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Social Support Seeking Processes in Japan and the United States: A Multi-layered Approach

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BY

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DISSERTATION

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my father, who dreamed of visiting my family in the U.S. while he battled against cancer. Thanks to your support and care from heaven, I am relieved to keep my promise to you to obtain my doctoral degree.

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ABSTRACT

The current study investigated cultural, familial, and individual differences in social support seeking processes between Japan and the United States by applying face negotiation theory (FNT). The application of FNT contributed to understanding social support seeking processes by utilizing such concepts as national cultures, and horizontal-vertical individualism and collectivism (I-C) as cultural variables, family communication patterns (FCP) as meso-cultural variables, self-construals as culturally influenced individual variables, and face concerns as situational and relational variables.

Using the FNT framework, the current study focused on the following five aspects: (a) cross-cultural comparisons of the amount of social support seeking and coping styles, (b) relationships between national cultures and social support seeking styles, (c) relationships between vertical and horizontal I-C and social support seeking, (d) relationships among national cultures, FCP, and social support seeking, and (e) an overall model of face-negotiation processes. In total, nine hypotheses and seven research questions were posed.

A questionnaire survey was administered to 252 Japanese university students and

262 U.S. American university students. Many hypotheses were supported in the following areas: a) cross-cultural differences in the amount of social support seeking were found, with the Japanese less likely to seek social support than U.S. Americans, b) FCP, including both conversation and conformity orientations, was a positive predictor of social support seeking, c) vertical collectivism was a positive predictor of the amount of social support seeking, d) the effects of national cultures were fully mediated by FCP with regard to social support seeking. However, hypotheses on the overall face-negotiation model were not supported because self-construals and face concerns had little impact on social support seeking. The current study did not make a clear explanation of the roles of self-construals and face concerns to social support seeking. Nonetheless, the current study was successful in explaining the multilayered cultural effects of national cultures and FCP on social support seeking processes.

The results of the current study may directly contribute to understanding a social ecological model to explain and predict interpersonal behavior across cultures from macro- and meso-levels of culture. However, the potential for extending the FNT framework from conflict communication to social support seeking processes needs to be further explored. Because the present study revealed that Japanese participants tended to seek social support less than their U.S. American counterparts due to cultural, familial, and personal differences, more training and pedagogy may be concentrated in these areas. Both the Japanese and U.S. Americans may benefit from being able to reconsider and reflect on their communication processes by knowing different approaches to supportive communication. In doing so, they may gain a wider perspective and build better interpersonal communication skills.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

People cannot live their daily lives alone. Rather, they spend their lives by helping each other especially when they are in need. Some people need emotional support from others in close relationships when they are depressed. Others seek instrumental support when they come across situations that they do not know how to overcome. The Chinese character of "human beings" is written as "人," which symbolizes two persons leaning against each other (i.e., supporting each other). Social support is thus considered an omnipresent and fundamental behavior in our daily lives. Social support promotes the development and maintenance of sound relationships with others (Buhrmester, Furman, Wittenberg, & Reis, 1988), and it also helps increase the level of the receivers' psychological and relational well-being (Wills & Fegan, 2001).

Reflecting on my life as a doctoral student at the University of New Mexico, I received much social support from my family, Japanese friends, American friends, cohort, classmates and professors to name just a few. Because living in Albuquerque was a brand new experience for me, my anxiety and nervousness was very high, but I was relieved when my friends provided me various forms of support whenever I struggled (e.g., worrying about where my family could stay, how I would finish reading and writing assignments, which school my children should attend, how my children should get immunized, and which Japanese restaurant would be more "Japanese"). At the same time I provided social support to my friends, family, and strangers.

Among the different functions of social support, such as providing, receiving, and seeking social support, one of the most different aspects from my cultural experience in the U.S. is seeking help. During my stay, with regard to social support, I had various

incidents that differed greatly from my life in Japan. Among them, one of the most surprising for me was that American students asked many questions of professors, and were quick to make appointments to consult with professors. I personally tended to use more reflective thinking by pondering what the assignment meant and how to go about doing it before asking questions. I asked questions or made appointments to meet professors only when I realized that I was unsure how to finish the assignment.

Perhaps my experience is mainly derived from my personality. However, it may also be cultural. For example, even after the recent tragic earthquake hit the northeastern area of Japan, it is reported that survivors who desperately sought support were calm. CNN reporter Kyung Lah, writing a report titled "Amid disaster, Japan's societal mores remain strong," on March 17, 2011, reported U.S. Americans' surprise when they viewed the calmness of Japanese survivors. It was reported that "unlike other disasters where the world has observed looting, rioting and public outbursts of sorrow and rage, it has seen a country quietly mourning, its people standing patiently for hours in orderly lines for a few bottles of water." Although looting and rioting are clearly different from social support seeking behavior in that they are antisocial, Japanese behavior that strives to accept reality and are less expressive about their emotions in public, even if they feel differently privately, seems to be closely related to the nature of seeking less social support in comparison to other cultures.

These observations of what ways and why the social support seeking processes are different across cultures drove me to embark on this dissertation project. Although my motivation for the current study is personal, cross-cultural comparisons in social support research are not new, and actually several studies of social support have been conducted

in the field of cross-cultural psychology and cross-cultural communication (e.g., for reviews, see Burleson, 2003; Feng & Burleson, 2006). By dealing with a variety of topics including social support, cross-cultural and intercultural communication scholars have utilized the related concepts of individualism-collectivism (I-C) as cultural level variables and self-construals (i.e., independent and interdependent self-construals) as an individual level variable (e.g., Kim, 2005, Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003). Although limitations of using these constructs were reported (for validity see Levine et al., 2003), these studies are beneficial in that people can predict and explain communication behaviors across cultures and also provide remedies about how they can cope with those who have different cultural backgrounds.

Concerning the relative importance of the influence of cultural and individual level factors on communication behavior, several studies found self-construals are more powerful predictors of communication styles such as conflict styles than cultural I-C, although cultural characteristics are still significant predictors (Gudykunst et al., 1996; Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003). Self-construals are defined as mental representations of self, and they are the most general and overarching schemata of the individual's self-system, which define one's cognition, emotion, and motivation (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In social support research, too, self-construals are significant predictors of how people provide social support to others, including support goals, comforting messages, and supportive behaviors (Burleson & Mortenson, 2003; Mortenson, 2005; Mortenson, Liu, Burleson, & Liu, 2006). This means that differences in national cultures may still be worth examining, but simple cross-national comparisons are less useful for predicting and

explaining individuals' communication behavior across cultures. Individual factors such as self-construal may better explain individual practices of social support behavior.

This relative unimportance of national cultural comparisons has been criticized within and across disciplines in that a) cultures are multidimensional (e.g., ethnicity, race, class, gender, and etc.), and b) each individual has hybrid cultures in the globalized world (e.g., Chuang, 2003; Moon, 1996; Ono, 1998). For example, summarizing four articles on culture and communication, Martin and Flores (1998) argued that more research should conceptualize culture not from nation-state membership but from diverse cultural groups that exist within nations. Similarly, problematizing culture as nation-state, Ono (1998) criticized research that produced national stereotypes by stating that "the attempt to make broad, general claims about nations, and then to extrapolate those speculations to apply to the people who live in the geographical spaces those nations circumscribe, especially given the multiracial and multicultural world in which we live, is fraught with problems these foci may serve to make worse rather than better" (p. 197).

Although sole interest in national cultural differences and similarities may be "the insularity of a nationalist paradigm" (Ono, 1998, p. 201), at the same time, national comparisons may broaden individuals' perspectives, promote understanding of the world's cultural diversity, and transform their cultural behavior in "better" ways by knowing these generalized differences. For example, in Japan, the increasing number of those who are socially withdrawn is a significant social problem within a national culture. Social withdrawal refers to those who refuse to leave their house and isolate themselves from society for a period exceeding six months (Cabinet Office, Government of Japan, 2010). Governmental statistics showed that approximately 700,000 youngsters and adults

are estimated to be socially withdrawn and more than 1.5 million Japanese have tendencies to make less contact with the social world (Cabinet Office, Government of Japan, 2010). By comparing and contrasting communication processes, people have a chance to broaden their cognitive and behavioral perspectives. Of course, taking a sole interest in national comparisons always has a high risk of stereotyping national characteristics as Ono (1998) suggested, and people need to be careful about not over generalizing tendencies. Despite some limitations of national comparisons, I believe that this kind of cross-cultural research holds practical value, not only for explaining and predicting communication behaviors across national cultures, but also in providing suggestions for transforming the current society by proposing wider perspectives.

To respond to criticisms against current cross-cultural comparisons, researchers should include another cultural dimension in addition to national cultural differences, and determine possible relationships among macro-cultures (e.g., national level), meso-cultures (e.g., regional, community, and family), and communication behavior. More specifically, to identify possible causal relationships in how people learn to use certain kinds of social interactions, this dissertation will investigate how family communication patterns in two different national cultures (i.e., Japan and the United States) are influenced by national culture and at the same time how these patterns influence individual behavior. These communication patterns are the focus because families are children's main socialization (enculturation) agents. They experience a great part of important interpersonal relationships with their parents and build an internal working model to apply learned skills to other interpersonal relationships (e.g., friends and romantic partners) (Sarason et al., 1987). To illustrate, Sarason et al. (1987) found a

positive relationship between participants' parental supportive styles and the size and satisfaction of their social support network. Although studies that investigated the applicability of the parental styles to other contexts have been conducted in the fields of social and developmental psychology, little has been done to explain the relationship between characteristics of social interactions and the family in the field of communication except for some conflict communication studies. To fill in the gaps of social support research from cultural and communicational perspectives, this project focuses on the relationship between participants' family communication patterns and social support seeking in interpersonal settings.

Among various factors explaining cross-cultural communication behavior, face concerns, or concerns about "an individual's claimed sense of positive image in the context of social interaction" (Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003 p.600), may explain how cultural, familial, and individual factors impact the ways in which and whether social support is sought. This is because social support seeking may negotiate with one's public self-image. To seek social support from someone may jeopardize a person's self-image as strong and independent because others may perceive that person as weak since they cannot solve their own problems by themselves. In contrast, seeking help from others may be linked to be more concerned about support seekers' positive self-images, in that they try to solve problems actively by asking one's help. In other words, social support seeking behaviors may be closely related to self-image concerns for self and others (i.e., face concerns).

The importance of face and its relationship to facework has been studied in conflict communication. In fact, face negotiation theory (FNT), developed by

Ting-Toomey and her associates (Ting-Toomey, 1988, 2005; Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998; Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003), is one of the most promising theories that can explain why conflict styles differ across cultures. Face concerns are factors that predict conflict styles from self-construals. Independent self-construal promotes self-face concerns and uses more dominating styles while interdependent self-construal promotes other-face concerns and uses more integrating and avoiding styles. These principles may be applied to social support seeking processes since less social support seeking may be closely related to group harmony (i.e., high other and mutual face concerns) and positive self-image (i.e., high self-face concerns). However few empirical studies test how face concerns affect communication practices in the context of social support seeking. The general purpose of the current study is to use the FNT framework to describe the social support seeking communication processes across Japan and the United States.

Definitions of Key Terms

This section defines several key terms used in the current project. They include concepts in cultural, familial, and individual levels: (a) social support, (b) social support seeking styles, (c) horizontal-vertical individualism and collectivism, (d) family socialization, (e) self-construals, and (f) face concerns.

Social Support and Support Seeking

Social support is common in everyday life because we experience stressful events that result in distressed emotional states, such as sadness, despair, frustration, anxiety, or fear. Social support is "the perception or experience that one is loved and cared for, esteemed and valued, and part of a social network of mutual assistance and obligations" (Taylor et al., 2004, pp.354-355). Social support can be provided, received, and sought

(Feng & Burleson, 2006). Communication studies explain how people provide and receive social support messages (e.g., Burleson, 2003), but few studies focus upon social support seeking even though support seeking has a substantial impact on the processes and outcomes associated with support provision and support receiption (Feng & Burleson, 2006). Thus, this project will focus on social support seeking to fill this void in social support research.

Social support seeking is a complex process that can be examined from different perspectives. Support seeking is a coping strategy used during difficult or stressful situations (Chang, 2001), and it is also a "communicative behavior performed by an individual who has the desire to receive some form of assistance from another party" (Feng & Burleson, 2006, p. 248). This is why additional social support research should be conducted in the communication discipline as well as related fields such as psychology.

Support Seeking and Coping Styles

Social support seeking is a coping strategy adopted during difficult or stressful situations (Chang, 2001). Thus, support seeking should be categorized as one element of coping styles. Coping is *"*the person's cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage (reduce, minimize, master, or tolerate) the internal and external demands of the person-environment transaction that is appraised as taxing or exceeding the person's resources" (Folkman, Lazarus, Gruen, & DeLongis, 1986, p.572). Coping involves two dimensions: problem-focused and emotion-focused (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). The problem-focused style approaches the causes of the problem to alter the situation or to solve the problem; the emotion-focused style regulates emotion, including managing hostile feelings, distracting one's self, and meditating. Although Folkman et al. (1986)

categorized social support seeking style as emotion-focused, this style is not always categorized as emotion-focused because social support includes both instrumental and emotional functions.

Cultural Variations: horizontal-vertical individualism and collectivism

Definitions of culture are very complex, and there are multiple ways to define it from various approaches (Martin & Nakayama, 2007). In this project, culture is defined from the social scientific paradigm as "a learned system of meanings that foster a particular sense of shared identity-hood among its group members" (Ting-Toomey & Takai, 2006, p. 691). Culture provides "a complex frame of reference that consists of a pattern of traditions, beliefs, values, norms, symbols, and meanings that are shared to varying degrees by interacting members of an identity group" (Ting-Toomey & Takai, 2006, p. 691). Cross-cultural researchers identified several cultural variations, such as high and low context orientation (Hall, 1976), I-C, power distance, femininity-masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, and short-term and long-term orientation (Hofstede, 2001). House et al.'s GLOBE study (2004) replicated and extended Hofstede's study and refined his classifications.

Among several taxonomies, one of the major dimensions of cultural variability that explains cultural difference in communication behavior is a distinction between I-C along with vertical-horizontal orientation (Singelis et al., 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). Individualism is "a social pattern that consists of loosely linked individuals who view themselves as independent of collectives," and collectivism refers to "a social pattern consisting of closely linked individuals who view themselves as parts of one or more collectives (family, co-workers, tribe, and nation)" (Triandis, 1995, p. 2).

Individualism stresses self-identity features, such as autonomy, freedom, and personal goals, while collectivism focuses more on communal and relational identity aspects, and individuals' goals, motivations, and desires are inextricably tied with those of their ingroups. The vertical-horizontal dimension indicates to what extent culture is structured hierarchically or horizontally (Singelis et al., 1995). In vertical cultures, social status or hierarchy is considered as essential, whereas the notions of equality in society are prevalent in horizontal cultures (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998).

Family Socialization: Family Communication Patterns

Family communication patterns may be influenced by broader cultural characteristics, but at the same time, family communication creates a unique culture within the family system. In turn, this culture affects individuals' communication behaviors. Family communication patterns are ''a set of norms governing the trade-off between informational and relational objectives of communication'' (Ritchie & Fitzpatrick, 1990, p. 524). Family communication processes have been of great importance in understanding social interactions because families are the children's main socialization agents. Thus, the communication and relationship skills that children acquire or fail to acquire in their families of origin likely affect the quality of their interpersonal relationships throughout their lifetime. Although not much research exists about the relationship between social support and family communication patterns, conflict communication research provides considerable evidence that suggests that children's conflict styles are similar to those of their parents (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002). Children use similar conflict styles, not only with parents, but also with people outside of their family members (Reese-Weber & Bertle-Haring, 1998).

Individual factors: Self-construals and face concerns

Although past research findings from the national cultural level are useful in understanding culturally different ways of seeking social support (e.g., Burleson & Mortenson, 2003; Samter et al., 1997), these studies have essentialized the differences of social support as cultural phenomena derived from I-C and ignore individual differences. Since national cultures may not be a strong predictor, individual factors that explain social support seeking processes should be included. Here, I believe that face-negotiation models that examine the relationships among face concerns, self-construals and conflict styles can be applied to social support seeking processes because some social support seeking studies already suggest the importance of the role of face concerns (Taylor et al., 2004) and self-construals (Lam & Zane, 2004) but these relationships have not been empirically tested.

Self-construals

Self-construals are features of self-concepts that are influenced by culture. Markus and Kitayama (1991) advanced the theory of self-construals to explain how cultural self-concepts mediate the relationships between national/ethnic cultures, and human cognition, emotion, and motivation. The person who has independent self-construals is a "bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgment and action organized into a distinctive whole" (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 226). In contrast, people who have interdependent self-construals are "more connected and less differentiated from others," and "people are motivated to find a way to fit in with relevant others, to fulfill and create obligation, and in general to become part of various interpersonal relationships" (Markus & Kitayama,

1991, p. 227). In intercultural communication research, face-negotiation theory (Ting-Toomey, 1988, 2005) and culture-based conversational constraints theory (Kim, 2005) utilize the constructs of I-C and self-construals to explicate cultural similarities and differences in communication styles and behavior in interpersonal contexts.

Face and Face Concerns

Studies in the social psychological aspects of social interaction pay attention to the concept of "face," e.g., politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987), revised analysis of politeness theory (Wilson, Aleman, & Leatham, 1998), and face negotiation theory (Ting-Toomey, 1988, 2005). These theories present a comprehensive picture of face as a practice commonly used in social behavior that shapes and is shaped by relationships constructed through interactions. Face issues may be particularly relevant to the support seeking process:

> support seekers may risk several unpleasant outcomes including: loss of self-esteem; appearing incompetent, weak, or foolish in the eyes of others; fostering dependencies on others; exposure to inept support efforts that exacerbate an already difficult situation; undermining the equity balance in a relationship; assuming a subordinate position with respect to the helper; and incurring the obligation to accept whatever advice may be offered, regardless of quality. (Feng & Burleson, 2006, pp. 248-249).

Brown and Levinson (1987) define face as a "person's public self-image and something that is emotionally invested and can be lost, maintained, enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction" (p.61). Facework refers to a set of verbal and nonverbal behaviors, in which face is created, supported, threatened, or challenged

(Brown & Levinson, 1987). Social support seeking messages are one type of facework in which one's face may be threatened, maintained, and challenged.

Theoretically, face contains the locus dimension of self and other (Cai, & Wilson, 2000). Ting-Toomey and Oetzel (2001) add mutual face in addition to self and other face. Self-face means "the protective concern for one's own image," while other-face is "the concern for accommodating the other party's image" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 37). Mutual-face is "the concern for both parties' images, the image of the relationship, or all three" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 37). Although mutual face concerns may be related to the self- and other-face, this separates them from individual parties and is considered as a separate locus of face (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001).

Rationale

The current project utilizes face negotiation theory (FNT) to delineate social support seeking processes by considering such concepts of horizontal-vertical I-C as national cultural variables, family communication patterns as another cultural variable, self-construals as culturally influenced individual variables, and face concerns as situational and relational variables. Both theoretical and empirical studies suggest that the direction of this current research is warranted. Generally, FNT theorizes the relationship among I-C, self-construals, face concerns and facework, particularly conflict styles, by using numerous axioms (see Ting-Toomey, 2005). For example, Oetzel and Ting-Toomey (2003) empirically tested a model that predicted conflict styles from the constructs of face concerns, self-construals, and I-C. They concluded that those who are in individualistic cultures are likely to have an independent self, be more concerned about self-face, and use more dominating styles; whereas those in collectivist cultures who tend

to have an interdependent self raise other-face concerns, and thus tend to use more integrating and avoiding styles. They revealed clear links among these concepts, particularly in the conflict communication process.

FNT basically tested the process of conflict communication as a representative of facework. However, FNT concluded that people in all cultures try to maintain and negotiate face in all communication situations (Ting-Toomey, 2005). If this is true, face concerns should be a major concern for social support communication in general and support seeking communication in particular. Although FNT theorists do not incorporate social support as part of facework, they do include various types of facework in conflict situations, such as apologizing, defending self, expressing feelings, remaining calm, and talking about the problem (Oetzel et al., 2000). Several researchers in fact suggested social support is clearly related to facework (e.g., Goldsmith, 1994; Burleson, 2003). In this sense, using the framework of FNT is relevant for this current study.

Using the FNT framework in the current study helps explain supportive seeking communication, but also it extends FNT in at least three important ways: a) applying FNT to social support communication between Japan and the United States; b) extending FNT to understanding the multi-layered relationships among national, familial, and individual levels; and c) testing FNT by utilizing the constructs that are cross-culturally equivalent.

First, by employing FNT, the current study contributes to a deeper understanding of cross-cultural differences and similarities between Japan and the United States in the realm of social support communication. As shown in FNT, a plethora of information has existed on cross-cultural communication research between Japan and the United States

(e.g., Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003; Gudykunst et al., 1996; Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994). However, few studies relate to social support in general and social support seeking in particular. Exploring similarities and differences in different types of communication across Japan and the United States contribute to understanding fundamental processes of communication behavior across cultures. Since little research has been done in the realm of social support seeking, this project focuses on social support seeking to fill in the void on social support research from cultural perspectives.

Second, this project broadens the scope of FNT by including meso-level culture (i.e., family communication styles). A recent version of FNT theorized socio-ecological perspectives (Oetzel, Dhar, & Kirschbaum, 2007) and included the influence of family on an individual's conflict styles (Fletcher, 2009). However, few empirical studies examined the relationships among the national, familial, and individual levels (except Fletcher, 2009). Understanding communication behavior from multi-level perspectives may contribute to understanding the complex nature of culture, such as nationality, ethnicity, race, class, gender, and age. Since family communication patterns are important for predicting and explaining individual's conflict styles, these patterns may also help explain social support seeking communication.

Third, in cross-cultural research, several types of equivalence pertain to valid research, including translation and concept equivalence (see Gudykunst, 2002; van de Vijver & Leung, 1997; van de Vijver & Tanzer, 2004 for fuller discussion). Although there is no remedy for cross-cultural equivalence, conceptual equivalence can be studied by using measurement invariance techniques. This analysis may significantly contribute to the advancement of cross-cultural theories. By using measurement invariant concepts,

researchers can identify whether or not important concepts, such as face concerns and family communication patterns, may be culturally equivalent, and how these concepts are interrelated.

One major focus of my study is a theoretical contribution to the interpersonal/intercultural communication research, to advance the theory of FNT by extending and refining its framework. However, I need to address some potentially practical implications. For example, if what counts as quality support differs across cultural groups, then practice, pedagogy, training, and therapy all need to reflect these findings. Particularly, this is the case in Japanese society, where social withdrawal is a major social problem. This is closely related to the inability of a person to seek social support (Feng & Burleson, 2006). If the Japanese social support seeking processes differ from those in the U.S., these differences may explain the process, and suggest how training and pedagogy be concentrated on this area. U.S. Americans can benefit from the opportunity to reconsider their own communication processes by knowing culturally different ways of communication. For both cultural groups, cross-cultural communication research findings offers an opportunity to raise people's consciousness about cultural and personal orientations, to broaden perspectives and frameworks, and to promote awareness that their own styles are not necessarily the only choices among various possibilities.

Purpose of the Current Study

The purpose of the current study is to explore cultural similarities and differences in the social support seeking process by employing the framework of face negotiation theory (FNT) (e.g., Ting-Toomey, 1988, 2005; Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998). If face concerns are significant factors, the current project may extend FNT to social support

seeking processes in addition to the original realm of conflict communication. The current study also provides empirical support for the current thrust of FNT relevant studies that attempt to investigate the relationships among national cultures, family socialization, face concerns and social behavior (Chen, Fletcher, & Oetzel, 2010).

More specifically, since social support seeking research usually has focused on national cultural and individual differences, the purpose of the current project is to identify a) the relative importance of national cultures and family communication patterns on social support processes, and b) how self-construals and face concerns are influenced by national culture and at the same time influence social support seeking. This project applies a model derived from FNT and investigates the possibility of extending its realm to social support seeking processes.

In the following chapter, a review of the literature addresses: (a) FNT (i.e., the foundation of FNT, and the history and new developments in FNT), (b) social support seeking and coping styles, (c) horizontal-vertical I-C, (d) family communication patterns, (e) self-construals, and (f) face concerns. The figure below (Figure 1) provides a basic overview of this proposed study. The study includes examining how the national cultures of Japan and the United States influence family communication patterns, self-construals, face concerns and coping styles, including social support seeking. Family communication patterns, self-construals, face concerns have direct relationships with national culture and influence directly individual behaviors. National cultures may have an indirect relationship to individual behaviors through these familial and individual factors. Coping styles influence relationship satisfaction. In essence, the current study advances FNT a) by including family communication patterns as an additional cultural variable, and b) by

testing its applicability to the realm of social support seeking communication.

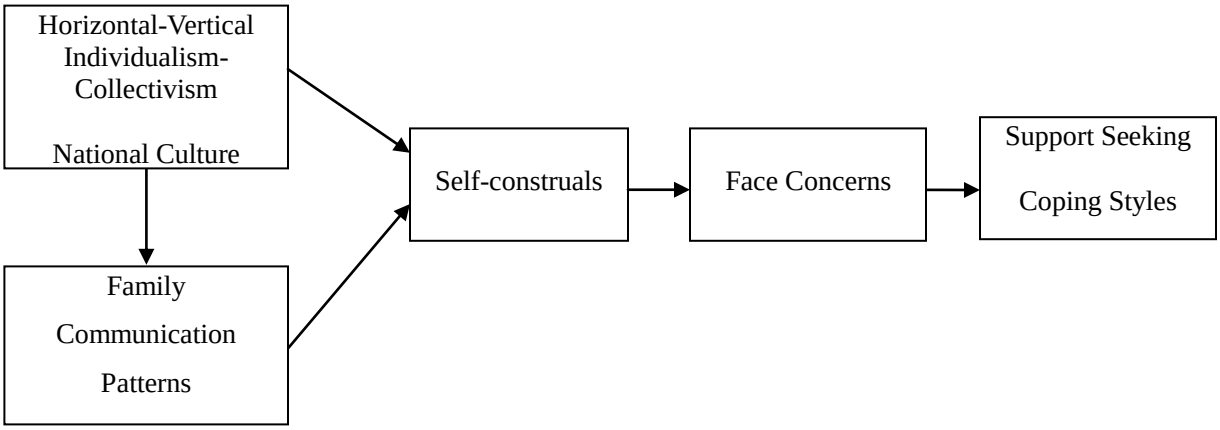

Figure 1. The model for the current project.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

To increase understanding of cross-cultural communication in general and social support communication across Japan and the United States in particular, it is important to explain related research and to identify the areas that need further investigation. The current chapter reviews the literature about relationships among national culture, family socialization, self-construals, face concerns, support seeking and coping styles, and relationship satisfaction in both Japanese and U.S. contexts. Also, reviewing the literature will lead to construct the hypothesized relationships among relevant variables. In this chapter, hypotheses will be forwarded after the brief review on relevant literature. First, the current chapter reviews the literature of face-negotiation theory (FNT). Second, the chapter reviews the dependent variables of social support seeking and coping styles. In relation to the dependent variable, those which have direct and indirect effects are reviewed, including variables of (a) horizontal-vertical individualism and collectivism (I-C), (b) family communication patterns, (c) self-construals, and (d) face concerns. Finally, the current chapter summarizes the proposed hypotheses and research questions.

Face Negotiation Theory

Some influential factors that may affect communication qualities are demographic, personality, and situational variables, and face concerns have been theorized as powerful factors determining the way of social interactions according to Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1987) and Kim's theory of culture-based conversation constraints (2005). One of the best-developed theories in light of the relationship among culture, face concerns, and communication is face-negotiation theory (FNT) (Ting-Toomey, 1988, 2005). Ting-Toomey and her associates focused on intercultural conflict as a salient type

of communication that affects participants' face concerns. Although little research has directly tested the relationship between face concerns and social support, some theoretical evidence supports the relationship between face concerns and supportive communication. For example, in the recent development of the dual process theory of supportive message processing and outcomes, Burleson (2010) theorized that the quality of supportive messages is influenced by facework or politeness among others, such as explicit statements of helping intentions, verbal person centeredness, and nonverbal immediacy. The current dissertation uses FNT as a key framework. The ensuing section reviews the following aspects of FNT to delineate the general processes of social interactions where participants' face becomes salient (i.e., facework): (a) foundations of face and relevant theories, (b) the historical development of FNT, and (c) the current status and emerging model of FNT.

Foundations of Face and Relevant Theories

The word "face" was used as far back as the fourth century B.C. in China (Ho, 1975); the concept of face is predominantly used today in everyday communication particularly in East Asian countries. In Western countries, people use this term in similar ways to explain how they communicate self-identity and self-worth in social interactions in present-day society. Although people have used this term in everyday conversations for more than two thousand years, the study of face is a fairly recent phenomenon compared to its long history. Perhaps little disagreement may be found in terms of the general concept of face as shown in definitions offered by various researchers. For example, Ting-Toomey (1994) defined face as "the claimed sense of self-respect or self-dignity in an interactive situation" (p.3). Brown and Levinson (1987) similarly defined face as a

“person's public self-image and something that is emotionally invested and can be lost, maintained, enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction” (p.61). Generally, face can be described as public self-image, self-worth, self-respect, and self-dignity in social interactions. Social interactions in which face is negotiated, threatened, maintained, and claimed are called “facework.” Specifically, facework is “the verbal and nonverbal negotiation aspects of face maintenance, face claim, and face expectation” (Ting-Toomey, 1994, p. 3).

The starting point of the contemporary studies of face can be traced back to Erving Goffman’s pioneering work on social interaction (Penman, 1994). Although he conducted a vast amount of qualitative research on social interactions (e.g., 1955, 1959, 1967), Goffman’s (1967) *Interaction ritual: Essays on face-to-face behavior* devoted one chapter to explicating how face concepts help maintain rituals of social interactions. Goffman observed social interactions from a ritualistic and theatrical point of view. In social interactions, each individual presents himself or herself in ways that protect his or her self-image and that meet appropriate expectations for that situation with others. Although participants may lose or threaten their own face occasionally, in social interactions, participants try to protect their own face and to cooperate to maintain the face of others. According to Goffman, the act of maintaining face is a ritual that includes interaction rules.

By applying Goffman’s notion of face, Brown and Levinson (1987) developed politeness theory, which is one of the most popular theories in sociolinguistics. Politeness theory has been so influential that many communication scholars adapted its framework to examine various communication aspects such as compliance-gaining (Wilson, Aleman,

& Leatham, 1998), providing social support (Goldsmith, 1994), and identity management in social predicaments (Cupach & Imahori, 1993; Imahori & Cupach, 2005). Major contributions of politeness theory are: a) to delineate the relationship between face and facework, and b) to predict the relationship between situational and relational features such as social distance, social power, and impositions and facework strategies including the levels of politeness. Brown and Levinson's conceptualization of face includes two content types: negative face and positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Positive face expresses the need for a person's self-image to be appreciated by others; whereas negative face is an expression of a person's need for autonomy and freedom and a desire to be free from the control of others. People try to use more "polite" use of language to mitigate face threats that are inherently carried by communication messages.

Since this politeness theory has been not only influential but also controversial, many scholars strive to refine and/or extend the theory. For example, Lim and Bowers (1991) refined types of face: autonomy, fellowship, and competence. Autonomy face is a person's need to have control to self, to be free from others' interference. Fellowship face is a need to be a member of the group. Competence face is the need to express abilities, accomplishments, and reputations. Also, Wilson and his associates (1998) provided a revised politeness theory mainly focusing on compliance-gaining strategies by extending Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, which only emphasized the explanation of how to manage other-face, but did not sufficiently focus on self-face.

The Historical Development of FNT

FNT developed over the past one quarter of a century by incorporating new concepts to explain personal, situational, and cultural differences and similarities as they

apply to conflict situations. In essence, Ting-Toomey viewed face as situated identities among conversation participants, and conflict as a face-negotiation process in which participants' face is being threatened and called into question (Ting-Toomey, 1988; 2005). Culture is one of the most influential factors for the processes of conflict communication. Empirical studies have supported the cultural influence on conflict communication processes (e.g., Oetzel, et al., 2001; Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003). Although it is difficult to pinpoint how FNT has evolved over many published studies over the years, this section strives to delineate the key theoretical framework and propositions by acknowledging research that specifically described theoretical concepts and principles as a formal theory (Ting-Toomey, 1985, 1988, 2005; Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998).

Ting-Toomey's (1985) seminal article, "Toward a Theory of Conflict and Culture," may be considered the first publication to theorize the relationship between culture and conflict. She discussed the relationship between conflict and culture, drawing particularly on the concept of high-context (HC) and low-context (LC) cultures coined by E.T. Hall (1976). By focusing on these dimensions of why, when, what and how HC-LC cultures solve conflict differently, Ting-Toomey created six propositions on cultural differences in these dimensions. For example, propositions 1 and 2 are the differences in HC and LC cultures on perceptions of the cases of conflict as instrumental or expressive. Propositions 3 and 4 deal with HC-LC differences in when conflict occurs (i.e., collective or cultural normative expectations being violated vs. individual norms being violated). Propositions 5 and 6 posit HC-LC differences in attitudes toward conflict (i.e., non-confrontational and indirect vs. confrontational and direct). Ting-Toomey only hinted at the importance of face issues as a way to manage conflicts, particularly in HC and collectivist cultures

like Japan. Instead, she assigned most of the article to claiming how culture can influence every dimension of conflict communication processes.

Three years after the publication of this seminal work, Ting-Toomey (1988) officially coined the name as face-negotiation theory. Using her original framework of the relationship between LC-HC cultures and conflict and emphasizing the importance of cultural variations of I-C, she included the concepts of face, facework, positive-negative face basically influenced by Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory. She also included a dimensional typology of conflict styles based on Rahim's conflict style typology. She developed six sets of propositions of how cultural characteristics of I-C, and LC-HC influence (a) face concerns (self-face vs. mutual and other-face), (b) face needs (negative vs. positive face needs), (c) face suprastrategy (self-positive and –negative face vs. other-positive and –negative face), (d) communication mode (direct vs. indirect), (e) conflict strategies (dominating vs. obliging), and (f) conflict styles (solution-oriented vs. avoidance-oriented).

A decade later, Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998) updated FNT by incorporating the power distance dimension as a cultural variable, and by adding the individual-level (i.e., self-construals) that influences on conflict styles and facework. Among 32 theoretical propositions, 20 deal with culture-level propositions concerning the relationship among cultural variability (I-C, and power distance, face concerns, facework, and conflict styles; 12 propositions deal with the impact of individual-level factors on the relationship among self-construals, face concerns and conflict styles. Power distance is one type of cultural variability that was found by Hofstede (2001), and power distance refers to "the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions accept that power is distributed

unequally" (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998, p. 194). Although this did not include their propositions, Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998) further proposed the intercultural facework competence model, including knowledge, mindfulness, and interaction skill dimensions. Facework competence is judged by perceived appropriateness, perceived effectiveness, mutual adaptability, and mutual satisfaction.

