
Standing Out and Standing In

The Psychology of Control in America and Japan

John R. Weisz *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*
Fred M. Rothbaum *Tufts University*
Thomas C. Blackburn *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

ABSTRACT: *There are at least two general paths to a feeling of control. In primary control, individuals enhance their rewards by influencing existing realities (e.g., other people, circumstances, symptoms, or behavior problems). In secondary control, individuals enhance their rewards by accommodating to existing realities and maximizing satisfaction or goodness of fit with things as they are. American psychologists have written extensively about control, but have generally defined it only in terms of its primary form. This, we argue, reflects a cultural context in which primary control is heavily emphasized and highly valued. In Japan, by contrast, primary control has traditionally been less highly valued and less often anticipated, and secondary control has assumed a more central role in everyday life than in our own culture. To illustrate this cross-cultural difference, we contrast Japanese and American perspectives and practices in child rearing, socialization, religion and philosophy, work, and psychotherapy. These Japanese-American comparisons reveal some key benefits, and some costs, of both primary and secondary approaches to control. In the process, the comparisons reveal the disadvantages of a one-sided pursuit of either form of control. They suggest that an important goal, both for individuals and for cultures, is an optimally adaptive blend of primary and secondary control, a goal best achieved with one's cultural blinders removed.*

They acknowledged that people do often attempt to gain control by influencing existing realities, often via acts involving personal agency, dominance, or even aggression. Rothbaum et al. labeled this process "primary control." But they argued that control is often sought via alternative paths, which they collectively labeled "secondary control." In secondary control, individuals attempt to align themselves with existing realities, leaving them unchanged but exerting control over their personal psychological impact. Table 1 gives an overview of these two forms of control.

Rothbaum et al. reviewed evidence indicating that secondary control often involves behaviors that American investigators have typically classified as signs of relinquished control. For example:

1. Attributing outcomes to low ability combined with behaving in a passive and withdrawn manner, is often labeled helplessness; yet, this combination may often represent an attempt to inhibit unfulfillable expectations, thus preparing oneself for future events and thereby gaining *predictive secondary control* (e.g., Averill, 1973; Lazarus, 1966; Miller & Grant, 1980). Lefcourt (1973) has reviewed several studies suggesting that prediction allows people to prepare themselves for future events and thus to gain control over the psychological impact of those events.
2. When people attribute outcomes to powerful others and show submissive behavior, they are often thought to have abandoned the pursuit of perceived control; yet, this pattern may foster enhanced identification with the powerful others and thus promote *vicarious secondary control* (e.g., Hetherington & Frankie, 1967; Johnson & Downing, 1979). Fromm (1941) has written about the human inclination to align oneself with powerful entities (e.g., individuals, groups, or institutions) outside the self in order to enhance one's sense of strength or power.
3. The attribution of outcomes to chance, luck, or fate combined with passivity in or withdrawal from certain competitive skill situations is frequently taken as evidence of relinquished control. However, the combination may often reflect an attempt to be

In most American theory and research on the psychology of control, a common theme can be identified: the view that perceived control obtains when individuals shape existing physical, social, or behavioral realities to fit their perceptions, goals, or wishes. According to this view, individuals who do not act to influence such realities may be suffering from learned helplessness (see, e.g., Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978), defects in "self-efficacy" (Bandura, 1977), perceptions of self as a "pawn" (deCharms, 1979), or some form of relinquished control (see, e.g., Langer, 1979). Rothbaum, Weisz, and Snyder (1982) recently spelled out a somewhat broader view.

Table 1
Primary and Secondary Control: An Overview

| Type of control | General strategy | Typical targets for causal influence | Overall intent |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| Primary | Influence existing realities | Other people, objects, environmental circumstances, status or standing relative to others, behavior problems | Enhance reward (or reduce punishment) by influencing realities to fit self |
| Secondary | Accommodate to existing realities | Self's expectations, wishes, goals, perceptions, attitudes, interpretations, attributions | Enhance reward (or reduce punishment) by influencing psychological impact of realities on self |

Note. This table represents an extension and refinement of ideas first presented in "Changing the World and Changing Self: A Two-Process Model of Perceived Control," by F. M. Rothbaum, J. R. Weisz, and S. S. Snyder, 1982, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 42, pp. 5-37. Copyright 1982 by the American Psychological Association.

allied with forces of chance or fate so that one may feel a partnership with chance, comfortably accept one's "breaks," and thus experience *illusory secondary control* (e.g., Kahle, 1980; Weisz, 1983). There is evidence, for example, that people who expect little primary control (e.g., people external in locus of control) actively seek to align themselves with chance, showing elevated preferences for chance activities (Ducette & Wolk, 1973) and relying on fortune-tellers and horoscopes (Rotter & Mulry, 1965).

4. All the attributions referred to above may foster *interpretive secondary control*. Individuals often gain a sense of control and mastery over realities in their world by altering their perspective on those realities so as to derive meaning from them and accept them (see Burgess & Holstrom, 1979; Janoff-Bulman & Brickman, 1980). For example, Bulman and Wortman (1977) found that paralyzed accident victims typically develop explanations for their accidents (e.g., predetermination, "God had a reason") and find in the accidents a sense of purpose (e.g., being forced to slow down, learn about life, or strengthen their faith). Finding reasons and purpose

in events that cannot be altered presumably affords the individuals some degree of control over at least the personal psychological impact of those events.

These four forms of secondary control are defined and illustrated in Table 2; the illustrations have been selected for their direct relevance to the present article, and to Japanese behavior in particular.

The evidence reviewed by Rothbaum et al. (1982) indicates that on some occasions people really do relinquish control, but on many other occasions people pursue control, following either of the two general paths outlined above. They may strive for primary control and attempt to influence specific realities, sometimes via acts involving personal agency, dominance, or even aggression. These acts are often intended to express, enhance, or sustain individualism and personal autonomy. Alternatively, individuals may strive for secondary control and attempt to accommodate to existing realities, sometimes via acts that limit individualism and personal autonomy but enhance perceived alignment or goodness of fit with people, objects, or circumstances in their world. Actually, rather than opting exclusively for one form of control or the other, people almost certainly strive for some primary control and some secondary control, thus establishing a kind of primary-secondary ratio.

What determines the relative emphasis that individuals place on primary and secondary control? In addressing this question briefly, Rothbaum et al. (1982) suggested that an individual's background and past experience play a role. For example, individuals who have been led to perceive primary control as relatively undesirable or unseemly may emphasize secondary control more than individuals

This article was prepared in part while the first author was supported by a grant from the Spencer Foundation and by National Institute of Mental Health grant 1 RO3 MH38450-01. We are grateful to several people for their thoughtful comments on various sections of the manuscript. In particular, we thank Katherine Bell, Nancy Burks, Geraldine Dawson, Mark Dix, Mary Lynn Eckert, Martha Green, Seisoh Sukemune, Jan Valsiner, John H. Weisz, Virginia Weisz, and Yutaka Yamata. In addition, we thank Robert Glaser and six anonymous reviewers for their many thoughtful contributions to the manuscript.

Requests for reprints should be sent to John R. Weisz, Department of Psychology, Davie Hall, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514.

Table 2
Four Forms of Secondary Control

| Form of Secondary Control | Definition | Examples |
|---------------------------|--|---|
| Predictive | Attempts to accurately predict events and conditions so as to control their impact on self (e.g., to avoid uncertainty, anxiety, or future disappointment) | Trying to anticipate one's exact status within a social hierarchy, the rules of etiquette that will be followed in a social event, or the sequence of steps by which a corporate decision will be made so as to minimize uncertainty and discomfort in those situations |
| Vicarious | Attempts to associate or closely align oneself with other individuals, groups, or institutions so as to participate psychologically in the control they exert | Identifying closely with and adapting one's behavior to sustain alignment with one's peer group, supervisor, employer, work group, or family so as to derive feelings of self-esteem and pride from their accomplishments and successes |
| Illusory | Attempts to associate or get into synchrony with chance so as to enhance comfort with and acceptance of one's fate | Learning to accept streaks of good and bad luck, health and illness, or business success and failure as they come; to avoid fighting bad luck; and to be "at peace with what fate has given me" |
| Interpretive | Attempts to understand or construe existing realities so as to derive a sense of meaning or purpose from them and thereby enhance one's satisfaction with them | Learning to see the advantages of one's anxiety (e.g., it keeps one alert and makes one prepare work thoroughly), attaining transcendental awareness, and overcoming a desire to make realities better than they are |

Note. This table represents an extension and refinement of ideas first presented in Rothbaum et al. (1982, p. 12).

taught to regard primary control as desirable and appropriate. This reasoning suggests an important possibility: The manner in which people blend primary and secondary control may be influenced by their cultural milieu. We believe that cultural differences in the primary-secondary ratio can be found when comparing certain Eastern and Western cultures, particularly when comparing the Japanese and American cultures. Differences in approaches to control have, we believe, stimulated misunderstanding across these cultures; Americans are sometimes perceived by the Japanese as "pushy" or "selfish," and Japanese are sometimes perceived by Americans as "inscrutable" or even "devious." Certainly Japanese and American societies are neither homogeneous nor static. Yet, despite the diversity and flux that characterize both populations, certain central tendencies can be identified that are quite meaningful from the perspective of our expanded theory of control.

