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| Notes | |
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A Case Study
Cross Cultural Misunderstanding in the Workplace

Martin K. Hynes

Abstract

The following case study is based on the changes which took place in a teaching agency in Tokyo in 2002. Section 1 gives an account of the agency, describing its structure, culture, the interest groups concerned, and the wider environment in which the agency operated. Section 2 describes the innovations implemented and the reactions of the teaching staff. An extended section 3 explores the cultural divisions which existed between the native English speaking teachers and the Japanese staff, by drawing on the research of Hofstede (1980; 1991), Hall (1990) and Mead (1994). Finally, section 4 gives a brief account of the long-term consequences of the innovations and proffers a proposal which may have helped diminish the inter-cultural misunderstanding.

1. Background

The Global Language Institute (GLI) was an agency which provided English language instructors to private junior and senior high (J/SH) schools in the Tokyo metropolitan area. The agency was established in 1990, when its executive members saw a niche in the market for the provision of native English speaking teachers (NST’s) for private institutions. There were approximately 60 members of staff, 15 devoted to management and administrative duties, with the remainder making up the teaching department. Generally the agency offered full time contracts although there were a small number of teachers who opted to work on a part time basis. The GLI was situated in modern, spacious premises in the centre of Tokyo and boasted an impressive resource center well stocked with ELT materials.
Organizational Structure

Although one must bear in mind the assertions of White et al (1991: 11; 15) and the dangers of oversimplification in defining organizational structures, the GLI could be described as a combination of both ‘simple’ and ‘bureaucracy’ (Robbins:1998; 448). The ‘bureaucracy’ model was clearly more applicable to the president, the management and the administration staff, who were all local nationals. In contrast the teaching department, which consisted entirely of expatriates from English speaking countries, was based on a ‘simple’ structure.

Organizational Culture

The administration department along with its marketing arm was highly formalized, with all staff given clearly defined roles. There was a small span of control, with staff directly answerable to the management who in turn answered to the president who owned the agency. As such these departments bore the characteristics of a ‘role’ culture (Handy; 1978). In contrast, the teachers had a great deal of autonomy (a wide span of control). For all academic concerns they would contact the program director (also an expatriate), who prided himself on recruiting highly experienced, flexible teachers capable of easily adapting in a Japanese school environment. Generally, the program director maintained contact with the teaching staff through frequent visits to all the schools. Such an approach was characteristic of a ‘power’ or ‘club’ culture (ibid. 1978).

Interest Groups

GLI comprised of three main interest groups: the president and the management, the administration department and the teaching staff. The basis for these groups can be defined by a number of the dimensions advanced by Dawson (1996):

- relation to external groupings
- hierarchical level
- functional divisions

Obviously with the teachers being Western expatriates and the remainder of the staff being Japanese, there was a clear cultural division within the agency.

Advantages of the Organization

For the president and the management, the main priority was maintaining the ‘cozy relationship’ which existed between themselves and their clients. By recruiting motivated, reliable, experienced teachers the agency effectively ran
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itself.
For the teaching staff the main advantages were;
• Access to excellent resources.
• Generous holidays, as much as 10 weeks per annum.
• A concise teaching timetable.
• Although teachers were only offered one-year renewable contracts (a common practice applied to foreign teachers in Japan), there was a months ‘completion’ bonus at the end of each contract. Additionally there were gradual increases in pay for each successive year of service.

The Environment
Since the agency’s founding in 1990 there had been a number of changes in the wider environment;
• GLI was formed in the more stable and prosperous times of the ‘Bubble Economy’, when many of the original contracts were based on close personal relationships between the president and clients (a characteristic of the host culture). However by 2002 with Japan still mired in a prolonged recession, the environment had become increasingly dynamic.
• Due to demographics, the number of students in private institutions, as with the state sector was in gradual decline resulting in less demand for teachers. As such, an originally abundant environment was becoming increasingly scarce.
• GLI originally had few competitors and operated in a simple environment. However more recently formed rivals entered the market creating more complex conditions and by 2002 the agency was beginning to lose contracts.

2. The Innovations

The dramatic changes in the wider environment resulted in the agency implementing a number of radical innovations. Over the course of the 2002 spring break:
• The resource center was totally redesigned. From being a spacious, open plan area, all materials were now filed in the final third of the office floor. In the remaining space, four tiny classrooms were constructed leading to the creation of a ‘conversation school’.
• The administration department was issued with new guidelines. The
marketing arm of the department was now expected to pursue new contracts, not only from the original client base of private schools but also 'corporate customers' for 'off site' contracts and 'local customers' for conversation classes 'on site'. To help accomplish this, staff were burdened with extra duties and expected to work long stretches of overtime.