Ting-Toomey (2005) refined and extended FNT from its 1998 version. Focusing attention on five thematic clusters of facework, she organized the foundational taxonomies of facework concepts: (a) face orientation or concerns (self, other or both), (b) face movements of face move's patterns (i.e., face is being defended/saved, maintained, or upgraded), (c) facework interaction strategies (i.e., diverse verbal and nonverbal tactics), (d) conflict communication styles (e.g., dominating, integrating, avoiding), and (e) face content domain (autonomy, inclusion, approval, reliability, competence, and moral). Among these five taxonomies, particularly attention is paid to the three taxonomies of face orientation or concerns, facework interaction strategies, and conflict communication styles in forming a total of 24 theoretical propositions. Theoretical propositions include cultural-, individual- and relational and situational-level propositions. Relational and situational-level propositions were newly added for the 2005 version of FNT to refine and extend the model. Cultural-level propositions include 12 propositions in total from predicting the relationship among I-C, face concerns, facework strategies, and conflict styles. Individual-level propositions consist of 10 propositions that delineate the relationship among self-construals, face concerns, and conflict styles. Although Ting-Toomey provided many possible factors that include relationship (e.g., relationship length, familiarity, intimacy and power dynamics) and situation (conflict

salience, intensity, interaction goals, and public-private settings), situational-level only includes two propositions that encompass how I-C and self-construals impact on the perception of face concerns in terms of ingroup-outgroup differences. Finally, Ting-Toomey suggested three research directions including facework emotions, facework situations, and facework movements.

The FNT assumptions and propositions have been empirically tested and supported by a line of cross-cultural studies mainly done by face-negotiation theorists (e.g., Oetzel et al., 2000, 2001; Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003, Ting-Toomey, Oetzel & Yee-Jung, 2001; Ting-Toomey et al., 1991, 2000). For example, in one of the earliest studies that tested FNT, Ting-Toomey et al. (1991) investigated the relationship among culture, face concerns and conflict styles by using quantitative research methods through a questionnaire survey to participants from five countries and regions: Japan, China, South Korea, Taiwan, and the United States. They found that cultural I-C influences face concerns and conflict styles; the dominating style was reflective of self-face, the avoiding and obliging styles were reflective of other-face, and the compromising and integrating styles were reflective of mutual-face. Focusing on facework, which is associated with relational identity issues rather than conflict styles, Oetzel et al. (2000) created a typology of facework behaviors by examining those with best friends and strangers in Japan and the United States. The research concluded that that facework typology was categorized into a) dominating, b) avoiding, and c) integrating, which were similar constructs to conflict styles. By using the validated facework typology, Oetzel et al. (2001) conducted a cross-cultural comparison among four national cultures including China, Germany, Japan, and the United States to examine comprehensive relationships among national

cultures, cultural I-C, power distance, self-construals, face concerns, and facework. The results found that self-construals rather than cultural variables, such as I-C and power distance, had the strongest effects on face concerns and facework, although cultural characteristics had some effects on face concerns and facework.

Oetzel and Ting-Toomey (2003) contributed to the current version of FNT in terms of both depth and breadth of the theory. They tested face-negotiation processes in conflicts among four national cultures. The results revealed that self-construals and face concerns play an important role as linkages between national cultures and conflict styles. Those who are in individualist cultures or tend to have an independent self are more concerned about self-face and use more dominating styles, while those who are in collectivist cultures or tend to have an interdependent self raise other-face concerns, and thus tend to use more integrating and avoiding styles. Particularly, face concerns accounted for a large portion of the total variance of conflict styles when considering the model among face concerns, cultural I-C, self-construals, and conflict styles.

The current status and emerging model of FNT

It has been more than seven years since the latest version of FNT was published in 2005. Since then, new research extended and refined FNT. One promising approach is to include multilevel analyses, which assumes that culture is complex and a single layer of culture cannot adequately explain its complexity. Intercultural scholars (e.g., Kim, 2005) theorized intercultural communication according to how it is influenced by individual (i.e., self-construals) and cultural levels (e.g., I-C). However, it is still possible to explain how individuals' communication styles may be influenced by other layers of culture, such as family, gender, class, and ethnicity. Some scholars are focusing attention on a

multilayered approach to FNT (e.g., Chen, Fletcher, & Oetzel, 2010; Fletcher, 2009). For example, focusing on the current discourse of globalization, Chen, Fletcher, and Oetzel (2010) extended FNT to incorporate the macro-contexts of globalization/nationalism as a macro cultural variable that can explain cultural identities of I-C. The hypothesized model proposed that the effects of globalization processes either reinforce national cultural identities such as I-C; or negate national cultural identities to emerge as a form of cultural hybridity, cosmopolitan cultural identity or global citizenship; and finally affect the choice of language.

Another direction of multilevel analyses includes family as meso-culture in relation to national culture as macro-culture. Recently, many studies solely focus on national culture in investigating factors affecting communication styles in general and conflict styles in particular. For example, Oetzel, Ting-Toomey, Chew-Sanchez, Harris, Wilcox and Sumpf (2003) compared face and facework in conflicts with parents and siblings in four cultures. Their results supported FNT, which explained that self-construals had a strong influence on face concerns and facework, while power distance and national culture had small effects on face concerns.

Differences in family socialization patterns may impact not only communication style with familial members but also significant others (e.g., romantic partners and close friends) in everyday life. For instance, Fletcher (2009) confirmed that family socialization patterns influence face concerns and conflict styles toward romantic partners in African cultures (Uganda and Ethiopia). The more individuals report a conformity oriented family socialization pattern, the more they use an avoiding and dominating conflict style when in conflict with their romantic partners, while the more individuals

report a conversation oriented family socialization pattern, the more they report using collaborating conflict styles.

This brief overview of the foundations and historical development of FNT shows that FNT is a viable and promising framework for understanding social interactions. However, little empirical research from the FNT framework examines whether FNT is applicable to other communication contexts, and whether the relationships among national, family, and individual levels exist. The current project investigates the applicability of FNT to social support seeking. The next section will review the literature on social support seeking as the dependent variable in this project.

Social Support Seeking as a Coping Style

As shown in the previous chapter, social support seeking is one category of coping styles people used by facing distressed situations. This section conducts a brief literature review of coping styles, including social support seeking. Since the purpose of this project is whether and in what ways people seek social support, reviewing general coping styles is important to learn what other strategies exist when people decide not to seek social support. However, these general coping styles do not cover the details of social support seeking styles (i.e., how people seek social support). The goal of this section is to identify a) social support seeking style as one type of coping style, and b) in what ways social support is sought (e.g., directly or indirectly).

Although many typologies categorize that coping styles broadly into either problem-focused or emotion-focused, several specific coping styles have been offered. For example, Endler and Parker (1990) created a measure called Coping Inventory in Stressful Situations (CISS), which differentiates three types of coping: emotion-oriented,

task-oriented, and avoidant. The avoidant style includes two dimensions of distraction and social diversion. In total, coping styles are categorized into four distinct styles.

One of the most comprehensive theoretical models for coping style is perhaps Carver, Scheier, and Wintraub's (1989) coping scale named COPE. This multidimensional coping inventory includes several styles closely related to problem-focused and emotion-focused coping. Problem-focused coping includes a) active coping (removing stressors by doing direct action), b) planning (foreseeing how to cope with stressors), c) suppression of competing activities (concentrating on coping stressors by avoiding being distracted by other events), d) restraint coping (waiting for the best time to act by not acting prematurely), and e) seeking of instrumental social support (seeking advice, information and assistance). Emotion-focused coping includes a) seeking emotional social support (seeking understanding and sympathy), b) positive reinterpretation (aiming at managing distressed emotions rather than focusing on removing the stressor directly), c) denial (refusing the reality of the stressful event), d) acceptance (receiving the reality of the stressful event as it is), and e) turning to religion (seeking help from a religion). This inventory also identifies coping styles that are considered as dysfunctional: a) focusing on and venting of emotions (ruminating over a stressor and ventilating distressed feelings), b) behavioral disengagement (giving up overcoming a stressor and attaining their goals), and c) mental disengagement (taking one's mind off a problem).

Both instrumental and emotional support seeking play important roles when people need to cope with stressful situations. Although COPE only focuses on the likelihood of use of various coping styles including social support, there are at least four

critical aspects regarding social support seeking (Feng & Burleson, 2006): a) the likelihood of seeking support, b) the types of support sought, c) the agents from whom support is sought, and d) the strategies used when seeking support. The first aspect is the likelihood of seeking strategies (i.e., whether or how frequently support is sought). The second aspect is the types of social support.

Various taxonomies of social support focus on the function and content of social support. Common styles are emotional and instrumental support. Pierce, Sarason and Sarason (1996) distinguished between two types of support that may be sought from others: problem-focused support (advice, information, and tangible aid that assist with modifying the stress-producing situation) and emotion-focused support (comfort, sympathy, and distraction that assist with managing distressed emotional states). The third aspect is the agents from whom support is sought, such as family members, friends, and romantic partners. The final aspect is ways people seek social support. It can be sought verbally or nonverbally. Support seekers can be direct or indirect in their desire for social support. This dimension is strongly associated with the cultural dimension of high-context and low-context orientation (Hall, 1976). In high-context cultures, messages are highly internalized among the ingroup members, and thus they do not need to express their ideas clearly. In contrast, in low-context cultures, people rely more on verbal messages, and thus their messages are explicit and more elaborated.

When one seeks social support, one may also seek emotional and instrumental support according to many researchers (e.g., Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989; Pierce, Sarason & Sarason, 1996). From a perspective of how social support seeking messages are constructed, Barbee and Cunningham (1995) identified specific support-seeking

behaviors. This scheme crosses the dimension of verbal-nonverbal support seeking with the dimension of direct-indirect expressions, and yields four categories of behavior: (a) *Ask* (a direct-verbal strategy that includes behaviors such as asking directly for help and giving details of the problem); (b) *pout—cry* (a direct—nonverbal strategy that expresses one's need for help through expressions of distress and behaviors such as crying or pouting); (c) *hint—complain* (an indirect-verbal strategy that involves complaining about a situation or hinting that a problem exists without directly expressing that help is needed); and (d) *sulk-fidget* (an indirect-nonverbal strategy that involves subtly showing negative affect through nonverbal expressions in the form of sighing, sulking, or fidgeting). This categorization is particularly important when specific verbal and nonverbal support seeking behaviors are coded.

Research on social support itself is not new. In fact, over the last 20 years, a large amount of research investigated the process involved in seeking, providing, and receiving support, particularly focusing on identifying features and outcomes of social support (for reviews, see Barbee & Cunningham, 1995; Burleson & MacGeorge, 2002). Particularly, social support seeking research has been conducted along four areas of a) the degree to which social support is sought, b) from whom social support is sought, c) what type of social support is sought, and d) in what ways support is sought. In these four areas, there might be cultural differences. However, cultural differences in social support processes have begun to gain research attention recently, and the research is still in its infancy. In fact, Feng and Burleson (2006) reviewed the literature related to cultural similarities and differences in social support processes, particularly with regard to social support seeking in the above mentioned four areas. They concluded that reasons are still unclear as to why

differences and similarities occur by going beyond common contrasts of I-C. Identifying possible causes by looking beyond observed cultural similarities and differences by including familial and individual variables is a major purpose of the current project. A review of the literature on the relationship between cultures and social support is offered in the next section after the notion of cultural dimensions is introduced.

Cultural Variables for Support Seeking

Cultural Variations: Horizontal-Vertical Individualism and Collectivism

One way to explain cultural difference in communication behavior is to distinguish between I-C along a vertical-horizontal orientation (Singelis et al., 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). With these two dimensions, cultures can be characterized by four types: a) Vertical individualism (VI), which includes individual achievement, competition, and acceptance of inequality; b) Horizontal individualism (HI), which places value on the uniqueness and identity of each individual as well, but perceives each individual as equal; c) Vertical collectivism (VC), which perceives self as a part of the large collective and accepts the social order or hierarchy as normal; and d) Horizontal collectivism (HC), which also stresses self as a part of the collective but sees all members of the collective as equal (Singelis et al., 1995). The use of the two dimensions of I-C and horizontal-vertical orientations, rather than a single dimension of I-C, is important in the following two ways particularly for this project. First, this conceptualization is matched with family structures. I-C is concerned about the degree of individuality of each family member. The vertical-horizontal dimension is associated with the differences in social hierarchy within the family. Second, this cultural characteristic may affect social support behavior. There is ample evidence that cultural similarities and differences influence the

providing and receiving social support (see for a review, Burleson, 2003), and some evidence exists for social support seeking (Taylor et al., 2004). Although cultural I-C is related to social support seeking, it is unknown how the vertical and horizontal dimension is related to social support. Thus, it is worth examining the relationships.

There are two ways of creating hypotheses and research questions in terms of a national cultural influence on social support seeking. One way to do this is to make national comparisons between Japan and the United States by assuming that Japan represents vertical collectivist cultures while the United States represents vertical individualist cultures (Triandis, 1995). In this analysis, the research findings are worthwhile for cross-cultural comparisons, but since both national cultures can be categorized as the same group in terms of vertical orientation, the distinction between horizontal-vertical orientations seems meaningless.

Another way to explain cultural influence on social support seeking is to analyze the cultural differences of vertical-horizontal I-C within national cultures. Ample anecdotes state that all Japanese are not collectivist, while all U.S. Americans are not individualistic. Thus, these constructs affect individuals' personal characteristics, and may influence cultures. If so, regardless of where they are from, researchers can investigate people's attitudes using cultural characteristics of vertical-horizontal I-C. In this sense, both Japanese and U.S. Americans have these two dimensional concepts of vertical-horizontal I-C. This analysis can compensate for national cultural comparisons.

The current study strives to understand both national cultural differences and the differences within national cultures by using the construct of vertical-horizontal I-C. Despite its usefulness for examining both between and within national cultural analyses,

it may be too early to hypothesize detailed relationships about vertical-horizontal dimensions since the current project only uses two national cultures, and both national cultures can be categorized into vertical orientations. Moreover, many past studies only focused on I-C, not including the vertical-horizontal dimension. The current section proposes hypothesized relationships between national cultures, cultural I-C and social support seeking in various aspects, and poses only one research question about the relationship between social support seeking and the vertical and horizontal dimension.

Cultural I-C and Social Support Seeking

Cultural I-C plays an important role in social support seeking. There have been studies that found cultural differences in four critical aspects of support seeking: a) the likelihood of seeking support, b) the types of support sought, c) the agents from whom support is sought, and d) the strategies used when seeking support. Reviewing the literature of cross-cultural differences in support seeking, Feng and Burleson (2006) concluded that compared to members of collectivist cultures, members of individualist cultures are more likely to seek support in times of need, more likely to seek emotional (and possibly instrumental) support, and more likely to use direct support seeking strategies and less likely to use indirect support seeking strategies.

Although a plethora of research has identified the relationship between cultural I-C and social support seeking, little has identified the relationship between vertical and horizontal I-C. Thus, it is too early to hypothesize the relationship between support seeking and the dimension of horizontal and vertical orientation. These relationships are asked as one research question. Rather, this section develops hypotheses about the relationship between national cultures related to cultural I-C and social support seeking in

terms of four critical areas of a) likelihood, b) providers, c) types, and d) ways of seeking social support.

The first aspect of support seeking is the likelihood of seeking strategies (i.e., whether or how frequently support is sought). This can be measured as the extent to which participants want to seek social support when in need. Originally, cross-cultural theorists predicted that those in collectivist cultures are more likely to seek support than those in individualist cultures. For example, conducting probably the most comprehensive content analysis to date by sorting items from 27 different I-C scales into components, Oyserman et al. (2002) found one of the collectivistic values among eight components is seeking advice from others. In fact, collectivists may be more likely to seek assistance from others when they are distressed (e.g., Cortina & Wasti, 2005 by Feng & Burleson, 2006). In individualist cultures, the self is seen as fundamentally independent and separate from others, so people from these cultures may be less likely to seek help from others by striving to solve problems by themselves.

However, empirical studies show that collectivists actually sought social support from others less than individualists (e.g., Shek & Tsang, 1993; Taylor et al., 2004) because (a) they may be hesitant to disturb group harmony by focusing the attention of group members on their distressed emotional states (Gao, 1996), and (b) they do not focus on their negative emotions for others due to the threat posed to their self-image or their own face by bringing inappropriate attention to the self and presenting the self in a state of disarray (e.g., Kim, Deci & Zuckerman, 2002). In fact, Taylor et al.'s study 3 (2004) reported that Asians and Asian American college students were significantly more likely to report the following: a) seeking social support disrupts group harmony, b)

sharing problems would make one's problems worse, c) one has a responsibility to solve one's own problems, d) others may not understand one's problems, and e) sharing problems would elicit criticism and/or cause one to lose face. They reasoned that members of collectivist cultures seek social support less because doing so disturbs the social harmony of the group, causes loss to one's face, and evokes fear of negative evaluation from others.

In accordance with this tendency that collectivists seek less social support than individualists, Oliver and his colleagues (Oliver, Reed, Katz, & Haugh, 1999) found that Asian Americans reported they were less likely than European Americans to seek support from friends in times of stress. Similarly, members of collectivist cultures (e.g., Latino) were less likely than members of individualist cultures (e.g., European Americans) to seek social support for coping (Valle, Yamada, & Barrio, 2004), and collectivists such as Chinese and Japanese expressed less need for social support than do individualists including Anglo-Americans (Wellisch et al., 1999). In essence, collectivist cultures including Japan may seek less social support than individualists. Thus the following hypothesis is proposed:

H1: The Japanese seek less social support than U.S. Americans when in need.

The second aspect is the types of social support. Various taxonomies of social support focus on the function and content of social support. Although there are several taxonomies, such as information, emotional, instrumental support, and person-centeredness, perhaps Barbee and Cunningham's (1995) typology is both the most theoretical and practical. They proposed the typology by crossing two theoretical dimensions of the coping process: approach vs. avoidance and problem-focus vs.

emotion-focus. Cross referencing these two dimensions produced four categories of support strategies: a) solace-approach-based, emotion-focused responses intended to elicit positive emotions and express closeness, b) solve-approach-based, problem-focused responses designed to find an answer to the distressing situation, c) escape-avoidance-based, emotion-focused responses that discourage the experience and expression of negative emotion; and d) problem-focused responses that minimize the significance of the problem. Using this taxonomy, Burleson and Mortenson (2002) found that both Americans and Chinese rated two avoidance categories (i.e., escape and dismiss) as much less appropriate than two approach categories (i.e., solve and solace); however, Chinese viewed avoidance strategies as somewhat more appropriate than did Americans. From social support seeking perspectives, people from different cultures may seek different social support types, such as either emotional or problem-solving support.

There are two lines of thought about how I-C influences the types of support seeking (Feng & Burleson, 2006). One line suggests that collectivists should be more likely than individualists to seek emotion-focused support and less likely to seek problem-focused support (e.g., Lam & Zane, 2004; McCarty et al., 1999). Members of collectivist cultures are often taught there is virtue in accepting the world as it is rather than striving to change it; the graceful adjustment of self to the external situation is viewed as both wise and a source of inner peace. On the contrary, individualists are encouraged to change the world and solve the problem. Research concerning cultural differences in coping goals suggests that members of collectivist cultures are more likely to seek emotional support than people from individualist cultures; whereas people from

individualist cultures are more likely to seek instrumental support than people from collectivist cultures.

An alternative line suggests that members of collectivist cultures are less likely to seek emotional support than individualists. The first feature suggests less likelihood of seeking social support by collectivists; however, they may be reluctant to express their negative emotions to ingroup members because doing so brings inappropriate attention to self and presents the self in a state of disarray. In contrast, members of individualist cultures are regularly encouraged to share their feelings with others and to seek others' help in dealing with upset feelings; thus, they should be particularly inclined to seek emotional support in times of need. More available and recent research findings appear more consistent with the second line of thought. For example, Taylor et al. (2004, Study 2) found that European Americans were significantly more likely than Asian or Asian Americans to seek emotional support when stressed although the two cultural groups were not significantly different in their tendency to seek instrumental support. In their subsequent study, Taylor et al. (2004, Study 3) found that European Americans were more likely than Asian Americans to seek both emotional and instrumental support. In sum, collectivists may appear less likely to seek emotional support from members of their ingroup than do individualists. However, cultural differences in the amount of instrumental support seeking are not clear. Thus the following hypothesis and the research question are proposed:

H2: The Japanese are less likely to seek emotional support than U.S. Americans.

RQ1: Are there cultural differences in the amount of instrumental support seeking between the Japanese and U.S. Americans?

Social support seeking is considered one type of coping style used in stressful situations. It may be beneficial to see social support seeking in a broader sense, and investigate the relationships between coping styles and social support seeking. For instance, if the Japanese use less social support seeking, what coping styles do they use? This study also investigates the relationship between national cultures and coping styles; however, little research has investigated these relationships. The second research question is posed:

RQ2: What coping styles other than social support seeking do the Japanese and U.S. Americans tend to use?

The third characteristic of cultural differences is about the agents from whom support is sought. Close relationships such as family members, friends, and romantic partners are the most common source of social support for people from many cultures (Feng & Burleson, 2006), despite some cultural characteristics. Feng and Burleson (2006) summarized the research findings of the sources of social support, stating that in collectivist cultures, members of ingroups are heavily involved with one another instead of seeking social support from outgroup members. In contrast, people in individualist cultures are more independent and emotionally detached from ingroups and thus may be more likely to seek support from non-intimate members, such as acquaintances, coworkers, and professional helpers, including counselors and therapists. Consistent with these research findings, research shows consistent results that collectivists distinguish their social behavior between ingroup and outgroup members more than individualists (Triandis, 1994), and the Japanese tended to change their conflict styles according to differences in interpersonal categories. Thus, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H3: Differences in the amount of social support seeking of the Japanese from ingroup-outgroup members are more discrepant than that of U.S. Americans.

The final aspect is ways in which people seek social support. It can be sought verbally or nonverbally. Support seekers can express their needs directly or indirectly. This dimension seems to be strongly associated with the cultural dimension of high-context and low-context orientation (Hall, 1976). In high-context cultures, messages are highly internalized among the ingroup members, and thus they do not need to express their ideas clearly. In low-context cultures, however, people rely more on verbal messages, and thus their messages are explicit and more elaborated. A plethora of research findings showed that the Japanese are more high contextual while Americans are more low contextual (e.g., Gudykunst et al., 1996). Moreover, social support studies found that the Japanese use less elaborated messages than U.S. Americans (e.g., Moriizumi & McDermott, 2011). This may be applicable to messages in social support seeking. High-context and low-context cultures can be directly related to cultural I-C, whereas little research examines the relationship between vertical and horizontal I-C. Therefore, the following hypothesis can be proposed:

H4: The Japanese tend to use more indirect social support seeking styles than U.S. Americans.

This section identified possible relationships between cultural characteristics and social support seeking styles in relationships with cultural I-C. Since this research may be the first to identify the relationship between vertical-horizontal I-C and social support seeking, the following research question is proposed:

RQ3: How does vertical and horizontal I-C affect the four aspects of social support seeking (i.e., frequency, type, agents, and ways)?

Family Communication Patterns

Family communication patterns (FCP) may be influenced by larger cultural characteristics such as I-C, but at the same time, communication among family members may create a unique pattern, and therefore, this affects individuals' communication behaviors. FCP may be a link from cultural characteristics (i.e., vertical and horizontal I-C) to individual variables (i.e., self-construals). Ritchie and Fitzpatrick (1990) conceptualized two dimensions of FCP: conformity orientation and conversation orientation. Conformity orientation emphasizes the homogeneity, harmony, and interdependence of family members, such as the avoidance of controversy and children's obedience to parents. Conversation orientation stresses the heterogeneity and independence of family members, such as open exchange of ideas, feelings, and activities. These two dimensions further classified family types into four: a) consensual- high in both conversation and conformity orientation, parents are usually decision makers, but at the same time their conversations with children are open; b) pluralistic-high in conversation orientation but low in conformity orientation. Parents in these families are willing to accept their children's opinions and to let them participate in family decision-making. Children of these families may learn to value family conversations and to be independent and autonomous; c) protective-low on conversation orientation but high on conformity orientation, communication in protective families is characterized by an emphasis on obedience to parental authority and by little concerns for open communication within the family. Parents in these families are the ultimate decision

makers and have little interest in explaining themselves to their children; d) laissez-faire-with both low conversation and conformity orientations, communication is defined by few and uninvolving interactions with limited topics. Koerner and Fitzpatrick (2002) stated that children in protective and laissez-faire families learn that there is little value in family conversations, and they distrust their own decision-making ability, and thus they often lack communication competence in relationships outside the family.

Family Communication Patterns and Social Support Seeking

In social support seeking research, a main focus of the research still seems to be differences in national cultural level, not the relationship of FCP and individual factors, with no clear explanatory model (see for a review, Feng & Burleson, 2006). Little research investigates the direct relationship between FCP and social support seeking. However, many studies have investigated the relationship between adult attachment styles and social support seeking. Applying these results to the relationship between FCP and social support seeking may help develop hypotheses. Perhaps attachment styles and FCP are different constructs in that attachment styles focus on psychological closeness with parents while FCP describes ways in which parents and adult children communicate with each other. Nonetheless, these constructs appear to be similar in that they are about relational interactions between parents and children. After reviewing a literature of attachment styles and support seeking, the next section investigates FCP and communication styles, such as conflict styles to construct hypotheses on relationships between FCP and social support seeking.

Adult attachment styles consist of four prototypic styles from two relevant dimensions of anxiety and avoidance (e.g., Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Brennan,

Clark, & Shaver, 1998; Fraley & Waller, 1998). The anxiety dimension refers to one's sense of self-worth and acceptance/rejection by others, and the avoidance dimension refers to the degree to which each individual approaches/avoids intimacy and interdependence with others. Four styles based on these two dimensions are: secure, preoccupied, dismissing avoidant, and fearful avoidant.

First, secure adults are low in both attachment-related anxiety and avoidance. They are comfortable with intimate relationships and are willing to rely on others for support. They are also confident that they are valued by others. Second, preoccupied adults are high in anxiety and low in avoidance; they have an exaggerated desire for closeness and dependence with intimate others and are coupled with a heightened concern about being rejected. Third, dismissing avoidant individuals are low in anxiety but high in avoidance. They view close relationships as relatively unimportant, and they value independence and self-reliance. Finally, fearful avoidant adults are high in both attachment-related anxiety and avoidance; although they seek close relationships and the approval from others, they avoid intimacy because they fear being rejected.

Numerous studies reveal the following results about relationships between adult attachment styles and social support seeking. Fearful avoidant adults high in both anxiety and avoidance are less likely than secure adults to report that they seek support in response to emotionally distressed situations (e.g., Mikulincer & Florian, 1995; Ognibene & Collins, 1998). Collins and Feeney (2000) found that secure adults tend to use direct social support seeking behavior, and avoidant adults are more likely to use indirect strategies (hinting and sulking) when they seek social support from others. Also, fearful avoidant (insecure) are less satisfied with the support they receive, and a larger gap

between self-reported degree of need and reception of social support others provided. In contrast, secure adults tend to be confident that support is available to them and generally satisfied with the support they receive.

There is some evidence about the relationship between FCP and communication styles. For example, in conflict communication research, FCP and conflict styles in romantic partners were tested, with the finding that high-conversation orientation is positively associated with constructive conflict solving strategies. Conformity oriented patterns are positively related to avoiding and dominating conflict styles when in conflict with romantic partners (Fletcher, 2009). Similarly, Rossler, Ting-Toomey, and Lee (2007) examined the relationship among FCP, face concern dimensions, and conflict styles in dating relationships by using the FNT framework. They found that pluralistic families tend to use more emotional expression conflict styles, and consensual families tend to use more compromising conflict styles as conversation traits increase. Harp, Webb, and Amason (2007) also examined FCP and young adults' conflict styles. They found that young adults' conflict styles with parents were transferable to those with romantic partners. Although the above two lines of research about adult attachment styles and social support seeking and between FCP and conflict styles are important, few studies investigate the relationship between FCP and social support seeking.

Although there are few empirical studies on relationships between adults' attachment styles and FCP, I predict that low avoidant attachment styles are related to high conversation and perhaps low conformity dimensions of FCP as well. Those with low avoidant attachment styles try to approach parents and develop conversational skills, and thus they may engage in conversation with others well. If so, those from consensual

families should seek social support when they are in need as those with secure attachment styles do. In contrast, those from families low in conversation orientation according to FCP seek social support less often, and use indirect patterns of social support when they do. However, it is unclear how conformity orientation is related to social support seeking. Thus, the following hypotheses and research question are forwarded:

H5: Those who have higher conversation orientation in FCP tend to seek social support more than those with lower conversation orientation.

H6: Those who have higher conversation orientation in FCP tend to use more direct social support seeking styles than those with lower conversation orientation.

RQ4: How is conformity orientation in FCP related to likelihood and styles of social support seeking?

Cultural I-C and Family Communication Patterns

In terms of the relationship between vertical-horizontal I-C and family communication patterns, direct relationships can be predicted. Vertical orientation seems to be positively associated with conformity orientation while I-C seems to be positively related to conversation orientation. Although there are family differences in each national culture, predominant patterns may be observed in each culture. In other words, because Japan is considered a vertical collectivist culture (Triandis, 1995), many Japanese families may fall into the category of protective families, while many American families may be consensual because the U.S. is considered an example of vertical individualism (Triandis, 1995).

Shearman and Dumlao (2008) used FCP to establish differences and similarities between Japanese and U.S. American families. They found that U.S. American families

are more consensual, while Japanese families are categorized predominantly as laissez-faire (low in both dimensions of conversation and conformity). These cultural differences were also found by Matsunaga and Imahori (2009), who utilized a family profile similar to FCP. The results were that U.S. American are more likely to be high in consensual, while Japanese are categorized as laissez-faire. Theoretically, the Japanese are considered socially hierarchical. However, available research findings have suggested that the Japanese tend to be low in conformity. Consequently, it is too early to hypothesize that Japanese family communication patterns show less conformity than U.S. Americans. Thus, one hypothesis on conversation orientation and one related question are formed:

The following relationships are predicted:

H7: The Japanese tend to be less conversation oriented than U.S. Americans.

RQ5: Are the Japanese higher in conformity orientation than U.S. Americans?

The two previous sections examined the relationships between national cultures, family communication patterns, and social support seeking. The proposed model for the current study hypothesized that national cultures have direct effects on social support seeking, and at the same time they have indirect effects on social support seeking through family communication patterns. Then, another question arises: Which factors have the most relative importance on social support seeking: national cultures or family communication patterns? To answer this question, it is important to avoid essentializing national cultures or family communication patterns on social support seeking. Thus, RQ6 is:

RQ6: What is the relationship of national cultures and family communication patterns to

social support seeking?

Individual and Relational factors: Self-Construals and Face Concerns

National cultural differences do not have very strong predictive power to explain individuals' social behavior. Instead, researchers often tend to essentialize the differences of social support as cultural phenomena derived from cultural I-C by ignoring group and individual differences. In fact, the study 3 done by Taylor et al. (2004) found that concerns for relationships with ingroup members mediated the effects of cultural groups. In other words, the effect of cultural group was no longer a significant predictor of the level of social support seeking once relational concerns were entered as a mediator. Since national cultures themselves may not be a strong predictor, individual and relational factors that may be able to explain the social support seeking process should be included. This dissertation focuses on two important constructs of self-construals and face concerns by applying the FNT framework in investigating social support seeking processes.

Relationships among national cultures, self-construals, face concerns, and support seeking

FNT provides a conceptual framework for studying cultural variability, face concerns and communication styles such as conflict styles based on face and face-negotiated communication behavior. The line of research based on FNT revealed the links among self-construals, face concerns and conflict styles (e.g., Ting-Toomey, Gao, Trubisky, Tang, Kim, Lin, & Nishida, 1991; Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003). To illustrate, Oetzel and Ting-Toomey (2003) successfully revealed that those who are in individualist cultures tend to have an independent self, which tend to lead to be more concerned about self-face while those who are in collectivist cultures tend to have higher interdependent

self, which tend to raise other-face and mutual face concerns. These differences lead to the use of different communication styles. In essence, self-construals are significantly influenced by cultural I-C, and in turn self-construals influence face concerns. Face concerns finally have direct effects on communication behavior. Similarly, in research on coping, Lam and Zane (2004) reported that individual differences in self-construals mediated the effect of cultural differences on personal coping styles. Specifically, these researchers found that independent self-construal fully mediated ethnic differences in preference for problem-focused coping while interdependent self-construal partially mediated ethnic differences in preference for emotion-focused coping. Although Lam and Zane (2004) focused on personal coping styles, rather than preferences for types of social support sought from others, their findings suggest that individual differences in self-construal may be influenced by national cultures and they have a direct relationship to the degree and types of support sought from others. This section does not present hypotheses because self-construals work as variables that have paths from national cultures to face concerns. After introducing the concept of face concerns, hypothetical relationships will be forwarded.

Face concerns: Their influences from self-construals to social support seeking

According to the FNT framework, face concerns help to explain face-negotiated communication such as conflict styles as they are influenced by self-construals and in turn they affect communication styles (Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003; Moriizumi, 2009). For example, Oetzel and Ting-Toomey (2003) revealed that interdependent self promotes both other and mutual face concerns while independent self promotes face concerns about self. By investigating relationships between face concerns and requests, Moriizumi

(2009) reported that self-inclusion face concerns are positively related to more polite forms of requesting expressions and other-inclusion face concerns are also positively related to more informal messages.

Face concerns may also play an important role in supportive communication to explain relationships among national culture, face concerns and communication behavior. National cultures have both direct and indirect effects on communication behavior through face concerns. For example, Taylor et al. (2004) conducted three series of studies that investigate ethnic differences in coping styles in the United States. They reported in all three studies that Asians or Asian Americans reported drawing on social support less than European Americans for dealing with stressful events. These researchers reasoned that members of collectivist cultures might be less inclined than individualists to seek support from in-group members because doing so might disturb the harmony of the group by calling undue attention to one's own unpleasant feelings and situation. Consistent with this reasoning, Taylor et al. (Study 3) found that assessments of concern for relationship with in-group members mediated the effects of cultural membership on the likelihood of seeking social support. Specifically, when controlling for the effects of concerns about disturbing the harmony of the group, ethnicity was no longer a significant predictor of support seeking likelihood. This may be strong evidence that face concerns about others may be mediated from cultural group characteristics to social support related communication processes.

Although the results of these studies are not conclusive, face concerns may play a significant role in communication styles. In essence, self-face concerns may promote the level of social support seeking, while other-face or mutual-face concerns may promote

concerns about not jeopardizing group/interpersonal harmony. As a result, they may seek less social support even when they are in need. Particularly, in East Asian cultures, some evidence suggests that individuals do not take risks disturbing the in-group harmony (i.e., risks for losing mutual face), or that give the appearance of being demanding of others (i.e., risks for losing others' autonomy face) (Shek, 1998). Thus, the following hypotheses and research question are proposed. H8 states that cultural general processes among self-construals, face concerns, and social support seeking. H9 is about cultural differences in these relationships.

H8: Self-construals have indirect effects on the level of social support seeking through face concerns: a) those with higher independent self-construals tend to be more concerned about self-face, and they tend to seek more social support, and b) those with higher interdependent self-construals tend to be more concerned about other-face and mutual-face, and they tend to seek less social support.

H9: Relationships among self-construals, face concerns, and social support seeking are different between Japan and the U.S.: a) the Japanese tend to have stronger positive relationships between interdependent self-construal and mutual-face concerns, which lead to seeking less social support than U.S. Americans, b) U.S. Americans tend to have stronger positive relationships between independent self-construal and self-face, which lead to seeking more social support than the Japanese.