In a brief preliminary section, we consider comparative laboratory and questionnaire studies of control-related expectancies and values of Americans and Japanese. This evidence suggests that Japanese, more than Americans, manifest two key correlates

of an emphasis on secondary control: a relatively external locus of control and a preference for alignment with others and groups. In the second, more extensive section, we examine diverse evidence from Japanese and American child rearing, socialization, religion and philosophy, work, and psychotherapy. In each area, behavior patterns in Japan appear to reflect a pursuit of secondary control more than do patterns in the United States. In the final section, we discuss implications of our Japanese-American comparisons. The reader should bear in mind that this article is frankly exploratory and speculative; it is not a detailed review and analysis of experimental evidence. We report the experimental evidence we have found, but the bulk of what we report comes from anecdotal, ethnographic, and historical accounts of Japanese and American cultural patterns. By pulling together information from diverse sources, we hope to identify possible relationships that bear systematic, empirical examination in the future. We also caution the reader against assuming that any information reported is characteristic of Japanese or U.S. society as a whole. Our discussion takes little account of the obvious heterogeneity of Japanese and American values and behavior, of such

within-culture sources of variance as social class and urban versus rural environment, or of the recently accelerating Americanization of many Japanese and Japanization of many Americans. The information reported should be viewed with appropriate reserve.

Preliminaries: Expectancies and Values

Rothbaum et al. (1982) maintained that people who seek secondary control are apt to be "characterized by external locus of control" and related expectancies (p. 28). We have found five studies comparing locus of control scores of Japanese and Americans. In all five, the Japanese scored as significantly more external than the Americans (Bond & Tornatzky, 1973; Evans, 1981; McGinnies, Nordholm, Ward, & Bhanthumnavin, 1974; Mahler, 1974; Parsons & Schneider, 1974). Parsons and Schneider (1974) found that Japanese, compared with Americans, (a) saw fate and luck as much more influential, and (b) perceived themselves as less able to alter others' opinions of them. Mahler, Greenberg, and Hayashi (1981) found that Japanese were much more likely than Americans to believe that (a) the world is a capricious place where people do not always produce the outcomes they deserve, (b) individuals can have only limited effectiveness acting alone, and (c) chance and fate play a major role in shaping the outcomes people experience.

To the extent that people are oriented toward secondary control, they should value alignment with others and devalue attempts to shape realities to fit individuals' wishes. Morris and his colleagues (e.g., Morris, 1956; Morris & Jones, 1955) studied values in the United States, Japan, and elsewhere, asking individuals to rate 13 "ways to live." The Japanese most preferred Way 3, which stressed close alignment with others and discouraged attempts to make realities fit one's own wishes. By contrast, the Americans rated Way 3 lower than did any other national group studied. The way rated highest by the Americans (Way 7) emphasized autonomous pursuit of self-actualization and deemphasized alignment with others. Commenting on some additional values data, Morris (1956) noted, "The relative number of entries for the United States group in the category 'orientation to self' is somewhat stronger than in any other national group, while those in the category 'orientation to society' are somewhat weaker" (p. 47). In characterizing the Japanese pattern of responses, Morris concluded, "The general orientation is clearly to persons and to society" (p. 56).

Patterns of Daily Living: Styles of Coping With Life Tasks

The preceding evidence suggests that the Japanese may perceive primary control as both less attainable

(expectancy data) and less desirable (value data) than do Americans. But do Japanese actually seek secondary control more than do Americans? To answer this question, we need to know whether, in their daily activities, Japanese are more likely than Americans to (a) try to accommodate to existing realities in their world and (b) do so for the purpose of achieving control.

We define *control* as causing an intended event (cf. Skinner & Chapman, 1983; Weisz, in press). We emphasize that the "intended event" may involve influencing objective or external realities (primary control) or influencing the personal, psychological impact of those realities (secondary control). Typically, control involves the production of a voluntary response (behavioral, cognitive, or affective) that increases the probability of reward or reduces the probability of punishment. Thus, control may be associated with such a broad range of outcomes as success or mastery, a heightened sense of well-being, or a reduction in aversiveness.

Child Rearing

We begin our survey of everyday, control-relevant behavior at the beginning of the life span, with child rearing. In Japan (as detailed in Befu, 1971; DeVos, 1973; Lebra, 1976; Lebra & Lebra, 1974; and Morsbach, 1980) children are reared in ways that seem to promote what Rothbaum et al. labeled vicarious secondary control. Diverse experiences of satisfaction are repeatedly achieved via physical and psychological alignment with parents and siblings. This training is expected to induce a capacity in the child to participate vicariously in the experiences and feelings of family members, including their experiences and feelings of control and mastery at school or on the job.

The Japanese emphasis on close alignment is illustrated by the importance they attach to "skinship," that is, prolonged body contact between family members. In contrast to Dr. Spock's (1968) account of breast-feeding as a time-limited, task-oriented activity whose main objective is to deliver nutrition, the most prominent Japanese child-care manuals (e.g., Matsuda, 1974) emphasize the mother-child bonding that breastfeeding can promote. Caudill and Weinstein (1974) have documented Japanese-American differences in actual breastfeeding behavior. In Japan, skin-to-skin contact is prolonged well beyond feeding per se and even after the infant has fallen asleep with nipple in mouth. The American mother, by contrast, "is more brisk, and usually gets up and leaves once her baby has fallen asleep" (p. 257). The Japanese infant's experience of control in the feeding situation, that is, gratification of hunger, thus occurs in conjunction with prolonged bodily merger with the mother.

There are also many other occasions for Japanese skinship. For example, an infant often shares a bed with its mother until a new baby is expected (contrast this practice with Dr. Spock's advice "not to take a child into the parents' bed for any reason," 1968, p. 169); mothers and babies may often bathe together, with the baby molding closely to its mother's body. For human infants generally, control typically comes in the form of obtaining desired physical gratifications. For Japanese infants in particular, a large number of such control experiences, for example, those involving such gratifications as feeding, sleeping, and bathing, require that infants adjust themselves to effect a close alignment with persons other than self (e.g., Befu, 1971; Benedict, 1946; Lebra, 1976).¹ Such skinship practices as co-bathing and co-sleeping are extended to family members other than the mother as the child matures (Caudill & Plath, 1966; Dore, 1958).

The Japanese emphasis on close alignment and on vicarious experiencing of others' feelings can be seen in two disciplinary methods that Japanese parents appear to favor. Children are taught to value close alignment with family members by threats to the continuity of that alignment. For example, parents may tell a visitor, "We don't need this boy, so please take him with you" (Lebra, 1976, p. 151), or may simply lock their child out of the house. Vogel and Vogel (1961) have contrasted this latter procedure with the more typical American punishment of "grounding" the child *inside* the house. In Japan, realignment with home and family signifies the end of punishment and the reinstatement of a rewarding state of affairs—hence realignment provides control. In America, by contrast, forced alignment with home and family is the punishment, and thus alignment signifies a loss of control; termination of this alignment means autonomy from family, which implies the end of punishment and a reinstatement of control.

These two alternative paths to a sense of control have been discussed by Fromm (1941). He stresses that establishing independence from parents leads to increased potency in the form of perceived control. Yet, such individuation may lead to increased loneliness and decreased power as the benefits of association with more powerful others are lost. The pro-alignment forms of discipline just described appear

to emphasize the aversiveness of individuation and the vicarious potency and control that can be gained through a sustained linkage with family members.

Japanese parents also emphasize pro-empathy forms of discipline quite heavily. Conroy, Hess, Azuma, and Kashiwagi (1980) found that American mothers tended to prefer discipline via the assertion of maternal authority and power, whereas Japanese mothers used such empathy-oriented approaches as describing how a child's misbehavior would hurt others' feelings. Lebra (1976) provided an example, "If you don't stop doing that, it is I who will suffer most. Try to put yourself in my place" (p. 153). These Japanese practices evidently provide training in the vicarious experiencing of others' feelings.

