

Human Communication. A Publication of the Pacific and Asian Communication Association.
Vol. 12, No. 2, pp.173 - 186.

**Replication of the “Passing encounters East and West;
Comparing Japanese and American Pedestrian Interactions” (2007)**

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**~ A Study of Passing encounters; Comparing Japanese and American Pedestrian
Interactions in Waikiki ~**

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Introduction

“How do you locate a tourist?” This is a question we, the researchers, repeatedly asked ourselves while sitting in the shade, assessing the intersections crossing to and from the beach at Waikiki. “Oh, it’s obvious!” or, “You can guess,” we said over and over, although it became difficult to state exactly what distinguishes a Japanese tourist or a mainland U.S. tourist from the local population. In a moment we started to articulate, “They have lighter skin or are burned,” “They may have luggage tags attached to what they are carrying,” “They are dressed more expensively or in clothes inappropriate for the weather,” “They are carrying shopping bags,” “Japanese tourists often wear high heels or carry an umbrella,” and “Target people who look blond or red-headed are Caucasian.”

The specific issue being addressed in our study was the potential difference or similarity between Japanese pedestrians and American pedestrians in terms of their nonverbal cues, including civil inattention and/or interaction. We attempted to replicate the “Passing Encounter East and West: Comparing Japanese and American Pedestrian Interaction” by Miles L. Patterson and his associates with a few distinct alterations. We focused on the microkinesics of the interaction, but physical appearance and context clues definitely played into the early selection process of participants to the study.

The original study included Japanese confederates passing unknowing Japanese participants on the sidewalks of Japan and American study confederates passing Americans along streets in the United States. In both cases, the confederates were given various conditions to enact when passing, including glance, smile, nod, greetings, and avoiding the passerby completely, while observers determined the reaction of the participants. The setting to conduct these studies was as controlled as possible with a flat area always sought so that the participants would not be looking down to navigate the sidewalks, data were collected during clear weather, so as not to be dealing with rain and umbrellas, and moderate levels of foot traffic, so that the reaction of participants could be observed.

Ultimately Patterson and his colleagues, Iizuka, Tubbs, Ansel, Tsutsumi, and Anson (2007), determined that Japanese participants were more likely to enact civil inattention than American pedestrians, who more frequently responded to confederate interaction. This study is reflective of a trend across the social sciences to not universalize or look for commonalities as much as to notice cultural differences. The work of this team of researchers investigated Japanese in Japan and Americans in the U.S., so by looking at two case studies comparatively in two very different regions they confirmed hypotheses that predicted differences. The study basically supported the general hypothesis of the researchers that Japanese would be less likely to interact with other pedestrians than would Americans. The researchers posed various plausible cultural explanations for this study, including a respect of other’s privacy, and gave suggestions for future research involving a more inquiry into the effects of gender on participants, adding particular greetings, dealing with the diversity in the American sample versus homogeneity in the Japanese sample.

Rationale

Recently, researchers focusing on the pedestrians' recognition of the others as they approached and passed on the sidewalk have been conducted. In Ellsworth and Langer (1976) study, it is shown that a belief glance would be ambiguous and serve as a nonspecific behavior, including a simple recognition of the other's presence, liking, or curiosity. If this holds true, then a nod might soften the potential negative effects of a belief glance alone. According to Patterson (1976), in general, two contrasting patterns of reaction in these settings might be possible, that is, 'compensation' and 'reciprocation.' For example, if the confederate's behavior (avoid, look, or look and nod) invites participant's discomfort, then the participant is likely to compensate by not gazing, or nodding. In contrast, if the same behavior from the confederate invites positive effect, then participant is likely to reciprocate in the form of looking, or nodding back at the confederate.

