. Secondly, the emphasise on the gaze in the field of tourism studies (Urry, 2006) may likewise be misplaced, if for the Japanese tourist the gaze is autoscopic, whereas language allocentric, and Japanese tourism -- the enjoyment of alterity -- may consist in collecting linguistic 'stamps' rather than sights (Takemoto, 2016). Thirdly if the East Asian, or Japanese self is expressed visually rather than verbally, then opportunities for visual expression may be more curative than the talking cure and counselling, and psychotherapy in an inappropriate modality may, as recent and forthcoming research shows, be making clients stressed (Butler, Lee, & Gross, 2009) or worse (Selimbegović & Chatard, 2013; Takemoto, in preparation).

By highlighting the possibility of another, non-verbal kind of self-expression in vision, this research hopes to draw attention to the ongoing verbalisation of Japanese culture as a form of Westernisation. Students are being asked to create "portfolios", educators "graduation policies" and

all through Japanese industry under the influence of the Prime minister Abe's initiative, all '100 million' Japanese are being required to verbalise their objectives and become "active" (see Iwaizono, 2016, p.6). This may be culturally inappropriate. Faced with the dual task of verbalising and, as comes naturally, reflecting (*hansei*) autoscopically upon self, Japanese may be faced with a situation similar to the "thinking aloud" condition in the Kim's experiment (2002) described above, with a concomitant reduction in performance (Kim, ibid), increase in stress (Butler, Lee, & Gross, 2009), and even increased suicide ideation (Selimbegović & Chatard, 2013; Takemoto, in preparation).

Finally this paper aims to draw attention to Japanese visual expressions of individuality. Walking through Japanese cities such as Nagoya, Osaka or Tokyo one is faced with a plethora of architectural styles modern and traditional, businesses and their neon signage, people wearing a wide variety of fashion genres, and employed in a wide variety of professions, all arguably bristling with visual signs of individualism, or at least the lack of conformance. But should one stop and ask any of the people to define themselves linguistically, the respondents will, as shown by the research introduced above, be deprecating and inexact.

The former, visual signs of individual self expression are difficult to measure and even if measured may be perceived as being of less importance than verbal statements of, supposed, individuality. This analysis of nearly 8000 photographs on more than 4500 pages of Japanese and American women's fashion magazines may be felt to attempt to draw too overblown a conclusion from too little and too limited evidence. Certainly this is a limitation of the current research. Analyses of a wide variety and number of magazines from more cultures using finer distinctions could profitably be performed.

At the same time, however, research based upon 12 item surveys (Hoffstede, 1980), one page of verbal self descriptions from a 260 students (Cousins, 1989) or less than 300 taglines from four Korean and American magazines (Kim & Markus, 1999) has been interpreted to offer a representative and significant indicator of the cultural realities pertaining in East Asia and North America. The limitations of this preliminary analysis may to an extent be shared by other far more rigorous, and esteemed research in the same field.

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