Japanese child rearing has been said to foster "a blurring of the boundaries between mother and child" (Caudill & Weinstein, 1974, p. 229) and, eventually, "to eliminate the boundary between self and environment" (Lebra, 1976, p. 168). A valued sign of maturity in Japan is the capacity for *ittai-kan*—a feeling of merger or oneness with persons other than self. The capacity for *ittai-kan* ideally develops to the point that vicarious experience is virtually reflexive, that is, that "the pride and the shame of an individual are shared by his group, and in turn, the group's pride and shame are shared individually by its members" (Lebra, 1976, p. 36; see also Doi, 1962; Norbeck & DeVos, 1972). When a Japanese youngster's parent, sibling, or peer group member exerts control at work, at school, or elsewhere, that youngster has been prepared by elaborate child-rearing patterns to experience that control vicariously. Certainly this is true of some American children, but the cross-cultural literature (e.g., Befu, 1971; Benedict, 1946; DeVos, 1973; Doi, 1962; Lebra, 1976; Lebra & Lebra, 1974; Vogel & Vogel, 1961) strongly indicates that this capacity for vicarious control runs deeper and broader in Japan.

Socialization

In the United States, child training in social and moral behavior places considerably more primary control in the hands of the individual child than is the case in Japan. Since the time of Hall (1901) and Dewey (1929), the American ideology of child training has emphasized autonomy and individualism. This emphasis is reflected in Kohlberg's (1969) stage theory of moral development. The theory depicts children as maturing in the direction of an ideal state in which individuals rely on principles that they have personally constructed for themselves. At this highest level each individual assumes full primary control over moral decisions, abandoning earlier reliance on others, on conventional social standards, on rules, and on legal authority. Kohlberg favors moral education via open discussion in which leaders

¹ The degree of alignment or bonding that Japanese society expects is symbolized by a venerable custom. Japanese hospitals often present mothers of newborns with a preserved portion of the umbilical cord that originally bound mother and infant together. Often mothers keep the cords of all their children in an ornate box in the home; in some regions a child who marries is given his or her cord to take to the new household as a symbol of continuing union with the mother (see Caudill & Weinstein, 1974, p. 266).

do not advocate "right" or "wrong" answers; students are encouraged to develop autonomous moral reasoning in which they control their own moral decisions. Kohlberg's scheme reflects a value central to American research on conformity (e.g., Asch, 1956; Milgram, 1974)—that is, that aligning one's judgments and decisions with influences outside the self is both immature and potentially dangerous (Hogan, 1975).

Japanese socialization in the moral realm contrasts sharply with the American individualism of Kohlberg's scheme. Moral development in Japan involves learning a complex system of societally sanctioned rules. Children are trained to conform to norms for their sex, age, birth order, and position in a group. These norms, in the words of Benedict (1946), "require subordinating one's own will to the ever-increasing duties to neighbors, to family and to country" (p. 273; see also Befu, 1971). In conforming to these norms, individuals give up considerable primary control, but they harness, in exchange, the predictive secondary control that comes with knowing exactly what others expect one to do and exactly how others will respond. The Japanese are also described by several ethnographers (see, e.g., Lebra & Lebra, 1974) as submitting to "shoulds" and "oughts" for the very reasons discussed by Fromm (1941). He attributed such submission to a "tendency to give up the independence of one's individual self and to fuse one's self with somebody or something outside oneself in order to acquire the strength which the individual self is lacking" (p. 141). To the extent that Fromm's analysis applies to Japanese children, their submissive behavior reflects a pursuit of vicarious secondary control.²

An overarching theme in Japanese socialization is the cultivation of skills in maintaining harmony or "goodness of fit" with others.³ Research (e.g., Carmichael & Carmichael, 1972; Seagoe & Murakami, 1961) has shown that, as early as kindergarten and first grade, Japanese youngsters favor cooperative group activities over competition and individual activities, whereas American children favor individual pursuits. (For conflicting findings, see Toda, Shinotsuka, McClintock, & Stech, 1978, discussed in footnote 4.) From his studies of social interaction, Barnlund (1975) concluded that learning group skills in the United States means learning to "stand out," that is, to make one's individuality salient, but that in Japan, by contrast, one learns to "stand in," that is, to become so identified with the group that one's individuality is not noticed. Socially well-educated Japanese can read subtle cues to others' thoughts and feelings, identify areas of agreement, and thus keep their words and deeds carefully attuned to others.⁴

The importance of maintaining harmonious

alignment is reflected in Ueda's (1974) description of 16 different strategies Japanese employ to avoid saying "no." Even the Japanese language itself seems designed to maximize interpersonal harmony. Because the verb comes at the end of the sentence, a speaker may state the subject and object, all the while watching the listener's reaction, then adjust the verb to accommodate to the listener. The speaker may also add a negative at the end, "thus reversing the entire meaning of the sentence, but preserving the human relationship" (Morrow, 1983, p. 25). Why this extreme emphasis on maintaining an affirmative, harmonious fit with others? Several writ-

² In contrast to the general patterns described in this section, the Japanese do appear to emphasize primary control in situations involving pressure to achieve, especially in academic pursuits. One study found that Japanese pupils attend school more weeks per year and more hours per week, and spend more time at homework, than do U.S. pupils (Stigler, Lee, Lucker, & Stevenson, 1982). Toda et al. (1978) reported that Japanese elementary-school boys were more competitive than their American age-mates in a game designed to pit cooperative against competitive motives. In general, Japanese students appear highly motivated to succeed on exams and to be admitted to the "best" schools. To some extent, these achievement strivings seem to be stimulated by the Japanese propensity to feel that the outcomes they experience personally are experienced vicariously by members of their group and their family (Morsbach, 1980). They strive for success, in part, to enhance the standing of their family (an in-group) vis-à-vis other families (out-groups), and to spare group and family members the "shame" of failure (S. Sukemune, personal communication, 1982). Also, these achievement strivings may be construed as efforts to sustain an alignment with family members by living up to their goals and expectations. Later, admission to the "best" schools may enhance the student's experience of vicarious secondary control; alignment with such schools is presumably more rewarding psychologically than alignment with lesser institutions. Such secondary control objectives, of course, may well coexist with primary control aims involving individual success in school and, ultimately, career.

³ The ability to maintain a precise alignment with others in social situations is no less important among Japanese adults. This is nicely illustrated by Hsu's (1975) report of a visit with a Japanese friend and some acquaintances near Osaka. The group was picnicking in a secluded spot near a lake. They were sitting in a circle. Hsu reported,

After a while I was attracted by the tiny lake shining in the afternoon sun. Instead of sitting facing the rest of our little group, I turned to the lake. . . . Tired of sitting with my legs folded, I partially stretched them out in front of me. At this point something astonishing happened. My Japanese friend pulled my arm firmly and whispered to me, "Please turn around and sit facing the others." Having already observed Japanese life for several months, I more or less realized the meaning of my friend's corrective gesture. When one is with a group, even temporarily, he should actively participate in the activities of the group and not venture out on his own. But I had not yet learned how very fundamental and widespread this principle of interpersonal relationships is in the Japanese way of life. (p. 14)

⁴ Lebra (1976) has argued that Japanese show less eye contact during interpersonal interaction than do Americans precisely because people who have refined the art of reading subtle cues find the massive amount of interpersonal information conveyed by direct eye contact almost overwhelming.

ers (e.g., Befu, 1971; Benedict, 1946; Lebra, 1976) imply that it affords a continuing sense of what we have called predictive secondary control to a people taught to fear the unpredictable consequences of deviations from harmony, consensus, and the customary.

Religion and Philosophy

In discussing religion and philosophy in the United States we will focus on Christianity because it figures so prominently in our history, traditions, and culture. For similar reasons our discussion of Japan will focus on Buddhism and, in particular, the Zen tradition. We should note, however, that we use Zen Buddhism only as an example. It is a minority sect in Japan, and only one of many streams of religious and philosophical thought that have influenced cultural patterns there. Many Japanese practice *juso shinke* (multilayered faith) and keep both a Shinto and a Buddhist altar at home. (Note that 98 million are nominal adherents of Shinto and 88 million of Buddhism, but Japan's population is only 119 million.) As is the case with a number of other religions, the influence of Zen is more visible in the history and evolution of Japanese culture than in the everyday behavior of modern, mainstream Japanese. However, as we suggest later, there appear to be significant differences between American and Japanese behavior and underlying attitudes that are related to differences between Christianity and Zen Buddhism.