Of course the gender of the participants and confederates may also affect the results of these studies. Hall and Hallberstadt's (1986) meta-analysis of sex differences in gazing and smiling, involving 5 to 10 percent of field setting studies with strangers, showed that adult females glance and smile substantially more than adult males. Hinsz and Tomhave (1991) also found the sex differences, that is, females smiled significantly more than males did. Nevertheless, in the Patterson et al. (2002) study, it is shown that there was no main effect of sex of participants on either glancing or smiling. Specifically, more glances were gained by opposite-sex participants rather than the same-sex.

Other researchers have shown that there may be cultural differences between Americans and Japanese in the way they manage passing encounters. There is good evidence on the differences between America and Japanese showed by some researchers (Matsumoto et al., 1999; Matsumoto et al., 2002; Noguchi, 2007; Yrizarry et al., 1998). As one example, according to Matsumoto (2006), Japanese in collectivistic culture tend not to show any expressive reactions. As another example, it is shown that Japanese seem to care about preserving adequate privacy around strangers (Miyashiro, Inui, & Takeuti, 1984).

Patterson et al. (2007) examined the pedestrians' interaction in Japan and the United States, focusing on cultural effects, conditions and sex of the confederate on glances, smiles, nods, and greetings. Their results showed that Japanese pedestrians glanced at confederates slightly less than American pedestrians, but the differences between them were much bigger with smiles, nods, and greetings. They also showed that 'Look and smile' condition got greater responses than 'look-only' condition, which supported the study showing that the participants smiled back to a displayer's smile (Hinsz & Halberstadt, 1991). In their study, female confederates received more glances than male confederates.

The importance of the topic in terms of replicating it deals with our location in Hawaii and the aspect of this setting as a crossroads between these two cultures. Definitely the study addressed circumstances in Japan using Japanese confederates, and tested the American populace using American confederates. But what happens when both these parties are

displaced into the context of Waikiki and find themselves pedestrians on the same sidewalk? How much cultural tendency do they bring with them to the scenario when they are on vacation? Do the rules change?

Our rationale in conducting this study was to observe reactions of Japanese tourists to both an American Caucasian confederate and a Japanese confederate and to counter those results with mainlander American tourists passing the same confederates. In such a new study as that presented by Patterson et al. (2007), it seems curious that they did not examine the cross cultural effects of pitting American micro-interactions in pedestrian scenarios against Japanese pedestrian behavior. While it is important to know what goes on typically in a given culture, it is a definite trend of an ever-shrinking world to also inquire into the results of cultures in contact, as this is evermore the case. In Hawaii we have the advantage of watching the two worlds collide on the sidewalk and we intend to add to the understanding of the previous study by conducting research in this extra dimension.

Hypotheses

As researchers have shown, the differences between Japanese and American suggest that Japanese pedestrians would respond less than American pedestrians as they pass strangers on side walks. We expected, however, that there would be likely less difference between Japanese and Caucasian pedestrians in Hawaii because they were on vacation. Therefore, the first hypothesis was that Japanese pedestrians would respond with fewer glances and nods than Caucasian pedestrians would, as we have seen in the results of Patterson et al. (2007), but the difference in this present study would be less than the result of the Patterson et al.'s original study. Nevertheless, it was also expected that there would be an effect of condition with the initiation of "look and nod" increasing glances, nods compared to the "avoid" and "look-only" conditions because a nod might disarm the potential negative effects of look alone. At the same time it was predicted that Caucasians would not be likely to nod in response because nodding is a very Japanese gesture. Thus, the second hypothesis was that "look and nod" would increase glances, nods compared to the "avoid" conditions. The third hypothesis was that there would be differences between Japanese and Caucasian; Caucasian would not be likely to nod back in response. Our fourth hypothesis is that male pedestrians would glance more at female confederates than female pedestrians. This hypothesis was based on Hindsz and Halberstadt's (1991) research which showed that the participants smiled back at female displayer more than male displayer.