- The management became increasingly involved with academic concerns and took responsibility for the running of the conversation school and corporate contracts.
- There was a 'pay freeze' across the board.
- All newly recruited teachers were hired on different contracts to existing teaching staff. New employees on full time contracts were allocated more 'contact hours'. Some new staff found themselves teaching not only in J/SH schools but also at corporations or the conversation school!
- Existing members of staff were offered new full time contracts with substantially less holidays (approximately 7 weeks per annum). Under the old contract, due to school excursions, sports days and festivals, teachers were granted numerous unscheduled holidays. Under the new contract these holidays were abolished, with the agency expecting teachers to 'be available' to either teach in the new educational branches of the agency or produce new ELT materials at the head office. It was clearly the agency's eventual goal to ensure all teachers would be utilized to the maximum.
- There was a marked increase of teachers hired on a part time basis only.

**Resistance to Change**

With the exception of an 'official letter of objection', signed by the vast majority of teachers and delivered to the president and management there was no major organizational resistance to the changes. This was mainly because none of the teaching staff were members of a union and perhaps more significantly, with teachers spread across schools throughout the metropolitan area there was very little collusion. However there was substantial individual resistance to the changes. Not surprisingly, many teachers voiced complaints. They argued that they should have been given a participatory role in the decision making process and accused the president and management of avoidance strategies and deliberately poor communication. Such complaints weren’t confined to agency personnel, with the teachers also voicing their displeasure to their Japanese colleagues at school. With the exception of one solitary and somewhat acrimonious General Meeting, teachers remained informed about the proposed changes by the program director through
emails and when he visited the teachers at their respective schools. Unsurprisingly, morale amongst the teaching staff plummeted, long serving teachers openly no longer pledged loyalty to the agency, there was a loss of motivation and an increase in absenteeism as teachers feigned illness.

The speed and manner of the changes within GLI confound many standard business practices. Robbins (1998: 625–651), cites a number of approaches which have been applied in the educational domain such as: *Lewin’s Three-Step Model*; *Action Research*; and *Organizational Development*. Yet such techniques and principles were clearly lacking at GLI, and in some respects the agency’s actions were totally contradictory: Robbins (op.cit.) asserts that;

> ‘There is evidence that relates the degree of environmental uncertainty to different structural arrangements. Specifically, the more scarce, dynamic and complex the environment the more organic a structure should be.’ (501–502).

This was clearly not the case at GLI, which became more bureaucratic! In retrospect, it is now possible to determine that many of the changes, and the sometimes, unusual behavior of the Japanese staff (from a Western perspective), were culturally influenced. An examination of the host culture will be the focus of the next section.

3. Cultural Dimensions

From the large body of research into cross-cultural issues in the workplace (Hall 1990; Trompenaars 1993; Mead 1994; Joynt & Warner 1996, and many others), the prolific studies of Hofstede (1980; 1991) have been seminal. Building on the research of Laurent (1983), and more recently the studies of Bond in the Far East, Hofstede (op.cit.) has advanced five cultural dimensions to analyze and compare national cultures:

- **Power Distance**: The degree to which ‘weaker’ members of organizations and institutions within a country, expect and are prepared to accept that there is an unequal distribution of power.
- **Individualism / Collectivism**: In an individualist society the bonds between individuals can be described as ‘loose’ with each member only expected to look after him/herself and immediate family. In contrast, a collective society values strong, cohesive groups.
- **Masculinity / Femininity**: In the former, gender roles are clearly distinct,
whilst in the latter there is an overlapping of social gender roles.

- **Uncertainty Avoidance**: How members of different societies deal with uncertain or unknown situations. Emotions may be expressed by (amongst other things), nervous stress and a strong desire for predictability: a need for written or unwritten rules.

- **Confucian Dynamism**: Is comprised of a number of values. Both long-term (having a sense of shame; persistence; relationships determined by status), and short-term (protecting ‘face’; respect for traditional values; personal steadiness and stability; the exchange of gifts, favors and greetings.)