Religion in general has a distinct emphasis on secondary control across sects and cultures. That is, in a variety of religions, adherents are expected to accommodate to powerful cosmic forces, and be rewarded by feelings of vicarious participation in the power, wisdom, or virtue of those forces. Christianity reflects this secondary control emphasis in many respects, but it also emphasizes primary control in a number of ways. A central objective of many Christian sects has been to alter the world to make it fit their own Christian precepts. God is described as having told Adam and Eve, "Have many children, so that your descendants will live all over the earth and bring it under their control" (American Bible Society, 1976, Genesis 1:28). Jesus is said to have instructed his disciples, "Go . . . to all peoples everywhere and make them my disciples: baptize them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and teach them to obey everything I have commanded you" (Matthew 28:19-20). Jesus's early disciples preached, baptized many new converts, and established churches all along the northeast Mediterranean. As Christianity grew stronger, dispersing its influence throughout Europe and parts of Asia, many Christians tried to alter the world in violent ways. In the Crusades of the 11th

through 14th centuries, Christians battled Moslems and others for control of the Holy Land. Today, most Christian denominations fund large-scale missionary ventures, and many Protestant sects aim to "win the lost" through campaigns like the Billy Graham Crusades. Beyond proselytizing, Christian groups are attempting to alter political realities (e.g., Moral Majority), television programming (e.g., Coalition for Better Television), and the realities of poverty and hunger (e.g., Bread for the World) and racism (e.g., National Council of Churches).

Even when they turn contemplative, Christians often do so in order to change the world, with meditation and prayer often aimed partly at becoming attuned to God and partly at convincing God to alter certain realities. Many regard this as consistent with Jesus's instruction to "Ask, and you will receive; seek, and you will find; knock, and the door will be opened to you" (Luke 11:9). At other times, prayer and meditation are intended to strengthen the prayerful person for social activism aimed at changing the world (see Merton, 1961, 1968, 1971). In summary, Christianity, although it is embedded within the context of secondary control that frames most religions, has a number of important manifestations that appear to reflect an emphasis on primary control.

The history and current practice of Zen Buddhism reflect a considerably heavier emphasis on secondary control than is the case with Christianity. An important objective for Zen Buddhists is to purge themselves of intense desire for realities that do not exist and to achieve a state of bliss, enlightenment, or "transcendental awareness."⁵ Zen adherents are trained not to attempt to alter existing realities, even those that appear to provoke misery and suffering. Instead, with enlightenment, Buddhists change their orientation toward those realities. Such acts of interpretation or reorientation in Zen exemplify interpretive secondary control. Whereas Christians are inclined to alter adverse realities, for example, by good deeds, Zen Buddhists are more likely to view good deeds as "not only of little merit in themselves, but often a hindrance to true insight"

⁵ The enlightenment experience itself involves an altered perception of human realities (e.g., misery), not an attempt to alter those realities. However, one might argue that Buddhists are interested in altering the human situation to the extent that they attempt to show others the path that they believe will lead to an end of suffering. The Bodhisattva is an important figure in this process. The Bodhisattva is an enlightened person who could enter the state of nirvana (cessation of one's personal suffering), but instead vows to remain in the samsaric realm of ordinary human experience in order to help others attain enlightenment. From our perspective, the Bodhisattva's objective appears to be to help others attain a form of interpretive control for themselves. Thus, the Bodhisattva appears to be altering the world, but only by helping people to accommodate to the realities of that world.

(Noss, 1966, p. 231). By controlling not realities as such but rather their perspective on those realities, Zen Buddhists obtain what one comparative religion scholar has described as "the ultimate expression of self-power" (Fellows, 1979, p. 187).

Zen culture also allows individuals to exercise vicarious secondary control, via an intense alignment with realities in the world. Such Zen culture forms as flower arrangement, stone gardens, haiku poems, and No theater (the highly stylized classical drama of Japan) are designed to give the perceiver a feeling of complete identification with the focal object or event (Hoover, 1977). Consider this haiku, "An old pond, mirror-still/A quick frog, slanting waterward/ A liquid *plop!*" A Zen listener "merges self with pond, then frog, and finally water sound" (Noss, 1966, p. 237). Similarly, in archery, one unites with the arrow spiritually, as it takes flight from the bow (Hoover, 1977). In a number of ways, then, Zen culture emphasizes vicarious control via close alignment with realities in the world.

Another aspect of Japanese philosophy does not reflect Zen Buddhism per se. Although often described as fatalistic, the Japanese are not just passively resigned to fate. Instead, they make active attempts to become allied with fate (*un*). *Un* is generally seen as oscillating between good and bad fortune. The proverb "Fortune and misfortune are like the twisted strands of a rope" is said to mean "good luck and bad luck befall one alternately" (Lebra, 1976, p. 167).⁶ This attitude fosters a belief that one can get into synchrony with the rhythm of chance or flow with the tides of fate. There is a strong prohibition against fighting bad luck, and an ability to peacefully accept one's outcomes *arugamama* (as they are) is considered a sign of great maturity and wisdom (Kondo, 1953; Lebra, 1976). One attempts to adjust self to the ebb and flow of fate, and one strives for *akirame*, the sense that "I am at peace with what fate has given me." The objective is evidently not to change fate but to accommodate to it with an acceptance that marks what we have called illusory secondary control.

The World of Work

In contrast to religion, the world of work has a distinct cast of primary control. Across cultures, people work so as to influence such realities as their income and living conditions. However, the emphasis on primary control may be considerably heavier in the United States than in Japan. American work

traditions emphasize the value of self-reliance, independence, and individual initiative—all attributes that foster primary control. By several measures, American workers are more aggressive than Japanese workers in altering realities in their working worlds. Americans are more likely than the Japanese to strike, and to do so in ways that inflict real damage on their employers (Ouchi, 1981). Americans also exercise primary control by quitting jobs at much higher rates than do Japanese (Cole, 1979; Hsu, 1975; Whitehall & Takezawa, 1968).

American attitudes reflect a core concept that epitomizes primary control: the self-made man—the "archetypical embodiment of the American dream" (Lasch, 1979, p. 53). Williams (1970) wrote, "The [occupational] 'success story' and the respect accorded to the self-made man are distinctly American if anything is" (pp. 454–455). The quest for primary control by the self-made is illustrated by the "MBA phenomenon." The half million Americans who hold Master of Business Administration (MBA) degrees now help to manage many U.S. corporations. They have been described by business experts as creative and hard working, but also as aggressive, controlling, more dedicated to personal advancement than to their companies, and prone to shift companies so as to rise quickly (see, e.g., Friedrich, 1981; Ouchi, 1981). Studies show that workers with MBAs average two job resignations in their first 10 years (Ouchi, 1981). Such evidence has contributed to the view that these workers are "arrogant, highly individualistic operators with no patience for team effort" (Nelson Cornelius, quoted in Friedrich, 1981, p. 60) and that "they tend to be more loyal to their personal careers than to any company" (Thomas Hubbard, quoted in Friedrich, 1981, p. 60). If true, this may reflect societally reinforced values. As the dean of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Business put it, "Our system has a built-in tendency to reward the aggressive loner" (Donald Carroll, quoted in Friedrich, 1981, p. 60). This perception is reflected in such American best sellers as *Looking Out for Number One* (Ringer, 1978) and *Power! How to Get It, How to Use It* (Korda, 1975), and in such ballads as "Take This Job and Shove It" and "I Did It My Way."

Workers in Japan, to a greater extent than in the United States, emphasize the vicarious and predictive forms of secondary control. This is particularly true of the 30% of the work force employed by large, stable, highly successful companies—the employment to which most Japanese workers aspire. In a now all-too-familiar symbol of vicarious control, employees of many of these major companies throughout Japan begin each workday by standing to sing their company songs. (A sample first line is "A bright heart overflowing with life linked together,

⁶ One reason for our exclusion of this line of thought from Zen Buddhism is that the concepts *good* and *bad* are foreign to the nonjudgmental attitude for which many Buddhists strive. A successful practitioner of Buddhism chooses not to judge events as either good or bad, and in making that choice might be seen as achieving a form of interpretive secondary control.

Matsushita Electric.”) The wearing of company colors reflects what most Japanese regard as lifelong identification with their employers (Hsu, 1975; Ouchi, 1981). Successes achieved by the company are experienced vicariously by the workers as their own (Byron, 1981). A favored slogan is “Your team can win, even if you cannot” (Taniuchi, White, & Pollak, 1981, p. 52). Bellah (1957) and Brown (1974) see in this slogan a traditional Japanese ethical principle: The worker dedicates self to the advancement of the group, and “in this way he manages to achieve a kind of mystical union with his group” (Brown, 1974, p. 186). The strength of this “mystical union” is reflected in Whitehall’s (1964) finding that 66% of Japanese workers rated their companies as at least equal in importance to them as their personal lives (compared with 24% of American workers).