Method

Definitions of relevant terms will be quintessential in understanding the usage of certain words throughout the study. "Confederate" and "participant" are being used in the same manner they were for the original study, meaning that "confederate" is being used for the person who is engaged in the study as a pedestrian initiating a certain set of nonverbal cues in passing. "Participant" refers to the unknowing targeted pedestrians who receive cues from the confederates and whose reactions are recorded by the researchers as data.

Our conditions included “avoid,” “glance,” and “look and nod.” “Avoid” simply refers to civil inattention. “Glance,” for the purposes of this study, involves not merely eye contact but also a visible rotation of the head. “Look and nod” must be defined as a nod with the accent downwards as opposed to a nod with an accent upwards. This is an important distinction in Hawaii where a nod with the accent upwards serves a common kinesic function of acknowledgement.

For each participant, observers recorded “present” or “absent” in each condition. “Present” means the action indicated was present in the passing. “Absent” indicates that the specified action did not occur. Therefore, “absent” in regards to the “avoid” condition means that the participant did react in some way.

“Japanese,” for the purposes of this research and in keeping with Patterson et al. (2007), refers to Japanese people from Japan, not Japanese-Americans. In the case that we conducted studies in Waikiki, Japanese participants were individuals we identified as being Japanese tourists. The word “American,” as used by Patterson et al. (2007), will here be replaced by “Caucasian” or “Mainlander” interchangeably to indicate that we are dealing specifically with Caucasian participants identified, again, as tourists, in this case from the mainland United States, as opposed to Caucasian tourists from Europe or Caucasian locals. These two more stringently defined groups fit better with both our confederates (a Caucasian Mainlander and a Japanese student) and with our location.

Procedure

Participants were selected by consensus of the researchers and determined to be either Japanese tourists or Caucasian tourists based on kinesic, physical appearance, and occasionally vocalic codes. As such, more participants were passed than were ultimately recorded. Our sample size included 120 participants. Participants also had to be alone in order to minimize distraction and for the observer to have a clear understanding of who was being passed and a clear view of the reaction whenever possible. Both confederates passed five men and five women of same nationality and five men and five men and five women of the other nationality. The confederates themselves were dressed in their own clothing and what each would consider everyday attire as students at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. As such no attempt for the confederates to appear as tourists was made. Both confederates were female, so the effects of gender were not a primary focus of this research.

We conducted our study during daylight hours spanning 10 in the morning to 4:30 in the afternoon and the results are spread over two days, one Thursday and one Saturday, so as to include a weekday and a weekend day. Days were selected based on favorable weather conditions, including little rain and relative warmth and sunshine. It should be noted that most mainland Americans were observed during morning hours and most Japanese were passed during afternoon hours, because of their respective time differences in relation to Hawaiian Standard Time.

We were situated at three intersections along Kalakaua Street crossing all directions, including

to and from the beach and to and from shops and restaurants on the side of the street away from the beach. An equal number of participants were recorded from each intersection so as to obtain evidence of a cross section of pedestrians along this particular street. Participant data was not chosen as a result of crossing along the north/ south crosswalks (to and from the beach) or along the east/west crosswalks (crossing the street between shops), but rather the confederates kept crossing the intersections as the lights changed, so direction is not evenly distributed in the results and is not examined as a factor.

We collected the data by situating observers on the corner of the intersection with the clearest view and in concealing them in the environment—at a restaurant table, or casually sitting on a wall—so the participants would not know they were being observed. The passing took place whenever the lights changed and the confederate in action could cross, provided there was an ideal candidate to pass. Again every effort was made to appear natural, so confederates would answer cell phones while waiting to cross or hit the crosswalk button and other such pedestrian activities so as to blend into the environment. In more crowded circumstances, only one confederate passed at a time, so as to avoid confusion for the observers, but in times of lighter foot traffic, both confederates would cross the street, beginning at different corners so they would alternate crossing as the lights changed. The conditions used by the confederates were predetermined before each crossing, so the observation could be clear at all times on confederate intention and only need to judge participant reaction. If mistakes were made by a confederate in a passing, the observers were signaled to not record the data.