From the above dimensions, it is possible to ‘locate’ and ostensibly define a country’s culture on a spectrum ranging from ‘low’ to ‘high’ or ‘small’ to ‘large’ (for this case study the height dimensions will be used). However, before proceeding further it is important to bear in mind that as invaluable as Hofstede’s research may be, one should not fall prey to stereotyping. As Kennedy and Kennedy (1998; 459) assert;

‘…the danger of stereotyping which can result from applying Hofstede’s work should be resisted. Few countries will be placed at either extreme of the five dimensions….’

It is a view also shared by Scollon and Scollon (1995; 161) who warn against the ‘lumping’ of different cultural groups. Additionally, there will also be individual variations within a normal distribution of one culture. It should not be taken for granted that just because one comes from a society which has for example a small power distance, that any or all individuals will exhibit characteristics symptomatic of small power distance.

Nevertheless, in light of Hofstede’s research, it is possible to draw a number of distinctions between the English speaking expatriate teachers and the Japanese members of staff, which led to misunderstandings and conflict. What will become immediately apparent from the following analysis was the strong influence of Confucian Dynamism on the host culture.

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<th>Dimension</th>
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<th>Expatriate: low</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Power Distance</strong></td>
<td>Local: medium to high</td>
<td>Expatriate: low</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Uncertainty Avoidance</strong></td>
<td>Local: very high</td>
<td>Expatriate: very high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Individualism</strong></td>
<td>Local: low to medium</td>
<td>Expatriate: very high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Confucian Dynamism</strong></td>
<td>Local: high</td>
<td>Expatriate: not applicable</td>
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Firstly, **power distance**: All the teaching staff came from societies in which power distances are to be minimized. In contrast, the host culture placed a strong emphasis on power distances which are much greater. The use of a coercive strategy was characteristic of the high power distance which the Japanese president and management believed existed between themselves and their subordinates. Although complaints were expected, the teachers’ vociferous and severe outbursts at the General Meeting were certainly not anticipated! Equally surprising for the management was the teachers’ immediate change in attitude towards the agency, which saw an increase in absenteeism. Additionally the ‘official letter of objection’ clearly shocked the Japanese management. Their response was to increase the power distance between themselves and the teaching staff. This was initially achieved by issuing a memo declaring any questions related to the changes should be addressed solely to the program director.

Additionally, the president and management became even more formal in their approach to the teachers. The teaching staff had always found the Japanese management rather ‘distant’. In turn, it can now be assumed the management found the teachers remarkably informal! Such misunderstanding can possibly be pinned on the contrasting politeness axis that exists between Western and Japanese cultures: Loveday (1982; 6) drew a distinction between the Western horizontal axis based on intimacy and the Japanese vertical axis based on rank, age, status and gender.

A strongly overlapping dimension was **uncertainty avoidance**. The uncertain future of the agency produced sharply contrasting behavior between the two culture groups. In the host culture there is a strong fear of the unknown and a great desire for predictability. However in the face of uncertainty, the control of emotions and aggression is highly respected. In the teachers cultures, which are low on uncertainty avoidance, strong expressions of emotion are acceptable. This contrast was most obvious in the General Meeting with, as already noted, many of the English teachers quick to vent their anger. Significantly, the Japanese administration staff, who also fell victim to changes, never publicly voiced their displeasure.

The lack of response from the administration staff may also be attributable to the social importance attached to silence in Japanese society. As Loveday (op. cit.) notes, for the Japanese, ‘satori’ or ‘enlightenment’ cannot be obtained simply by talking about it. Equally significant are the overlapping Zen-like values of ‘isshin-denshin’ and ‘sasshi’, which is the ability to gauge another person’s feelings and thoughts through intuition, without the need to resort to verbalization. Such
values appear to be particularly strong in moments of conflict. As Kunihiro (1985) postulates;

‘Language as an instrument of debate or argument is considered disagreeable and is accordingly avoided…it is only one possible means of communication, not the means of communication, as is often the case amongst English speakers…’ (op.cit. 1985; 97)

A mismatch of expectations was another area which caused misunderstanding and disharmony. For the expatriate teachers, high value is placed on individualist achievement and satisfaction, with each individual expected to be responsible for themselves and their immediate family. Thus from a Western perspective, the innovations at GLI were perceived as a threat, and the teachers couldn’t understand why the administration staff never questioned the changes. This was clearly due to significance the host culture attaches to collectivism: The influence of the 'group' and 'group face needs' is one of the most influential Confucian values in Japanese society. It has been shaped by a number of cardinal principles and concepts. Three of the most significant are; ‘omoiyari’ (empathy), ‘amae’ (‘dependency’) and ‘enryo’.