Many members of Japanese labor unions appear to agree with the head of the Hitachi Corporation’s 70,000-member union that “what is good for the company is good for the union” (quoted in Byron, 1981, p. 59). To strike in a way that weakens the company is to weaken oneself. Thus, most “strikes,” as Hsu (1975) and Ouchi (1981) describe them, are brief, symbolic, token affairs, often occurring during lunch hour or after closing time, with workers sometimes even making up lost production at no extra cost. In job actions of this sort, Japanese workers strive for primary control via a strike, but do so in a manner that protects their vicarious secondary control.

Two forms of secondary control may be seen in the *ringi* system that the Japanese use to achieve consensus in business decisions. *Ringi* involves five invariant steps (detailed by Hsu, 1975): (a) a proposal, written up by the middle management group, (b) cautious “horizontal” consideration of the proposal by those at about the middle management level, (c) cautious “vertical” consideration of the proposal by those above and below the middle level, (d) formal affixment of seals to the *ringisho* document containing the proposal, and (e) final, deliberate ambiguity regarding authority and responsibility for the proposal. The five steps permit all participants to feel that the group to which they belong has shaped the final product, but that no individual has. In our terminology, the procedure seems calculated to discourage primary control and foster vicarious secondary control. The fixed nature of the *ringi* steps also ensures considerable predictive secondary control. Each individual foregoes personal, primary control over the final decision, but each gains control in the form of certainty as to how the decision will be reached and certainty that it will be accepted. Thus, uncertainty and risk are minimized for all who participate.

Both predictive and vicarious secondary control

can be found within the clear status hierarchy of most Japanese organizations. Clear lines of status and formalized rituals related to status permit a person to unambiguously identify superiors and inferiors and to predict with precision the nature of his or her interactions with others, for example, how deferent each person will be and what forms of address will be used. This minimizes uncertainty, anxiety, and disappointment. Japanese business people and professionals, meeting for the first time, immediately exchange business cards; this instantly clarifies the up and down vectors in their relationship and fixes the language and behavior each will use with the other (Morrow, 1983).

Japanese workers seem surprisingly capable of deriving vicarious secondary control from the status of their superiors. Hsu (1975) described an interview in which a company official of lower-middle rank showed “a gesture of devotion to his office superior which I had never experienced in the Western world” (p. 215). At the end of the interview in the employee’s small, sparsely furnished office, the employee said, “Let me show you the office of my Section Chief.” He then escorted Hsu to a well-furnished office three times the size of his own, pointed to a large, ornamented desk, “and proudly said, ‘This is the desk of my Section Chief’ ” (p. 215). To achieve such a secondary forms of control means that workers must align themselves with their employers and supervisors and relinquish primary control to a degree that most Americans might resist. For example, Whitehall (1964) found that 54% of Japanese workers indicated that they would normally offer their seat on a crowded bus to their immediate supervisor who had just entered; only 4% of the U.S. sample said they would do so. Yet, for people reared to value secondary control as strongly as the Japanese appear to, the gains may be worth the sacrifice.⁷

Psychotherapy

Psychotherapy in both Japan and the United States is aimed at helping people change so as to better

⁷ One can find apparent exceptions to the general pattern described here—for example, in the aggressive, competitive style of Japanese marketing. Note, however, that this competitiveness is manifest among corporations often across national boundaries, and thus between groups; it appears to be relatively rare among individual Japanese within the same corporation and even rarer among individual Japanese within the same work group. In Japan, competitive behavior toward out-groups appears more acceptable than competitive behavior toward members of one’s own in-group. Individual Japanese do engage in highly competitive behavior on behalf of their employer, but often in ways that seem calculated to minimize attention and credit to themselves as individuals and maximize the power and prestige of their corporation as a whole. From our perspective, it appears that one effect of this behavior may be to enhance vicarious secondary control by enhancing the power of the employer with whom the employee is aligned.

adapt to their world. Psychotherapists in both cultures treat behavior problems or "symptoms" as realities in the patient's or client's world that require some form of treatment. However, psychotherapies in the two cultures appear to differentially emphasize primary and secondary control. To illustrate, we will focus on two of the most prominent schools of therapy in each culture—the psychoanalytic and behavioral schools in the United States and the Morita and naikan schools in Japan.

Although psychoanalytic and behavioral approaches differ in many ways, they share an important general goal with respect to control of symptoms or problem behaviors. Freud (1916/1963) described psychoanalysis as a "battle" in which "we must make ourselves masters of the symptoms and resolve them" (p. 454). Before analysis could be ended Freud required that "the patient shall no longer be suffering from his symptoms and shall have overcome his anxieties and his inhibitions" (p. 219). Altering symptoms or behavioral problems is also a central objective of behavior therapy, although its precepts and procedures differ markedly from those of psychoanalysis. Despite numerous differences among the various behavioral perspectives, therapists who advocate operant procedures (e.g., Ayllon & Azrin, 1968), respondent methods (e.g., Wolpe & Lazarus, 1966), observational learning approaches (e.g., Bandura, 1977), and cognitive behavior modification strategies (e.g., Meichenbaum, 1977) seem united as to the central importance of identifying, then altering, problem behaviors. By supporting individuals' efforts to modify existing symptoms or problem behaviors to fit their wishes, psychoanalytic and behavioral therapists are emphasizing primary control to a greater extent than many of their Japanese counterparts.

In Japan the Morita approach is a popular method used to treat diverse neurotic and psychophysiological problems. Morita therapy (described in detail by Lebra, 1976; Miura & Usa, 1970; and Reynolds, 1976, 1980) involves a period of isolated bed rest and structured meditation, then meditation with light manual activity (e.g., sweeping), then heavy manual labor (e.g., chopping wood) combined with meditation and reading of Moritist literature, and finally "life training", that is, a combination of social activities, meditation, reading of Moritist literature, and sessions with the therapist. The principal objective of Morita therapy is not to alter symptoms, but rather to alter the client's perspective on them. Clients are encouraged to perceive their symptoms as a natural part of themselves, to accept the symptoms,⁸ and "to work, socialize, and behave normally

in spite of them" (Reynolds, 1980, p. 12). Consider anxiety, for example. An American expert on Morita therapy notes that "for almost all Western psychotherapies, anxiety is an intrusive element . . . like a fever or rash, . . . something to be erased," but the client in Morita therapy is encouraged "to see his anxiety as part of himself, not as an appended symptom" (Reynolds, 1980, p. 12). Clients are encouraged "to obey their own nature" (Miura & Usa, 1970, p. 25), and according to a Japanese psychiatrist (quoted in Reynolds, 1980) "a patient is considered cured when he has stopped groping for means to relieve his symptoms" (p. 34).

The Moritist concept of a cure is illustrated by this self-report from a former Moritist client: "I would say that I am completely cured. . . . I can still pinpoint these conditions which I had thought to be symptoms. . . . These worries and anxieties make me prepare thoroughly for the daily work I have to do. They prevent me from being careless. They are expressions of the desire to grow and to develop. All I have to do now is to get going, by leaving all my symptoms as they are" (Kora, 1967, pp. 92–98). Here we see the epitome of interpretive secondary control. Rather than attempt to alter existing realities, one alters one's perspective on those realities so as to find purpose or meaning in them and thus accept them as they are. In fact, "the main tenet of Morita therapeutic philosophy is the imperative of accepting things *arugamama*, 'as they are'" (Lebra, 1976, p. 223).

Naikan therapy (described in detail by Lebra, 1976; Murase, 1974; and Reynolds, 1980) also stresses understanding and accepting symptoms via reinterpretation. Naikan (*nai* means "within"; *kan* means "looking") involves guided introspection aimed at attitude change. Lebra (1976) described naikan as the method that "best elucidates the core values of Japanese culture" (p. 201). The procedure involves continuous, carefully structured, solitary meditation, initially in a small enclosed space, from early morning until late at night. The client's *sensei* (guide) hears "confessions" and gives meditation instructions. Meditation topics involve a sequence of significant others in the patient's past, for example, mother, father, siblings, teachers, spouse, employers, friends. Focusing on one person at a time, clients reflect upon (a) kindnesses received from that person during specified periods of their lives, (b) how little they have returned to that person, and (c) how many "troubles and worries" they have caused that person (Murase, 1974).

Ideally, these meditations provoke an emotionally intense "restructuring of the client's view of his past . . . along with a reassessment of his self-image and his current social relationships" (Reynolds, 1980, pp. 47–48). A resultant sense of gratitude to others

⁸ American therapists sometimes give similar suggestions to their clients, but, interestingly, when they do so, the suggestions are often called "paradoxical" interventions.

and a desire to repay those others are expected to generate "joy, new purpose, and new meaning in life" (Reynolds, 1980, p. 48). The specific problems that caused the client to seek treatment may or may not be altered. Changes in behavior problems are considered "merely circumstantial by-products of the working out of naikan's genuine purpose—changing the client's attitude toward his past" (Reynolds, 1980, p. 65). Instead of primary control via symptom elimination, naikan therapy appears to offer its clients a sense of meaning and purpose that will afford interpretive secondary control regardless of whether symptoms have been changed.