Results

Because we examined multiple categorical variables, we analyzed our data through an entry procedure that was conducted on SPSS. We tested the significance of the relationships between variables and dependant measures. A significant partial chi-square indicates that the odds ratios are significantly different from 0.05.

We examined our data by a procedure analysis of 2 (Sex of participant) x 4 (Pairs; Japanese confederate - Japanese participant, Caucasian confederate - Caucasian participant, Japanese confederate - Caucasian participant, Caucasian confederate - Japanese participant) x 2 (Same Culture) x 2 (Difficult Culture) x 3 (Condition: “avoid,” “glance,” and “look and nod”).

Culture

Our first analyses examined the amount of responsiveness from our two variables, Japanese participants and Caucasian participants. We believed that the Japanese participants would respond with fewer nods and glances than Caucasian participants. Our analyses discovered that 6 Japanese participants and 6 Caucasian participants responded with a nod. There was no significance of a difference, with a nod response more from a Caucasian participant than a Japanese participant. The Pearson Chi-Square from a Nod Response by the participants is 1.0.

Chi-square Test on Participant Nod between Culture

| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
|--------------------|-------------------|----|-----------------------|
| Pearson Chi-Square | .000 ^a | 1 | 1.000 |

The glance responsiveness showed that 26 Japanese participants and 19 Caucasian participants glanced in a total of 120 participants. Once again there was no significance of a difference, with a glance response more from Caucasian participant than a Japanese participant. The Pearson Chi-Square from a Glance Response by the participants is .209.

Chi-square Test

| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
|--------------------|--------------------|----|-----------------------|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 1.580 ^a | 1 | .209 |

Therefore, our first hypothesis was not supported. Japanese participants did not respond less than Caucasian participants with a glance and nod response.

Condition

Next, we examined the condition responses from both participants when the confederate manipulated the condition. We believed that there would be an increase in glances and nods when the confederate had “look and nod” towards the participant, compared in the avoid condition. Our analyses showed that in the “avoid” condition, 2 participants had nodded in a total of 38; in the “glance” condition, 2 had Nod in a total of 40; and in the “look and nod” condition 18 had nodded in a total of 38. Therefore, there was a significant increase in nod responsiveness from participants when the conditions changed from “avoid” and “glance” conditions to the “look and nod” condition. The Pearson Chi-Square from an increase in Nod Response towards a Condition is .03.

Chi-Square Test

| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
|--------------------|--------------------|----|-----------------------|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 6.988 ^a | 2 | .030 |

Therefore, our hypotheses that there would be an increase in glances and nods in the “look and nod” conditions compared to the “avoid” condition was supported.

Culture x Condition

We wanted to examine the response based upon culture, thus we looked at how much glance and nod responses we would get from a Japanese and Caucasian participant. We

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believed that Caucasian participants would not nod in response than the Japanese participants. Our analyses showed that 6 Japanese participants out of 58 responded with glance and nod; and 6 Caucasian participants out of 58 responded with a glance and nod. There was no significant difference between the glance and nod response from Japanese and Caucasian participants. The Pearson Chi-Square for a Glance and Nod Response by Japanese participants is .080 and the Pearson Chi-Square for a Gland and Nod Response by Caucasian participant is .129.

Chi-Square Test

| PartCult | | Value | Df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|----|--------------------------|
| Jpn Participant | Pearson Chi-Square | 5.048 ^a | 2 | .080 |
| Cau Participant | Pearson Chi-Square | 4.090a | 2 | .129 |

Therefore, our third hypothesis that Caucasians would respond less with a nod than Japanese was not supported.

Sex of Participant

Since we only had female confederates, we wanted to examine whether or not there would be more glance responses from male participants than female participants. We hypothesized that male participants would respond more to the female confederates. Our results showed that 23 males out of 59 and 22 females out of 58 responded with a glance. There was no significant difference between sexes. The Pearson Chi-Square for a glance response comparing females and males is .907.