RQ7: How are family communication patterns associated with self-construals and face concerns?

Summarizing Hypotheses and Research Questions

The review of literature revealed how relationships of cultural, familial, and individual levels affect social support seeking as a coping style in stressful social situations. This section summarizes hypotheses and research questions in relation to the FNT model from the perspective of the current study by applying the current FNT model (Ting-Toomey, 2005). Extending and applying FNT to the current study, this chapter has hypothesized the following relationships among vertical-horizontal I-C, family communication patterns, self-construals, face concerns, and social support seeking (see Figure 2 for the theoretical model for the current study, and see Table 1 for conceptual relationships regarding hypotheses and research questions).

From H1 to H4 and RQ1 to RQ3 are the relationships between national cultures (i.e., vertical-horizontal I-C) and social support seeking and coping styles. Social support seeking processes can be viewed in terms of a) likelihood, b) types (emotional and instrumental), c) from whom support is sought (ingroup-outgroup members), and d) styles (direct-indirectness). Each hypothesis was forwarded to match each dimension of social support seeking. Three research questions were also posed in terms of relationships a) between national cultures and types of social support, b) between national cultures and coping styles, and c) between vertical-horizontal cultural dimension and social support seeking.

To predict how family communication patterns are influenced by national cultures and at the same time this communication influences social support seeking processes, three hypotheses and two research questions were posed. Two hypotheses (H5 and H6) were concerned to the relationships between conversation orientations in FCP and social

support seeking in terms of likelihood and styles. One research question (RQ3) was concerned about the relationship between conformity orientation in FCP and social support seeking. H7 and RQ5 investigated how national cultures impact family communication patterns.

In order to confirm, extend, and refine the existent model of FNT, the whole process of social support seeking proposed in the current study was hypothesized in H8 and H9. H8 predicted direct and indirect relationships of self-construals to social support seeking through face concerns. H9 predicted direct and indirect relationships to social support seeking from national cultures through self-construals and face concerns. Finally, RQ7 investigated the relationship among FCP, self-construals, and face concerns.

In summary, the current chapter reviewed the literature of key important constructs and these relationships. More specifically, first, the constructs of FNT were reviewed. Then, social support seeking as dependent variables was reviewed. Third, variables of a) vertical-horizontal I-C, b) family communication patterns, c) self-construals, and d) face concerns were also reviewed. In each section, possible relationships between variables were predicted by forwarding hypotheses and were questioned by using research questions. In total, nine hypotheses and six research questions were posed. In the next chapter, research methods, procedures, questionnaire instruments, and analyses plans will be provided in order to answer hypotheses and research questions posed in the current chapter.

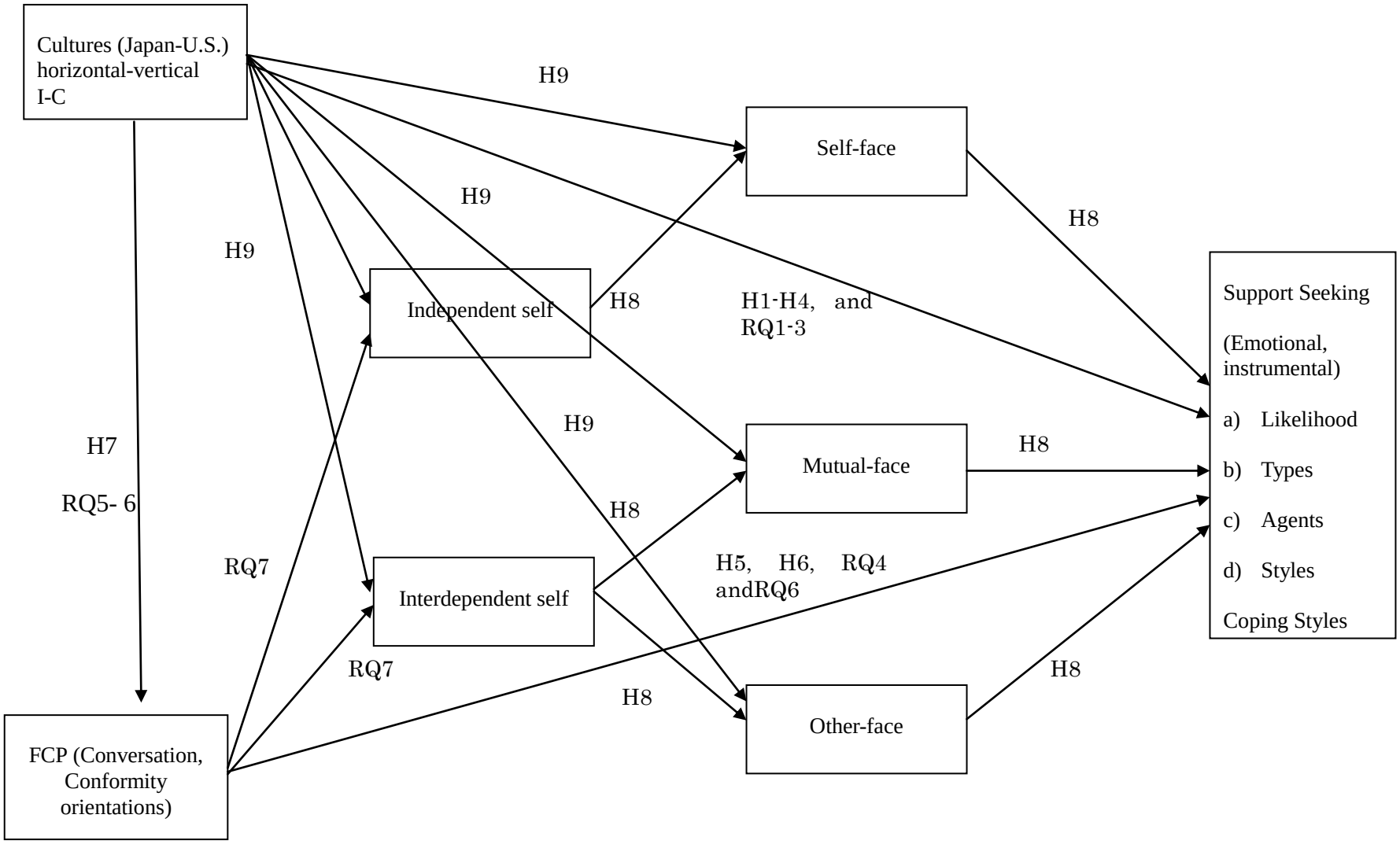

Figure 2. Hypothesized relationships in the current study. H = Hypothesis; RQ = Research Question. See Chapter 2 for more details.

Table 1

Conceptual Relationships among Constructs Introduced in Hypotheses and Research Questions.

Hypotheses and Research Questions	Independent variables	Dependent variables
H1: Japanese seek less social support than U.S. Americans when in need.	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.)	The level of seeking social support
H2: Japanese are less likely to seek emotional support than U.S. Americans.	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.)	The level of seeking emotional social support
RQ1: Are there cultural differences in the amount of instrumental support seeking between the Japanese and U.S. Americans?	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.)	The level of seeking instrumental social support
RQ2: What coping styles other than social support seeking do the Japanese and U.S. Americans tend to use?	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.)	The level of coping styles
H3: Differences in the amount of social support seeking of the Japanese toward ingroup-outgroup members are more discrepant than that of U.S. Americans.	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.) Relational Closeness (Ingroup/ outgroup)	The level of seeking social support
H4: The Japanese tend to use more indirect social support seeking styles than U.S. Americans.	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.)	Social support seeking styles
RQ3: How does vertical and horizontal I-C affect four aspects of social support seeking (i.e., frequency, type, agents, and ways)?	Vertical-horizontal I-C	The level of seeking social support Types of social support (Emotional, Instrumental) Agents Social Support seeking styles

(Continued)

Table 1 *(continued)*

Hypotheses and Research Questions	Independent variables	Dependent variables
H5: Those who have higher conversation orientation in FCP tend to seek social support more than those with lower conversation orientation.	Conversation orientation in family communication patterns	The level of seeking social support
H6: Those who have higher conversation orientation in FCP tend to use more direct social support seeking styles than those with lower conversation orientation.	Conversation orientation in family communication patterns	Social support seeking styles
RQ4: How is conformity orientation in FCP related to likelihood and styles of social support seeking?	Conformity orientation in family communication patterns	The level of seeking social support Social support seeking styles
H7: The Japanese tend to be less conversation oriented than U.S. Americans.	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.)	Conversation orientation in family communication patterns
RQ5: Are the Japanese higher in conformity orientation than U.S. Americans?	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.)	Conformity orientation in family communication patterns
RQ6: What are the relationships of national cultures and family communication patterns to social support seeking?	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.) Family communication patterns	The level of seeking social support
H8: Self-construals have indirect impacts on the level of social support seeking through face concerns: a) those with higher independent self-construals tend to be more concerned about self-face, and they tend to seek more social support, and b) those with higher interdependent self-construals tend to be more concerned about other-face and mutual-face, and they tend to seek less social support.	Self-Construals Face concerns	Face concerns The level of seeking social support The level of seeking social support

(Continued)

Table 1 *(continued)*

Hypotheses and Research Questions	Independent variables	Dependent variables
H9: Relationships among self-construals, face concerns, and social support seeking are different between Japan and the U.S.: a) the Japanese tend to have stronger positive relationships between interdependent self-construal and mutual-face concerns, which lead to seeking less social support than U.S. Americans, c) U.S. Americans tend to have stronger positive relationships between independent self-construal and self-face, which lead to seeking more social support than the Japanese.	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.)	Self-construals Face concerns The level of seeking social support
RQ7: How are family communication patterns associated with self-construals and face concerns?	Family communication patterns	Self-construals Face concerns

Chapter 3: Methods

The general purpose of this dissertation is to examine how national, familial and individual-level factors influence social support seeking processes. This chapter provides specific methods to answer the proposed hypotheses and research questions shown in the previous chapter. First, this chapter offers an overview of the methods, then explains the survey used, including participants, instruments, and procedures. Next, because this research is a cross-cultural comparison, it discusses issues of how cross-cultural equivalency is sought. Finally, this chapter explains the data analysis plan in order to answer hypotheses and research questions posed in the previous chapter.

Overview of Methods

Researchers' positions toward studies frame general research topics and research methods. Particularly, researchers' ontological and epistemological assumptions affect the methods they use for their study. Although several research approaches exist in the communication field, such as social scientific, interpretive, and critical (Martin & Nakayama, 2007; Merrigan & Huston, 2009; Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2011; Ting-Toomey, 2010) or objectivist, and subjectivist approaches (Gudykunst et al., 2005), the current study is conducted from a social scientific paradigm or objectivist approach.

Ontological assumptions behind the social scientific paradigm show that researchers tend to see the real world as external to individuals, search for regularities in behavior, and see communication as predicted by situations and environments (Gudykunst, et al., 2005). These ontological assumptions are directly related to two epistemological assumptions in conducting these kinds of studies (i.e., post-positivist). The first epistemological assumption is that communication phenomena should be

understood and explained as objectively as possible by using quantitative research methods that demonstrate scientific rigor to attempt to explain and predict patterned communication conduct by investigating regulations and causal relationships (Gudykunst et al., 2005; Miller, 2000). Because social scientific research seeks to obtain consistent and generalized findings, reliability and validity of the research is an important issue. Good research is viewed as highly reliable and valid. Reliability is concerned with the consistency of the measure, and one of the criteria for reliability is the internal consistency of the items in a scale. Validity is concerned with how accurately a study measures what it is supposed to measure (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955). Although it is difficult to attain highly reliable and valid measures, researchers strive to ensure reliability and validity by using the existent instruments that have already been tested for both reliability and validity or create a new instrument with high reliability and validity.

Taking these general ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions in mind, the current study uses a social scientific or objectivist approach to explain and predict social support seeking-related communication behavior by using FNT. FNT's fundamental assumptions as described in Chapter 2 are that a) people in all cultures negotiate face in all communication situations, b) face concerns become particularly salient when the situated identities of the communicators are called into question, and c) cultural variability dimensions, such as cultural I-C and power distance, influence facework strategies (Ting-Toomey, 2005). Although FNT theorists do not focus on social support behavior as facework, research evidence has suggested that social support in general and support seeking behavior in particular involve facework (Goldsmith, 1994; Taylor et al., 2004). In other words, the current study holds the same

ontological assumptions as shown in FNT, believing that face concerns and self-construals are strong predictors of communication styles, and cultural characteristics also influence self-construals, face concerns and communication styles.

The current study follows FNT's epistemological and methodological framework that examines relationships among culture, face concerns and facework. A line of cross-cultural studies using quantitative methods measures cross-cultural differences in relationships between psychological factors such as self-construals and face concerns, and communication styles such as conflict styles (e.g., Gudykunst, et al., 1996; Kim et al., 2009; Oetzel et al., 2001; Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003). FNT, a strong framework for the current study, predominantly utilizes quantitative research methods to examine the relationship among culture, face concerns, and facework, including conflict styles (see Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003; Ting-Toomey et al., 1991, 2000). This methodology is particularly useful for identifying the process of cultural and individual differences and similarities in communication behavior by controlling myriad factors that pertain to one's communication styles. In other words, by testing hypothetical relationships among culture, self-construals, face concerns, and social support seeking, the current study will identify the model of social support seeking adopted from the FNT framework (see Figure 2 in the previous chapter). To illustrate, because culture influences facework strategies, culture can be treated as an antecedent variable to other variables. Face concerns are important variables to explain the relationship between culture and facework. Social support seeking behavior is influenced by culture and face concerns. To answer these hypothetical and causal relationships among culture, familial, and individual levels, using quantitative research methods based on the social scientific paradigm is more

beneficial than other methods and paradigms.

Survey

Participants

Sample size should be carefully decided from various factors such as research methods and statistical power. From the research method perspective, the current study will use structural equation modeling (SEM) to analyze the model among cultural I-C, family patterns, face concerns, and support seeking along with group comparison analysis techniques such as t-tests, analysis of variance, and multivariate analysis of variance. Since the current model includes more complicating relationships among variables than simple group comparisons, necessary sample size should be carefully calculated to have enough statistical power to conduct SEM. According to Kline (2010), although there are no golden rules about sufficient sample sizes for this SEM analysis, studies need to have a large sample size. He suggested that sample sizes that exceed 200 cases could be considered as large while between 100 and 200 participants are considered as medium. The current study compares two cultural groups by multi-group SEM, and thus sample size needs to be doubled.

In terms of statistical power, Cohen (1992) suggested that researchers normally should obtain a power of .80. Power refers to the conditional probability that the null hypothesis is rejected given the null hypothesis is false (Keppel & Wickens, 2004). Given that the study hypothesizes relationships among variables in a manner consistent with regression analysis, the sample size for determining appropriate power in these analyses will also be offered. Since the current study examines the effects of horizontal-vertical I-C, family communication patterns and face concerns on social support seeking, it is

necessary to include 7 independent variables including a) the vertical-horizontal dimension, b) the individualism-collectivism dimension, c) conversation orientation, d) conformity orientation, e) self-face, f) other-face, and g) mutual-face. According to Cohen (1992), a sample size of 102 is necessary to detect medium effect size (R^2=.15) while 726 participants are necessary to detect small effect size (R^2=.02) given that alpha is .05. To use small effect size as an guideline for the current study seems a little stringent in terms of sample sizes because explanatory power in the face-negotiation model usually ranges from .10 and above in the past literature (e.g., Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003; Moriizumi, 2009). Taking the burden of data collection into consideration, an appropriate sample size seems to range from 400 to 500 or 200-250 in each country (i.e., a small to medium effect size).

Taking these guidelines into consideration and with the help of my colleagues, I collected university students' data from Japan and the United States in Fall 2011. University students have been normally examined in various cross-cultural studies (e.g., Oetzel et al., 2001) because they belong to a similar group in their respective national cultures. For this particular project, a university student sample is desirable since this study investigates family communication patterns. Family communication patterns are conceptualized as children's communication styles in relation to parents. Because married adults comprise both the roles of parents in a new family and children in their original family, the effects of family communication become unclear. Many university students are not yet married or, even among those who are already married, still recollect their family communication patterns in their original family.

The total number of participants from Japan and the United States was 514

university students. They comprised 262 students (111 male and 151 female) in the United States, and 252 students (113 male and 139 female) in Japan. As for U.S. participants, they were undergraduate students who were recruited from classes in a communication department in a large southwestern university. Ethnicities among the U.S. participants were as follows: 42.6% self-identified as White, 39.9% as Hispanic, 3.0% as Asian and Pacific Islander, 2.3 % as American Indian, 6.1% African American, 8.7 % as mixed, and 0.4% did not identify or identified as "other." The average age of the U.S. participants was 20.83 years (*SD* = 5.68).

Regarding Japanese participants, they were also undergraduate students who were recruited from communications classes in liberal arts and social science departments in medium-sized universities in central Japan. All were self-identified as Japanese. The average age of the participants was 19.28 years (*SD* = 1.39). Compared to U.S. participants, Japanese participants included fewer adult students (i.e., age less than 20 years) because adults are not commonly enrolled in college due to Japan's relatively stringent entrance exam system, which focuses on academic performance in high school, coupled with societal norms that students should go directly to college once they graduate from high school.

Procedures

Participation in the current study was voluntary in both the U.S. and Japan. For U.S. participants, the study was approved by the university's Internal Review Board, while such screening was not needed due to the nature of the survey as collecting anonymous data in Japan. Before conducting this survey, for U.S. samples, I asked my colleagues in the Department of Communication and Journalism, University of New

Mexico, to help me to conduct the survey in their classes through a department e-mail list serve. Several colleagues accepted my favor and invited me to their classrooms. As for the Japanese samples, my own classes were at Nanzan University and Meijo University in Nagoya, Japan. I also used my personal networks to find others to help me to have sufficient sample size. Two colleagues helped me to conduct the survey. They collected Japanese student data in their classes and sent the data to me. They are working at Tenri University in Nara and Hamamatsu University in Shizuoka, Japan. These two universities are located within a two-hour drive from Nagoya, Japan. Both my colleagues voluntarily assisted me in administering the survey, and the students also participated on voluntary basis.

Regarding the questionnaire, first, the author created an English version of the questionnaire, which was then translated into Japanese. Translation equivalence was checked by a bilingual individual who is fluent in both English and Japanese, following a back-translation procedure (Brislin, 1986). A research assistant, who is bilingual in Japanese and English, back-translated instructions and items in the questionnaire to ensure accuracy of translation. When differences in meaning between the original and translated versions arose, the author and assistant conferred to reach the agreement.

The participants responded to the questionnaire in their respective languages containing free written responses about stressful events, several measures, and demographic questions (see Appendix A for the questionnaire in English; See Appendix B for the Japanese version). Participants responded to a six-page survey that was administered during the last 15 to 20 minutes of class. To illustrate, both the Japanese and English questionnaires contained three sections. In the first section, participants were

asked to recount their stressful events and how they coped with them. This section included two open-ended questions and several measurements that ask about their coping styles. The first open-ended question was taken from Taylor et al. (2004), and asked participants' most stressful events in the past three months. The directions were as follows:

> Most people encounter social stressors on a fairly regular basis. You might have had roommate problems, difficulties with a boyfriend or girlfriend, conflicts with your parents, a falling out with a friend, or just plain being lonely. Think back over the last three months and identify the greatest social stressor you faced. Describe it briefly in the space below.

Participants then read the following question that asked how they coped with the events:

> In that situation, how did you do? Some people seek help from friends and family when they are trying to cope with a stressor, while others choose not to seek support from others. Please be as specific as possible. If you talked about this to somebody, please describe what you talked about and with whom. Please write down, to the best of your recollection, specifically how you asked for help. If you did not ask for help from anybody, please specify what you did and thought.

After answering these two open-ended questions, participants were asked to rate several measures on coping styles and face concerns in the recalled situation.

The second section was designed to measure cultural, familial, and self-orientations, including family communication patterns, horizontal-vertical I-C, and self-construals. The third section asked participants' demographic information such as

ethnic background, age, year and major in university.

Measures

Horizontal-vertical individualism-collectivism. To assess participants' perception of values related to horizontal-vertical I-C, Triandis and Gelfand's (1998) measures were used (see items from 11 to 26 in Section III in Appendix A). Sixteen items were comprised from four dimensions; (a) horizontal individualism (HI) (e.g., "I'd rather depend on myself than others" and " My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me "); (b) vertical individualism (VI) (e.g., "It is important that I do my job better than others" and "Competition is the law of nature"); (c) horizontal collectivism (HC) (e.g., "If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud" and "To me, pleasure is spending time with others"); and (d) vertical collectivism (VC) (e.g., "Parents and children must stay together as much as possible" and "It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my groups"). These items were rated using a five-point Likert-type scale from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*. Prior studies reported that this scale had sufficient reliability and were consistent with theoretical assumptions (Lee & Choi, 2005; Matsunaga & Imahori, 2009). These items had the highest factor loadings for predicted factors based on factor analysis of 32 items created by Singelis et al. (1995). Reliability for this scale was reported as sufficient (αs =.73 to .82) (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). Matsunaga and Imahori (2009) similarly reported high reliability of the scale (αs = .65 to .78) to Japanese and U.S. American participants.

Family communication patterns. The *Revised Family Communication Patterns Instrument* (RFCP) (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002) was used to assess participants' perception of family communication patterns in their family of origin (see section II in

Appendix A). The scale includes 26 items from the two dimensions of conversation and conformity orientations. Fifteen items measure perception of conversation orientation (e.g., ‘‘My parents and I often have long, relaxed conversations about nothing in particular’’; ‘‘My parents often ask my opinion when the family is talking about something’’) and 11 items measure perception of conformity orientation (e.g., ‘‘In our home, my parents usually have the last word’’; ‘‘When I am at home, I am expected to obey my parents’ rules’’). Each item was rated using a five-point Likert-type scale with responses ranging from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*. Prior research indicated sufficient internal consistency and test-retest reliability of the scale (Ritchie & Fitzpatrick, 1990; Kelly, Keaten, Finch, Duarte, Hoffman, & Michels, 2002). For example, reliability was relatively high in both conversation orientation (α =.92) and conformity orientation (α =.82) (Ritchie & Fitzpatrick, 1990).

Self-construals. Ten items of the shortened version of the self-construal scale (Takata, 1999) were used to measure the level of interdependent self-construals with six items, and independent self-construal with four items (see items from 1 to 10 in Section III in Appendix A). The scale, originally developed in Japanese, was reported to be reliable and valid. Participants indicated agreement based on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*. The same factorial structure proposed by Takata (1999) was used in the current study. Self-construal scales have been debated in recent years with regard to their validity (Levine, Bresnahan, Park, Lapinski, Wittenbaum, Shearman, Lee, Chung, & Ohashi, 2003; Matsumoto, 1999) and their construct (Cross, Gore, & Morris, 2003). Although these are very important issues, it is beyond the scope of this study to overcome such problems. Among various scales of

self-construals (Gudykunst et al., 1996; Singelis, 1994), Takata's scale was considered a valid scale for the purpose of the study because it was developed in Japan, and was used for cross-cultural comparisons (Takata, 1999). Cronbach alpha reliability of subscales of interdependent and independent self is reported to be above .70 across the three cultural groups of Japanese, Canadian, and Australians (Takata, 1999).

Face concerns. Fifteen items from the face concern scale (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001) were used to measure the level of face concerns in the stressful situation that participants recalled (see Section F of Section II in Appendix A). The scale was modified so that participants were able to rate the level of face concerns in the particular situations by changing the verb tense into the past. Participants were asked to rate the degree to which they agree with each item on the face-concern scale with responses ranging from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*. In the current study, the face-concern scale contained 15 items with five items each for self-, mutual-, and other-face concerns, even though the full version includes 32 items (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001). 15 items were selected because these items were highly loaded to the predicted factors (Oetzel, Garcia, & Ting-Toomey, 2008; Fletcher, 2009). These items are composed of three dimensions of a) self-face (e.g., "I was concerned with not bringing shame to myself, and "I didn't want to embarrass myself in front of others"), b) mutual-face (e.g., "Maintaining peace in interactions was important to me" and "I was concerned with respectful treatment for myself and others"), and c) other-face ("Helping to maintain other people's pride was important to me," and "My primary concern was helping other people save face"). The reliability of face concerns was checked in several studies and was reported as sufficient (Fletcher, 2009; Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003; Oetzel, Garcia, & Ting-Toomey, 2008;

Moriizumi & McDermott, 2011). For example, Oetzel and Ting-Toomey (2003) reported that internal consistency ranged from .76 to .86 for Japanese and U.S. American data, although mutual-face concerns was merged with other-face concerns.

Moriizumi and McDermott (2011) used the same 15 items for cross-cultural comparison in providing social support between the Japanese and U.S. Americans. The measurement invariance model, which included three factors of self (3 items), mutual (3 items), and other-face concerns (2 items), fit the data well: χ^2 (38) = 87.07, p <.001, Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) = .95, Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index (AGFI) =.91, and Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) = .056. The Cronbach alphas for internal consistency were .81 for self-face concerns (U.S. =.78, and Japan = .71), .70 for mutual-face concerns (U.S. =.76, and Japan = .56), and .79 (U.S. =.79, and Japan = .75) for other-face concerns.

Coping styles. To measure general coping styles for recalled stressful situations, participants were asked to rate their degree of actual use of several coping styles in that situation. Ten items from the Brief COPE (Carver, 1997) were used to measure their coping styles (see Section D of Section I in Appendix A). The Brief COPE is a short version of the original COPE scale (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989). This scale was developed from a theoretical perspective and covers various coping styles. The current study used five styles with two items for each style: a) instrumental support (e.g., "I tried to get advice or help from other people about what to do"), b) emotional support (e.g., "I got comfort and understanding from someone"), c) active coping (e.g., "I concentrated my efforts on doing something about the situation"), d) acceptance (e.g., "I accepted the reality of the fact that it happened"), and e) planning (e.g., "I tried to come up with a

strategy about what to do"). Although the Brief COPE measures nine more styles other than these five styles, such as positive reframing (e.g., "I tried to see it in a different light, to make it seem more positive"), denial (e.g., "I refused to believe that it happened"), self-blame (e.g., "I criticized myself"), behavioral disengagement (e.g., "I gave up trying to deal with it"), substance use (e.g., "I used alcohol or drugs to make myself feel better"), religion (e.g., "I tried to find comfort in my religion or spiritual beliefs"), and self-distraction (e.g., "I turned to work on other activities to take my mind off things"), these styles were not included for the current study. This is because a) the interest of the current study is on interpersonal dimensions and five styles were comprehensive enough to capture the interpersonal aspects of various coping styles, b) Taylor et al. (2004) found that these five styles are those in which cross-cultural differences were seen between Asian and European Americans, and the nine styles that are not included in the current study did not show cross-cultural differences, and c) questionnaire items should be kept to a minimum by taking the participants' burden and the time constraints of questionnaire administration into consideration.

Since one of the major interests of the current project was whether and from whom participants seek social support, the Brief COPE was supplemented by social support items (both instrumental and emotional support) from the long form of the COPE (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989). The long form of the COPE included 15 styles with four items to each style. Thus, to rate the degree and from whom participants seek social support, 8 items from the social support scale, including emotional and instrumental support (4 items for each dimension), were used. Participants rated the same 8 items repeatedly to answer how much they tried to seek social support from a) their parents, b)

their close friends, and c) outgroup members (e.g., acquaintances, not close friends, and counselors). Participants rated each coping statement on 4-point scales from 1-*I did not do at all* to 4- *I did this a lot*. Because this short version of the COPE scale is theoretically driven, and each style only includes two items, computing reliability is neither important nor desirable (Carver, 1997). Reliability for the full version of COPE was reported as sufficient (αs=.62 to .85) (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989). Items of the short version were extracted from those with high factor loadings in the full version, and thus these are considered valid. Since a Japanese-translated version of the Brief COPE has been developed (Otsuka, 2008), the current study used the Japanese version for Japanese participants.

Cross-cultural Equivalency

Cross-cultural equivalency should be established before analyzing the data. Reliability and validity are important concerns in social scientific or quantitative research methods. Cross-cultural research often includes various types of bias, such as problems with translation, conceptual differences, and the response set in rating items. Van de Vijver and Poortinga (2005) mainly explored three types of bias, for cross-cultural research and identified sources of these types of bias. These are construct, item, and method bias.

Construct bias refers to incomplete overlap of constructs across cultural groups. This bias is caused by several sources such as (a) dissimilarity in the definitions of a construct across cultures, and (b) different behaviors that are associated with the construct. An example related to the current study is the concept of face. Face is a philosophical concept originated by China (Ho, 1975). Chinese concepts of face include

two different meanings, including *men-tzu* (self-presentational aspects) and *lian* (moral aspects). These are emic (i.e., culture-specific) concepts. For cross-cultural research, etic (i.e., culture-general) concepts should be compared to avoid construct bias. The concept of face from an etic approach is more likely to be defined as "public self-image," which seems to be universal among cultures (Brown and Levinson, 1987), coined by Goffman (1959).

Item bias refers to item anomalies due to several conditions, such as (a) poor item translation and/or ambiguous items, (b) inadequate item formulation (e.g., complex wording), and (c) item-related nuisance factors (item may invoke additional traits or abilities). For example, the Japanese translation of "assertiveness" is likely to include a negative connotation in interpersonal relationships. The English translation of the Japanese word "*jiko shucho*" is more likely to be obstinate and insisting on one's opinions too much. If researchers translate assertiveness into this negative word, Japanese participants tend to rate this item rather negatively. More appropriate and neutral word for this case is *tsutaeru* (tell), *iu* (say), or *noberu* (state).

Method bias refers to all nuisance factors arising from aspects of the methods employed, such as instrument, samples, and procedures. These are derived from several sources including (a) incomparability of samples (e.g., differences in education and motivation), (b) differences in familiarity with stimulus material, (c) differences in response styles, and (d) differences in environmental administration conditions. One important method bias is response bias, in which some cultures are more likely to use extreme ratings more than other cultures (Chen, Lee, & Sevenson, 1995; Hui & Triandis, 1989). In particular, it is known that individualist cultures tend to use extreme responses

(Oetzel et al., 2001).

Whether response styles are viewed as bias or as reflecting actual differences in attitudes has been debatable. Some researchers have claimed that response styles can be viewed as bias. The rationale for this view is that response styles have systematic tendencies to distort responses, suggesting that observed data were unassociated with actual attitudes (Fischer, 2004). In essence, these researchers viewed that cultural differences based on raw data is "artificial," which is something to be removed and fixed to reflect "actual" cultural differences. Although there are several statistical techniques to cope with response style, Fischer (2004) summarized the past literature and classified major approaches to adjust response bias into four: (a) adjustment using means, (b) adjustment using dispersion indices, (c) adjustment using means and dispersion indices, and (d) adjustment using covariates. One common approach to control statistically for such response bias is that relative scores for items or scales are computed for each culture by subtracting the mean scores of items or scales for each culture from individual raw scores (i.e., group mean centering) (Oetzel et al., 2001; Ohbuchi, Fukushima & Tedeschi, 1999). Advantages for this approach are that a) the adjustment technique is not statistically dense compared to other approaches, such as double standardizing means and dispersion indices, and b) factorial structures of the scale and correlations among scales are unchanged, unlike other techniques such as ipsatization (Fischer, 2004).

On the other hand, other researchers showed that response styles reflected actual attitudes toward responses (Smith, 2004). Smith claims that response patterns are largely due to differences in communication styles related to cultural characteristics. From this view, comparing raw data between two cultures reflects "actual" attitudes due to cultural

characteristics, and converting data by using standardized techniques seems "artificial." Because this question has been debated and unanswered, researchers can at least scrutinize the patterns of responses before concluding cross-cultural analyses. The current study scrutinized mean scores and frequency of ratings to check whether the Japanese participants avoided extreme ratings and vice versa in the U.S. before conducting main analyses. The results are reported in the next chapter.

The above three kinds of bias (i.e., construct, item, and method bias) may threaten comparability of scores among cultural groups. To avoid these biases, van de Vijver and Poortinga (2005) suggested methods to increase construct, structural, or functional equivalence. First, the lack of construct equivalence is considered to represent a complete lack of comparability. In this case, the instrument measures different constructs among cultural groups, comparable to comparing apples and oranges. Thus, it is essential that researchers seek construct equivalence by checking the meanings of constructs across cultures. Gudykunst (2002) also suggested that researchers seek etic concepts for cross-cultural research by comparing emic concepts (i.e., derived etic). The current study strives to use etic concepts that have already been used in past cross-cultural studies to ensure construct equivalence.

Structural or functional equivalence is whether the same psychological constructs hold true across cultural groups. When psychological constructs are measured, several items or concepts are included in a certain construct. If each item functions similarly to this latent construct across groups, it can be said that this construct is equivalent structurally or functionally. Thus, in cross-cultural research, similar factor structures are needed. Particularly, similarity of factor loadings for each item is seen as a necessary

condition for structural equivalence (van de Vijver and Poortinga, 2005). The current study uses confirmatory factor analyses and checks the loadings for each item to measure structural or functional equivalence (i.e., ensuring measurement invariance). The details about measurement invariance are described later in this chapter.

Data Analysis Plan

Manipulation Check

Perceived stressfulness of the recalled situation. As a means of assessing the degree to which participants perceived their recalled situations as stressful and threatening, they rated the situations along a series of dimensions, including the extent to which it was (a) Unstressful-Stressful, (b) Unimportant-Important, and (c) Pleasant-Unpleasant, in addition to writing an open-ended brief explanation of the situation. Items were rated on a 5-point semantic differential scale. These three items were summed to form an index of perceived stressfulness of the problem.

Analysis Plan

Coding free written responses on coping styles. To categorize how participants seek social support in a stressful situation, a coding scheme developed by Barbee and Cunningham (1995) was used to identify specific support-seeking behaviors. This scheme crosses the two dimensions of a) verbal and nonverbal support seeking and b) direct and indirect expressions of need: (a) Ask is a direct-verbal strategy that includes behaviors such as asking directly for help; (b) pout-cry is a direct-nonverbal strategy that express one's emotion through actions such as crying or pouting; (c) hint-complain is an indirect-verbal strategy that only explains situations without directly requesting aid or making it clear that help is desired; and (d) sulk-fidget is an indirect and nonverbal

strategy that subtly shows negative affect by sighing, sulking, or fidgeting.

In evaluating the messages of both U.S. American and Japanese participants, the author explained the coding scheme to a research assistant, who is bilingual and majoring in communication-related field and did not know the research hypotheses. First, the author explained the coding categories, followed by the coding of 10.0% of the sample. The initial agreement or intercoder reliability was calculated by using Cohen's kappa (1960) formula, and disagreements were resolved through discussion. Then each coder coded approximately 10 % of the data independently. Again interceder reliability was calculated. Disagreements were resolved through discussion. After obtaining sufficient levels of intercoder reliability, the rest of the data was independently coded, and then final intercoder reliability was calculated. The results and intercoder reliability are reported in the next chapter.