A Cautionary Note: Limiting Features of This Survey

The reader should be aware of two limitations of the approach taken in the foregoing discussion. First, we have blended examples from the past and the present for both cultures. We must emphasize that both cultures continue to evolve and that at least some Japanese-American differences that were obvious and profound some years ago appear to be less marked today. This may be due in part to the intense mutual awareness of our two populations in recent years.

A second limitation of our approach is that it has been necessarily selective. We have focused on domains of living that appear to be closely related to core subdisciplines of psychology (i.e., developmental, educational, personality, social-organizational, and clinical). In future work, other domains will need to be examined as well.

We focused our discussion on the primary-secondary control construct, believing that it provides a conceptual framework that can enhance understanding of the cultural differences discussed. It would also be possible to account for at least some of the cross-cultural differences by reference to such important alternative constructs as "internal-external," "individualistic-collectivistic," "achieving-affiliative," "direct action-palliation" (Lazarus, 1976), or "alloplastic-autoplastic" (Hartmann, 1958). However, we believe that the construct of primary-secondary control offers somewhat broader explanatory power. For example, it generates an explanation of cultural differences in behaviors such as prediction and interpretation of events—behaviors that are not quite so readily subsumed by those alternative construct systems. Given this perspective, and space limitations, we have not spelled out how the various alternative construct systems might have dealt with the American-Japan differences. With these limiting features of our analysis in mind, let us now turn our attention to the question of optimum adaptation.

Primary Control, Secondary Control, and the Pursuit of Equilibrium

As suggested earlier, we construe the relation between primary and secondary control as essentially synergic, with the interplay of both required for optimum adaptation. The relative emphasis placed on the two processes is likely to vary as a function of person, situation, and control objectives. However, across situations, individuals, and even cultures generally, there may be a drift toward such a heavy emphasis on either primary or secondary control that the synergic complement is underemphasized and adaptation is undermined. In this section, we give a few apparent examples of such drift; in the process, we illustrate some benefits and costs of primary and secondary control.

Child Rearing, Socialization, and the "Commons Dilemma"

Japanese patterns of child rearing and socialization seem to foster self-discipline, politeness, attentiveness to others, a strong sense of personal and group identity, and confidence as to appropriate behavior in a variety of situations. As Morrow (1983) said, "Everywhere in Japan, one senses an intricate serenity that comes to a people who know exactly what to expect from each other" (p. 22). Japanese patterns also foster the preservation of traditions and social institutions. However, some argue that the Japanese people's intense capacity for accommodation makes them excessively conforming, overly sensitive to disapproval, prone to read failure not only as a personal humiliation but also as a disgrace to family and in-group members, and even inclined to atone by acts of self-destruction (see Lebra, 1976; Lebra & Lebra, 1974; DeVos, 1973).

The American emphasis on primary control via autonomy and individuation seems to foster self-expression, independent thinking, and creativity. Yet, a number of writers have complained that the trend in America is toward such excessive self-absorption that important social structures are being undermined (Campbell, 1975; Heilbroner, 1974; Hogan, 1975; Milgram, 1974; Schur, 1976; for a conflicting view, see Waterman, 1981) and that individuals are experiencing alienation and loneliness (Kanfer, 1979). This latter argument is quite consistent with Fromm's (1941) view that extremes of freedom lead to loneliness and vacuity. The single-minded pursuit of primary control by individuals within a society can also provoke "commons dilemmas," that is, situations in which community resources are depleted because individual consumers act to satisfy their own wishes without accommodating to the needs of their group as a whole (see Cass & Edney, 1978; Crowe, 1969; Hardin & Baden, 1977). When indi-

viduals take more than their fair share of limited community resources or give less than their fair share to preserve or replenish those resources, they threaten the well-being of their community as a whole. In a world of shrinking resources, child rearing and socialization patterns that encourage extremes of primary control may cost our society more than it can afford.

Religion, Philosophy, and Interactions With the World

Christians are known for their zeal to change the world. When this zeal takes the form of efforts to feed the hungry, shelter the needy, or promote justice, few reasonable people can object. But some have argued that, historically, Christians have often let zeal become zealotry and have favored altering the world by military means. There is some evidence that even today those U.S. Christians who consider themselves most devoted are also the most militaristic (McClelland, 1975; Russell, 1971). Christian zeal, according to McClelland's (1975) detailed historical analysis, "often leads to warfare in the long run" (p. 357). Zen Buddhism, by contrast, offers its adherents the peaceful sense of interpretive control that comes with an acceptance of things as they are. Yet, the way of Zen may risk too easy an acceptance of the way things are. Many forms of human misery can be ameliorated by direct intervention. To simply accept suffering as a reality to which one must accommodate may be taking predictive and interpretive control to unnecessary extremes.

Perhaps an optimum balance between primary and secondary control can be found in some sects that manage to significantly alter realities in the world although avoiding excessive militarism. The Quakers, for example, have traditionally enjoyed a rich sense of vicarious participation in God's control; they have stressed "that God is in man" (McClelland, 1975, p. 359) and that the "central part of the human self [is] identical with God" (Russell, 1971, p. 65). The Quakers believe that all human beings are unified with God and that "the divinity in all human beings . . . makes violence against them violence against God" (McClelland, 1975, p. 359). By emphasizing this view, the Quakers have avoided militarism while exerting a high level of primary control in such forms as underground railroads for liberation of slaves in the 1800s and antiwar activism in the 1900s. The Quakers demonstrate that it is possible to balance primary and secondary control within a single religious faith, sustaining a sense of alignment with God while actively promoting humane values in the world.

In addressing this complex issue we must emphasize two key points. First, the heterogeneity and flux of American and Japanese cultures are such

that both pacifism and militarism can be found in the histories of both nations. For example, whatever the influence of Zen on the Japanese, it clearly did not prevent a succession of warlords and warriors from attempting to influence events in military ways; nor did it prevent Japan from attacking China in the 1890s and other countries in the first half of the 1900s. As with certain other exceptions to our analysis, these military acts were directed toward "out-groups" and may also have been seen by some of the perpetrators as mere fulfillment of their karma, acceptance of their predetermined fate. A second key point is that the blend of primary and secondary control that is optimally adaptive for one set of circumstances may be quite maladaptive for another set. For example, a number of western European countries are fortunate indeed that the United States did not unilaterally adopt what we have described as the Quaker stance throughout World War II.

Work, Morale, and Innovation

In the world of work, the American emphasis on primary control by the "self-made" has generated such obvious benefits as high salaries and creative technology. However, this emphasis can foster an exploitative, combat mentality, with employees winning concessions in times of high profit, employers winning in recessionary times, and both factions feeling insecure in times of flux. This mentality, as Dore (1973) and Ouchi (1981) have suggested, can seriously undermine both work quality and morale.

The Japanese, by contrast, have the security of predictive and vicarious control, but these benefits come at a cost. For the individual employee, one cost may be immobility. For example, to resign one's first job with a major corporation, regardless of the reasons, is to risk being labeled self-centered and disloyal for most of one's career (Fürstenburg, 1974; Hsu, 1975; Imai, 1975; Ouchi, 1981). At a broader level, the Japanese system seems to have "discouraged individual creativity and, with it, far-reaching product inventions" (Lohr, 1982, p. 1). Critics of the Japanese system underscore this point by noting that Japan has had only four Nobel laureates. One of these four, Leo Esaki, argues that the Japanese lack the American penchant for innovation because they fear losing the security of what we call predictive control. "The Japanese," he has said, "never challenge the unknown" (quoted in Lohr, 1982, p. 6).

Recently, some people have proposed ways of combining the primary control strengths of U.S. practices and the secondary control strengths of Japanese practices (see, e.g., Ouchi, 1981). A number of Japanese corporations establishing U.S. facilities are, in effect, attempting in vivo experiments of this type. One example is the Sony corporation's San

Diego plant. Since 1972, the 1,800 Americans who work there have been exposed to an intriguing blend of opportunities for primary control (e.g., they monitor their own work hours) and secondary control (e.g., they frequently meet with company officials to hear about company goals and successes, apparently in order to enhance their identification with their employer). In the years since the introduction of these changes, there has been considerable evidence of close employee alignment with the employer: Resignations have been rare, employees have repeatedly voted down unionization, and productivity has come to rival that of Sony plants in Japan (Coutu, 1981). However, there is as yet little evidence on whether the Sony efforts (or similar efforts by other Japanese firms) have sustained or inhibited the American penchant for individual innovation and creativity.