Chi-Square Test

| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) | Exact Sig. (2-sided) | Exact Sig. (1-sided) |
|--------------------|-------------------|----|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Pearson Chi-Square | .014 ^a | 1 | .907 | | |

Therefore, our last hypothesis that males respond more to female confederates with a glance than females was not supported.

Table 1: Percentage of Responsiveness from Males in the Avoid Condition

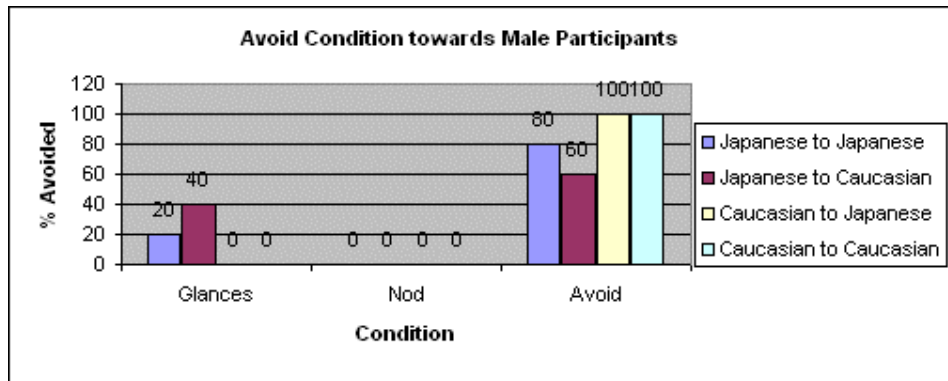