Measurement invariance. Because the current study is a cross-cultural comparison, it is important to compare identical concepts across groups. In other words, it does not seem very meaningful to compare and contrast different concepts. To establish conceptual equivalency or measurement invariance, the factorial structures and loadings of each item in measures were checked by conducting a series of multi-group confirmatory factor analyses (CFAs) using a statistical package, AMOS 20.0. First, in conducting CFAs, two criteria were employed to determine the inclusion of items and the improvement of model fit: (a) the items needed to have a factor loading of .40, and (b) the items needed to have a single path to a latent variable. Next, to determine the measurement invariance, although there are several levels of measurement invariance, at least both configural invariance (i.e., the same factorial structures across groups) and

weak metric invariance (i.e., factor loadings to be equal across groups) should be assured (Widaman & Reise, 1997). When evaluating invariant measurement models, the value of chi-square difference tests was compared between a default model (e.g., factor loadings to be freely estimated) and more restricted models (e.g., factor loadings to be equal across groups). If the more restricted model is not significantly different from the default model, this model can be interpreted as a better fit and ensures that the investigated concepts are equivalent across groups.

To check model fit, several model fit indices were used such as chi-square test statistics, Goodness of Fit Index (GFI), Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index, Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), and the ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom. GFI, AGFI, and CFI should be more than .90 to 1.00, while RMSEA should be lower than .05 to show the goodness of model fit of particular statistical models; values between .05 and .08 suggest reasonable error of approximation. On the other hand, a value above .10 suggests a bad fit (Kline, 2010). Because chi-square test statistics are sensitive to sample sizes and often reject a model when sample sizes are large, the ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom is more appropriate, and a ratio of less than 3 to 1 indicates a good fit and acceptable model (Marsh et al., 1988).

Although every effort should be made to seek out measurement invariance, this cannot be guaranteed because of several factors such as cultural, semantic, and functional bias. The most serious violation against measurement invariance is that configural invariance cannot be attained. In this case, these factors should be excluded in the model of the current study. Rather, possible reasons for this should be discussed in the discussion section of Chapter 5. In instances where it is found that configural invariance

is assured, but weak metric invariance is not attained, such variables can be still included in the proposed model, but these facts will be reported in the results section, with reasons why this type of invariance is not guaranteed discussed in Chapter 5. In reality, the current study attained measurement invariance for all scales.

Group comparisons. Chapter 3 described hypotheses and research questions about the process of social support seeking (see Figure 2 in the previous chapter). Within the conceptual process model, some hypothetical relationships can be tested by conducting statistical analyses that focus on differences in mean scores and variances such as t-tests, analysis of variance (ANOVA), and multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). When there is only one independent variable (e.g., national cultures) and one dependent variable (e.g., likelihood of seeking social support), a t-test was used. When independent variables include two variables (e.g., national cultures and relational closeness), ANOVA was conducted. When dependent variables are multiple such as coping styles, MANOVA was used. For example, Hypotheses H1 to H3 are basically cross-cultural differences in various dimensions of social support seeking, and therefore statistical techniques for group comparisons were used (see Table 2 for specific methods corresponding to hypotheses and research questions).

The current study uses numerical data for dependent variables (e.g., likelihood of social support seeking) except for how social support is sought (i.e., styles of social support seeking). Because this variable is categorical, categorical analyses should be undertaken for this analysis (see Table 2 for specific methods corresponding to hypotheses and research questions).

Regression analyses. Regression analyses were performed when independent

variables are numerical data, and hypotheses and research questions are concerned about how strongly a predicted variable (i.e., a dependent variable) is associated with one or more predictor variables (i.e., independent variables). In this current study, multiple regression analyses were used to check how strongly the likelihood of social support seeking was associated with family communication patterns (conformity and conversation orientations). When predicted variables were categorical, logistic regression analyses were conducted. For example, this analysis was used to investigate the relationship between vertical-horizontal I-C (numerical data) and social support seeking styles (categorical data) (see Table 2 for specific methods corresponding to hypotheses and research questions).

Multi-group structural equation modeling. Multi-group structural equation modeling (SEM) was conducted to assess hypothesized relationships among FCP, self-construals, face concerns, and social support seeking between two national cultures, which were predicted in H8 and H9 in the previous chapter. After conducting confirmatory factor analyses of each independent, mediating, and dependent variable to ensure the measurement invariance among each construct, multi-group SEM was conducted by using AMOS 20.0. To increase the model fit, non-significant paths were erased, and at the same time paths were drawn when they were statistically significant. Care should be taken when drawing paths in order to make the model both theoretical and statistically sound. The model fit of models was checked and the most appropriate model in terms of theory and statistics was adopted. To check the model fit, several model fit indices were used including chi-square test statistics, GFI, AGFI, CFI, RMSEA and the ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom. In addition to these indices, the value of Akaike

Information Criterion (AIC) was compared among proposed models. This index is used to measure the relative goodness of fit of statistical models, and the lower the value, the better the model fit (Kline, 2010).

The current chapter has described methods for the current project, including participants, procedures and survey instruments. Since this project is a cross-cultural comparison, issues of cross-cultural equivalency and methods to ensure equivalency have been also discussed. The next chapter will report the results of the current study according to hypotheses and research questions.

Table 2

Statistical Methods for Hypotheses and Research Questions

	Independent variables	Dependent variables	Statistical methods
H1: The Japanese seek less social support than U.S. Americans when in need.	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.) (categorical)	The level of seeking social support (numerical)	One-way MANOVA
H2: The Japanese are less likely to seek emotional support than U.S. Americans.	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.) (categorical)	The level of seeking emotional support (numerical)	
RQ1: Are there cultural differences in the amount of instrumental support seeking between the Japanese and U.S. Americans?	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.) (categorical)	The level of seeking instrumental support (numerical)	
RQ2: What coping styles other than social support seeking do the Japanese and U.S. Americans tend to use?	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.) (categorical)	The level of coping styles (numerical)	
H3: Differences in the amount of social support seeking of the Japanese from ingroup-outgroup members are more discrepant than those of U.S. Americans.	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.) (categorical) Ingroup/ outgroup (categorical)	The level of seeking social support (instrumental/emotional) (numerical)	Two-way MANOVA
H4: The Japanese tend to use more indirect social support seeking styles than U.S. Americans.	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.) (categorical) Agents (categorical)	Social support seeking styles (categorical)	Multiple correspondence analysis

(continued)

Table 2 *(continued)*

	Independent variables	Dependent variables	Statistical methods
RQ3: How does vertical and horizontal I-C affect four aspects of social support seeking (i.e., frequency, type, agents, and ways)?	Vertical-horizontal I-C (numerical)	The level of seeking social support (numerical) Types of social support (numerical) Agents (numerical) Social support seeking styles (categorical)	Multiple regressions Logistic regressions
H5: Those who have higher conversation orientation in FCP tend to seek social support more than those with lower conversation orientation.	Conversation orientation in FCP (numerical)	The level of seeking social support (numerical)	Multiple regressions
H6: Those who have higher conversation orientation in FCP tend to use more direct social support seeking styles than those with lower conversation orientation.	Conversation orientation in FCP (numerical)	Social support seeking styles (categorical)	Logistic regressions
RQ4: How is conformity orientation in FCP related to likelihood and styles of social support seeking?	Conformity orientation in FCP (numerical)	The level of seeking social support (numerical) Social support seeking styles (categorical)	Multiple regressions Logistic regressions
H7: The Japanese tend to be less conversation oriented than U.S. Americans. RQ5: Are the Japanese higher in conformity orientation than U.S. Americans?	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.) (categorical) National cultures (Japan/ U.S.)	Conversation orientation in FCP (numerical) Conformity orientation in FCP (numerical)	One-way MANOVA

(continued)

Table 2 *(continued)*

	Independent variables	Dependent variables	Statistical methods
RQ6: What is the relationship of national cultures and family communication patterns to social support seeking?	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.) (categorical) FCP (numerical)	The level of social support seeking (numerical)	SEM
H8: Self-construals have indirect impacts on the level of social support seeking through face concerns: a) those with higher independent self-construals tend to be more concerned about self-face, and they tend to seek more social support, and b) those with higher interdependent self-construals tend to be more concerned about other-face and mutual-face, and they tend to seek less social support.	Self-Construals (numerical) Face concerns (numerical)	Face concerns (numerical) The likelihood of social support seeking (numerical) The likelihood of social support seeking (numerical)	Multi-group SEM
H9: Relationships among self-construals, face concerns, and social support seeking are different between Japan and the U.S.: a) the Japanese tend to have higher interdependent self-construal and b) higher other- and mutual-face concerns, which lead to seeking less social support than U.S. Americans, c) U.S. Americans tend to have higher independent self-construal and d) are more concerned about self-face, which lead to seeking more social support than the Japanese.	National cultures (Japan/ U.S.) (categorical)	Self-construals Face concerns The level of social support seeking (numerical)	
RQ7: How are family communication patterns associated with self-construals and face concerns?	FCP (numerical)	Self-construals(numerical) Face concerns (numerical)	

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter presents the results of the current study. First, the results of a preliminary analysis are reported, which includes the results of a manipulation check toward recalled stressful situations, confirmatory factor analyses of relevant measures with measurement invariant techniques, the internal reliability of each scale, coding categories of social support seeking styles, and checking response bias. The second section presents the results of the main analysis that tests hypotheses and research questions.

Preliminary Analysis

Manipulation Check

To investigate the nature of the stressful situations that participants recalled and to determine the participants' understanding of the instructions they were asked to recall the most stressful situation that occurred during the past three months, and they rated three items pertaining to the recalled situation: (a) unstressful-stressful, (b) unimportant-important, and (c) pleasant-unpleasant, using a five-point Likert-type format. The summation of these three items formed an index of perceived stressfulness of the problem. The analysis tested whether the summed scores of perceived stressfulness were significantly higher than the mid-point, i.e., 3 out of five possible points. The results showed that the recalled situations were perceived as more stressful (M = 4.14, SD = .66) than mid-point, t (513) = 39.13, $p < .001$ (two-tailed). Furthermore, no significant differences were found between Japanese (M = 4.12, SD = .67) and U.S. American participants (M = 4.16, SD = .66), t (512) = .66, p = .51 (two-tailed). Therefore, participants recalled stressful situations as they were instructed to, and both Japanese and

U.S. American participants recalled similar stressful situations with regard to the degree of their stressfulness, a combination of the three items of unpleasantness, importance and stressfulness.

Measurement Invariance of Scales

To establish measurement invariance, the factorial structures and loadings of each item to latent factors were checked by conducting a series of multi-group confirmatory factor analyses (CFAs). To check measurement invariant models across groups, three criteria were employed to determine the inclusion of items and the improvement of model fit: (a) the items needed to have a factor loading of .40, (b) the items needed to have adequate reliability, with Cronbach alpha reliability closer to .70 or above, and (c) the items needed to have a single path to a latent variable. Although several levels of measurement invariance are used including configural invariance (i.e., the same factorial structures across groups) and weak metric invariance (i.e., factor loadings to be equal across groups), at least weak metric invariance should be assured (Widaman & Reise, 1997). In what follows, how measurement invariance was checked for each measure is explained and the results are presented.

Horizontal- vertical individualism and collectivism. Triandis and Gelfand's (1998) measure of horizontal-vertical individualism and collectivism was used to measure individual differences in horizontal-vertical individualism and collectivism. The scale includes 16 items with four dimensions of (a) horizontal individualism (HI), b) horizontal collectivism (HC), c) vertical individualism (VI), and d) vertical collectivism (VC). The confirmatory factor analysis of the original model proposed by Triandis and Gelfand did not fit the data well, Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) = .85, Adjusted Goodness

of Fit Index (AGFI) = .79, Comparative Fit Index (CFI) = .70, Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) = .068, and χ^2 (196) = 664.58, $p < .001$. The ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom was 3.39, which was higher than the acceptable range. Therefore, to improve the model fit, several items were removed based on low factor loadings and the modification indices, which suggested overlapping measurement in items and factors.

The default four-factor model, in which factor loadings are freely estimated across groups, fit the data well, χ^2 (42) = 84.04, $p < .001$, GFI = .97, AGFI = .93, CFI = .94, and RMSEA = .044. The ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom was 2.00. The Akaike Information Index (AIC) =180.04. Next, to check the measurement invariance across cultural groups, factor loadings were constrained and were estimated equal across groups. Measurement invariant model includes VI with three items, HI with two items, VC with two items, and HC with 2 items (see Table 3 for items and factor loadings). The model fit indices showed that this model fit the data better than the unconstrained model, χ^2 (47) = 90.86, $p < .001$, GFI = .96, AGFI = .93, CFI = .94, RMSEA = .043, and AIC = 176.86. The ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom was 1.93. The difference of chi square statistics is not significant from the unconstrained model, χ^2 (5) = 6.83, $p = .23$. Cronbach's alpha reliability for combined data of both the Japanese and U.S. Americans was .72 for HI (Japan = .65, U.S. = .71), .58 for VI (Japan =.51, U.S. = .66), .65 for HC (Japan =.71, U.S. = .53), and .58 for VC (Japan = .65, U.S. = .50).

To check whether this four-factor model is valid among possible models, factor structures were checked by conducting a series of confirmatory factor analyses. The results showed that four-factor solutions were the most appropriate (see Table 4). The

two-factor model of individualism and collectivism by collapsing the horizontal and vertical dimensions did not fit the data well. Another two-factor model of vertical and horizontal dimensions by collapsing the individualism and collectivism dimensions also showed a poor fit. Although three-factor solutions seemed atheoretical, model fit indices were checked. Neither the model including VI, HI, and collectivism nor the one including VC, HC, and individualism showed a good fit. Therefore, the four-factor model showed high validity of factorial structures for the current study.

Table 3

Items and Factor Loadings for Horizontal-Vertical Individualism and Collectivism

	Factor Loadings	
Items	Japan	U.S.
Vertical Individualism		
18. Winning is everything.	.53	.77
22. Competition is the law of nature.	.61	.72
26. When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused.	.39	.42
Horizontal Individualism		
11. I'd rather depend on myself than others.	.49	.56
16. I rely on myself most of the time; I rarely rely on others.	.96	.98
Vertical Collectivism		
14. Parents and children must stay together as much as possible.	.84	.65
19. Family members should stick together, no matter what sacrifices are required.	.56	.49
Horizontal Collectivism		
13. If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud.	.91	.74
15. The well-being of my coworkers is important to me.	.61	.50

Table 4

Goodness-of-fit Indices for Factorial Structures of Horizontal-Vertical Individualism and Collectivism

	4-factor	3-factor (VI, HI, and C)	3-factor (I, HC, and VC)	2-factor (I and C)	2-factor (V and H)
df	42	48	48	52	52
χ^2	84.04	188.29	278.10	363.57	312.40
χ^2/df	2.00	3.92	5.80	7.00	6.01
GFI	.97	.93	.89	.86	.88
AGFI	.93	.86	.79	.76	.79
CFI	.94	.80	.67	.55	.62
RMSEA	.044	.076	.097	.110	.103
AIC	180.04	272.29	362.15	439.57	388.36

Note. Coefficients were estimated when regression weights were unconstrained across groups. I = Individualism, C =Collectivism, V =Vertical dimension, H = Horizontal dimension, df =degrees of freedom.

Family communication patterns. The *Revised Family Communication Patterns Instrument* (RFCP) (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002) includes 26 items from the two dimensions of conversation and conformity orientations. 15 items measure perception of conversation orientation and 11 items measure perception of conformity orientation. To check the factorial structures across the two national groups, CFA was conducted. The original model proposed by Koerner and Fitzpatrick (1992) did not show a good model fit, χ^2 (298) = 1441.93, $p < .001$, GFI= .80, AGFI = .76, CFI = .76, and RMSEA = .087. The ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom was 4.84. To improve the model fit, several items were removed based on low factor loadings and the modification indices.

The multi-group CFA found that the final model included four items for conversation orientation and five items for conformity orientation (see Table 5 for items and factor loadings), showing a good model fit, χ^2 (76) = 126.37, $p < .001$, GFI = .96, AGFI = .94, CFI = .96, and RMSEA = .036. The ratio of chi-square to degrees of

freedom was 1.66. The chi-square statistic from the unconstrained model was not statistically significant, χ^2 (6) = 6.57, p = .36. The value of AIC of the measurement invariant model (AIC = 194.37) was lower than the unconstrained model (AIC = 203.64). Cronbach alpha reliability was .76 for conversation orientation (Japan = .62, U.S. = .84), and .74 for conformity orientation (Japan = .69, U.S. = .76).

Table 5

Items and Factor Loadings for Family Communication Patterns

	Factor Loadings	
Items	Japan	U.S.
Conversation		
5. My parents often ask my opinion when the family is talking about something.	.48	.64
11. I usually tell my parents what I am thinking about in my mind.	.50	.68
17. My parents and I often have long, relaxed conversations about nothing in particular.	.49	.72
19. I really enjoy talking with my parents, even when we disagree.	.56	.80
21. My parents encourage me to express my feelings.	.46	.70
Conformity		
6. My parents often feel that it is important to be the boss.	.40	.56
16. My parents often say things like "My ideas are right and you should not question them."	.67	.73
18. My parents often say things like "A child should not argue with adults."	.69	.66
20. My parents often say things like "There are some things that shouldn't be talked about."	.53	.61
22. My parents often say things like "You should give in on arguments rather than risk making people mad."	.51	.57

Self-construals. The shortened version of the self-construal scale created by Takata (1999) with 10 items was used to measure individuals' self-construals. The original version included two dimensions of self-construals of independent and interdependent self. Takata's original model, in which regression weights were freely estimated across groups, did not show a very good fit, χ^2 (68) = 223.83, $p < .001$, GFI = .92, AGFI = .88, CFI = .82, and RMSEA = .067. The ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom was 3.29. To improve the model fit, several items were removed based on low factor loadings and overlapping factor loadings across two factors.

The results of multi-group CFA showed that the final measurement invariant model with three items for independent self and three items for interdependent self had a good model fit (see Table 6 for items and factor loadings), χ^2 (8) = 25.74, $p = .18$, GFI = .98, AGFI = .97, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .024, and AIC = 69.74. Chi-square statistics are not significant from the model in which factor loadings are freely estimated across groups, χ^2 (4) = 6.81, $p = .15$, and AIC was lower than the unconstrained model (AIC = 70.93). Thus, this model was adopted for the current study because this was both theoretically and statistically sound. It should be noted that factor loading of Item 3 of independent self-construal is lower than the standard of above .40. If this item is excluded, models are not admissible because the variance estimates are negative. Because the reliability of independent self-construals is only increased by .03 even when Item 3 is excluded, this item was kept in the model. Reliability for independent self-construals is .63 (Japan = .62, and U.S. = .61). Reliability for interdependent self-construals is .57 (Japan =.50, U.S. = .59).

Table 6
Items and Factor Loadings for Self-construals

Items	Factor Loadings	
	Japan	U.S.
Independent		
5. I always express my opinions clearly.	.77	.75
7. I always speak and act confidently.	.65	.59
3. Even if people around me have different ideas, I stick to my beliefs.	.35	.30
Interdependent		
1. I am concerned about what people think of me.	.57	.59
8. Depending on the situation and the people that are present, I will sometimes change my attitude or behavior.	.44	.49
10. How I feel depends on the situation and the people that are present.	.51	.58

Face Concerns. The face concern scale (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001) was used to measure the level of face concerns. The face concern scale contained 15 items with five items each for self-, mutual-, and other-face concerns. The model fit indices of the default model, in which regression weights were freely estimated across groups, showed an acceptable level, χ^2 (168) = 412.88, $p < .001$, GFI = .90, AGFI = .86, CFI = .92, and RMSEA = .053. The ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom was 2.46. In order to create a model with measurement invariance across groups, a series of multi-group CFAs were conducted. The final measurement invariance model includes three factors: (a) self-face concerns including three items, (b) other-face concerns with three items, and (c) mutual-face concerns including three items (see Table 7 for items and factor loadings). The measurement invariance model in which factor loadings for latent factors were estimated equally across groups fit the data well: χ^2 (54) = 124.49, $p < .001$, GFI = .95, AGFI = .91, CFI = .93, and RMSEA = .050. The ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom was 2.31. The change of the value in the chi-square difference test is not

statistically significant between the measurement invariant model and the unconstrained model, in which factor loadings are freely estimated across groups (χ^2 (6) = 4.91, p = .56 *n.s.*). The value of AIC for the measurement invariant model was smaller than the unconstrained model, AIC = 193.07 for the measurement invariant model and AIC = 200.16 for the unconstrained model. The Cronbach alphas for internal consistency were .68 for self-face concerns (U.S. = .70, and Japan = .60), .77 for other-face concerns (U.S. = .83, and Japan = .69) and .62 for mutual-face concerns (U.S. = .62, and Japan = .62).

Table 7

Items and Factor Loadings for Face Concerns

	Factor Loadings	
Items	Japan	U.S.
Self-face		
4. I was concerned with not bringing shame to myself.	.58	.63
10. I was concerned with not appearing weak in front of my team.	.52	.61
14. I am concerned with protecting my self-image.	.67	.76
Other-face		
5. Helping to maintain other people's pride was important to me.	.60	.72
9. My primary concern was helping other people save face.	.64	.80
15. I was concerned with helping other people maintain their own credibility.	.72	.83
Mutual-face		
2. Harmony among the people I work and go to school with was important to me.	.58	.57
3. Maintaining humbleness to preserve relationships is important to me.	.60	.62
8. A peaceful resolution to conflict is important to me.	.60	.61

Although the current study successfully yielded three-factor solutions for the face concern scale, previous studies sometimes failed to reveal that face concerns included three factors, and instead mutual-face concerns were merged into other-face concerns (Fletcher, 2009; Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001; Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003). Thus, model fit indices were compared between two-factor and three-factor models. Regarding the two-factor model, other- and mutual-face concerns were merged into one factor while three-factor model includes self-, other-, and mutual-face concerns. The results showed that three-factor solutions (model fit indices were shown above) were a better model fit than a two-factor model, χ^2 (52) = 166.33, $p < .001$, GFI = .93, AGFI = .88, CFI = .89 and RMSEA = .066. The ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom was 3.20. This result indicated that two-factor solutions may still be in an acceptable range, but the three-factor solution has a better model fit.

Social support seeking and coping styles. The current study utilized the Brief COPE scale to assess the actual use of coping styles, and included ten items. These ten items are comprised by five factors: a) instrumental support, b) emotional support, c) active coping, d) acceptance, and e) planning. Since two of these items were selected from a larger scale called COPE, factor analysis was not desirable (Carver, 1997). Thus, only reliability for each dimension was calculated to check internal consistency. In addition to the Brief COPE measure, full items of instrumental and emotional support from the long form of the COPE (Carver et al., 1989) were used. The long form included 4 items for each dimension, and this version was used to ask participants how much they seek social support from parents, friends, and outgroup members. Reliability for dimensions (instrumental and emotional social support) and agents (parents, friends, and

outgroup members) was checked. Reliabilities for coping styles and social support seeking targeting parents, friends, and outgroup members were shown in Table 8. Generally, each scale except acceptance was satisfactory. Reliability for acceptance was relatively lower than other categories, but since this is an important style for cross-cultural comparison, the current study includes acceptance for the data analyses.

Table 8

Reliabilities for Social Support Seeking and Coping Styles

	Combined	Japan	U.S.
Emotional support	.82	.82	.82
Instrumental support	.87	.80	.93
Active coping	.74	.74	.73
Planning	.71	.65	.76
Acceptance	.59	.68	.52
Emotional support from parents	.93	.93	.92
Instrumental support from parents	.91	.89	.90
Emotional support from friends	.92	.92	.90
Instrumental support from friends	.90	.90	.92
Emotional support from outgroup members	.91	.92	.90
Instrumental support from outgroup members	.92	.92	.91

Coding of social support styles. Participants' free written responses about what they actually did in the recalled situations were analyzed by employing the following procedures. Because the present study aims at describing specific ways of social support seeking, participants were asked to specify how they sought social support. However, after a brief examination of participants' responses, it was found that they answered this question very broadly by recalling their general behavior (e.g., I asked help from my

mother, or I didn't do anything), rather than by describing detailed explanations of how they sought social support (e.g., I talked about what I did in the situation with my mom calmly). Thus, I employed a two-step approach to code free written responses. First, by using the categories proposed by COPE (Carver et al., 1989), responses were coded very broadly (e.g., acceptance, active coping, planning, emotional and instrumental support, substance use, etc.). When descriptions were related to multiple categories, they were coded to multiple categories. Second, responses on social support seeking were picked up, and they were further coded in terms of a) from whom social support was sought, and b) how they sought social support. These two dimensions of the targets and the ways of social support were separately coded. To code the ways of social support seeking, specific attention was paid to message meaning.

The coding categories were created through discussion with a research assistant who is majoring in interpersonal communication and did not know the research hypotheses. Among general coping categories, 188 U.S. and 127 Japanese participants sought support from someone. In total, 10 categories were created for the target for seeking social support, a) family members (N = 135), b) friends (N = 152), c) romantic partners (N = 40), d) group members (N = 40), e) experts (N = 15), f) family members and friends (N = 33), g) family members and experts (N = 5), h) family members and group members (N = 6), i) friends and group members (N = 12), and j), and three groups (N = 8). More specifically, family members included parents (N = 73), siblings (N = 20), grandparents (N = 2), and family (N = 40). Friends included roommates (N = 7), and close friends (N = 33). Group members included club members (N = 16), coworkers at the workplace (including those at their part-time jobs) (N = 19), and classmates (N = 5).

Experts included teachers (*N* = 6), managers at their workplace (*N* = 6), and doctors/therapists (*N* = 7). Intercoder agreement between the author and the research assistant was 97.8% (kappa = .97)

Eleven categories were created for the styles of social support (see Table 9). In addition to simple categories such as asking for help, categories for multiple styles were also created since some participants used multiple styles. These eleven categories were: a) venting, b) expressing feelings, c) discussing problems, d) talking, e) asking for help, f) asking for advice, g) encouragement, h) solace, i) asking for advice plus one other style, j) venting and encouragement/solace, k) talking plus one other style. Examples for each category are shown in Table 9. Intercoder agreement was 86% (kappa = .78).

There are three disclaimers for the category creation for social support seeking styles. First, according to COPE (Carver et al., 1989), venting was not considered social support. However, the present study included this category because participants mentioned specific persons to whom they vent their emotions, and thus this was considered an important category for understanding interpersonal interactions in stressful situations. Also, venting may serve as an indirect style of social support (Barbee & Cunningham, 1995). Although those who vented did not seek social support directly, they eventually may receive social support from the conversation partners who responded to the messages. Thus, venting may be an important style for asking for social support.

Second, although the focus of the current study is the aspect of seeking social support rather than receiving it, the types of social support they received was also mentioned in several cases. For example, some participants mentioned something like "I talked to my friends about the situation, and they encouraged me to talk to my boyfriend."

In a statement like this, they did not ask for encouragement, but eventually they received encouragement as a form of emotional support. Strictly speaking, since asking for encouragement was not mentioned in this statement, this statement should be categorized under “talking.” However, because participants’ indirect intentions of asking for encouragement were assumed, this statement was categorized as “encouragement.” In a similar vein, messages such as “I talked about the situation and received advice from my parents” were categorized as “asking for advice" rather than “talking.”

Table 9
Coding of Social Support Seeking Styles

Category	Example Messages
Venting	I voiced my complaint to another friend who was with me at the time.
Expressing feelings	I told my boyfriend how much my mom dating again makes me miss my dad that much more.
Discussing problems	I also talked to parents and advisors directly to discuss any alternatives.
Talking	I talked about the situation with other family members.
Asking for help	I asked my family for help by simply stating what I'm having problems with.
Asking for advice	I asked one of my friends what they would do in that situation.
Encouragement	My best friend sat down with me and told me I need to let go and move on.
Solace	I talked to my roommate about my relationship problems. He gave support just by being there to listen.
Asking for advice and one other style	I asked for advice from my mom and friends. My mom really helped me calm down and made me feel better about college.
Venting and encouragement/solace	I vented my emotions to my boyfriend and he comforted me a lot.
Talking and one other style	I isolated myself. My despair was entirely evident to those who are close to me. They approached me and spent as much time talking to me as possible.

Third, originally it was planned that coding was based on directness-indirectness of social support seeking styles based on the typology proposed by Barbee and Cunningham (1995). However, as indicated, the categories that were created in the current study were very general, and thus it was hard to indicate which category was more direct than others. The categories for the current study serve as initial exploration of social support seeking styles rather than hypotheses testing.

Checking Response Bias

Two approaches are employed to check systematic response styles of the Japanese and U.S. Americans, which may cause response bias. The first approach is to check for unexpected results that are against theoretical predictions. One of the possible causes might be response styles. For example, regarding self-construals, the Japanese should be higher in interdependent self, but lower in independent self than U.S. Americans because the Japanese are predicted to have higher interdependent self-construals (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Similarly, the Japanese are predicted to have higher ratings of vertical collectivism but lower ratings of vertical individualism than U.S. Americans (Triandis, 1995). However, if the Japanese are lower in both interdependent self and independent self than U.S. Americans, this may show that the Japanese avoid extreme ratings. Similarly, if the Japanese are lower in vertical collectivism and individualism than U.S. Americans, this may be an evidence of response bias. In essence, checking the mean scores of the scales that are related to cultural assumptions may probe the evidence of response bias. The second approach is to check the distribution of the individual ratings for scales. If the Japanese tend to avoid extreme ratings but U.S. Americans predominantly use extreme ratings, this case is strong evidence of response bias.

Table 10

Means and Standard Deviations for Self-construals and Vertical-Horizontal Individualism and Collectivism

	Japan		U.S.	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Independent self	3.21	.79	3.80	.66
Interdependent self	3.88	.67	3.58	.78
VI	3.31	.78	3.04	.85
HI	3.27	.91	4.07	.82
VC	3.09	.97	3.67	.81
HC	3.51	.93	3.67	.70

The current study checked ratings of self-construals (i.e., independent and interdependent self) and vertical-horizontal I-C (i.e., VI, HI, VC, HC) as cultural construct variables. First, mean scores were compared to check response bias. Then, frequency distribution was checked for these scales. The mean scores for these subscales are shown in Table 10. By conducting multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) with culture as an independent variable and six subscales of self-construals and vertical and horizontal I-C as dependent variables, multivariate effects were statistically significant, F (6, 507) = 43.41, $p < .001$; Wilks' Lambda = .66; partial $\eta^2 = .34$. When the results for dependent variables were considered separately, the following results were found. The statistical significance level was adjusted by Bonferroni to .008 (.05/6) because there were six dependent variables. The results showed that all dependent variables except HC reached statistical significance. By checking the differences in mean scores for each variable, the results showed that a) U.S. Americans are higher in independent self than the Japanese, F (1, 512) = 84.61, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .14$; b) the Japanese are higher in

interdependent self than U.S. Americans, F (1, 512) = 21.94, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$; c) the Japanese are higher in VI than U.S. Americans, F (1, 512) = 14.17, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$; and d) U.S. Americans are higher in HI and VC than the Japanese, with HI: F (1, 512) = 110.64, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .18$; and VC: F (1, 512) = 55.80, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .10$.

These above results were mixed against theoretical predictions. The results of self-construals were consistent with theoretical predictions that U.S. Americans are higher in independent self but lower in interdependent self than the Japanese. However, the results of vertical-horizontal I-C were not consistent with theoretical predictions and even showed that the Japanese rated VI more highly than U.S. Americans. These results may show that the Japanese tended to avoid extreme ratings. The only potential variable for response bias may be VC because the Japanese are lower in scores than U.S. Americans, which oppose theoretical predictions. However, two items for VC are all related to family values (see Table 3). Because Japanese family communication patterns are known to be low in conversation and conformity orientations (Matsunaga & Imahori, 2009) and ratings for closeness to family members were reported lower than U.S. Americans (Uleman, Rhee, Bardoliwalla, Semin, & Toyama, 2000), these results against theoretical predictions were not surprising, but were consistent with extant literature. In essence, for cross-cultural comparisons of the two important cultural concepts (i.e., self-construals, and vertical and horizontal I-C), there was insufficient evidence to show response bias.

The second approach is to check the distribution of individual scores for the respective scales (see Figures 3 to 8). According to the figures, the Japanese tend to use

extreme ratings as much as U.S. Americans do. For example, although U.S. Americans tend to rate their independent self more highly than the Japanese, the Japanese still use extreme ratings. These tendencies seem to be true across subscales. In essence, evidence that the Japanese tend to avoid extreme ratings was not obtained from these above two methods. Thus, in conclusion, the current study does not need to convert individual raw scores to relative scores by subtracting mean scores to adjust response bias.

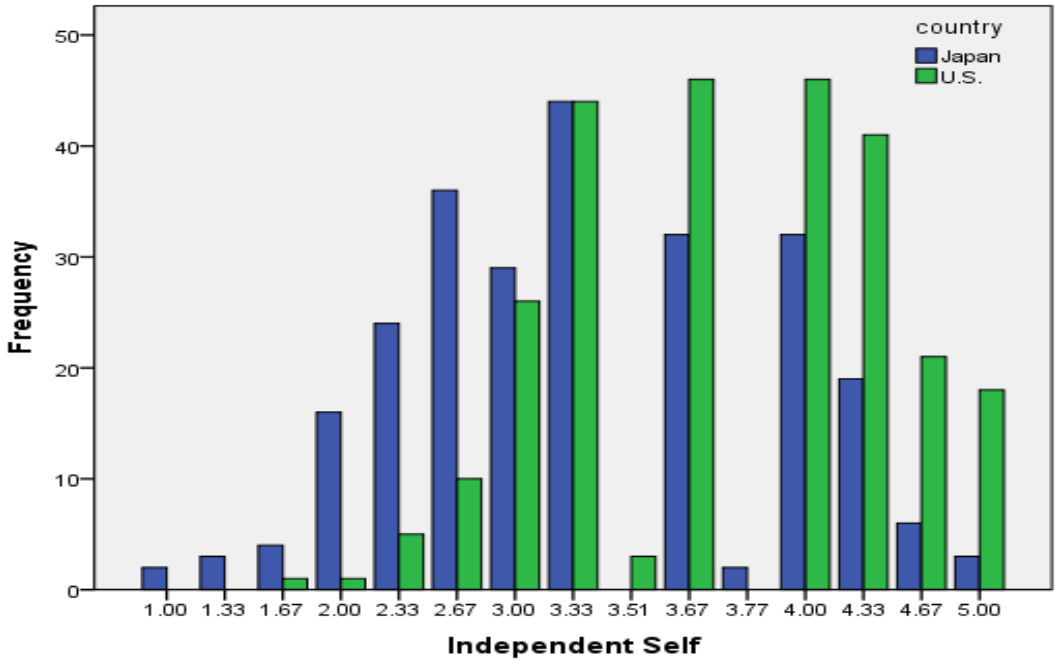

Figure 3. Score distributions for independent self between Japan and the United States.