Psychotherapy: Changing the Changeable and Accepting the Rest

Finally, we return to the domain of psychotherapy. American approaches, considered together, evidently produce more symptom change than do nontreatment or placebo controls (Landman & Dawes, 1982; Shapiro & Shapiro, 1982; Smith & Glass, 1977; Smith, Glass, & Miller, 1980; but see critiques by Eysenck, 1978; and Frank, 1979). However, nearly all clients have some intransigent problems, and with such problems therapies that focus more or less exclusively on producing change may be of limited value. Japan's Morita and naikan therapists may be of help in these situations, but their prescription of reinterpretation and acceptance is offered for so broad an array of problems that real opportunities to reduce distress in a direct, primary way may often be missed.

The fact is that virtually every client presents a complex mix of problems, some amenable to primary control, but others appropriate targets only for secondary control, particularly in its interpretive form. This may also apply to other candidates for mental health care more broadly construed. Mentally retarded persons, for example, manifest some specific personality and learning problems that seem amenable to primary control (e.g., a tendency toward helpless behavior—see Weisz, 1981, 1983; Zigler, 1973); they also have basic cognitive deficits that are difficult to alter, but interpretable in a light that can foster acceptance (i.e., their intellectual abilities tend to meet normal expectations for people of their cognitive developmental level—see Weisz & Zigler, 1979; Weisz & Yeates, 1981).

Similarly, alcoholism evidently involves a combination of alterable factors and factors that one may try only to understand and accept (see Vaillant & Milofsky, 1982). For example, most reformed

alcoholics have achieved understanding and acceptance of certain perceived realities (e.g., "I am an alcoholic") as well as primary control over other realities (e.g., refusing to take "that first drink"). In fact, the serenity prayer adopted by Alcoholics Anonymous evokes precisely the blend of primary and secondary control that we are describing here. It is a plea for "the serenity to accept the things I cannot change, the courage to change the things I can, and the wisdom to know the difference."

Conclusions: On the Intransigence of Cultural Patterns

In discussing psychotherapy and the other domains, we have addressed the prospects for balancing primary and secondary control in adaptive ways, but we have deliberately made this article more descriptive than prescriptive. One reason is that the cultural patterns described here appear to be deeply ingrained and resistant to change. These patterns (a) have multiple causes (both historical and contemporary), (b) form interlocking systems, and (c) are enforced by sanctions against alternatives. Moreover, as the ancient proverb has it, "The fish are the last to discover water." People may become so immersed in their styles of achieving control that they are not fully aware of their habitual patterns. Perhaps viewing ourselves through a cross-cultural lens will broaden our array of coping skills, perhaps not. Either way, the experience may give us a clearer view of the water.

REFERENCES

- Abramson, L. Y., Seligman, M. E. P., & Teasdale, J. (1978). Learned helplessness in humans: Critique and reformulation. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 87*, 49-74.
- American Bible Society. (1976). Good news bible. New York: American Bible Society.
- Asch, S. E. (1956). Studies of independence and conformity: I. A minority of one against a unanimous majority. *Psychological Monographs, 70* (Whole No. 416).
- Averill, J. R. (1973). Personal control over aversive stimuli and its relationship to stress. *Psychological Bulletin, 80*, 286-303.
- Ayllon, T., & Azrin, N. H. (1968). *The token economy: A motivational system for therapy and rehabilitation*. New York: Appleton.
- Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. *Psychological Review, 84*, 191-215.
- Barnlund, D. C. (1975). *Public and private self in Japan and the United States*. Tokyo: Simul Press.
- Befu, H. (1971). *Japan: An anthropological introduction*. San Francisco: Chandler.
- Bellah, R. N. (1957). *Tokugawa religion*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
- Benedict, R. (1946). *The chrysanthemum and the sword*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Bond, M. H., & Tornatzky, L. G. (1973). Locus of control in students from Japan and the United States: Dimensions and levels of response. *Psychologia, 16*, 209-213.
- Brown, W. (1974). Japanese management: The cultural background. In T. S. Lebra & W. P. Lebra (Eds.), *Japanese culture and behavior* (pp. 174-191). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

- Bulman, R. J., & Wortman, C. B. (1977). Attributions of blame and coping in the "real world": Severe accident victims react to their lot. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35, 351-363.
- Burgess, A. W., & Holstrom, L. L. (1979). Adaptive strategies and recovery from rape. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 136, 1278-1282.
- Byron, C. (1981, March 30). How Japan does it. *Time*, pp. 54-60.
- Campbell, D. T. (1975). On the conflicts between biological and social evolution and between psychology and moral tradition. *American Psychologist*, 30, 1103-1126.
- Carmichael, L. M., & Carmichael, R. S. (1972). Observations of the behavior of Japanese kindergarten children. *Psychologia*, 15, 46-52.
- Cass, R., & Edney, J. J. (1978). The commons dilemma: A simulation testing the effects of resource visibility and territorial division. *Journal of Human Ecology*, 6, 371-386.
- Caudill, W., & Plath, D. W. (1966). Who sleeps by whom? Parent-child involvement in urban Japanese families. *Psychiatry*, 29, 344-366.
- Caudill, W., & Weinstein, H. (1974). Maternal care and infant behavior in Japan and America. In T. S. Lebra & W. P. Lebra (Eds.), *Japanese culture and behavior* (pp. 226-276). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Cole, R. E. (1979). *Work, mobility, and participation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Conroy, M., Hess, R. D., Azuma, H., & Kashiwagi, K. (1980). Maternal strategies for regulating children's behavior: Japanese and American families. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 11, 153-172.
- Coutu, D. L. (1981, March 30). *Consensus in San Diego*, *Time*, p. 58.
- Crowe, B. (1969). The tragedy of the commons revisited. *Science*, 166, 1103-1107.
- deCharms, R. (1979). Personal causation and perceived control. In L. C. Perlmutter & R. A. Monty (Eds.), *Choice and perceived control* (pp. 29-40). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- DeVos, G. A. (1973). *Socialization for achievement*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Dewey, J. (1929). *My pedagogical creed*. Washington, DC: The Progressive Education Association.
- Doi, L. T. (1962). Amae: A key concept for understanding Japanese personality structure. In R. J. Smith & R. K. Beardsley (Eds.), *Japanese culture: Its development and characteristics* (pp. 61-84). Chicago: Aldine.
- Dore, R. P. (1958). *City life in Japan*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Dore, R. P. (1973). *British factory—Japanese factory*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ducette, J., & Wolk, S. (1973). Cognitive and motivational correlates of generalized expectancies for control. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 26, 420-426.
- Evans, H. M. (1981). Internal-external locus of control and word association: Research with Japanese and American students. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 12, 372-382.
- Eysenck, H. J. (1978). An exercise in meta-silliness. *American Psychologist*, 33, 517.
- Fellows, W. J. (1979). *Religions East and West*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.
- Frank, J. (1979). The present status of outcome studies. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 47, 310-316.
- Freud, S. (1963). *Introductory lectures on psychoanalysis* (Part III). In J. Strachey (Ed. and Trans.), *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud* (Vol. 16). London: The Hogarth Press. (Original work published in 1916)
- Friedrich, O. (1981, May 4). The money chase. *Time*, pp. 58-69.
- Fromm, E. (1941). *Escape from freedom*. New York: Reinhardt.
- Fürstenburg, F. (1974). *Why the Japanese have been so successful in business*. London, England: Leviathan House.
- Hall, G. S. (1901). The ideal school as based on child study. *Forum*, 32, 24-39.
- Hardin, G., & Baden, J. (1977). *Managing the commons*. New York: Freeman.
- Hartmann, H. (1958). *Ego psychology and the problem of adaptation*. New York: International Press.
- Heilbroner, R. L. (1974). The human prospect. *New York Review of Books*, 21, 21-34.
- Hetherington, E., & Frankie, G. (1967). Effects of parental dominance, warmth, and conflict on imitation in children. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 6, 119-125.
- Hogan, R. (1975). Theoretical egocentrism and the problem of compliance. *American Psychologist*, 30, 533-540.
- Hoover, T. (1977). *Zen culture*. New York: Random House.
- Hsu, F. L. K. (1975). *Iemoto: The heart of Japan*. New York: Wiley.
- Imai, M. (1975). *Never take yes for an answer: An inside look at Japanese business for foreign businessmen*. Tokyo: Simul Press.
- Janoff-Bulman, R., & Brickman, P. (1980). Expectations and what people learn from failure. In N. T. Feather (Ed.), *Expectancy, incentive and action* (pp. 30-45). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Johnson, R. D., & Downing, L. L. (1979). Deindividuation and valence of cues: Effects on prosocial and antisocial behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37, 1523-1538.
- Kahle, L. R. (1980). Stimulus condition self-selection by males in the interaction of locus of control and skill-chance situations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38, 50-56.
- Kanfer, F. H. (1979). Personal control, social control, and altruism: Can society survive the age of individualism? *American Psychologist*, 34, 231-239.
- Kohlberg, L. (1969). *Stages in the development of moral thought and action*. New York: Holt.
- Kondo, A. (1953). Morita therapy: A Japanese therapy for neurosis. *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 13, 31-37.
- Kora, T. (1967, March 6-8). *Jibun wo shiru (Know thyself)*. NHK reprint of radio broadcast.
- Korda, M. (1975). *Power! How to get it, how to use it*. New York: Random House.
- Landman, J. T., & Dawes, R. M. (1982). Psychotherapy outcome: Smith and Glass' conclusions stand up under scrutiny. *American Psychologist*, 37, 504-516.
- Langer, E. J. (1979). The illusion of incompetence. In L. C. Perlmutter & R. A. Monty (Eds.), *Choice and perceived control* (pp. 301-314). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Lasch, C. (1979). *The culture of narcissism: American life in an age of diminishing expectations*. New York: Norton.
- Lazarus, R. S. (1966). *Psychological stress and the coping process*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Lazarus, R. S. (1976). *Patterns of adjustment* (3rd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Lebra, T. S. (1976). *Japanese patterns of behavior*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Lebra, T. S., & Lebra, W. P. (Eds.). (1974). *Japanese culture and behavior*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Lefcourt, H. M. (1973). The functions of the illusions of control and freedom. *American Psychologist*, 28, 417-425.
- Lohr, S. (1982, June 13). Japan struggling with itself. *New York Times* (Business section), pp. 1-6.
- Mahler, I. (1974). A comparative study of locus of control. *Psychologia*, 17, 135-138.
- Mahler, I., Greenberg, L., & Hayashi, H. (1981). A comparative study of rules of justice: Japanese versus American. *Psychologia*, 24, 1-8.
- Matsuda, M. (1974). *Nihoushiki ikujihō (Child rearing, Japanese style)*, (2nd ed.). Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- McClelland, D. C. (1975). *Power: The inner experience*. New York: Irvington.