Table 2: Percentage of Responsiveness from Females in the Avoid Condition

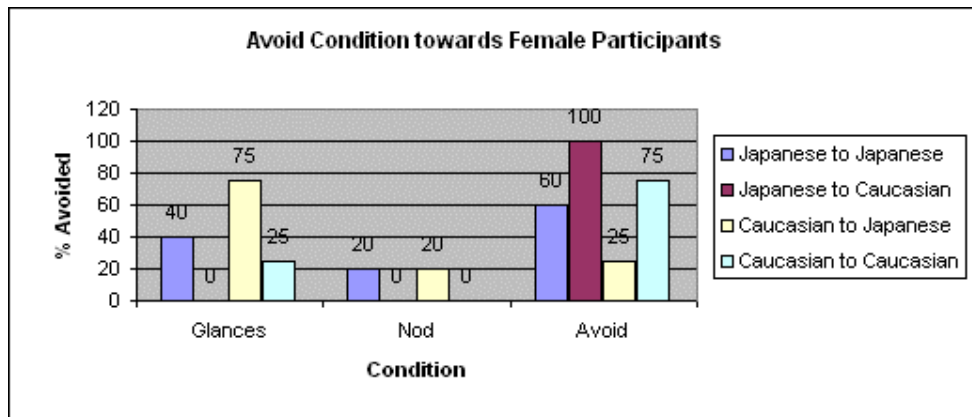


Table 3: Percentage of Responsiveness from Males in the Glance Condition

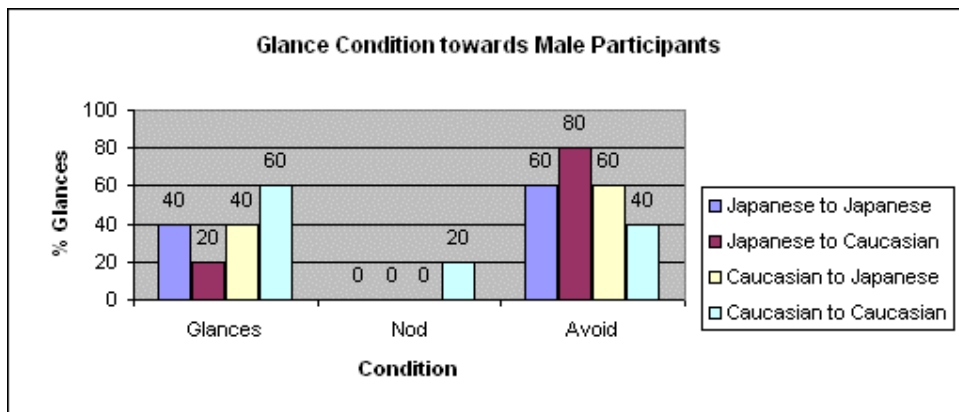


Table 4: Percentage of Responsiveness from Females in the Glance Condition

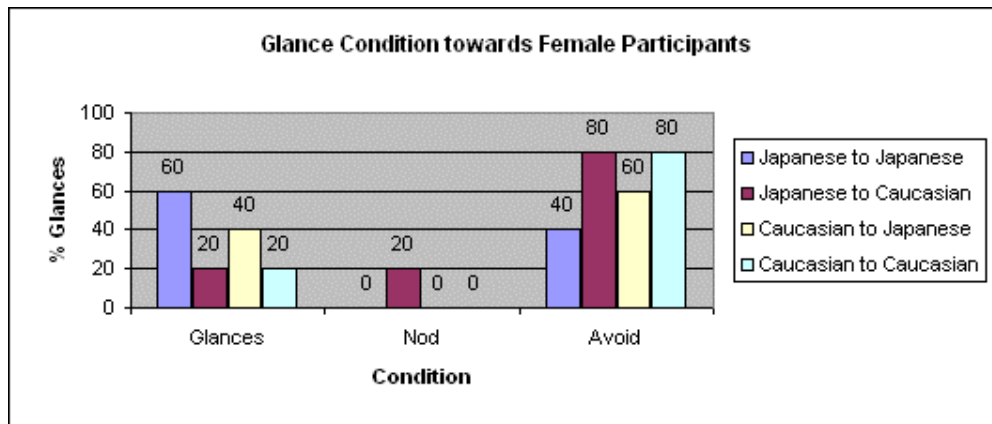


Table 5: Percentage of Responsiveness from Males in the Nod Condition

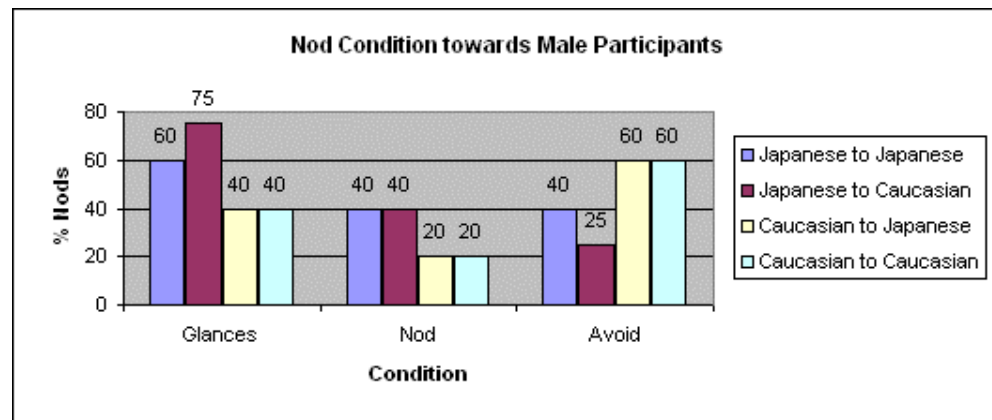
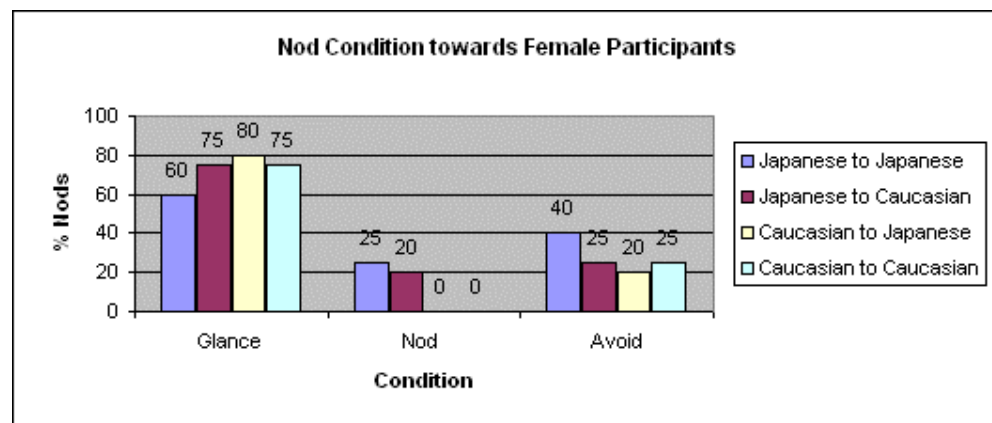