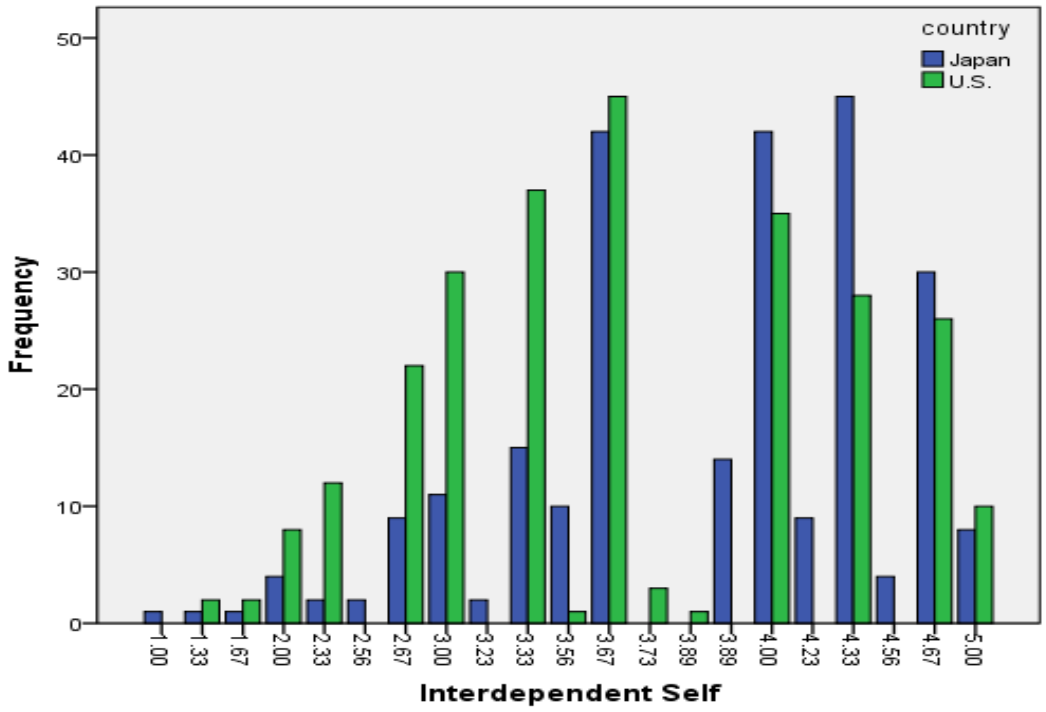

Figure 4. Score distributions for interdependent self-construals between Japan and the U.S.

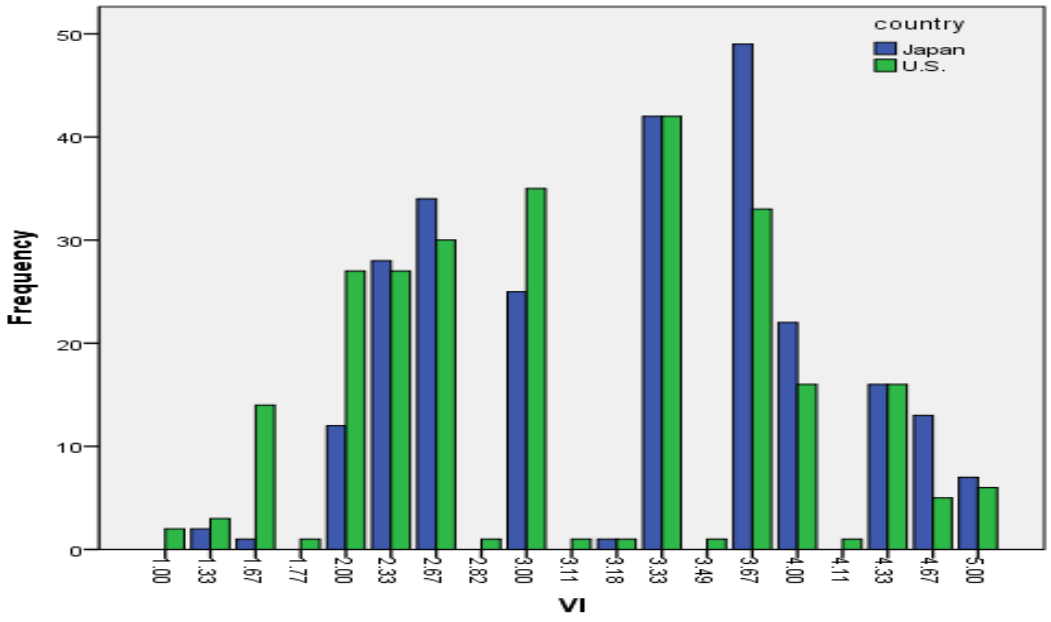

Figure 5. Score distributions for vertical individualism between Japan and the U.S.

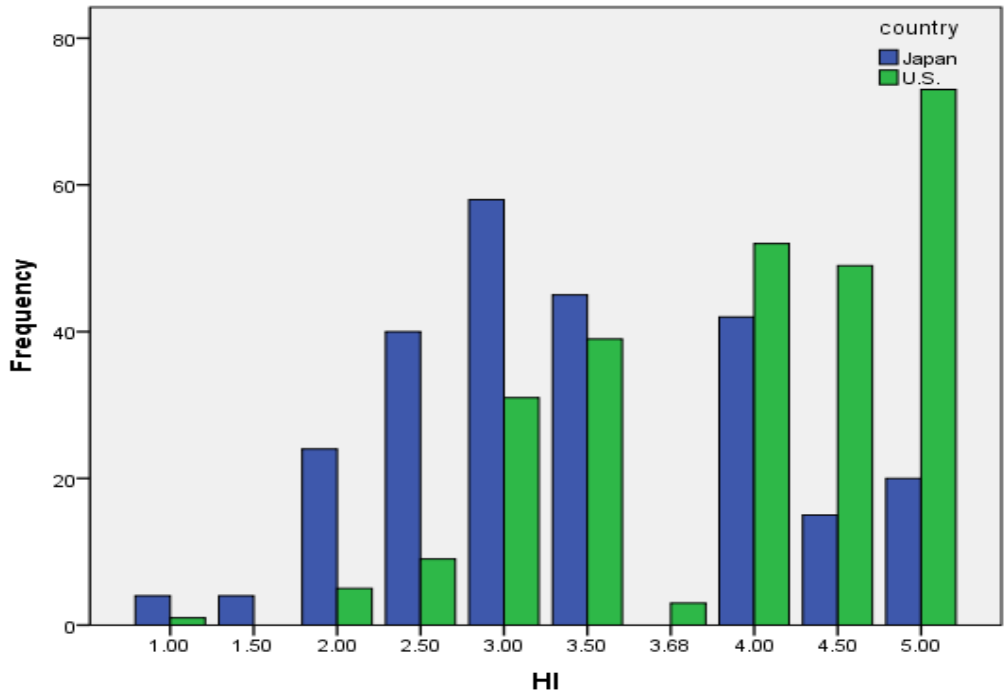

Figure 6. Score distributions for horizontal individualism between Japan and the U.S.

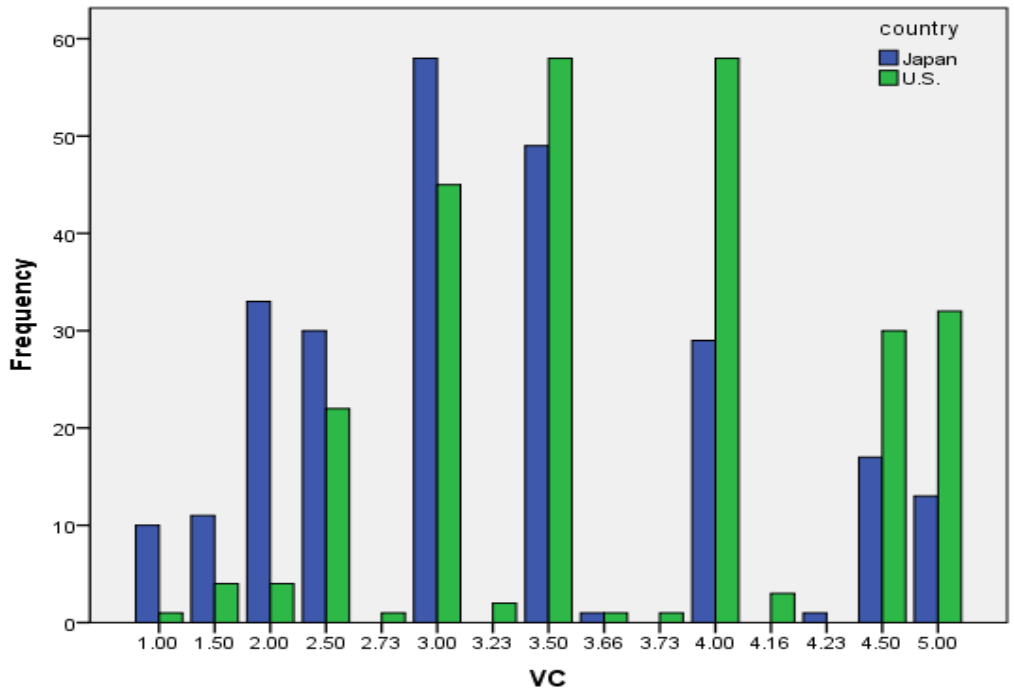

Figure 7. Score distributions for vertical collectivism between Japan and the U.S.

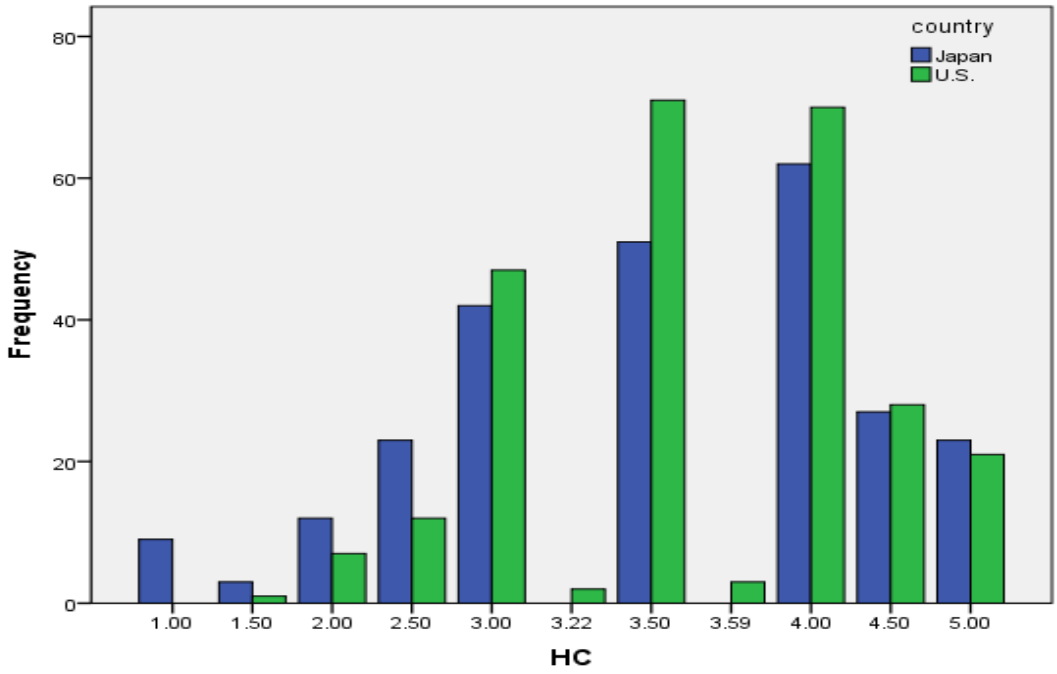

Figure 8. Score distributions for horizontal collectivism between Japan and the U.S.

Main Analysis

This section reports the results of the main analysis as it relates to the nine hypotheses and six research questions proposed in Chapter 3. Various statistical techniques were used, including group comparison techniques such as t-tests, analyses of variance, multivariate analyses of variance, and correlational analyses, such as multiple regressions, logistic regressions, and structural equation modeling, to address the hypotheses and research questions.

Cross-cultural Comparisons of the Amount of Social Support Seeking and Coping Styles

Regarding cross-cultural comparisons between Japan and the United States about the amount of social support seeking and coping styles, two hypotheses and two research questions were posed. H1 predicted that the Japanese seek less social support than U.S.

Americans when in need. H2 predicted that the Japanese are less likely to seek emotional support than U.S. Americans. Two research questions asked whether there are cultural differences in the amount of instrumental support and coping styles between Japan and the United States.

In order to test H1, a t-test was conducted with national cultures as independent variables, with general scores of social support, which are the combined scores of instrumental and emotional support, as the dependent variable. The results showed that U.S. Americans (M = 2.78, SD = .99) seek more social support than the Japanese (M = 2.46, SD = 1.01), t (512) =3.71, $p < .001$. Thus, H1 was supported.

To answer H2 and two research questions, one-way between-subjects multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) were conducted with national cultures as an independent variable and with ratings of actual use of social support seeking and coping styles as dependent variables. More concretely, there were five dependent variables. They are: a) instrumental support, b) emotional support, c) acceptance, d) planning, and e) active coping. Conducting MANOVA is more sophisticated and efficient than repeating t-tests because repeating t-tests inflates the chance of Type I error (i.e., significant differences can be detected where this is not true in reality).

Although MANOVA is an efficient way to answer several hypotheses and research questions at a time, the score of overall social support seeking should not be entered as a dependent variable in order to answer H1, about the amount of general social support seeking. If this variable is entered as a dependent variable, multicollinearity would occur between general social support seeking and other types of social support because the score of general social support seeking is the combined scores of

instrumental and emotional social support seeking. Thus, H1 was separately tested from other hypotheses and research questions.

Table 11

Means and Standard Deviations for Social Support and Coping Styles between Japan and the United States

	Japan		U.S.	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Emotional support	2.48	1.10	2.85	.97
Instrumental support	2.43	1.08	2.72	1.15
Acceptance	3.11	.77	3.08	.80
Active coping	2.78	.93	3.06	.85
Planning	2.87	.82	3.09	.91

The results of one-way between-subjects MANOVA showed that there was a statistically significant difference between Japan and the United States on the combined dependent variables: F (5, 508) = 5.23, $p < .001$; Wilks' Lambda = .95; partial $\eta^2 = .05$. When the results for dependent variables were considered separately, the following results were found (See Table 11 for mean scores and standard deviations of dependent variables). Levels of statistical significance were adjusted by Bonferroni to .01 (.05/5) because there were five dependent variables. The results showed that all dependent variables except acceptance reached statistical significance. By checking the differences in mean scores for each variable, the results found that a) U.S. Americans seek more instrumental support than the Japanese, F (1, 512) = 8.37, $p = .004$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$; b) U.S. Americans seek more emotional support than the Japanese, F (1, 512) = 16.54, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$; c) U.S. Americans seek more active coping styles than the

Japanese, F (1, 512) = 12.03, p = .001, partial η^2 = .02; d) U.S. Americans seek more planning than the Japanese, F (1, 512) = 8.63, p = .003, partial η^2 = .02; and e) no cultural differences were found in the score of acceptance, F (1, 512) = .11, p = .73.

These results supported both H1 and H2, which predicted that the Japanese seek less social support and emotional support than U.S. Americans. The results also showed that U.S. Americans seek more instrumental support than the Japanese. Moreover, U.S. Americans use more active coping and planning than the Japanese.

To answer H3 that predicted cultural differences in the amount of social support seeking targeting ingroup-outgroup members, two-way mixed MANOVA was conducted. National cultures (between-subjects) and targets that participants seek social support from (i.e., parents, close friends, and outgroup members) (within-subjects) were independent variables, and emotional and instrumental support seeking were dependent variables. H3 predicted that the amount of social support that the Japanese seek from ingroup and outgroup members is more discrepant than that of U.S. Americans, and therefore if interaction effects are observed between national cultures and the targets from whom seek social support is sought (i.e., gaps of the mean scores between two groups for the Japanese are wider than those for U.S. Americans), then H3 is supported.

The results of two-way mixed MANOVA showed that interaction effects and main effects of country and targets were statistically significant on the combined dependent variables: for interaction effects (country×target), F (4, 509) = 11.36, p < .001; Wilks' Lambda = .92; partial η^2 = .08: for main effect of country, F (2, 511) = 23.11, p < .001; Wilks' Lambda = .92; partial η^2= .08: for main effect of target, F (4, 509) = 152.17, p < .001; Wilks' Lambda =.46; partial η^2= .55).

When the results for dependent variables were considered separately, the following results were found (see Table 12 and Figure 9 for effects on instrumental support seeking from national cultures and agents, and see Table 13 and Figure 10 for effects on emotional support seeking from national cultures and agents). Regarding the effects on instrumental support, both the interaction effect and main effects were statistically significant: for the interaction effect (country × target), F (1, 512) = 26.19, p < .001; partial η^2 = .05: for main effect of country, F (1, 512) = 42.84, p < .001; partial η^2 = .08: for main effect of target, F (1, 512) = 90.53, p < .001; partial η^2 = .15). As for effects on emotional support, both the interaction effect and main effects were also statistically significant: for the interaction effect (country × target), F (1, 512) = 22.58, p < .001; partial η^2 = .07: for main effect of country, F (1, 512) = 22.44, p < .001; partial η^2= .08: for main effect of agent, F (1, 512) = 160.51, p < .001; partial η^2 = .24).

Table 12

Means and Standard Deviations for Instrumental Support Seeking between Country and Agent

	Japan		U.S.	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Parent	1.68	.91	2.30	1.01
Close Friend	2.28	1.03	2.71	.98
Outgroup member	1.48	.77	1.62	.80

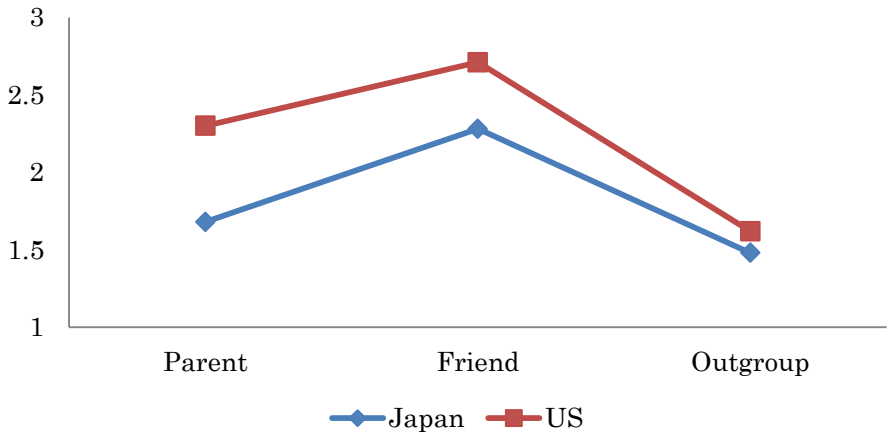

Figure 9. Effects of country and agent on instrumental support seeking.

Table 13

Means and Standard Deviations for Emotional Support Seeking between Country and Agent

	Japan		U.S.	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Parent	1.81	.99	2.44	1.07
Close Friend	2.49	1.05	2.69	1.00
Outgroup member	1.49	.79	1.52	.73

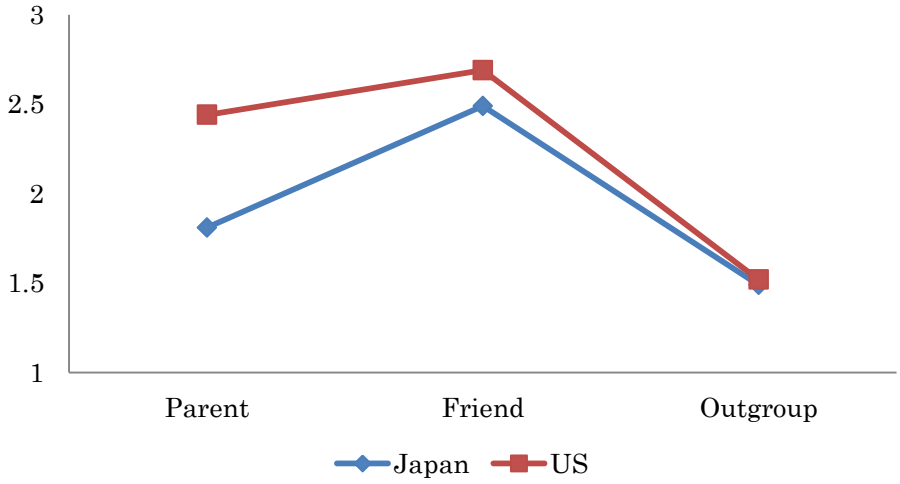

Figure 10. Effects of country and agents on emotional support seeking

Because interaction effects were found for both instrumental and emotional social support seeking, closer examinations were needed of where significant differences lie among conditions. Multiple comparisons with the Bonferroni method, with an alpha level of .05, found the following results: a) for both instrumental and emotional social support, both Japanese and U.S. Americans seek social support from close friends the most, and seek support from outgroup members the least, b) U.S. Americans seek both instrumental and emotional social support from parents and close friends more than the Japanese, and c) U.S. Americans seek more instrumental social support from outgroup members than the Japanese, but there were no statistical differences in seeking emotional support from outgroup members between the two national cultures. In summary, H3 was not supported because U.S. Americans are more discrepant in the amount of social support seeking among agents they seek social support from. In addition to this, both the Japanese and U.S. Americans seek social support from close friends the most, followed by parents, and outgroup members the least; but the amount of social support U.S. Americans seek was generally higher than the Japanese, except for seeking instrumental support from outgroup members.

Styles of Social Support Seeking

To examine H4 predicting that the Japanese tend to use more indirect social support seeking styles than U.S. Americans, multiple correspondence analyses were conducted. As mentioned in the procedure section (see Chapter 3), since the dimension of directness-indirectness was unclear according to coding categories, this relationship is examined as an exploration rather than hypothesis testing. Table 14 shows the frequency of social support seeking styles to 11 relational categories. To elaborate on the

relationship among social support seeking styles, relational categories, and national cultures, a cluster analysis (median method) was conducted on centroid coordination scores obtained through multiple correspondence analyses (See Figure 11). Three cluster solutions judged from a dendrogram were interpreted as most plausible. Figure 12 illustrates these relationships. The results were as follows: a) the first cluster consists of U.S. as a national culture, which is closely related to the use of asking for help, solace, and expressing feelings to family members, romantic partners, and both groups of family and romantic partners; b) The second cluster includes Japan as a national culture, which is closely related to the use of social support seeking styles such as venting and talking, and double styles including asking for advice and talking to group members, friends, two groups (i.e., group members and romantic partner, and group members and friends), and three multiple groups; c) use of discussing problems and asking for advice from group members, friends, and experts in addition to family members are in the same category, which is not related to national culture.

Given these results, H4 cannot be answered because relationships between directness and styles were not checked. However, the fact that U.S. Americans are associated more with asking for help and expressing their emotions, while the Japanese are associated more with venting, may indicate that U.S. Americans use more active and direct styles with respect to others, while the Japanese use more indirect styles to show the need for social support from others.

Table 14
Frequency of Social Support Seeking Styles to Relational Categories and National Cultures

	V	EF	DP	Talk	AH	AA	E	S	AA+	V+	Talk+	Total
Japan												
Family	2	0	0	6	0	6	0	2	0	0	0	16
Friend	11	3	1	13	3	14	4	1	1	0	2	53
romantic partner (RP)	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6
group member (GM)	3	1	0	6	1	4	1	0	1	0	0	17
Expert	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
family and friend	3	0	0	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	10
family and expert	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
family and GM	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	4
friend and GM	3	0	1	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	9
friend and RP	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
family and RP	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
three groups	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3
Total	26	5	2	33	5	40	5	3	3	2	3	127
U.S.												
Family	2	5	1	13	8	17	4	2	2	1	1	56
Friend	2	3	1	16	5	19	3	4	1	0	1	55
RP	1	3	1	4	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	15
GM	0	1	1	6	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	10
Expert	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4
family and friend	0	0	1	6	3	10	0	2	0	1	0	23
family and expert	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	3
family and GM	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
friend and GM	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
friend and RP	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
family and RP	0	4	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	9
three groups	0	1	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	5
Total	5	17	6	53	19	61	7	13	3	2	2	188
Grand Total	31	22	8	86	24	101	12	16	6	4	5	315

Notes. V = venting, EF = expressing feelings, DP = discussing problems, AH = asking for help, AA = asking for advice, E = encouragement, S = solace, AA+ = asking for help and one more style, V+ = venting and one more style, and talk+ = talking and one more style.

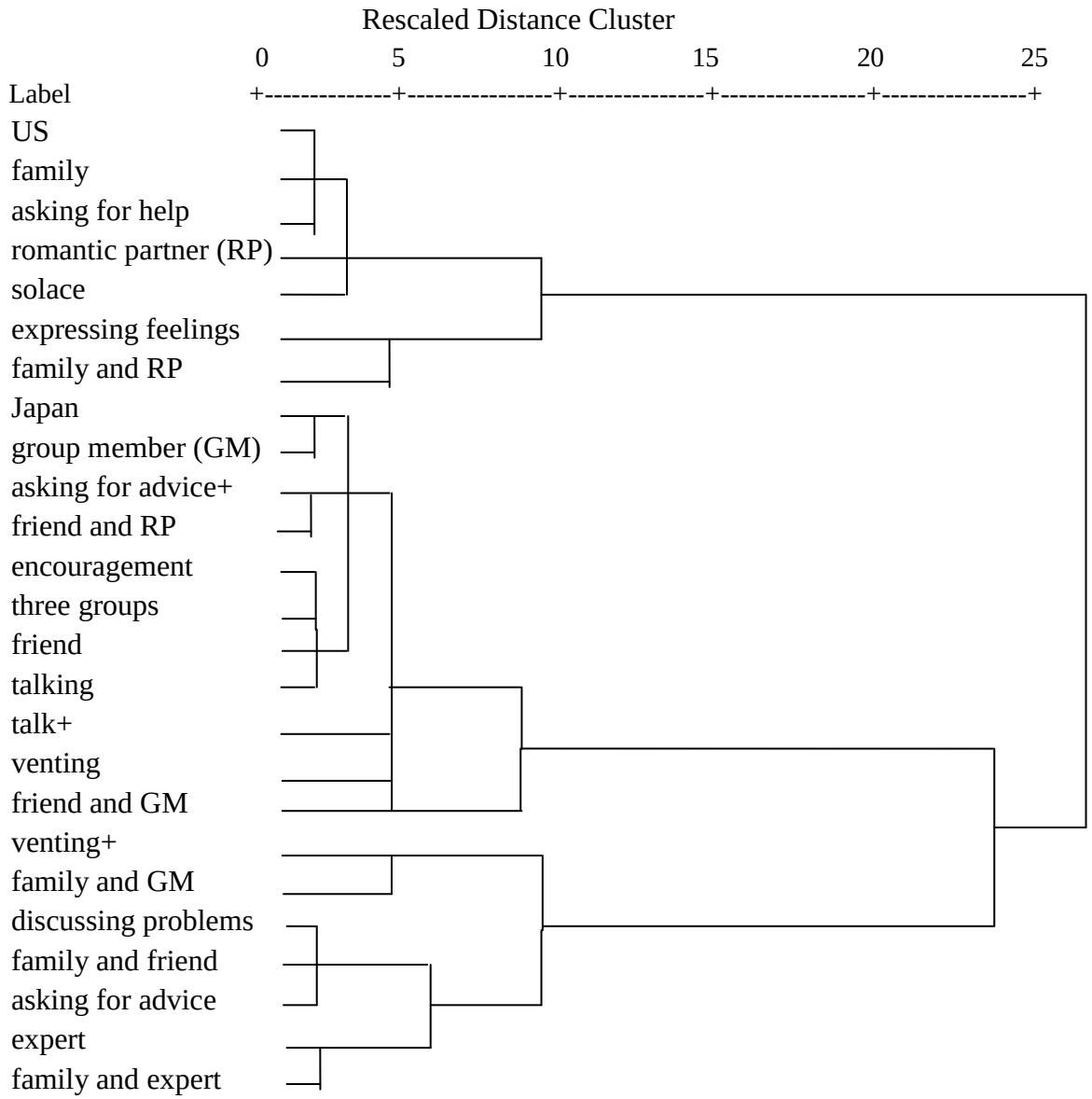

Figure 11. Dendrogram using median method on the relationships among social support seeking styles, relational categories, and national cultures. Asking for advice+ = asking for advice and one more style, talking+ = talking and one more style, and venting+ = venting and one more style.

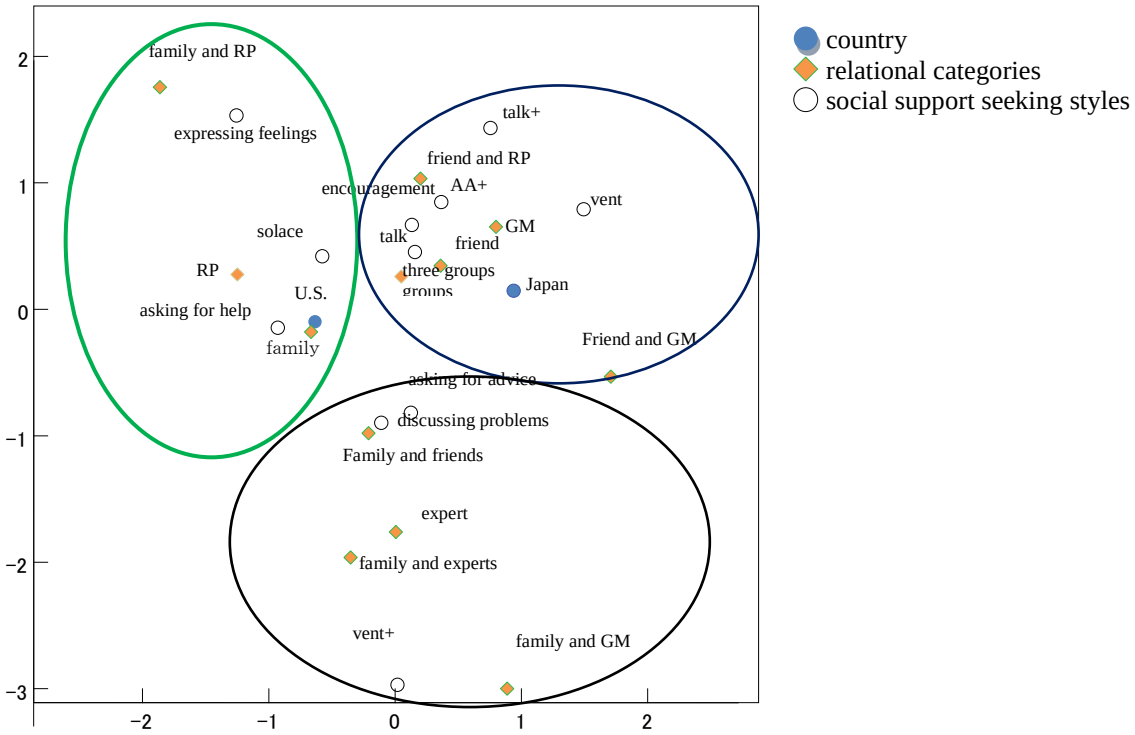

Figure 12. Relationships among social support seeking styles, relational categories, and national cultures.

The Relationship of Vertical and Horizontal I-C to Social Support Seeking

In order to examine RQ3 about the relationship of vertical and horizontal I-C to social support seeking and coping styles, a series of multiple regressions were conducted. Independent variables contained four dimensions of vertical and horizontal I-C (i.e., VI, VC, HI, and HC). Dependent variables included a) the amount of general social support, b) types of social support including instrumental and emotional, and c) agents (parents, friends and outgroup members). These dependent variables were entered separately to conduct a series of multiple regressions.

Table 15

The Results of Multiple Regressions of Vertical and Horizontal Individualism and Collectivism and Social Support Seeking

	Overall support	instrumental	emotional	Parent instrumental	Parent Emotional	Friend instrumental	Friend emotional	Outgroup instrumental	Outgroup emotional
HI	*-.01*	*-.01*	*.00*	*.02*	*.00*	*-.03*	*-.06*	*-.07*	*-.11**
VI	*-.05*	*-.05*	*-.03*	*-.10***	*-.12***	*-.06*	*-.08†*	*-.02*	*.00*
HC	*.06*	*.04*	*.07*	*.02*	*.05*	*.12***	*.11**	*.06*	*.03*
VC	*.20****	*.21****	*.16****	*.40****	*.39****	*.17****	*.13***	*.20****	*.14***
F-value (3, 510)	*6.47****	*6.60****	*4.73****	*25.51****	*24.96****	*6.74****	*5.07****	*6.62****	*3.95***
Adjusted R^2	*.04*	*.04*	*.03*	*.16*	*.16*	*.04*	*.04*	*.04*	*.02*

†$p < .10$,* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 16

Zero-order Correlations among Vertical and Horizontal Individualism and Collectivism and Social Support Seeking

	VI	HC	VC	Overall support	Inst	Emo	Parent-inst	Parent-emo	Friend inst	Friend emo	Outgroup inst	Outgroup emo
HI	*.05*	*.15****	*.15****	*.03*	*.03*	*.03*	*.08†*	*.06*	*.01*	*-.03*	*-.03*	*-.09**
VI		*.01*	*.15****	*-.02*	*-.02*	*-.01*	*-.04*	*-.07*	*-.03*	*-.07*	*.01*	*.02*
HC			*.27****	*.11**	*.10**	*.11*	*.16***	*.15****	*.16****	*.13***	*.10**	*.05*
VC				*.21****	*.21****	*.18****	*.39****	*.38****	*.18****	*.14****	*.20****	*.13***

†$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The results of the series of multiple regressions with a forced entry method are shown in Table 15. Table 16 shows zero-order correlations among vertical-horizontal individualism and collectivism and social support seeking. As for relationships between vertical and horizontal I-C and the amount of social support seeking, VC was a positive predictor of the level of general social support seeking. This tendency was found to be true of both instrumental and emotional social support seeking. Only VC was positively associated with the level of both instrumental and emotional social support seeking. As for relationships to the agents from whom seek social support is sought, generally, VC was a positive predictor of both seeking instrumental and emotional social support from parents, close friends, and outgroup members. HC was a positive predictor of seeking instrumental and emotional support from close friends. VI was a negative predictor of seeking support from parents and friends.

The relationship between social support seeking messages (i.e., styles of social support seeking) and vertical and horizontal I-C was examined by conducting logistic regressions. Logistic regressions were performed with four variables of vertical and horizontal I-C as predictor variables and each social support seeking style as an outcome variable (see Table 17). Dichotomous dummy data was used for each social support seeking style (1 = not present, 2 = present). Among 11 social support seeking styles categorized from the free responses (see Table 13), five styles were examined because the frequencies of five styles were more than 20. It is considered statistically robust if a given condition has more than 20 responses (Field, 1996). On the basis of this criterion, five categories (i.e., discussing problems, encouragement, asking for advice and one other style, venting and one other style, and talking and one other style) were excluded from

the analysis.

The results showed that only two styles were statistically significant with vertical and horizontal I-C. Venting was negatively associated with HI, and asking for help was positively associated with both HI and VC. However, the overall explanatory power of vertical and horizontal I-C was very weak (i.e., only 2-4 % of variance was explained by vertical and horizontal I-C). The other three styles of expressing feelings, talking and asking for advice were not statistically significant with vertical and horizontal I-C.

Table 17

Regression Coefficients of Vertical and Horizontal I-C with Social Support Seeking Styles

	Venting	Expressing feelings	Talking	Asking for help	Asking for advice
Predictors					
HI	-.44 **	.00	.13	.64 **	.07
VI	.18	.03	-.07	-.30	-.16
HC	-.06	.00	-.27 †	-.22	.08
VC	-.03	.26	-.03	.48 *	.23 †
chi-square(df=4)	8.26 †	1.62	4.99	12.80 *	6.05
Negelkerk R^2	. 04	.00	.02	.08	.02

†$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Family Communication Patterns and Social Support Seeking

The relationship between family communication patterns and social support seeking was predicted in two hypotheses. H5 predicted that those who have higher conversation orientation in FCP tend to seek social support more than those who have lower conversation orientation. Similarly, H6 predicted the relationship with social

support seeking styles, which predicted that those who have higher conversation orientation in FCP tend to use more direct social support seeking styles. One research question was posed about the relationship between conformity orientation and two dimensions of social support seeking (i.e., frequency and types). To answer these two hypotheses and one research question, multiple regression analyses were conducted when dependent variables were the degree of seeking social support, and logistic regression analyses were performed when dependent variables were social support seeking styles (i.e., categorical variables).