- McGinnies, E. I., Nordholm, C., Ward, C. D., & Bhanthumnavin, D. (1974). Sex and cultural differences in perceived locus of control among students in five countries. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 42*, 451-455.
- Meichenbaum, D. (1977). *Cognitive behavior modification*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Merton, T. (1961). *The new man*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy.
- Merton, T. (1968). *Faith and violence: Christian teaching and Christian practice*. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press.
- Merton, T. (1971). *Contemplation in a world of action*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Milgram, S. (1974). *Obedience to authority: An experimental view*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Miller, S. M., & Grant, R. P. (1980). The blunting hypothesis: A theory of predictability and human stress. In P. O. Sjoder, S. Bates, & W. R. Dockens (Eds.), *Trends in behavior therapy* (pp. 138-151). New York: Academic Press.
- Miura, M., & Usa, S. (1970). A psychotherapy of neurosis: Morita therapy. *Psychologia, 13*, 18-35.
- Morris, C. W. (1956). *Varieties of human value*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Morris, C., & Jones, L. V. (1955). Value scales and dimensions. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 51*, 523-535.
- Morrow, L. (1983, August 1). All the hazards and threats of success. *Time*, pp. 20-25.
- Morsbach, H. (1980). Major psychological factors influencing Japanese interpersonal relations. In N. Warren (Ed.), *Studies in cross-cultural psychology* (Vol. 2) New York: Academic Press.
- Murase, T. (1974). Naikan therapy. In T. S. Lebra & W. P. Lebra (Eds.), *Japanese culture and behavior* (pp. 431-442). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Norbeck, E., & DeVos, G. A. (1972). Culture and personality: The Japanese. In F. L. K. Hsu (Ed.) *Psychological anthropology* (pp. 21-70). Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing Co.
- Noss, J. B. (1966). *Man's religions* (3rd ed.). New York: MacMillan.
- Ouchi, W. G. (1981) *Theory Z*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Parsons, O. A., & Schneider, J. M. (1974). Locus of control in university students from Eastern and Western societies. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 42*, 456-461.
- Reynolds, D. K. (1976). *Morita psychotherapy*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Reynolds, D. K. (1980). *The quiet therapies: Japanese pathways to personal growth*. Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press.
- Ringer, R. J. (1978). *Looking out for number one*. New York: Fawcette.
- Rothbaum, F., Weisz, J. R., & Snyder, S. S. (1982). Changing the world and changing the self: A two-process model of perceived control. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 42*, 5-37.
- Rotter, J. B., & Mulry, R. C. (1965). Internal vs. external control of reinforcement and decision time. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 2*, 598-604.
- Russell, E. W. (1971). Christianity and militarism. *Peace Research Reviews, 4*, 1-77.
- Schur, E. (1976). *The Awareness Trap*. New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co.
- Seagoe, M. V., & Murakami, K. (1961). A comparative study of children's play in America and Japan. *California Journal of Educational Research, 12*, 124-130.
- Shapiro, D. A., & Shapiro, D. (1982). Meta-analysis of comparative therapy outcome studies: A replication and refinement. *Psychological Bulletin, 92*, 581-604.
- Skinner, E. A., & Chapman, M. (1983, April). Control beliefs in an action-perspective. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Detroit, MI.
- Smith, M. L., & Glass, G. V. (1977). Meta-analysis of psychotherapy outcome studies. *American Psychologist, 32*, 752-760.
- Smith, M. L., Glass, G. V., & Miller, T. I. (1980). *The benefits of psychotherapy*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Spock, B. (1968). *Baby and child care*. New York: Pocket Books.
- Stigler, J. W., Lee, S., Lucker, G. W., & Stevenson, H. W. (1982). Curriculum and achievement in mathematics: A study of elementary school children in Japan, Taiwan, and the United States. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 74*, 315-322.
- Taniuchi, L., White, M., & Pollak, S. (1981). *Draft summary of Bernard van Leer Project on human potential workshop on United States and Japanese perspectives on potential*. Unpublished manuscript, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Graduate School of Education.
- Toda, M., Shinotsuka, H., McClintock, C. G., & Stech, F. J. (1978). Development of competitive behavior as a function of culture, age, and social comparison. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 36*, 825-839.
- Ueda, K. (1974). Sixteen ways to avoid saying "no" in Japan. In J. Cordon & M. Saito (Eds.), *Intercultural encounters with Japan: Communication, contact and conflict*. Tokyo: Simul Press.
- Vaillant, G. E., & Milofsky, E. S. (1982). The etiology of alcoholism: A prospective viewpoint. *American Psychologist, 37*, 504-516.
- Vogel, E., & Vogel, S. H. (1961). Family security, personal immaturity, and emotional health in a Japanese sample. *Marriage and Family Living, 23*, 161-166.
- Waterman, A. S. (1981). Individualism and interdependence. *American Psychologist, 36*, 762-773.
- Weisz, J. R. (1981). Learned helplessness in black and white children identified by their schools as mentally retarded: Performance deterioration in response to failure. *Developmental Psychology, 17*, 499-508.
- Weisz, J. R. (1982). Learned helplessness and the retarded child. In E. Zigler & D. Balla (Eds.), *Mental retardation: The developmental-difference controversy* (pp. 27-40). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Weisz, J. R. (1983). Can I control it? The pursuit of veridical answers across the life span. In P. B. Baltes & O. G. Brim (Eds.), *Life span development and behavior* (Vol. 5, pp. 234-300). New York: Academic Press.
- Weisz, J. R. (in press). Understanding the child's developing understanding of control. In M. Perlmutter (Ed.), *Minnesota Symposium on Child Psychology* (Vol. 18). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Weisz, J. R., & Yeates, K. O. (1981). Cognitive development in retarded and nonretarded persons: Piagetian tests of the similar structure hypothesis. *Psychological Bulletin, 90*, 153-178.
- Weisz, J. R., & Zigler, E. (1979). Cognitive development in retarded and nonretarded persons: Piagetian tests of the similar sequence hypothesis. *Psychological Bulletin, 86*, 831-851.
- Whitehall, A. M. (1964). Cultural values and employee attitudes: United States and Japan. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 48*, 68-72.
- Whitehall, A. M., & Takezawa, S. (1968). *The other worker: A comparative study of industrial relations in the United States and Japan*. Honolulu: East-West Center Press.
- Williams, R. (1970). *American society*. New York: Knopf.
- Wolpe, J., & Lazarus, A. A. (1966). *Behavior therapy techniques*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Zigler, E. (1973). Motivational factors in the performance of the retarded child. In F. Richardson (Ed.), *Brain and intelligence: The ecology of child development* (pp. 59-69). Hyattsville, MD: National Education Press.