Table 6: Percentage of Responsiveness from Females in the Nod Condition



Discussion

The results of this experiment did not support our first hypothesis of lower responsiveness among Japanese participants than among Caucasian participants. The Japanese tourist responded quite as much as the Caucasian tourist responds. According to Table 3, there were identical results of 40% of a glance response from a Japanese male to both Japanese confederate and a Caucasian confederate in the Glance condition. Therefore, our results are not consistent to the previous findings of Patterson et al.'s (2007). We found that the Japanese participants had responded just as much as the Caucasian participants. In contrast, our results provided support for our second hypothesis of an increasing response with the "look and nod" condition compared to the "avoid" condition. There was a significant increase with responsiveness from the "avoid" condition to "look and nod" condition. These results were consistent with the previous findings of Patterson et al.'s (2007). From this result, we believe that there is a common reciprocation among cultures in regards to nonverbal gestures. In relation to the nod responses, we hypothesized that Caucasian participants would not nod in response as much as Japanese participants. Our results, however, did not provide support for this hypothesis. In fact, out of 58 Japanese participants and 58 Caucasians, 6 Japanese participants and 6 Caucasian participants had nod in response; our results absolutely had no significant difference. Next, our results showed no support in our comparison of participant sex. It was not consistent to the previous results of Patterson et al.'s (2007).

We believe that a large range in age for participants and our vacation setting had affected our results. We explain our results to believe that there seems to be a reciprocating response, especially because our participants were on vacation. That is to say, our participants were on vacation; therefore, it limited our comparison of variables. We can say that the environment and the setting on vacation had increased the Japanese attention and responsiveness to unknown pedestrians. We can also say that both Japanese and Caucasian participants were very reciprocating of nonverbal gestures towards the confederate because they were on vacation. They were more inclined to display polite gestures because their moods were most likely in a positive one. When people are on vacation, we believe that they would be more aware of their surroundings and very observant to express kind gestures. Furthermore, there would be displays of civil inattention by both the Japanese and the Caucasian in the "avoid" condition.

There are obvious limitations to our study we conducted our research on crosswalk closer to the beach. The participant demeanors were much more of a positive polite manner because they were on vacation and the beach was in sight. If research was conducted further from the Waikiki beach, without the beach in sight, or if it was conducted in Japan, there would be different results. Additionally, in this present study the sex of confederate was only female. We could narrow results to make a better comparison of response in sexes if there were male confederates. Also, if we limited the age range in participants, we could have different results.

Although our results had some limitation, our results expressed valid interpretations of our research. We believe that the outcome was successful, though in future reference should be conducted in multiple settings in a tourist location with an increase in participants.

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