‘Omoiyari’, as Matsumoto (1989) asserts, is particularly powerful; it entails having sensitivity to the feelings of others and is realized in the concern to achieve and maintain consensus even at the expense of personal preference. Doi (1983), characterized all Japanese social behavior on the concept of ‘amae’. Such feelings of dependency Doi (op.cit.) argues, explains why Japanese attempt to ‘project’ themselves onto others and be accepted by the group instead of insisting on individuality. Finally, one must consider the influence of ‘enryo’. A more complex term that cannot be directly translated into English. According to Wierzbicka (1991; 346); reserve, restraint, shyness, diffidence, coyness and discretion are examples of near homologous English equivalents. The virtue of ‘enryo’, Japanese believe, is in the ability to avoid causing problems for others and to respond to group pressure for conformity. Honner and Hoffer (1989), highlight the conformity which the group generates;

‘The emphasis on the group often causes a Japanese (person) to refrain from standing up for himself and to follow the group instead. Conformism fosters a great sense of oneness shared by all members in the group.’ (op.cit.1989; 122)

The research of Hall (1990), which distinguished between ‘high’ and ‘low
context’ cultures, supports many of the above assertions. According to his analysis, Japanese can be regarded as from a high context culture and the teaching staff from cultures which congregate at the opposing end of the spectrum. A major characteristic of the divisions which exist between high and low context cultures, are the marked difference in styles of communication. In low context cultures meaning is not contextually dependent and is made explicit. In contrast, in high context cultures, meaning is contextually dependent and is implicit. Such a contrast manifests itself in a number of ways, one of the most obvious as already noted, is the differing values attached to verbalization.

Another chief feature is the contrasting emphasis placed on the written word. In high context cultures there is a tendency for initial agreements between all parties to be spoken rather than written, whereas in low context environments great importance is placed on writing down and documenting information. Again, as with Hofstede’s studies, one needs to be aware of the dangers of oversimplification. Mead (1994; 60), asserts that no one country will exist at an extreme end of the scale and all countries exhibit both low context and high context cultural behavior. Additionally, there is a strong likelihood of sub-cultural groups within each culture that strongly deviate from the main group.

Still, it can be argued, that due to the contrasting emphasis placed on the written word, misunderstanding and conflict developed between the Japanese and the teaching staff. This was clearly the case with the ‘official letter of objection’, which acted as an insult to the president and management on two levels. Firstly, by the very fact that the teachers had ‘gone public’ with their complaints (the letter was not confined to the agency but had also been circulated at the schools where the teachers worked). And secondly, that the objection had come in the form of a written document as opposed to being spoken.

Finally, one must consider Mead (1994), whose research into international management practices was clearly influenced by the studies of Hofstede and Hall. Mead (op.cit.), drew a distinction between the ‘market’, and ‘full bureaucracies’. In the former, low power distances and low uncertainty avoidance sees members negotiating for influence and power, and ‘matrix structures’ are commonplace. In contrast, in the full bureaucracy, high power distance and a high necessity to avoid uncertainty results in the adoption of numerous rules and regulations. Mead, saw organizations in the U.S., U.K. and other countries where English is the first language as representative of a market bureaucracy, and the full bureaucracy a feature of a country such as Japan.

This section has explored the cultural dichotomy which existed between
the expatriate teaching staff and their Japanese colleagues. It was a division, I have argued, which lead to misunderstanding and conflict as the teachers found themselves drawn into a full bureaucracy with a radically different organizational structure and culture. The following section will give a brief account of the long-term consequences of the innovations and make a proposal which may have helped to alleviate some of the cross-cultural misunderstanding.

4. Long Term Results of the Innovations

The consequences of the changes at GLI can be broadly divided into two areas; financial and human. Firstly financial: The agency’s expansion into corporate contracts and the opening of the conversation school met with relative success. Although official figures were not available to the teaching staff (unsurprisingly), by all accounts the new educational arms provided a valuable source of income to the agency.