The results of a series of multiple regression analyses with two independent variables (i.e., conversation and conformity orientations) and each of the dependent variables of social support seeking (i.e., overall social support, instrumental, emotional, and agents) are shown in Table 18. Generally, both conversation and conformity orientations were positively associated with social support seeking, which supported H5. Conversation orientation in FCP was a strong and positive predictor of seeking both instrumental and emotional social support from parents. For social support seeking targeting friends and outgroup members, FCP (both conversation and conformity orientations) was positively associated with this to a medium degree.

To check the relative importance of conversation and conformity orientation to social support seeking targeting different agents, the critical ratio of differences between two standardized regression coefficients was calculated by using AMOS. The critical ratio statistic is comparable to a standard normal distribution for testing whether the two parameters are equal in a given population. If the absolute value of the difference between two parameters is more than 1.96, the null hypothesis that the two regression

weights are equal in the population is rejected at the .05 level. Similarly, a value of 2.58 or above in the critical ratio of differences between two parameters means that the null hypothesis is rejected at the .01 level, and 3.27 or above in absolute value shows the rejection of the null hypothesis at the .001 level.

Table 20 shows the following three results. First, as for which factors are more strongly affected by respective social support seeking, conversation orientation is more strongly associated with social support seeking than conformity orientations in only two conditions of seeking instrumental and emotional social support from parents. In other words, there are no significant differences in regression coefficients between conversation and conformity orientations in relation to social support seeking. Second, concerning relationships between conversation orientation and agents from whom social support is sought, conversation orientation is more strongly related to both instrumental and emotional social support from parents than any other conditions (i.e., social support from friends and outgroup members). Conversation orientation is most weakly related to emotional social support from outgroup members than from any other groups. Third, the relative strength of conformity orientation to seeking social support seeking from different agents was relatively similar among agents. There were statistical differences in the strength of coefficients in the two conditions; conformity orientation is more strongly related to seeking instrumental social support from friends than a) general emotional support, and b) seeking emotional support seeking from friends.

Table 18

The Results of Multiple Regressions of Family Communication Patterns and Social Support Seeking

	Overall support	instrumental	emotional	Parent instrumental	Parent Emotional	Friend instrumental	Friend emotional	Outgroup instrumental	Outgroup emotional
Conv	*.20***	*.18***	*.19***	*.52***	*.56***	*.19***	*.16***	*.15***	*.12***
Conf	*.12***	*.13***	*.09**	*.15***	*.13***	*.18***	*.11**	*.21***	*.18***
F-value	*12.93****	*11.69****	*10.99****	*96.89****	*115.03****	*16.74****	*8.63****	*15.74****	*11.17****
Adjusted R^2	*.04*	*.04*	*.04*	*.27*	*.31*	*.06*	*.03*	*.05*	*.04*

Notes. Degrees of freedom for F-tests are F(2, 511). Conv = Conversation orientation. Conf = Conformity orientation.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 19

Zero-order Correlations among Family Communication Patterns and Social Support Seeking

	Conf	Overall support	Inst	Emo	Parent-inst	Parent-Emo	Friend inst	Friend emo	Outgroup inst	Outgroup emo
Conv	*-.10***	*.18*****	*.16****	*.18****	*.50****	*.54****	*.17****	*.14****	*.13***	*.10**
Conf		*.10**	*.12***	*.07+*	*.10**	*.08**	*.16****	*.10**	*.19****	*.17****

Notes. Conv = Conversation orientation. Conf = Conformity orientation. Inst = Instrumental support. Emo = Emotional support.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 20

Critical Ratios for Differences between Parameters (Standardized Regression Coefficients)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Conv-GI															
2. Conv-GE	0.09														
3. Conv-PI	6.81***	6.71***													
4. Conv-PE	8.06***	8.41***	3.32***												
5. Conv-FI	-0.05	-0.12	-6.74***	-8.04***											
6. Conv-FE	-0.86	-1.02	-6.84***	-8.65***	-1.38										
7. Conv-OI	-1.62	-1.66	-9.17***	-10.37***	-1.77	-0.88									
8. Conv-OE	-2.18*	-2.28*	-9.57***	-11.09***	-2.33*	-1.52	-1.60								
9. Conf-GI	-0.46	-0.51	-5.52***	-6.56***	-0.44	0.10	0.76	1.22							
10. Conf-GE	-1.33	-1.44	-6.67***	-7.76***	-1.35	-0.79	-0.18	0.30	-1.52						
11. Conf-PI	-0.44	-0.51	-6.55***	-7.70***	-0.43	0.17	0.96	1.50	0.07	1.15					
12. Conf-PE	-0.59	-0.66	-6.53***	-7.79***	-0.59	0.00	0.75	1.28	-0.12	0.99	-0.41				
13. Conf-FI	0.13	0.08	-5.19	-6.30***	0.17	0.74	1.50	2.00*	0.89	2.10*	0.67	0.84			
14. Conf-FE	-1.04	-1.13	-6.39***	-7.50***	-1.08	-0.51	0.14	0.63	-0.79	0.42	-0.72	-0.58	-2.71**		
15. Conf-OI	-0.29	-0.36	-6.50***	-7.72***	-0.28	0.36	1.28	1.89	0.26	1.31	0.21	0.40	-0.54	1.02	
16. Conf-OE	-0.76	-0.85	-7.11***	-8.35***	-0.78	-0.13	0.71	1.34	-0.25	0.82	-0.35	-0.15	-1.07	0.49	-1.41

Note. Parameters numbered from 1 to 16 denote standardized regression coefficient of the path from FCP to social support seeking. For example, Conv-GI means a parameter of standardized regression coefficients of the path from conversation orientation (Conv) to general instrumental social support (GI). Conv = conversation orientation, Conf = conformity orientation, GE = general emotional support, PI =instrumental support from parents, PE =emotional social support from parents, FI =instrumental social support from friends, FE =emotional social support from friends, OI =instrumental social support from outgroup members, and OE = emotional social support from outgroup members.

* p <.05, ** p <.01, *** p <.001

The relationship between social support seeking styles and FCP was investigated by a series of logistic regressions. Logistic regressions were performed with the two variables of conversation and conformity orientations as predictor variables and each social support seeking style as an outcome variable (see Table 21). As in the examination of the relationship to vertical and horizontal I-C, dichotomous dummy data was used for each social support seeking style and only five styles were examined.

Table 21

Regression Coefficients of Family Communication Patterns with Social Support Seeking Styles

	Venting	Expressing feelings	Talking	Asking for help	Asking for advice
Predictors					
conversation	-.11	.43 †	-.19	.06	.39 **
conformity	-.31	.06	-.19	.48 *	.15
chi-square(df=2)	2.57	3.69	3.79	3.91	10.10 **
Negelkerk R^2	. 01	.02	.01	.02	.03

†$p < .10$,* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$,

Because the extent to which these styles are direct was not measurable, the relationship was only examined in an exploratory manner, rather than as hypothesis testing. The results revealed that FCP was not a strong predictor of social support seeking styles (see Table 21) because the explanatory power was very weak. FCP was a statistically significant predictor only of the style of asking for advice. As predicted, conversation orientation was a positive predictor of asking for advice, which implies a direct style of social support seeking. However, FCP did not predict other styles such as

expressing feelings, talking, and asking for help. Conformity orientation is a positive predictor of only one style, asking for help.

Culture and Family Communication Patterns

Concerning relationships between national cultures and family communication patterns, one hypothesis and one research question were posed. H7 predicted that the Japanese tend to be less conversation oriented than U.S. Americans. RQ5 questioned whether the Japanese were higher in conformity orientation than U.S. Americans. To answer H7 and RQ5, one-way between-subjects MANOVA was conducted. The independent variables were national cultures (Japan and the U.S.) and dependent variables were family communication patterns (conversation and conformity orientations).

The results of the one-way between-subjects MANOVA showed that there was a statistically significant difference between Japan and the United States on the combined dependent variables: F (2, 511) = 49.01, $p < .001$; Wilks' Lambda = .84; partial $\eta^2 = .16$. When the results for dependent variables were considered separately, the following results were found (See Table 21 for means and standard deviations of dependent variables). The statistical significance level was adjusted by Bonferroni to .025 (.05/2) because there were two dependent variables. The results showed that both conversation and conformity orientations were impacted by national cultures. By checking the differences in means of each variable, the results found that a) U.S. Americans have higher conversation orientation than the Japanese, F (1, 512) = 31.32, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .08$; b) U.S. Americans also have a higher conformity orientation than the Japanese, F (1, 512) = 23.59, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$. These results supported H7, which predicted

that the Japanese were less conversation oriented in their family communication patterns than U.S. Americans. Also, concerning RQ5 about the relationship between national cultures and conformity orientation, the current study showed that the Japanese were also less conformity oriented than U.S. Americans.

Table 22

Means and Standard Deviations of Conversation and Conformity Orientations between Japan and the United States

	Japan		U.S.	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Conversation	3.16	.80	3.65	.94
Conformity	2.13	.74	2.56	.83

In summary for this analysis, the results showed that H7 was clearly supported because the Japanese were less conversation oriented that U.S. Americans. Concerning RQ5, U.S. Americans also showed a higher conformity orientation than the Japanese.

Relationships among National Cultures, FCP, and Social Support Seeking

Because the relationships among national cultures, FCP, and social support seeking have been examined separately so far, SEM was conducted to answer the relative importance of national cultures and FCP with respect to social support seeking processes (i.e., RQ6) by including these three variables in the same model. Since national cultures are categorical and observed data, dummy dichotomous data, with Japan equal to 0 and the U.S. equal to 1, were created and entered in the model. All other variables were latent variables with several observed items. Although it was hypothesized that national cultures were precedent variables to FCP and social support seeking, the exact relationship between national cultures and FCP to social support seeking was uncertain; both direct

and indirect paths from both national cultures and FCP to emotional and instrumental support seeking were drawn, and paths that were statistically insignificant were erased to increase the model fit. The final model shows good model fit, χ^2 (79) = 162.54, $p < .001$, GFI = .96, AGFI = .94, CFI = .97, and RMSEA = .045. The ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom was 2.06 (see Figure 13 for the model).

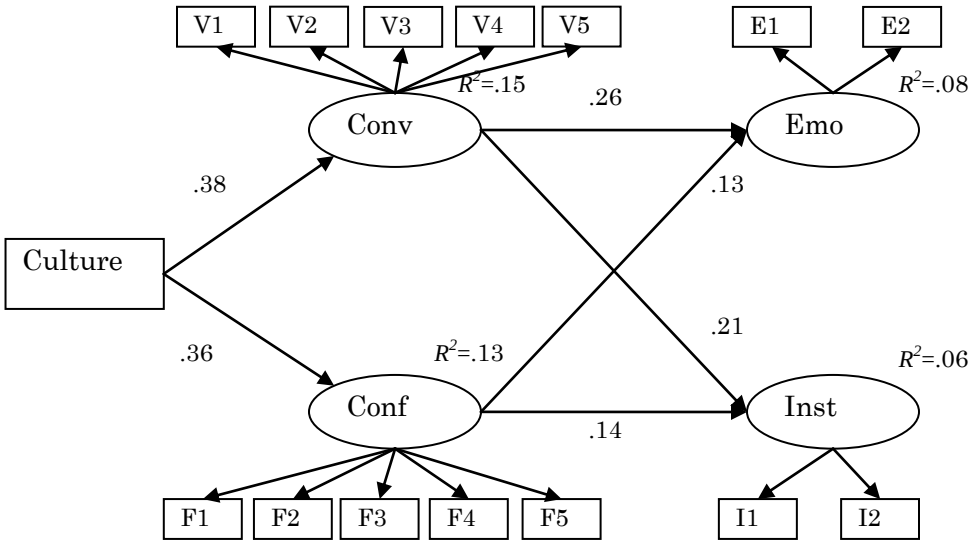

Figure 13. Relationships among national cultures, FCP, and social support seeking. Conv = Conversation orientation, Conf = conformity orientation, Emo = emotional social support seeking, Inst = instrumental social support seeking

The final model shows that a) U.S. Americans tend to have higher conversation and conformity orientations, b) national cultures are fully mediated through FCP (i.e., FCP serves as an intervening variable between national cultures and social support seeking), and c) both conversation and conformity orientations have a positive influence on both instrumental and emotional social support seeking. This model shows that national cultures do not have direct effects on social support seeking, but rather national cultures are mediated by family communication patterns.

Because the effects of national cultures on social support seeking have two different paths, i.e., a) direct effects to FCP, and b) indirect effects to social support seeking through FCP, the estimates of direct and indirect standardized effects of national cultures on social support seeking were calculated using AMOS 20.0. These estimates are shown in Table 23. The results showed that both national cultures and FCP had positive impacts on social support seeking. Although national cultures have a medium impact on family communication patterns, there was no direct impact from national cultures on social support seeking.

Table 23

Standardized Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects among National Cultures, FCP and Social Support Seeking

	National Cultures	Conformity	Conversation
Direct effects			
Conformity	.36		
Conversation	.38		
Instrumental	.00	.14	.21
Emotional	.00	.13	.26
Indirect effects			
Instrumental	.13		
Emotional	.15		
Total			
Conformity	.36		
Conversation	.38		
Instrumental	.13	.14	.21
Emotional	.15	.13	.26

The significance of the indirect effects of national cultures on social support seeking (instrumental and emotional social support) was evaluated using tests of indirect effects through AMOS via bootstrapping methods. This method was recommended by Preacher and Hayes (2008) to estimate direct and indirect effects with multiple mediators because this approach has more power than the traditional mediation analyses proposed by Baron and Kenney (1986). Buffardi and Campbell (2008) similarly reported three advantages for this statistical method: (a) multiple mediators can be tested simultaneously, (b) it does not rely on the assumption of a normal sampling distribution, and (c) the number of inferential tests is minimized, thus reducing the likelihood of Type I error.

The results of bootstrapping analyses revealed that the total indirect effect of national cultures on emotional social support seeking through the two intervening variables of conversation and conformity orientations in FCP was significant, with a 95% bias-corrected confidence interval of .087 to .219. Similarly, the total indirect effect of national cultures on instrumental social support seeking was statistically significant, with a confidence interval of .073 to .194.

To examine closer the relationships among national cultures, FCP, and social support seeking, a series of SEM was conducted by changing the dependent variables to agents from whom social support is sought. The results revealed that the same model shown in Figure 13, except for the change in dependent variables, was adopted (see Figure 14 for parents, Figure 15 for friends, and Figure 16 for outgroup members). These models showed sufficient model fit (see Table 24 for model fit indices for each model). All models showed that a) national cultures had only indirect effects on social support seeking through FCP, in which all direct paths from national cultures to social support

seeking were not significant, and b) FCP, including both conversation and conformity orientation, had significant and positive effects on social support seeking.

There are two notable results. First, concerning the strength of association between FCP and social support seeking, all models have positive relationships between FCP and the levels of social support seeking. However, the greatest relationship was found in the relationship between FCP and seeking support seeking from parents (see Figure 8). Second, concerning indirect effects from national cultures on social support seeking, the coefficients of standardized indirect effects from national cultures on social support seeking (both instrumental and emotional support) were statistically significant in all three models from a weak to medium degree.

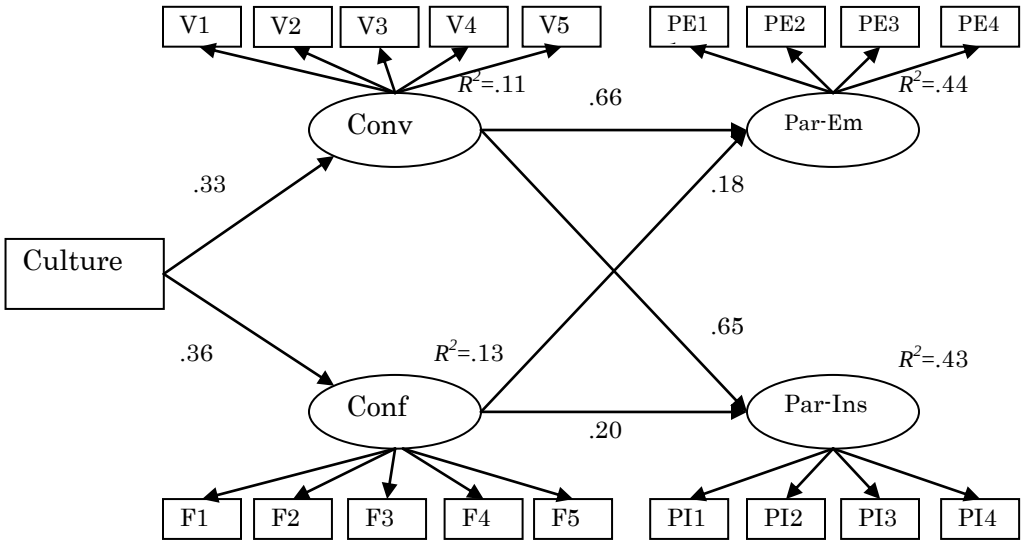

Figure 14. Relationships among national cultures, FCP, and seeking social support from parents. Par-Em =seeking emotional social support from parents, Par-Ins = seeking instrumental social support seeking from parents

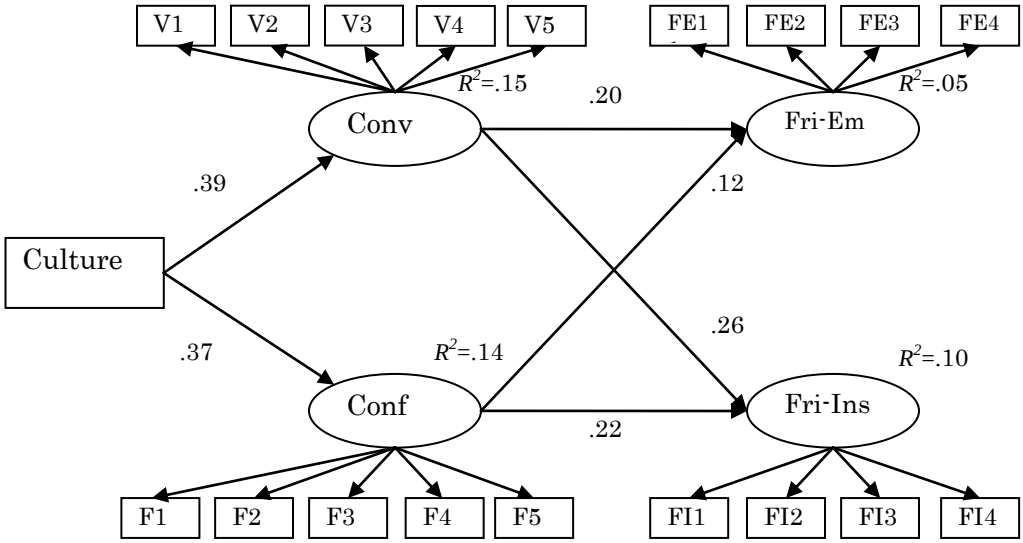

Figure 15. Relationships among national cultures, FCP, and seeking social support from friends. Fri-Em =seeking emotional social support seeking from friends, Fri-Inst = seeking instrumental social support seeking from friends.

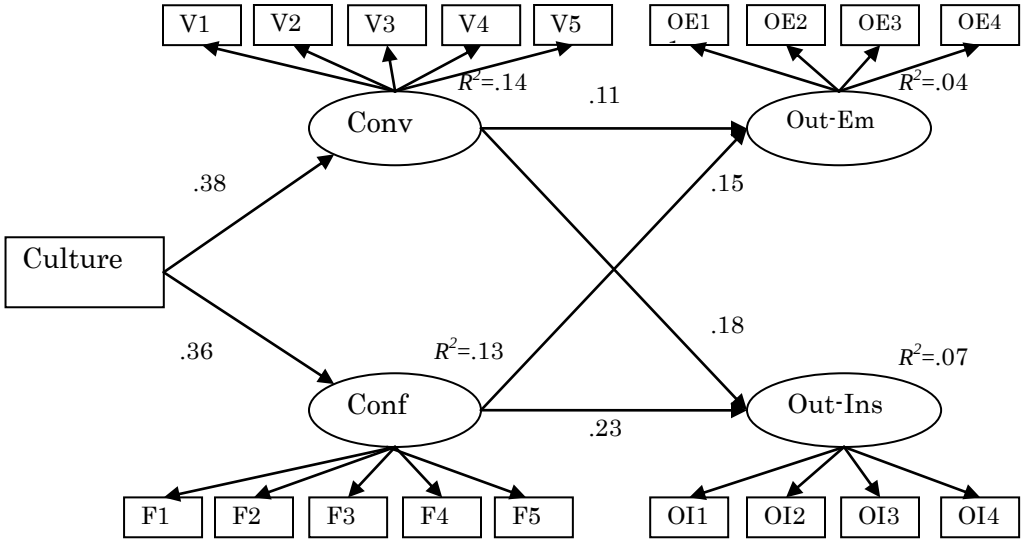

Figure 16. Relationships among national cultures, FCP, and seeking social support from outgroup members. Out-Em = seeking emotional social support seeking from outgroup members, Out-Inst = seeking instrumental social support seeking from outgroup members.

Table 24

Model Fit Indices for Models with Different Agents from Whom Social Support is Sought

	Parents	Friends	Outgroup members
χ^2 test	χ^2 (138) = 317.17, p <.001	χ^2 (139) = 310.02, p <.001	χ^2 (137) = 312.41, p <.001
χ^2/df	2.30	2.23	2.28
GFI	.94	.94	.94
AGFI	.92	.92	.92
CFI	.97	.97	.97
RMSEA	.050	.049	.050

Table 25

Standardized Indirect Effects from National Cultures on Seeking Social Support from Different Agents

	Parents	Friends	Outgroup members
From culture on instrumental support	.29** (.22-.36)	.18** (.12-.25)	.14 ** (.09-.21)
From culture on emotional support	.28** (.21-.36)	.12** (.06-.18)	.11** (.05-.17)

Notes. Values within parentheses are those with a 95% bias-corrected bootstrap confidence interval. ***p* < .01

In conclusion for this analysis regarding RQ6, FCP served as an intervening variable between national cultures and social support seeking in these four models. An increase in the degree of national culture (i.e., U.S.) predicted greater conversation and conformity orientations, which predicted greater emotional social support. Likewise, national cultures have indirect effects on instrumental social support seeking through FCP as well.

Overall Model of Face-negotiation Processes

Two hypotheses and one research question were proposed to investigate overall models for face-negotiation processes in social support seeking. H8 predicted that self-construals have a indirect impact on the level of social support seeking through face concerns: a) those with higher independent self-construals tend to be more concerned about self-face, and they tend to seek more social support, and b) those with higher interdependent self-construals tend to be more concerned about other-face and mutual-face, and they tend to seek less social support. H9 hypothesized culturally different relationships among self-construals, face concerns and social support seeking, predicting that a) the Japanese tend to have stronger positive relationships between interdependent self-construal and mutual-face concerns, which lead to seeking less social support than U.S. Americans, and b) U.S. Americans tend to have stronger positive relationships between independent self-construal and self-face, which lead to seeking more social support than the Japanese. RQ7 questioned how family communication patterns are associated with self-construals and face concerns.

To answer these hypotheses and research question, multi-group SEM was conducted. Because this model is relatively large with 16 variables, observed variables were used by amalgamating latent variables. This is because it is difficult to have good model fit when a proposed model is large in terms of the number of variables. To identify a plausible model, first, all paths from theoretical perspectives were drawn. Next, by checking model fit and modification indices, non-significant paths were erased and error covariance within the subscales and the same constructs were drawn. The initial model in which regression weights between variables are estimated freely across groups showed

good model fit: χ^2 (138) = 181.46, p = .008, GFI = .96, AGFI = .92, CFI = .97, and RMSEA = .025. The ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom was 1.32.

Constraining regression weights as equal across groups one by one, the final model with 23 paths equal across groups showed the better model fit compared to the initial model: χ^2 (161) = 202.32, p = .015, GFI = .96, AGFI = .92, CFI = .97, and RMSEA = .022. The ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom was 1.26. The change of chi-square statistics between the unconstrained and constrained models was not statistically significant, χ^2 (23) = 20.86, p = .59. AIC in the constrained model (AIC = 424.32) was lower than the initial model (AIC = 449.46). Statistically significant paths from zero (p < .05) were drawn in the following figures.

Among 30 statistically significant paths in the two models of Japan and the U.S., only seven paths need to be estimated freely across groups. In other words, 23 paths were estimated as equal across groups (see Figure 17 for the Japanese model, Figure 18 for the U.S. model, and Table 26 for zero-order correlations and descriptive statistics among variables). The seven paths that need to be estimated freely across groups are: a) from conversation orientation to interdependent self, b) from conversation orientation to planning, c) from mutual-face concerns to planning, d) from collectivism to mutual-face concerns, e) from vertical individualism to active coping, f) from mutual-face concerns to active coping, and g) from conformity to emotional support seeking.

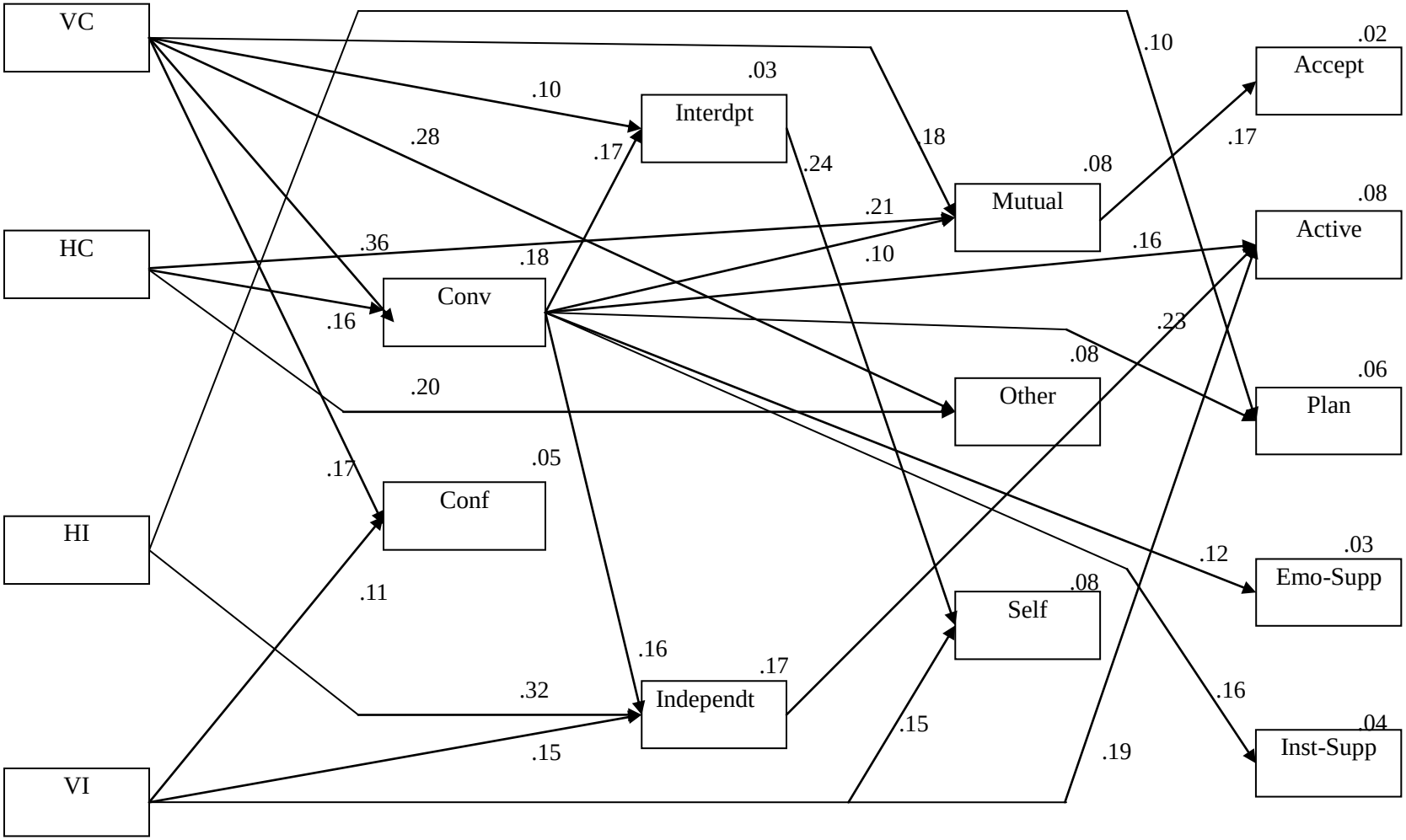

Figure 17. Coping process model in Japan. All paths are significant at the.05 level.

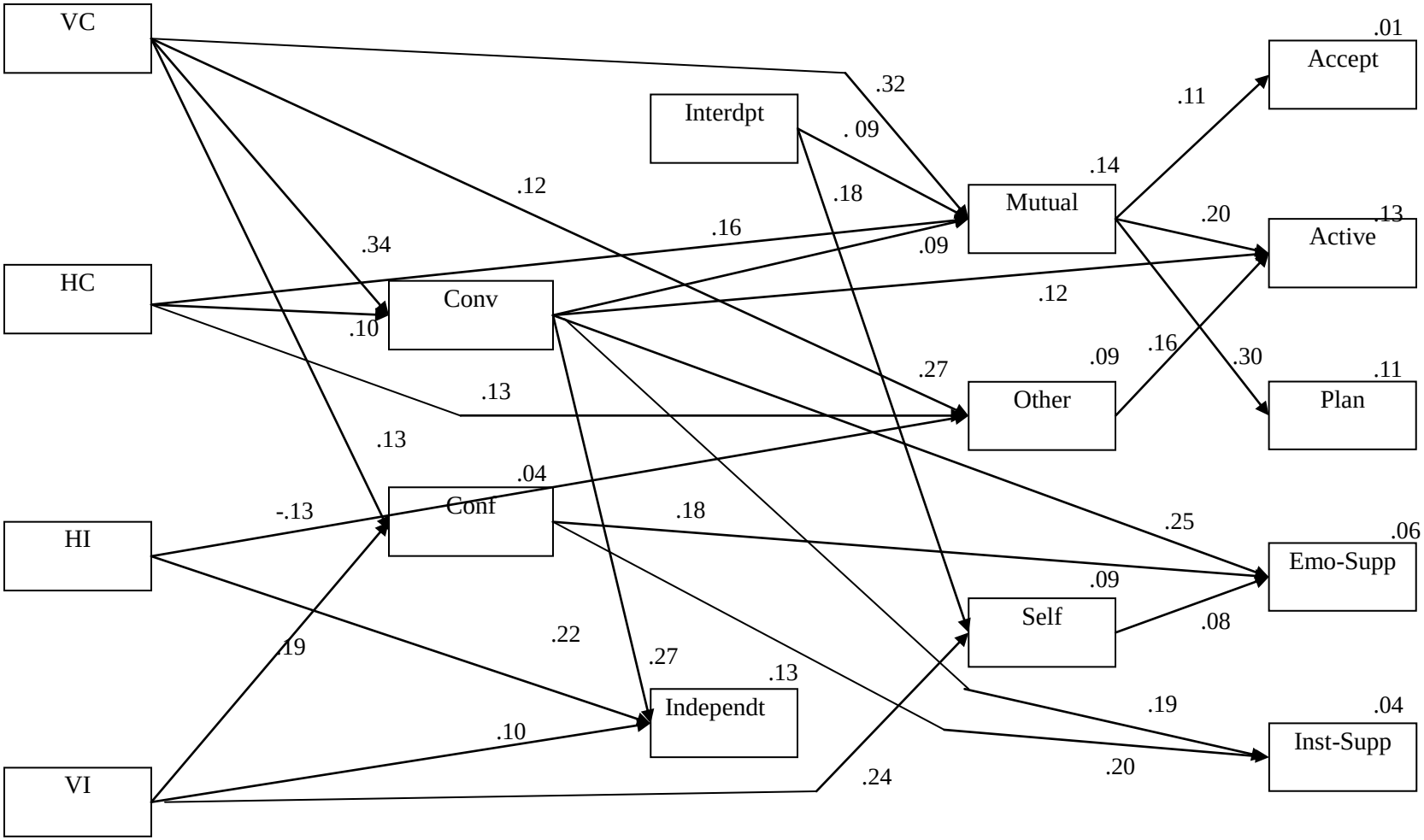

Figure 18. Coping process model in the U.S. All paths are significant at the.05 level.

Table 26

Zero-order Correlations and Descriptive Statistics among Variables in Overall Social Support Seeking Processes for the Japanese (Above Diagonal) and U.S. Americans (Below Diagonal)

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1.	VC		.31***	.10	.24***	.38***	.21***	.16*	.20**	.19**	.24**	.24***	.-.01	.19**	.10	.16*	.21***
2.	HC	.16**		.11	.11	.27***	.12	.02	.24***	.20**	.22**	.02	-.05	.15*	.09	.10	.06
3.	HI	-.08	.14*		.17**	.07	-.10	.00	.35***	-.08	-.11	.00	.07	.07	.14*	-.06	-.03
4.	VI	.19**	-.11	.10		.18**	.11	.25***	.22***	.06	.02	.19**	.06	.21***	.07	.10	.08
5.	Conv	.30***	.11	-.02	-.03		.10	.17**	.21***	.19**	.14*	.13*	-.01	.18**	.23***	.12	.16*
6.	Conf	.12*	.06	-.05	.21***	-.40***		.01	.02	.04	.14*	.13*	-.11	.06	-.07	-.03	.06
7.	Interdpt	.04	-.01	-.02	.18**	-.01	.00		.02	.07	.09	.29***	-.08	-.04	-.07	-.03	.06
8.	Independt	.10	.10	.22***	.08	.26***	-.05	-.13*		.06	-.04	.02	.12	.19**	.21***	.12	.14*
9.	Mutual	.21***	.25***	-.05	.02	.15*	.05	.14*	-.04		.50***	.28***	.18**	.14*	.07	.08	.06
10.	Other	.11	.20***	-.15*	.11	.00	.11	.09	-.06	.53***		.31***	.11	.14*	.11	.02	.03
11.	Self	.05	.06	.04	.29***	.01	.11	.24***	.01	.33***	.30***		.09	.05	.02	.12	.08
12.	Accept	-.12	.06	.05	.02	-.10	-.01	-.08	.04	.10	.04	.07		.32***	.33***	.17**	.20***
13.	Active	.07	.05	-.01	.03	.17**	-.09	.01	.05	.30***	.29***	.22***	-.02		.60***	.30***	.38***
14.	Plan	.12	.11	.03	.01	.14*	-.10	.08	.07	.33***	.21***	.19**	.04	.59***		.33***	.44***
15.	Emo-Sup	.09	.08	-.04	-.07	.16**	.08	.05	.09	.10	-.03	.12	.04	.08	.16**		.74***
16.	Inst-Sup	.16**	.12	-.04	-.06	.12	.11	.00	.12*	.12	.03	.05	-.10	.13*	.25***	.75***	
Japan																	
	Mean	3.09	3.51	3.27	3.31	3.16	2.13	3.88	3.21	3.72	3.03	3.15	3.11	2.78	2.87	2.48	2.43
	SD	.97	.93	.91	.78	.80	.74	.67	.79	.86	.90	.88	.77	.93	.82	1.10	1.08
US																	
	Mean	3.67	3.67	4.07	3.04	3.65	2.56	3.58	3.80	3.95	2.98	3.63	3.08	3.06	3.10	2.85	2.72
	SD	.81	.70	.82	.85	.94	.83	.78	.66	.87	1.06	1.01	.79	.85	.91	.97	1.15

* p <.05, ** p <.01, *** p <.001

Among these seven regression weights, the value of regression weights a) from conversation orientation to interdependent self, b) from conversation orientation to planning, and c) from vertical individualism to active coping are greater in Japan than in the U.S. In contrast, regression weights a) from mutual-face concerns to planning, b) from collectivism to mutual-face concerns, c) from mutual-face concerns to active coping, and d) from conformity orientation to emotional social support seeking are greater in the U.S. than in Japan.

H8 predicted face-negotiation processes among self-construals, face concerns, and social support seeking. However, H9 was not supported because a path between interdependent self-construals and mutual-face concerns could not be drawn (see Figures 11 and 12). On the contrary, interdependent self-construals have positive effects on self-face concerns in both Japan and the U.S. As for the relationship between mutual face concerns and social support seeking, as predicted, those with higher mutual-face concerns tended to use more acceptance coping styles, which is consistent with the direction of the hypothesis. However, for the U.S. participants, mutual-face concerns had stronger positive effects on active and planning coping styles than for the Japanese.

Regarding H9 on culturally different relationships among self-construals, face concerns, and social support seeking, this hypothesis was not supported (see Figures 11 and 12). Although H9 hypothesized that the Japanese tend to have stronger positive relationships between interdependent self-construals and mutual-face concerns and that U.S. participants tend to have stronger positive relationships between independent self-construals and self-face concerns, the results showed that these paths were not statistically significant. Cultural differences among these three variables were found only in two relationships: a) between mutual-face concerns and

active coping, and b) between mutual-face concerns and planning coping style. These positive relationships were stronger in the U.S. than in Japan.

Regarding the relationship between independent self-construals and face concerns, there were no significant effects from independent self-construals to any face concerns, which was against the prediction that independent self-construals were a positive predictor of self-face concerns. Self-face concerns had a statistically significant and positive effect on emotional social support seeking in U.S. participants, but the effect was so weak that the differences in coefficients between Japan and the U.S. did not reach statistical significance.

RQ7 questioned how family communication patterns are associated with self-construals and face concerns. Concerning relationships among FCP, self-construals and face concerns were: a) higher conversation orientation promoted higher independent self-construals equally in both cultures; b) in Japan, the effect from conversation orientations on interdependent self was statistically significant and the effect was stronger than that in the U.S.; c) conversation orientations promote mutual-face concerns in both cultures equally; d) conversation orientations promote instrumental and emotional social support seeking and active coping in both cultures to an equal degree, and moreover for Japanese participants, they promote planning coping styles more than for U.S. Americans; and e) the overall effects concerning conformity orientations in FCP on face concerns and coping styles were weaker than conversation orientations. Only for U.S. Americans did conformity orientations have a positive influence on instrumental and emotional social support seeking. They did not impact face concerns in either culture, and for Japanese participants, conformity orientations were not related to any variables.

As for the effects from vertical-horizontal I-C to social support seeking processes, both cultures had similar results. The summary of the results was presented in the following order of VC, HC, HI, and VI. First, in both Japan and the U.S., VC had positive impacts on conversation orientations, as well as mutual- and other-face concerns. The association between VC and mutual-face concerns was stronger in the U.S. than in Japan. However, the other two relationships were estimated to be equal across groups. Second, similar to the relationships of VC, HC was a positive predictor of conversation orientation and mutual- and other-face concerns both in Japan and the U.S. The strength of the association was not statistically different between the two cultures. Third, the relationships of HI and VI to other variables were also culturally similar. Both HI and VI had a positive effect on independent self-construals. In addition to this relationship, VI in both cultures promoted conformity orientations and self-face concerns. Particularly in Japan, VI promoted active coping more significantly than in the U.S.

In summary of the overall model of social support seeking processes, including two hypotheses and one research question, the results of multi-group SEM did not support the two hypotheses because predicted results were not obtained. Instead, the explanatory power of self-construals and face concerns was very weak or nonexistent with respect to social support seeking. Emotional and social support seeking were only related to conversation orientations in Japan, while both conversation and conformity orientations and self-face concerns promoted emotional and instrumental social support seeking in the U.S. In relation to coping styles, acceptance coping styles were only associated with mutual-face concerns and other coping styles, such as active and planning coping were directly associated with various levels of FCP, self-construals, and face concerns. FCP had positive effects on many variables related to coping

styles. The results of vertical and horizontal I-C in relation to other variables showed results consistent with the theoretical model of self-construals. Collectivism was associated with mutual and other-face concerns, while HI and VI were positively associated with independent self-construal and self-face concerns.

Summarizing the Results of Hypotheses Testing

This chapter reported on the results of the data analyses. The first section reported on the results of preliminary data analyses such as manipulation checks, reliability and the validity of scales for cross-cultural comparisons. The second section reported on the results of data analyses to answer hypotheses and research questions, and checks for response bias. The results of these examinations are shown in Table 27. Many hypotheses were supported, which confirmed the predicted model of FNT. Particularly, the relationships among national cultures, family communication patterns and social support seeking were confirmed. However, the explanatory power of individual and relational variables, including self-construals and face concerns, on social support and coping styles are limited. These tendencies will be further examined in the following chapter. The next chapter discusses the results and limitations of the current study, along with implications for further research.

Table 27

Hypotheses and Research Questions and Summary of the Results

Hypotheses and Research Questions	Summary of the Results
H1: The Japanese seek less social support than U.S. Americans when in need.	Supported
H2: The Japanese are less likely to seek emotional support than U.S. Americans.	Supported
RQ1: Are there cultural differences in the amount of instrumental support seeking between Japanese and U.S. Americans?	U.S. > Japan
RQ2: What coping styles other than social support seeking do the Japanese and U.S. Americans tend to use?	Active coping and planning: U.S. > Japan Acceptance: U.S. = Japan
H3: Differences in the amount of social support seeking of the Japanese with respect to ingroup-outgroup members are more discrepant than that of U.S. Americans.	Not supported U.S. Americans seek more social support from every group than the Japanese except for instrumental support from outgroup members.
H4: The Japanese tend to use more indirect social support seeking styles than U.S. Americans.	Not clear U.S. participants use styles of asking for help and expressing emotions, while the Japanese use styles of venting, asking for advice, and discussing problems.
RQ3: How does vertical and horizontal I-C affect four aspects of social support seeking (i.e., frequency, type, agents, and ways)?	VC was a positive predictor of instrumental and emotional support seeking targeting all agents. VI was a negative predictor of social support seeking targeting parents and friends.

(continued)

Table 27 *(continued)*

Hypotheses and Research Questions	Summary of the Results
H5: Those who have higher conversation orientation in FCP tend to seek social support more than those with lower conversation orientation.	Supported
H6: Those who have higher conversation orientation in FCP tend to use more direct social support seeking styles than those with lower conversation orientation.	Not tested due to lack of measure of directness
RQ4: How is conformity orientation in FCP related to levels and styles of social support seeking?	Levels: conformity orientation is a positive predictor Styles: not tested due to lack of measure of directness
H7: The Japanese tend to be less conversation oriented than U.S. Americans.	Supported
RQ5: Are the Japanese higher in conformity orientation than U.S. Americans?	U.S. Americans > Japanese in conformity orientation
RQ6: What is the relationship of national cultures and family communication patterns to social support seeking?	FCP served as intervening variables between national cultures and social support seeking. U.S. Americans tend to have greater conversation and conformity orientations, which predicted more emotional and instrumental support is sought.
H8: Self-construals have indirect impacts on the level of social support seeking through face concerns: a) those with higher independent self-construals tend to be more concerned about self-face, and they tend to seek more social support, and b) those with higher interdependent self-construals tend to be more concerned about other-face and mutual-face, and they tend to seek less social support.	Not supported. Relationships among self-construals, face concerns, and social support seeking were generally with predicted directions except for some relationships, but explanatory powers were weak.

(continued)

Table 27 *(continued)*

Hypotheses and Research Questions	Summary of the Results
H9: Relationships among self-construals, face concerns, and social support seeking are different between Japan and the U.S.: a) the Japanese tend to have stronger positive relationships between interdependent self-construal and mutual-face concerns, which lead to seeking less social support than U.S. Americans, b) U.S. Americans tend to have stronger positive relationships between independent self-construal and self-face, which lead to seeking more social support than the Japanese.	Not supported. The only statistically significant paths in terms of differences in association between the two cultures were those a) from mutual-face concerns to active coping, and b) from mutual-face concerns to planning.
RQ7: How are family communication patterns associated with self-construals and face concerns?	FCP in general and conversation orientations explain self-construals and coping styles. The results of vertical and horizontal I-C were consistent with theoretical assumptions concerning face concerns and self-construals.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The purpose of the current study was to investigate how national, familial, relational, and individual variables affect social support seeking in stressful situations by extending the FNT framework. Nine hypotheses and seven research questions were proposed to investigate social support seeking processes between Japan and the U.S. by including such concepts as national cultures, vertical-horizontal I-C, FCP, self-construals, face concerns, and social support seeking and coping styles. By using the FNT framework, the current study particularly investigated the following five aspects: (a) cross-cultural comparisons of coping styles and aspects of social support seeking including amount, types, and agents, (b) social support seeking styles, (c) relationships between vertical and horizontal I-C and social support seeking, (d) relationships among national cultures, FCP, and social support seeking, and (e) testing an overall model of face-negotiation processes including face concerns and self-construals.

Many hypotheses were supported particularly in the realm of cross-cultural differences in the amount of social support seeking and relationship between FCP and social support seeking. For example, U.S. Americans sought more social support (including both instrumental and emotional) than the Japanese. FCP was an important predictor of the level of social support seeking, and both conversation and conformity orientations had positive effects on the level of social support seeking. Moreover, the effects of national cultures were fully mediated through FCP in relation to the level of social support. FCP had positive effects on the level of social support not only from parents but also friends and outgroup members.

Despite general support for social support seeking processes, several predicted

relationships were not confirmed. For example, hypotheses on styles of social support were not tested because coding categories for styles were created in ways in which hypotheses are not tested. Second, the effects of self-construals and face concerns on social support seeking were in the predicted directions for some relationships, but the explanatory power of these variables was very weak if any, and moreover some hypothetical relationships were not observed. In what follows, I discuss the findings in terms of the abovementioned five areas in relation to hypotheses and research questions. Next, I offer theoretical and practical implications. Finally, I note limitations and future directions to conclude this project.

Findings

This section discusses findings of the current study in terms of five areas on the basis of nine hypotheses and seven research questions: (a) cross-cultural comparisons of social support seeking and coping styles (H1, H2, H3, RQ1, and RQ2), (b) social support seeking styles (H4), (c) relationships between vertical and horizontal I-C and social support seeking (RQ3), (d) relationships among national cultures, FCP, and social support seeking (H5, H6, H7, RQ4, RQ5, and RQ6), and (e) testing an overall model of face-negotiation processes including face concerns and self-construals (H8, H9, and RQ7). After briefly summarizing major findings, reasons why hypotheses are supported or not supported are discussed.

Cross-cultural Comparisons of Social Support Seeking

There were three hypotheses (H1, H2, and H3) and two research questions (RQ1 and RQ2) concerning cross-cultural comparisons of social support seeking. Social support seeking includes four aspects, a) amount, b) types, c) agents, and d) styles. This

section answers three out of four aspects of social support seeking including the amount, types, and agents of social support seeking. Regarding the cross-cultural comparison of the amount of general social support seeking, H1 predicted that the Japanese seek less social support than U.S. Americans. Social support includes two types: instrumental and emotional social support. H2 hypothesized that the Japanese are less likely to seek emotional social support than U.S. Americans, and RQ1 posed whether there are cultural differences in the amount of instrumental support seeking between the two national cultures. In relation to coping styles, RQ2 asked what other coping styles other than social support seeking the Japanese and U.S. Americans tended to use. Regarding agents targeted during social support seeking, H3 predicted that the Japanese made ingroup-outgroup distinctions more harshly at the level of seeking social support more than U.S. Americans.

The results showed that the Japanese sought less social support than U.S. Americans (support of H1), that the Japanese were less likely to seek emotional support than U.S. Americans (support of H2), and even that they were less likely to seek instrumental support (RQ1). As for coping styles (RQ2), U.S. Americans were more likely to use active coping and planning than the Japanese. No cultural differences were found in acceptance between Japan and the U.S. Regarding ingroup-outgroup distinctions of the amount of social support seeking, U.S. Americans were likely to seek more instrumental social support from every group including parents, friends and outgroup members. U.S. Americans were more likely than the Japanese to seek emotional support from parents and friends, but cultural differences were not found in the amount of seeking social support seeking from outgroup members between the two national cultures (i.e.,

H3 was not supported).

These findings provided consistent patterns of cross-cultural differences in the amount of social support seeking between Japan and the U.S. Basically, the current study succeeded in confirming the consistent patterns of cultural differences found in past studies. The previous literature has often pointed out that those in individualist cultures are more likely to seek social support than those in collectivist cultures (e.g., Oliver, Reed, Katz & Haugh, 1999; Shek & Tsang, 1993; Taylor et al., 2004; Valle, Yamada & Barrio, 2004). Although the current study hypothesized that U.S. Americans are more likely to seek overall and emotional social support, the amount of seeking instrumental support was not hypothesized due to mixed results in previous studies (Feng & Burleson, 2006). The current study showed that instrumental social support was also sought by the U.S. participants more than the Japanese. Perhaps participants did not distinguish the types of social support when they ask for help, judging from high correlations between emotional and instrumental social support seeking (r =.74 for Japan, and r =.75 for the U.S.) (see Table 26). Although it is theoretically sound to distinguish between two types of social support (problem-focused and emotion-focused), participants in the current study may perceive these as similar types.

The consistent pattern showing that U.S. Americans are more likely to seek both instrumental and emotional social support than the Japanese can be explained by introducing other communication-related constructs. In other words, whether people seek social support may be closely related to the communication concepts of expressiveness, assertiveness, and self-disclosure. Ample evidence suggested that U.S. Americans are more emotionally expressive than the Japanese are (Stephan, Stephan, Saito & Barnett,

1998), more assertive (Singhal & Nagao, 1993), and more self-disclosive (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1983). Because U.S. Americans are in individualist cultures, expressing their distressed emotions and asking for help are very important in order to escape from their stressful situations by using more positive coping styles, such as planning and active coping (Taylor et al., 2004). On the other hand, the Japanese are less likely to seek social support by not calling attention to their emotional distress with conversation partners (Gao, 1996; Taylor et al., 2004). Although it seems that these concepts are closely tied to I-C, future research is needed to examine how these similar concepts are related to one another.

Regarding ingroup-outgroup distinctions of the amount of social support seeking between Japan and the U.S., the current study failed to confirm the hypothesis that the Japanese tend to change the way of their social interactions between ingroup and outgroup members (Triandis, 1995). In seeking social support, it may be true that U.S. Americans seek more social support from ingroup members because they are in individualist cultures, and try to change their distressed situations by asking for help. They are even more likely to ask instrumental support from outgroup members such as counselors and managers in their workplace than the Japanese because their major interest is to cope with stressful situations actively. In fact, this tendency was consistent with the findings of past literature showing that those in individualist cultures ask for social support from outgroup members such as counselors more than those in collectivist cultures (e.g., Taylor et al., 2004). On the other hand, the Japanese tended to seek less social support from both ingroup and outgroup members because paying attention to their inner feelings may break harmony with others (Gao, 1996; Kim, Deci & Zuckerman,

2002; Taylor et al., 2004). Particularly, they may feel uncomfortable talking about their stressful situations to outgroup members, who did not know them well and did not belong to their ingroup network (Taylor et al., 2004).

Despite results in the current study consistent with the past literature in terms of instrumental and emotional social support seeking and the two coping styles of active coping and planning (i.e., U.S. Americans are more likely to seek support than the Japanese) (Taylor et al., 2004), the current study found that the level of acceptance was not culturally different between the two cultures. This result was inconsistent with Taylor et al. (2004), which showed that Asian Americans were more likely to use acceptance than European Americans. The reasons why the current study failed to replicate this are unclear. However, by closely examining mean scores of coping styles in Japan and the U.S., it may appear that acceptance is the most common style in Japan. In fact, Table 11 in the last chapter showed that acceptance was widely used both in Japan and the U.S. in comparison to other coping styles. Although U.S. Americans tend to use other coping styles, including active coping and planning, as much as they use acceptance, the Japanese seemed to use more acceptance in comparison to other coping styles. Even though the amount of using acceptance may be culturally similar, the relative importance of using acceptance was higher in Japan than in the U.S, which may be consistent with the predicted relationship.

Social Support Seeking Styles

Among the four key dimensions of social support seeking, one important dimension was social support seeking styles. H4 predicted that the Japanese tended to use more indirect social support seeking styles than U.S. Americans. In order to answer this

hypothesis, free written responses of how participants sought social support were coded. Eleven categories for specific messages for seeking social support were created and then counted. In the process of analyzing free written responses, it was found that coding categories were not suitable for hypothesis testing. Thus, H4 was not tested in the current study although these qualitative analyses seemed to confirm the consistent results with quantitative results in the current study. The results of cross-cultural comparison on support seeking styles revealed that U.S. Americans were more associated with asking for help and expressing emotions to family members, romantic partners, and both groups at the same time. In contrast, the Japanese were more associated with talking and venting to group members and friends.

Originally, this analysis had planned to use proposed styles offered by Barbee and Cunningham (1995). This typology included the two dimensions of verbal-nonverbal and directness-indirectness. It was not clear how these categories in the current study could be associated with the proposed styles of social support seeking. Although it seems that U.S. American participants used more expressive and direct styles while the Japanese used more reserved and indirect styles such as talking and venting, future research is clearly necessary to identify more specifically how they seek social support.

A major reason why a hypothesis based on these styles cannot be tested is because participants were not able to write specific styles when they answered the question about how to seek social support. Perhaps this is because the current study used a questionnaire in which participants recalled stressful situations in the past three months. They did not remember how specifically they sought social support verbally/nonverbally and directly/indirectly at that time. In addition to that, participants were asked to answer

more than 120 questions on a volunteer basis in their classes; many perceived this task as daunting and responded to free written responses very broadly.

There may be two ways to answer H4 about relationships directly between national cultures and social support seeking styles in future research. One way to do this is to use a scale for styles of social support seeking instead of free written responses. The past literature showed that at least four styles existed in seeking social support: a) ask, b) pout-cry, c) hint-complain, and d) sulk-fidget (Barbee and Cunningham, 1995). Based on these categories, researchers can create items correspondent to each category and ask participants what specific styles they use to seek social support.

Another approach is to apply the ethnography of communication (e.g., Hymes, 1972; Philipsen, Coutu, Covarrubias, 2005). This approach might add new insights related to what styles of social support seeking styles participants use in a given context. A major benefit of this interpretive approach is to describe communication phenomena in a specific context, known as a speech community, as it is by focusing on communication contexts including settings, conversation topics, and conversation participants, norms, and goals of social interactions, known as the SPEAKING model proposed by Dell Hymes (1972). By using this approach, future research may be able to identify what specific styles participants use when they seek social support in various situations, including students asking advice from academic advisors, patients requesting help from doctors, and children asking support from parents. By paying close attention to how nonverbal and verbal messages are conveyed, researchers may be able to discern specific styles of seeking social support in particular contexts within the two larger communities that use different language systems, specifically Japanese and English, as speech code

theorists suggest (Philipsen, Coutu, Covarrubias, 2005).

Relationships between Vertical and Horizontal I-C and Social Support Seeking

Relationships between vertical and horizontal I-C and four aspects of social support seeking were explored as a research question (RQ3) because this study may be the first to investigate these relationships. The results showed that VC was a positive predictor of both instrumental and emotional social support seeking targeting all groups (i.e., parents, friends, and outgroup members). HC was also a positive predictor of seeking support from friends. HI was a negative predictor of seeking emotional social support from outgroup members. VI was also a negative predictor of social support from parents and friends. Styles of social support seeking based on free written responses were not related to vertical and horizontal I-C.

Readers may be puzzled by these contradicting results in the amount of social support seeking between national cultural comparisons and the analysis based on vertical-horizontal I-C. National cultural comparisons showed that participants in the U.S., considered a representative of individualist culture, sought more social support than those in Japan, considered a collectivist culture. However, an analysis based on vertical-horizontal I-C revealed that VC, not the individualistic dimension, was a positive predictor of the amount of social support seeking. Although this is not conclusive, there might be the following interpretation for this.

A possible interpretation is that U.S. Americans appear to be higher in VC and lower in VI than the Japanese because of the items that the current study used. In fact, two items of VC used in the current study were related to family unity (see Table 3 for items), and all three items for VI were related to interpersonal competition (see Table 3

for items). Regarding relational closeness among family members, past studies showed that Japanese families were less relationally close than European Americans (e.g., Uleman, Rhee, Bardoliwalla, Semin & Toyama, 2000), and in fact the current study showed that conversation and conformity orientations in FCP were lower for the Japanese participants than their U.S. counterparts. Thus, VC comprised of only two items on family unity appeared to be lower for the Japanese than the U.S. Americans in the current study. Uleman et al. (2000) claimed that the Japanese were normative collectivist but relationally individualist by citing Kagitcibasi's (1997) detailed description of two types of collectivism: normative and relational collectivism. The Japanese are more likely to behave with the characteristics of collectivists, but relationally they tend to act like individualists, when emphasizing the importance of self to their family. In order to characterize VC in more comprehensive ways, including family unity and general interpersonal aspects, perhaps it would be better to use items that cover a wide range of VC characteristics.

Similarly, the subscale of VI in the current study was based on interpersonal competition. Perhaps this is a characteristic of university students as participants in the current study. Reviewing the past I-C literature for university student samples, Matsumoto (1999) found consistent results in which Japanese university students appear to be more individualist than their U.S. counterparts. Although he claimed this was due to the fluid nature of society, since Japanese adults showed more collectivist tendencies than U.S. Americans (Matsumoto, Kudoh & Takeuchi, 1996), there might be two other reasons. The first reason that the Japanese participants rated VI more highly than their U.S. counterparts may stem from the relatively harsh examination system for university

admission in Japan. Many Japanese participants were freshmen and they may tend to believe that getting a better grade or score than others was important. They may be trained to think that way because the reputations of universities are ranked by high school students based on popularity and academic performance, and societal norms encourage them to go to a better university to have a better life in the future.

The second reason is a strong societal discourse that Japan should cope with global competition with neighboring countries in Asia in economics and politics. By analyzing neoliberalist discourse in Japan, Kawai (2008, 2009) revealed how Japanese governmental and popular discourse have promoted the need for winning out in the globalized economy and politics by implementing the policy that English should be the second official language. Japanese students are exposed to these strong messages of global competition through everyday news, and may come to acquire the belief that competition is necessary and important even in interpersonal relationships. Perhaps, this is why Japanese participants rated VI more highly than their U.S. counterparts, which led to the fact that VI was negatively associated with seeking social support seeking from parents and friends.

Both VI and VC in the current study may have covered too narrow of ranges of VI and VC characteristics. Future research is needed to construct a scale that can cover more comprehensive characteristics of vertical and horizontal I-C, and discuss how researchers can investigate cultural characteristics in cross-cultural comparisons given limitations to the use of the I-C measure that were also pointed out by Stephan et al. (1998), who argued that "I-C is not a comprehensive and precise dimension but rather a loose collection of many different cultural characteristics" (Stephan, Stephan, Saito & Barnett,

1998, p. 728).

Relationships among National Cultures, FCP, and Social Support Seeking

Three hypotheses and three research questions were proposed to investigate relationships among national cultures, FCP, and social support seeking. This section discusses the results of the relationships: a) between FCP and social support seeking (H5, H6, and RQ4), b) between national cultures and FCP (H7 and RQ5), and c) the relative importance of national cultures and FCP to social support seeking (RQ6).

Regarding relationships between FCP and social support seeking (H5, H6 and RQ4), H5 hypothesized that participants with higher conversation orientation tended to seek social support, and H6 hypothesized that those with higher conversation orientation tended to use more direct social support seeking styles. RQ4 questioned how conformity orientation is related to both levels and styles of social support seeking. The results revealed that both conversation and conformity orientations in FCP had positive effects on social support seeking (support of H5, and RQ4). The relationship between FCP and styles of social support seeking was not tested but explored, because coding social support was not fully developed as explained earlier in this chapter (i.e., H6 was not tested).

Conversation orientation in FCP and social support seeking were positively correlated, which supported H5 because they may be closely related to the dimension of self-disclosure. This finding can be interpreted as sharing and talking about one's opinions and emotions to other family members, particularly with parents, may enhance skills for asking for help not only from parents but also significant others, which was the consistent with the past literature on adult attachment styles (Collins and Feeney, 2000)

and conflict styles (Harp, Webb & Amason, 2007; Rossler, Ting-Toomey & Lee, 2007). Although causal relationships were not clear, these two constructs of social support from parents and FCP have the highest correlations among possible relationships between FCP and seeking social support from different groups. This finding shows that skills for seeking social support from parents can be transferable to that for seeking support from friends and outgroup members. The more family members converse with each other, the more children may gain skills for asking for help from those outside the family.

In addition to the fact that conversation orientation and FCP were consistent with predictions, conformity orientation was positively associated with social support seeking, although the explanatory power of conformity orientation related to social support seeking was weaker than that of conversation orientation. This may be because those who have higher conformity orientation developed skills for following what parents tell them to do, and they may be trained to do as parents dictate in order to avoid unnecessary confrontations with parents. Such individuals may believe that finding solutions to problems by themselves may make the situation worse, and therefore participants may be more likely to seek both instrumental and emotional support before coping with problems on their own.

Although weak relationships existed between FCP and social support seeking styles, the results were consistent with those on the level of social support seeking. Although this hypothesis was not tested, the styles of asking for help were positively associated with conversation orientation. There was no negative evidence that conversation and conformity orientations were negatively related to FCP. More detailed methods for investigating styles of social support seeking are needed as I mentioned

earlier in this chapter, such as methods based on ethnography of communication (e.g. Hymes, 1972; Philipsen, Coutu, Covarrubias, 2005).

Concerning relationships between FCP and national cultures (H7 and RQ5), the U.S. participants had both higher conversation and higher conformity orientations than the Japanese. The current study was consistent with the past literature, which suggested that Japanese families had fallen into the category of laissez-faire in FCP (Shearman & Dumlao, 2008; Matsunaga & Imahori, 2009). Japanese family values may be internalized and contextualized so much that parents are less likely to converse with children and give their children directions, as is characteristic of highly contextual cultures (Hall, 1976).

Another reason may be a change in communication patterns and values toward child rearing. Perhaps stereotypical images of the Japanese family, in which parents tend to discipline children strictly, may no longer be true in modern Japanese society. At the risk of using a somewhat extreme case, in an article entitled “Exasperated teacher takes on Japan's 'monster parents' by CNN reporter Tomohiro Osaki on January 27, 2011, it was reported that the number of “monster parents,” i.e., those who ask for unreasonable demands in an antagonistic way of their children’s teachers, has been on the rise in Japan. In these families, parents protect and spoil their own children too much and often cater to children’s wishes. This article gives some examples of unreasonable requests by the parents, including demanding that teachers buy a new wallet for the child because the child lost his or her own at school, and to let children sleep during class because they are busy going to cram school at night. These families may be also categorized as laissez-faire because children do not have to obey and converse with parents. Parents adjust to their children so that their children do not experience difficulty of any kind in

their lives. Conversation is not that important in these families because parents' values and wants may be internalized to such a degree that they do not have to express their needs to their children.

The meaning of laissez-faire in FCP needs to be further explored in relation to parenting styles. In Western contexts, this categorization seems to imply that members of laissez-faire families did not develop interpersonal skills (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002), and this may be true in Japan. However, its consequences and meaning may be different in Japan. In fact, relationships between conversation and conformity orientations were somewhat different between Japan and the U.S. (see Table 26 for correlations between conversation and conformity orientations). Conversation and conformity orientations were negatively correlated for the U.S. samples but were positively correlated for the Japanese counterparts. Conformity may be perceived as negative in open conversation among family members in the U.S., but conformity and conversation may be perceived as similar dimensions in Japan. As Japanese cultural characteristics, Japanese families are normatively less likely to converse with others, and are most likely to be categorized as laissez-faire by Western standards. When parents talk with children, the topics of conversation may be related to what children need to do (i.e., high conformity orientation); thus, conversation and conformity orientations may be inseparable for Japanese families.

Typologies for family communication patterns and related concepts should be further explored so that they may better explain Japanese cultural patterns. The number of Japanese youngsters who are socially withdrawn (*hikikomori*) is increasing, and it is reported that they do not have the skills to ask for help because of a lack of opportunities

to develop interpersonal skills from parents (Koshiba, 2007). My own tentative speculation is that Japanese laissez-faire family communication patterns, which may be different from the U.S., may be one of the causes behind this serious social problem. This laissez-faire style may be taken for granted in Japanese families because Japanese communication styles are high-context (Hall, 1976), where meanings and values are internalized and shared among group members. Future research is necessary to examine relationships between family systems and their consequences, which ultimately impact the larger society.

Regarding the relative importance of national cultures and FCP on the level of social support seeking (RQ6), the model in which FCP served as mediators from national cultures and social support seeking had a good model fit. In other words, social support seeking may be partly explained by FCP that are influenced by national cultures. This result rejects views that post-positivist essentializes either national cultures or family systems. FCP can be uniquely created by family members, but at the same time, their communication patterns are partly influenced by characteristics of national cultures. Similarly, many other factors can affect the level of social support seeking, but the current study showed that FCP influenced by national cultures contributed to the level of social support seeking to some degree (i.e., approximately 8% of variance). Of course, there are other possibilities to interpret the relationship among national cultures, FCP, and individual behavior, such as FCP impacting on national cultures. Nevertheless, the current study at least implied that individual behaviors can be explained by multiple cultures, which seem to be multi-layered; national cultures were interpreted as macro culture, which impacted on familial cultures or meso-culture.

Overall Model of Face-negotiation Processes: Roles of Face Concerns and Self-construals

To investigate whether this study fits a model proposed by FNT, two hypotheses and one research question were posed about overall relationships among vertical-horizontal I-C, FCP, self-construals, face concerns, and social support seeking (H8, H9, and RQ7). More concretely, H8 was concerned about culture-general social support seeking processes, which predicted that self-construals had indirect effects on the level of social support seeking through face concerns. H9 predicted culturally different processes between Japan and the U.S. by hypothesizing that the Japanese tend to have stronger positive relationships between interdependent self-construals and mutual-face concerns, which lead to seeking less social support than U.S. Americans. RQ7 questioned how FCP was associated with self-construals and face concerns.

Regarding culture-general social support seeking processes (H8), this hypothesis was not supported because self-construals had little influence on face concerns in both cultures. Independent self-construals were only positively associated with active coping in Japan, but no relationship existed for the U.S. participants. Surprisingly, interdependent self-construals were positively associated with self-face concerns in both national cultures. Face concerns were also scantly associated with social support seeking and coping styles. Only one path from mutual-face concerns to acceptance showed consistent results with predicted relationships. Other- and self-face concerns were virtually unrelated to social support seeking in Japan. In contrast, other-face concerns were positively associated with active coping, and self-face concerns were positively related to emotional social support seeking in the U.S. In essence, according to the results

of the current study, the role of self-construals and face concerns with respect to social support seeking may be very limited in this model.

There might be two reasons for the minimal effect of self-construals and face concerns on social support seeking from theoretical and methodological perspectives. From a theoretical standpoint, it may be interpreted that self-construals and face concerns are not important to social support seeking. Ting-Toomey viewed face as situated identities among conversation participants, and every social interaction, particularly conflict communication, is viewed as a face negotiation process in which participants' face is being threatened and called into question (Ting-Toomey, 1988, 2005). However, the current study did not demonstrate this face negotiation process. Therefore, social support may still be facework (Goldsmith, 1994) but the impact of face is weaker than other salient facework, including conflict communication. Perhaps social support seeking may be a more message sender-oriented form of communication, and this is why face concerns are not playing an important role in social support communication. In contrast, conflict communication is a more relational process; when message senders use integrating styles, receivers use reciprocal styles, and the consequences of which styles they use directly impact on relational circumstances, such as whether a particular interaction was satisfactory and effective (Oetzel, Garcia, & Ting-Toomey, 2008; Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003; Oetzel et al., 2001, 2003; Ting-Toomey, et al., 2001). In other words, conflict communication may be viewed as a more interdependent process where both self- and other-face concerns play a more important role than in supportive communication in general (Moriizumi, & McDermott, 2011) and social support seeking processes in particular, as shown in the current study.

Another reason why self-construals and face concerns were seemingly not important in the current study may be due to research methodological issues. Because this was a questionnaire survey, the source of stress that participants felt was not controllable. Participants may decide whether or not they seek social support for various reasons. If they perceive the situation to be uncontrollable, they may give up seeking social support despite the significant level of stressfulness experienced. In this case, self-construals and face concerns are not important issues. Also, this survey did not investigate ongoing social support seeking processes—participants only recalled stressful situations. Face concerns may be important in actual conversations, but because their responses were based on recalled incidents, participants were not aware of the importance of face concerns.

Concerning culture-specific processes of face negotiation (H9), this hypothesis was not supported because predicted paths were not even observed. Among seven paths showing cultural differences in regressions weights (i.e., unconstrained estimates across groups), mutual-face concerns were positively associated with active and planning coping styles only for U.S. Americans, although mutual-face concerns were positively related to acceptance in both national cultures. This finding is consistent with cultural characteristics of Japan and the U.S. In both cultures, the higher the mutual-face concerns, the more individuals are concerned about group harmony, and they are more likely to accept reality in stressful situations. In the U.S., however, people are encouraged to use more active coping styles as cultural norms, and thus even when they are concerned about mutual-face concerns, they may use more active coping styles. Perhaps because of U.S. cultural norms, the tendency to cope with difficult situations actively is so embedded

and rewarded in their interpersonal behavior that mutual-face concerns are found to be related to active coping styles in addition to acceptance.

Regarding RQ7 about relationships among FCP, self-construals, and face concerns on social support seeking, this study found that conversation orientation promoted independent self-construals in both cultures, and had positive effects on interdependent self in Japan. Also, conversation orientation was positively associated with other- and mutual-face concerns. In contrast, conformity orientation was less related to self-construals and face concerns. The fact that conversation orientation rather than conformity orientation may better predict self-construal and face concerns can be interpreted in the following way. That is, conversation orientation may be a foundation to build skills for social support seeking. Although causal effects from FCP to general interpersonal skills are just speculative, it may be hypothesized that having conversation with parents may create a safe learning environment in developing interpersonal skills such as being more mindful of self/other perspectives, and showing positive attitudes toward interpersonal relationships because family communication "shapes how we interact in virtually every context of our lives" (Vangelisti, 1993, p. 42). Future research is needed to investigate how family communication processes influence the development of interpersonal skills.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

The rationale for the current study was a) to use FNT to investigate social support seeking processes because social support seeking may be facework where self/other face concerns are negotiated, b) to broaden the scope of FNT by including meso-level culture (i.e., family communication patterns) in response to the criticism of sole interest in

national cultures. In what follows, I discuss mainly two theoretical implications and practical implications that were found in the current study.