Secondly, human:

• Most of the long-term members of the teaching staff gradually left the company, to be replaced with younger, less experienced teachers.
• There was a marked increase in the turnover of teachers. Many only remained with the agency for one contract (one academic year).
• The ‘us and them mentality’ which had always existed between both cultural groups, grew markedly wider. The teachers could never fathom the distant behavior of the management or the mute response of the administration department to the changes which took place. For their part, the management and the president felt let down by the teaching staff. As draconian as the innovations may be viewed, such ‘belt-tightening’ was not uncommon in the weak Japanese economic climate. Secondly and significantly, in what was a period of rising unemployment, there were no compulsory redundancies at GLI, with all the teachers offered new contracts. In exchange for job security, the management expected the loyalty of their subordinates. The reaction of the teaching staff left them disappointed. As far as the administration staff was concerned, they thought the teachers had ‘had it too good for too long’ and argued that their ‘poor attitude’ was only counter productive.
• The teachers feeling of mistrust also extended to the program director although he was a member of the expatriate culture group, the general feeling amongst the teachers was that he was now part of ‘them’. For his
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part, the program director argued that the teaching staff simply didn’t realize the gravity of the situation. The agency was in crisis and immediate, radical change was necessary if it was to survive.

The simmering mistrust and poor communication which prevailed within the agency, particularly in the academic year after the changes were implemented, frequently resulted in heated exchanges between the teachers the management and the program director. Contrary to more recent, progressive views on group behavior, one must argue that the conflict was totally dysfunctional (*the traditional view*) and was a major handicap to the agency in what was a crucial period.

**Proposals**

Although it would be impossible to completely alleviate the misunderstanding which stemmed from the changes, a greater awareness of each group’s respective culture would have surely help avoid some of the acrimony. The week long orientation course which preceded each academic year provided an ideal opportunity for a small scale inter-cultural program.

A large variety of frameworks have been created for inter-cultural training; (Seelye 1993; Brislin and Yoshida 1994; Millhouse 1996 and others). Generally a distinction is drawn between programs which involve ‘reflective observation’ and courses which encourage ‘structured experiences’. With ‘reflective observation’, an emphasis is placed on ethnography. Learners take on the dual role of observer and participant and by drawing on their observations of others and their own personal experiences, the learners develop a greater understanding not only of others but also themselves. In contrast, with ‘structured experiences’, learners would be involved in activities which produce ‘feelings’, ‘reactions’ and ‘insights’. Such ‘experiences’ would include role-plays, games, simulations and case studies.

In her research, Milhouse (1996) stresses the need to provide inter-cultural training programs which incorporate both of the above strategies. As she asserts;

*A major advantage …is that it helps the learner understand how cultural-based values of a target country influence and govern the actions and behaviors of those living within its borders. The assumption is that when learners are exposed to culturally effective and appropriate behavioral strategies, they will be able to adjust their behavior to meet socially appropriate requirements.* (op.cit. 1996; 92).

Such awareness building programs, which give individuals the ability to deal with the problems arising from contrasting values, attitudes or modes of behavior, would
undoubtedly be beneficial to both cultural groups.

**Conclusion**

Fullan (1991), acknowledging the complexity of implementing changes in the workplace, stresses the need for ‘time’ if innovations are to meet with success; ‘change’ he argues, is not an ‘event’ but a ‘process’ (op.cit. 1991; 40). Clearly the innovations at GLI, carried out over such a short period, must be regarded as an ‘event! This case study has described this ‘event’, its consequences for the agency and its impact on the employees, focusing particularly on the behavior of both cultural groups and the relationship between them. The conclusion drawn, is that the changes implemented were culturally determined, a result of the powerful influence of Confucian Dynamism on the host culture. They were changes, which expatriate teaching staff, with their sharply contrasting cultural values of individual expression and independence, could never fully comprehend.

**Notes**

1) White (1987; 211), draws a distinction between innovation which is ‘planned and deliberate’ and ‘change’ which occurs in all organizations. However, for this case study, both terms are used synonymously.

2) For the obvious reason of discretion GLI is not the real name of the agency.

3) A number of typologies have been created to describe and classify organizational structures and the wider environment in which they operate; Bush (1986); Mintzberg (1983) and others. For this case study I have used the structures proposed by Robbins (1998). In defining organizational culture, I have used the popular typology advanced by Handy (1978).

4) The ‘traditional view’ of conflict can be compared with the ‘human relations view’ that argues ‘conflict is a natural outcome in any group’, and the ‘interactionist view’ which sees conflict as positive and in some cases necessary if a group is to perform effectively. (Robbins 1998; 434-435).

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