Theoretical Implications

Although this is not a positive contribution to FNT, the current study found that the role of face concerns was not a major predictor of social support seeking, in comparison to past studies that predominantly investigated conflict communication processes (e.g., Ting-Toomey, 2005; Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003). Perhaps FNT may best explain conflict communication processes across cultures because conflict management styles were best characterized by two dimensions of self- and other-orientations where face concerns were relevant, reflecting as Ting-Toomey & Oetzel (2001) argue that "conflict is an emotionally laden face-threatening phenomenon (p. 19)." On the other hand, social support seeking may be more related to psychological processes, in which individuals can decide whether they seek social support or not regardless of others' concerns. Although social support seeking may be facework (Goldsmith, 1994), face concerns are not important because it is acceptable and common to ask questions or ask for help in distressed situations, and therefore supportive communication is not the situation where self/other face are called into question (i.e., not face-threatening situations). In this sense, face concerns may not have played a major role in social support seeking in comparison to other communication processes, such as conflict (Ting-Toomey, 1988, 2005; Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998).

Another possibility may be that dimensions of face concerns play the role of confounding factors in explaining social support seeking processes. Face concerns include several dimensions including not only locus (e.g., self-, mutual-, other-face

concerns) but also content (e.g., inclusion, independent, and competence) (Moriizumi, 2009; Ting-Toomey, 1988, 2005). Asking for help may raise self independent face concerns in that individuals may lose their pride if they cannot ease their distressed emotions by themselves, and at the same time they also raise self-inclusion face concerns in that individuals would like to be looked upon as competent by asking questions of communication partners. These dialectical tensions may cancel out the importance of self-face concerns in the current study. Similarly, asking for help may threaten other independent face concerns in that conversation partners need to spend their time for the sake of support seekers, and at the same time the conversation partners need to maintain their good image in the eyes of support seekers (i.e., other-inclusion face concerns). Interactions between the locus and content of face concerns may play a confounding role, thereby lowering the explanatory power of face concerns in social support seeking processes.

Nonetheless, the current study did not provide any negative evidence that social support seeking was NOT a face-negotiation process. As Ting-Toomey (1988, 2005) theorized, people in all cultures try to maintain and negotiate face in all communication situations. The current study also showed the role of face concerns with respect to social support seeking, i.e., self-face concerns are positively associated with social support seeking, and mutual-face concerns are positively associated with acceptance in both cultures, while mutual-face concerns are positively associated with active and planning coping styles in the U.S. This seems to confirm theoretical predictions of FNT despite the minimal explanatory power found in the current study. Future research needs to further explore social interactions through the FNT framework by using various research

methods and various contexts.

The second and main theoretical implication of the current study is that both macro-cultures (i.e., national cultures) and meso-cultures (i.e., FCP) have effects on individual communication behavior (i.e., social support seeking). Particularly, the current study showed that the process of seeking social support was influenced by national cultures, but when FCP was entered into the model, FCP along with national cultures helped to explain social support seeking processes. Although it was still true that national cultures were able to explain individual social support seeking behavior, the fact that FCP played an important role as mediators from national culture to social support seeking showed that sole interest in national cultures in cross-cultural comparisons should be avoided. Instead, cross-cultural researchers and practitioners should look at multi-layered cultures. Although the current study only focused on two layers of culture, such as national culture and FCP, other meso- and micro-cultural levels such as ethnicity, class, gender, community, etc. can be the focus of this multi-layered examination of cultures.

This multi-layered approach to examining cultural impacts on communication processes is consistent with a social ecological model (e.g., Oetzel, 2009; Oetzel, Dhar & Kirschbaum, 2007; Oetzel, Ting-Toomey & Rinderle, 2006). This model recognizes the multiple effects of environments in explaining individual behavior by assuming several levels in the environment (e.g., individual, interpersonal, and organizational). To illustrate, individual behavior is influenced by interpersonal and organizational levels (i.e., top-down effects). Also, individual behavior influences interpersonal and organizational levels (bottom-up effects). By using this framework, cross-cultural communication studies need to include multiple levels in understanding and predicting communication

behavior.

Both approaches to investigating bottom-up and top-down effects in the social ecological model may shed a new light on the complex relationships between culture and communication. The current study only described the possibility of top-down effects from the two cultural layers of national and familial, on individual behavior. Future research is needed to investigate reversed effects, i.e., bottom-up effects, from the individual to the familial and national levels. How changes in individual and familial communication patterns affect macro-cultures seem to be theoretically interesting concerns. Also, multiple layers of culture, including the global, regional, community, and organizational levels, need to be investigated. Particularly, in a globalized world, more research may be needed to investigate the relationships among globalization, culture, and individual beliefs and values, including cultural identities.

Related to the arguments on multilevel analysis, another theoretical implication is that multiple meso-cultures within a macro-culture may influence, or be influenced by, other meso-cultures (i.e., interaction effects of meso-cultures). In the current study, FCP influenced other family communication processes (i.e., seeking social support from parents. In addition, FCP explained communication processes in other interpersonal domains (i.e., seeking social support seeking from friends and outgroup members). The results showed a possibility that family cultures may play a foundational role in communication patterns in other interpersonal relationships. Because there may be multiple meso-cultures situated in a macro-culture, such as occupation, gender, region, community, generation, and interest groups, how these meso-cultures influence, and are influenced by, other meso-cultures needs to be further explored. Along with top-down

and bottom-up effects in the multilevel analysis of cultures, examining interaction effects among the same cultural level (e.g., meso-cultures) may contribute to better understandings of relationships among culture, communication, and individual behavior.

Practical Implications

Regarding practical implications, the results of the current study may contribute to both Japanese and U.S. social knowledge in general and communication patterns for university students in particular. Because what counts as social support seeking differs across national cultures, families, and individuals, practice, pedagogy, training, and therapy all may reflect the findings of the current study. For example, both educators and learners can benefit from the findings of the current study when applied to social skills training sessions that try to help students to understand how national cultures, FCP, self-construals, and face concerns are associated with coping styles and social support seeking. The Japanese may associate seeking social support too much with being less competent, while U.S. Americans may associate not seeking social support with being less competent. Because it is difficult to pinpoint how much social support should be sought in actual interpersonal settings, educators and trainers can at least suggest to learners that it is important to be mindful of the level of social support seeking. Also, they can suggest that optimal levels of FCP, face concerns, and social support seeking may vary across cultures, families, and individuals. Both the Japanese and U.S. Americans benefit from cross-cultural findings like the current study because they can reconsider and reflect on their communication processes by knowing culturally, familiarly, and individually different ways of supportive communication. By doing so, they may gain a wider perspective and build better interpersonal communication skills.

Another practical implication may be directed to Japanese university students who tend to seek social support less than U.S. Americans. Although the current study did not investigate direct relationships between the level of social support seeking and an individual's wellbeing, the past literature found that social support seeking was positively associated with individuals' psychological wellbeing (Wills & Fegan, 2001). If this is true, social skills training needs to be more concerned about increasing the level of social support seeking for Japanese students. Social withdrawal has become one of the major social problems in Japan. Because social withdrawal is said to be closely related to not seeking social support and inflexible family communication patterns (Suwa, Suzuki, Hara et al., 2003), social skills training can provide knowledge about possible causes of social withdrawal and an opportunity to rethink communication patterns with parents, as well as attitudes toward asking for help from others. In addition to social skills training, family therapy needs to be more concerned about rethinking family communication patterns among family members. Suwa et al. (2003) found that socially withdrawn children tend to have inflexible family communication patterns with parents, where parents imposed idealistic images on them, and at the same time family members have little time to converse with each other. Research on FCP like the current study may contribute to further understanding of family processes and their relationship to seemingly dysfunctional phenomena such as social withdrawal.

Limitations, Future Directions, and Conclusions

This section has three parts. First, this section describes several limitations of the current study, and then discusses future directions to overcome these limitations. The final section offers conclusions.

Limitations

There are four main limitations of the current study in terms of a) research focus on social support seeking, b) research methods, c) samples, and d) research paradigms. First, the current study only focused on the aspect of social support seeking among various aspects of social support, which include receiving, providing, and seeking social support (Feng & Burleson, 2006). To better understand supportive communication across cultures, various aspects need to be investigated. How people evaluate social support along other dimensions, including receiving and providing social support, should be investigated to understand the comprehensive picture of supportive communication.

The second limitation is the research methods that the current study used. This study used a questionnaire survey for participants to answer their communication patterns in their recalled stressful situation. To understand ongoing supportive communication processes, other research methods such as a laboratory method with experimental designs may be necessary. Because participants may not remember their actual processes in the recalled method with a paper and pencil-based survey, a method for explaining ongoing processes needs to be undertaken in addition to the questionnaire survey. Several advantages of the questionnaire survey in cross-cultural studies are that administering the survey is manageable, and equivalent samples and survey environments are easily established. Testing the hypotheses in the current test would be very difficult if laboratory methods or field observations were used. However, the low explanatory power of the face-negotiation model and low reliability (i.e., Cronbach alpha) in several scales either in Japan or in the U.S. may be derived from a) the use of a questionnaire survey, in which participants recalled stressful situations from the past three months, and b) perhaps

participants' fatigue to answer relatively a large number of questions in the questionnaire.

Further, this research succeeded in delineating Japanese and U.S Americans characteristics with regard to social support seeking processes; however, samples of the current study were only from Japanese and the U.S. Americans, and moreover they were convenient samples of university students. University students were claimed not to be representatives of cultures where they belong (Matsumoto, 1999). Despite this criticism, university students were suitable for the current study because FCP focuses on communication patterns of (adult) children with parents in original families, and also university students can be categorized as the same group, and thus equivalence in characteristics of participants was assured. This being said, future research is needed to investigate communication processes in a wide variety of national cultures and with different population other than university students.

Finally, there are other possibilities to delineate relationships among national cultures, FCP, and social support seeking. The current study hypothesized linear relationships among national cultures, FCP, and social support seeking in that national cultures had effects on family communication patterns, which were hypothesized to influence social support seeking. However, cultures are more creative processes. Each family may create unique cultures that are different from others, or may negotiate their identities by influencing larger cultures or being influenced by culture in other layers.

Future Directions

The abovementioned four limitations are slated to be explored in future research in terms of a) a research focus on social support seeking, b) research methods, c) samples, and d) research paradigms. First, with regard to research on social support, future

research should be directed to investigate relational aspects of receiving and providing social support, such as how people evaluate gaps between social support provided and received, or between social support sought and social support provided. There may be gaps in the amount and types of social support between what participants received and sought (Xu & Burleson, 2001). These gaps may work as inhibiting factors for relationship satisfaction and psychological well-being (Cutrona, 1990). Similarly, face concerns are relational concepts in social interactions, and they are negotiated when people manage their self-, mutual-, and other-face concerns to seek social support through their interactions with others. The current study is still worthwhile because little research has been conducted in a cross-cultural comparison in support seeking processes. However, these relational inquiries on social support other than the aspect of seeking social support need to be further explored to better explain supportive communication across cultures. In fact, focusing on relationships and dyadic communication processes may be best characterized in interpersonal communication research, in which how messages are being transmitted and interpreted between conversational partners can be studied.

Second, further discussions are needed in research methodological issues to improve both the reliability and validity of cross-cultural research. The current study strived to have cross-cultural equivalency by using various techniques such as measurement invariance, checking model fit indices, and checking response bias, and the back translation method. Still there is room for improvement for cross-cultural equivalency. For example, to attain measurement invariance, a large number of items in each scale are needed. The current study eventually ended up using only two or three

items that were invariant across groups, particularly the scale of vertical-horizontal I-C. Checking response bias is also a very complex issue. Whether and to what degree cross-cultural findings are due to differences in response styles between cultures are not easily defined. Future research is needed to answer these complex issues a) by using different research methods such as laboratory methods other than questionnaire surveys and b) by using research methods that can control for confounding factors, such as asking participants to rate items immediately after they encounter stressful events, and c) by creating scales covering a wide range of characteristics of particular concepts.

Third, larger cross-cultural comparisons are needed to corroborate the applicability of the research findings to other cultures, including other Asian and Western countries. Because recent cross-cultural studies use multiple countries that are representatives of either individualist or collectivist cultures to ensure the generalizability of cross-cultural findings (e.g., Oetzel, et al., 2001; Tafarodi, et al., 2011), future research is needed to investigate communication processes across multiple cultures.

Fourth, future research is needed to juxtapose different research paradigms in order to gain a deeper understanding of supportive communication across cultures. The current study may succeed in delineating relationships from national cultures and FCP to social support seeking, but there may be other possibilities to explain these relationships. In other words, each family may create unique cultures, or may influence larger cultures. For example, Japanese and U.S. American intercultural families, who were virtually excluded in the current study because they were neither Japanese nor U.S. Americans, were reported to construct unique and safer environments within their family to protect them from geopolitical and economic forces imposed by the two national cultures of

Japan and the U.S. (e.g., Moriizumi, 2011). Relationships among cultures and communication processes should be further examined by juxtaposing interpretive and critical paradigms. Also, the relatively low explanatory power of relational features and face concerns may stem from a research paradigm issue. Although a social scientific study like the current study explains and predicts a patterned communication process well, it may fail to describe contextual, dialectical, and dynamic facework processes. By juxtaposing an interpretive approach such as ethnography of communication with a quantitative approach, complex face-negotiation processes in supportive communication can be described.

Finally, in addition to the theoretical advancement of theories such as the current study, future research is also needed from practical and educational perspectives. Particularly, future research is needed to discern how findings like the current study, including FCP and a social ecological model, can be implemented in educational and training contexts. At the very least, understanding relationships among national cultures, FCP, and social support seeking is beneficial for developing one's interpersonal/intercultural skills because raising awareness is the first step to understanding cross-cultural differences and similarities (Bennett, 1993). However, improving interpersonal/intercultural competence requires not only knowledge, but the development of mindfulness and skills (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998; Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001). Research in educational and training programs incorporating these dimensions of knowledge, mindfulness, and skills needs to be explored in the realm of supportive communication, and its relationship to a social ecological model.

Conclusions

The purpose of the current study was to explore cultural, familial, and individual differences in social support seeking processes between Japan and the U.S. by employing the FNT framework. More specifically, the current study was particularly focused on investigating the following five aspects: (a) cross-cultural comparisons of coping styles and elements of social support seeking, including amount, types, and agents, (b) social support seeking styles, (c) relationships between vertical and horizontal I-C and social support seeking, (d) relationships among national cultures, FCP, and social support seeking, and (e) testing an overall model of face-negotiation processes including face concerns and self-construals. Because social support seeking research has still focused on national cultural and individual differences in past literature, the current project was particularly interested in a) identifying the relative importance of national cultures and family communication patterns with respect to social support processes, and b) testing the applicability of the overall FNT model to social support seeking processes. The questionnaire survey was administered to university students in Japan and the U.S. by asking them to recall what actions they took when confronted with a recent stressful situation.

Nine hypotheses and seven research questions were posed to investigate social support seeking processes between Japan and the U.S. by including such concepts as national cultures, vertical-horizontal I-C, FCP, self-construals, face concerns, and social support seeking and coping styles. One of the significant contributions of the current study was to replicate the findings from past literature on cross-cultural differences in the amount of social support seeking and the relationship between FCP and social support seeking. For example, U.S. Americans sought more social support than the Japanese.

Another contribution, perhaps the most important one, to theorizing interpersonal communication processes across cultures was initial validation of a top-down approach in the social ecological model with respect to national cultures, FCP, and social support seeking (e.g., Oetzel, 2009; Oetzel, Ting-Toomey & Rinderle, 2006). To illustrate, FCP was an important predictor of the level of social support seeking, and both conversation and conformity orientations had positive effects on the level of social support seeking. Moreover, the effects of national cultures were fully mediated through FCP to the level of social support. FCP had positive effects on the level of social support sought not only from parents but also friends and outgroup members. It was also suggested that FCP may be transferable not only to other family communication processes, such as seeking social support from parents, but also communication processes in other interpersonal domains, such as interactions with friends and outgroup members.

Despite general support for social support seeking processes, several predicted relationships were not confirmed. If self-construals and face concerns were significant factors in social support seeking, the current project would have succeeded in extending FNT to the realm of social support seeking processes in addition to its original realm of conflict communication. However, the current study was not able to provide evidence that self-construals and face concerns predicted and explained social support seeking in Japan and the U.S. Therefore, currently it is safe to argue that the FNT framework found little support in social support seeking processes.

Despite some limitations, the current dissertation offers an initial step in justifying a multilayered cultural approach (i.e., social ecological model) to understanding culture and communication in general, and relationships among national cultures and family

communication patterns with regard to social support seeking processes in particular. These findings may be significant in interpersonal/intercultural communication research with respect to theorizing supportive communication and facework processes.

Throughout this dissertation project, I have constantly believed in and reaffirmed the importance of seeking/receiving social support from my family, friends, colleagues, professors, and survey participants. Without support from every single person in these groups, this dissertation project would not have been completed. At the same time, I have continued to wonder how national cultures, family backgrounds, and individual factors may influence the way that we seek social support, and if there are better ways to cope with stressful situations. This dissertation partly answered my initial questions about why the Japanese tend to seek less social support and how family processes influence individual communication behavior, but new questions arose during the course of the project, many of which remain unanswered. Is FCP really a fundamental factor in predicting interpersonal communication styles? How do other meso-cultures interact with each other to define an individual's communication style? What other factors may influence an individual's communication style? Although so many questions have been left unexplored and unanswered, my hope is that this project serves as a catalyst for more elaborate research in unveiling the complex phenomena underlying interpersonal communication across cultures in general and supportive communication in particular. It is hoped that future research will facilitate a better understanding of relationships between culture and communication, giving people the opportunity to reflect on their own communication patterns in order to have better relationships with others and enjoy more fulfilling lives.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Questionnaire in English version

What do you do when you are in need?

Thank you for participating in this study of communicating social support. As a reminder, there are no right or wrong ways to respond to these questions. I simply want to know what you were thinking and how you acted. I would appreciate your honest answers. Your responses will be completely anonymous—I will not know who responded to which survey.

Section I. In this section, I would like you to recall a specific stressful situation and answer each question by recalling the situation.

A. Most people encounter social stressors on a fairly regular basis. You might have had roommate problems, difficulties with a boyfriend or girlfriend, conflicts with your parents, a falling out with a friend, or just plain being lonely. Think back over the last three months and identify the greatest social stressor you faced. Describe it briefly in the space below.

B. Please rate the situation that you recalled above on the following items. Each item contains two words that are basically opposite to one another. Choose a number that is closest to your perception of the situation.

Unstressful	1	2	3	4	5	Stressful
Unimportant	1	2	3	4	5	Important
Pleasant	1	2	3	4	5	Unpleasant

C. In that situation, how did you do? Some people seek help from friends and family when they are trying to cope with a stressor, while others choose not to seek support from others. Please be as specific as possible. If you talked about this to somebody, please describe what you talked about and with whom. Please write down, to the best of your recollection, specifically how you asked for help. If you did not ask for help to anybody, please specify what you did and thought.

D. Keeping the recalled stressful situation in mind, please answer the following statements. Obviously different events bring out somewhat different responses, but think about what you did when you had this stressful situation. Please circle the response that most reflects how you dealt with stressful events, using the scale below to make your choice.

I didn't do this at all	I did this a little bit	I did this a medium amount	I did this a lot
1	2	3	4

1.	I concentrated my efforts on doing something about the situation.	1	2	3	4
2.	I tried to come up with a strategy about what to do.	1	2	3	4
3.	I accepted the reality of the fact that it happened.	1	2	3	4
4.	I got emotional support from others.	1	2	3	4
5.	I tried to get advice or help from other people about what to do.	1	2	3	4
6.	I thought hard about what steps to take.	1	2	3	4
7.	I learned to live with it.	1	2	3	4
8.	I took action to try to make the situation better.	1	2	3	4
9.	I got comfort and understanding from someone.	1	2	3	4
10.	I got help and advice from other people.	1	2	3	4

E. Keeping the same recalled stressful situation in mind, please answer the following statements. Please circle the response that most reflects how you dealt with stressful events, using the scale below to make your choice.

I didn't do this at all	I did this a little bit	I did this a medium amount	I did this a lot
1	2	3	4

From/To my parents. . .

1. I asked what they did	1	2	3	4
2. I tried to get advice about what to do.	1	2	3	4
3. I talked about how I felt.	1	2	3	4
4. I tried to get emotional support.	1	2	3	4
5. I talked more about the situation.	1	2	3	4
6. I discussed my feelings.	1	2	3	4
7. I got sympathy and understanding.	1	2	3	4
8. I talked about the problem.	1	2	3	4

From/To my close friends,

1. I asked what they did	1	2	3	4
2. I tried to get advice about what to do.	1	2	3	4
3. I talked about how I felt.	1	2	3	4
4. I tried to get emotional support.	1	2	3	4
5. I talked more about the situation.	1	2	3	4
6. I discussed my feelings.	1	2	3	4
7. I got sympathy and understanding.	1	2	3	4
8. I talked about the problem.	1	2	3	4

From/To my outgroup members (e.g., acquaintances, not close friends, and counselors)

1. I asked what they did	1	2	3	4
2. I tried to get advice about what to do.	1	2	3	4
3. I talked about how I felt.	1	2	3	4
4. I tried to get emotional support.	1	2	3	4
5. I talked more about the situation.	1	2	3	4
6. I discussed my feelings.	1	2	3	4
7. I got sympathy and understanding.	1	2	3	4
8. I talked about the problem.	1	2	3	4

F. When completing this section, please keep the same recalled stressful situation in mind. Please think about the self-image concerns (or face saving issues) that were important to you to cope with the situation. Please indicate how important each of the following statements was on a five-point scale.

Not important at all	Not very important	Neutral	somewhat important	Very important
1	2	3	4	5

In the stressful situation that you recalled. . .

1. I was concerned with respectful treatment for myself and others.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Harmony among the people I work and go to school with was important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Maintaining humbleness to preserve relationships was important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I was concerned with not bringing shame to myself.	1	2	3	4	5

5.	Helping to maintain other people's pride was important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	I didn't want to embarrass myself in front of others.	1	2	3	4	5
7.	I was concerned with helping others preserve their self-image.	1	2	3	4	5
8.	A peaceful resolution to conflict was important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
9.	My primary concern was helping other people save face.	1	2	3	4	5
10.	I was concerned with not appearing weak in front of my team.	1	2	3	4	5
11.	I was concerned with helping to preserve the self-image of the other people.	1	2	3	4	5
12.	Maintaining peace in interactions was important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
13.	I wanted to maintain my dignity in front of others.	1	2	3	4	5
14.	I was concerned with protecting my self-image.	1	2	3	4	5
15.	I was concerned with helping other people maintain their own credibility.	1	2	3	4	5

G. In general, to what extent are the following statements effective to cope with stressful situations like the one you recalled? Effective behavior means "those that lead to the achievement of desired outcomes." Please indicate how effective each of the following statements on a five point scale.

Not effective at all	Not so effective	Neutral	Somewhat effective	Very effective
1	2	3	4	5

1.	To concentrate efforts on doing something about the situation.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	To try to come up with a strategy about what to do.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	To accept the reality of the fact that it happened.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	To get emotional support from others.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	To try to get advice or help from other people about what to do.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	To think hard about what steps to take.	1	2	3	4	5
7.	To learn to live with it.	1	2	3	4	5
8.	To take action to try to make the situation better.	1	2	3	4	5
9.	To get comfort and understanding from someone.	1	2	3	4	5
10.	To get help and advice from other people.	1	2	3	4	5

H. In general, to what extent are the following statements appropriate to cope with stressful situations like the one you recalled? Being appropriate is defined as being proper and suitable for a particular situation. Please indicate how effective each of the following statements on a five point scale.

Not appropriate at all	Not so appropriate	Neutral	Somewhat appropriate	Very appropriate
1	2	3	4	5

1.	To concentrate efforts on doing something about the situation.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	To try to come up with a strategy about what to do.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	To accept the reality of the fact that it happened.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	To get emotional support from others.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	To try to get advice or help from other people about what to do.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	To think hard about what steps to take.	1	2	3	4	5
7.	To learn to live with it.	1	2	3	4	5
8.	To take action to try to make the situation better.	1	2	3	4	5
9.	To get comfort and understanding from someone.	1	2	3	4	5
10.	To get help and advice from other people.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION II. When completing this section, please reflect upon some of the norms and communication patterns that are common in your family of origin. In general, a family is "a group of individuals who generate a sense of home and group identity." When you answer each statement below, please think of the underlying norms and repeated patterns in your family. Please circle a number from 1 to 5 for the series of statements below. Think of your family system, your parents or your primary caretakers when answering the following questions.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

1. In our family we often talk about topics like politics and religion, where some family members often disagree with others.	1	2	3	4	5
2. When anything really important is involved, my parents expect me to obey.	1	2	3	4	5

3. My parents often say something like “Every member of the family should have some say in family decisions.”	1	2	3	4	5
4. In our home, my parents usually have the last word.	1	2	3	4	5
5. My parents often ask my opinion when the family is talking about something.	1	2	3	4	5
6. My parents often feel that it is important to be the boss.	1	2	3	4	5
7. My parents encourage me to challenge their ideas and beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5
8. My parents sometimes become irritated with my views if they are very different from theirs.	1	2	3	4	5
9. My parents often say something like “You should always look at both sides of an issue.”	1	2	3	4	5
10. If my parents don’t approve of my action, they don’t want to know about it.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I usually tell my parents what I am thinking about in my mind.	1	2	3	4	5
12. When I am at home, I am expected to obey my parents’ rules.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I can tell my parents almost anything.	1	2	3	4	5
14. My parents often say things like “You’ll know better when you grow up.”	1	2	3	4	5
15. In our family, we often talk about our feelings and emotions.	1	2	3	4	5
16. My parents often say things like “My ideas are right and you should not question them.”	1	2	3	4	5
17. My parents and I often have long, relaxed conversations about nothing in particular.	1	2	3	4	5
18. My parents often say things like “A child should not argue with adults.”	1	2	3	4	5
19. I really enjoy talking with my parents, even when we disagree.	1	2	3	4	5
20. My parents often say things like “There are some things that shouldn’t be talked about.”	1	2	3	4	5
21. My parents encourage me to express my feelings.	1	2	3	4	5
22. My parents often say things like “You should give in on					

arguments rather than risk making people mad."	1	2	3	4	5
23. My parents tend to be openly expressive about their emotions.	1	2	3	4	5
24. We often talk as a family about things we have done during the day.	1	2	3	4	5
25. In our family, we often talk about our plans and hopes for the future.	1	2	3	4	5
26. My parents like to hear my opinion, even when I don't agree with them.	1	2	3	4	5

Section III. Based on your own personal experiences and viewpoints, in a general sense, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Please circle a number from 1 to 5 for the series of statements below.

1. I am concerned about what people think of me.	1	2	3	4	5
2. If I think something is good, then I do not really care what others think of my idea.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Even if people around me have different ideas, I stick to my beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I avoid having conflicts with members of my group.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I always express my opinions clearly.	1	2	3	4	5
6. When my opinion is in conflict with that of another person's, I often accept the other's opinion.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I always speak and act confidently.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Depending on the situation and the people that are present, I will sometimes change my attitude or behavior.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I am concerned about how others evaluate me.	1	2	3	4	5
10. How I feel depends on the situation and the people that are present.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I'd rather depend on myself than others.	1	2	3	4	5
12. It is important that I do my job better than others.	1	2	3	4	5
13. If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Parents and children must stay together as much as possible.	1	2	3	4	5
15. The well-being of my coworkers is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5

16. I rely on myself most of the time; I rarely rely on others.	1	2	3	4	5
17. It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Winning is everything.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Family members should stick together, no matter what sacrifices are required.	1	2	3	4	5
20. To me, pleasure is spending time with others.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I often do "my own thing."	1	2	3	4	5
22. Competition is the law of nature.	1	2	3	4	5
23. It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my groups.	1	2	3	4	5
24. My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
25. I feel good when I cooperate with others.	1	2	3	4	5
26. When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused.	1	2	3	4	5
27. I am satisfied with family relationships.	1	2	3	4	5
28. I am satisfied with relationships with my close friends.	1	2	3	4	5
29. I am satisfied with relationships with others in general.	1	2	3	4	5

Section IV: Finally, I need some additional background information about you. Please circle the word or fill in the blanks.

Sex: Male Female Age: _____

Racial/Ethnic Identity: _____

Year in school: _____ Major: _____

Appendix B. Questionnaire in Japanese version.

対人関係のストレスを感じたらあなたはどうしますか？

どのようにお互いにソーシャルサポート（援助）を行っているのかに関する調査に参加していただきましてありがとうございます。質問に回答する際に、なにが間違っていて、何が正しいのかということはありません。普段どのように行動をしているのかを考えて、思ったままを正直に回答してください。回答は無記名、匿名となっていますので、あなたがどの回答をしたのか特定されることはありませんので、安心してお答えください。

セクション１：このセクションでは、ストレスを感じた状況を思い浮かべてください。その状況を思い浮かべながら、それぞれの質問に回答してください。

質問１：私たちの日常生活では、かなり一般的に対人関係上のストレスを感じています。たとえば、大学での寮生活の問題、恋人との問題、両親とのいざこざ、友人との仲たがい、ただ一人ぼっちでさみしく過ごすということがあったかもしれません。この 3 か月間をふりかえって、対人・社会的なストレスのうち、もっとも強いストレスを感じた経験を一つあげてください。以下にその内容をお書きください。

上記の思い出した場面は、どのような場面でしたか？もっともあてはまる数字に〇をつけてください。.

ストレスを感じない	1	2	3	4	5	ストレスを感じる
重要でない	1	2	3	4	5	重要な
心地よい	1	2	3	4	5	不快な

質問２：上記の状況では、あなたは何をしましたか？そのストレスに対処するために、友人や家族にサポートを求める人もいるかもしれませんし、そうしない人もいるかもしれません。できるだけ具体的にあなたはどのようなことをしたのか以下にお書きください。もし、誰かにサポートを求めたのであれば、どのように、誰に対して何を言ったのか具体的にお書きください。もし、誰にもサポートを求めていなければ、あなたは何をし、なにを考えたのかについて具体的にお書きください。

質問３：引き続き上記のストレスを感じた状況を思いだして、以下の文章に答えてください。確かに状況が異なれば、異なった回答があると思いますが、あなたの思い出した状況ではあなたは何をしたのかを振り返ってください。どのようにその状況に対処したのかについて、以下の１から４のスケールのうち、もっともふさわしい数字に〇をつけてください。

まったくしなかった	すこしした	中程度した	たくさんした
1	2	3	4

1. 自分が置かれている状況について何かしようと力を注いだ。	1	2	3	4
2. 何をすべきか戦略をたてようとした。	1	2	3	4
3. それが起こったという現実を受け入れた。	1	2	3	4
4. 誰かから精神的な支えを得た。	1	2	3	4
5. 何をすべきか誰かからアドバイスや援助を得ようとした。	1	2	3	4
6. どんな方法をとるか一生懸命考えた。	1	2	3	4
7. その状況を受け入れようとした。	1	2	3	4
8. 状況を良くしようと行動した。	1	2	3	4
9. 誰かから励ましや理解を得た。	1	2	3	4
10. 誰かから援助やアドバイスを得た。	1	2	3	4
11. それがよりよく思えるように、別の視点から見ようとした。	1	2	3	4
12. 起こっていることの良いところを探した。	1	2	3	4
13. それが起こったことを信じようとしなかった。	1	2	3	4
14. 「これは現実ではない」と自分に言い聞かせた。	1	2	3	4
15. 不快な気持ちがなくなるようなことを言った。	1	2	3	4
16. いやな気持ちを外に出した。	1	2	3	4
17. 自分自身を非難した。	1	2	3	4
18. 起こったことについて自分自身を責めた。	1	2	3	4
19. それに取り組もうとすることをあきらめた。	1	2	3	4
20. それに対処しようとすることをあきらめた。	1	2	3	4
21. それについて冗談を言った。	1	2	3	4
22. その状況をおもしろおかしくとらえた。	1	2	3	4

質問４：引き続きあなたの思い出したストレスを感じた状況を思い出しながら、以下の文章についてお答えください。その状況ではあなたはどのように対処しましたか？もっともあてはまる数字を〇で囲んでください。

まったくしなかった	すこしした	中程度した	たくさんした
1	2	3	4

両親に対して/両親から.

1. 似た状況の時にどのようにしたかをたずねた。	1	2	3	4
2. なにをすべきかアドバイスを得た。	1	2	3	4
3. 自分がどんな気持ちかを話した。	1	2	3	4
4. 精神的な支えを得ようとした。	1	2	3	4
5. その状況をより深く考えるために話をした。	1	2	3	4
6. 自分の気持ちについて話し合った。	1	2	3	4
7.同情や理解を得た。	1	2	3	4
8.その問題について話をした。	1	2	3	4

親友に対して/親友から

1. 似た状況の時にどのようにしたかをたずねた。	1	2	3	4
2. なにをすべきかアドバイスを得た。	1	2	3	4

3. 自分がどんな気持ちかを話した。	1	2	3	4
4. 精神的な支えを得ようとした。	1	2	3	4
5. その状況をより深く考えるために話をした。	1	2	3	4
6. 自分の気持ちについて話し合った。	1	2	3	4
7.同情や理解を得た。	1	2	3	4
8.その問題について話をした。	1	2	3	4

外集団のメンバーに対して/外集団のメンバーから(例　顔見知り程度の友人や知人，カウンセラー)

1. 似た状況の時にどのようにしたかをたずねた。	1	2	3	4
2. なにをすべきかアドバイスを得た。	1	2	3	4
3. 自分がどんな気持ちかを話した。	1	2	3	4
4. 精神的な支えを得ようとした。	1	2	3	4
5. その状況をより深く考えるために話をした。	1	2	3	4
6. 自分の気持ちについて話し合った。	1	2	3	4
7.同情や理解を得た。	1	2	3	4
8.その問題について話をした。	1	2	3	4

質問５：このセクションを回答する際には、引き続きあなたが質問１で思い出した状況を考えながら、回答してください。思い出した状況に対処するときに大切な自己イメージに対する意識（面子への配慮）について考えてください。それぞれの質問についてどの程度重要だと思いますか？もっともふさわしい数字に○をつけください。

まったく重要でない	あまり重要でない	どちらともいえない	やや重要	とても重要
1	2	3	4	5

あなたが思い出したストレスを感じる状況において...

1. 自分自身や相手に対して敬意を払うような対応をするよう配慮する	1	2	3	4	5
2. その人と調和することは大切だ。	1	2	3	4	5
3. お互いの関係を保つために、控えめな行動をすることは大切だ。	1	2	3	4	5
4. 自分自身が恥をかかないように心がける。	1	2	3	4	5
5. 相手のプライドを保とうとすることは大切だ。	1	2	3	4	5
6. 他人の前でどぎまぎしてきまり悪くなりたくない。	1	2	3	4	5
7. 相手の自己イメージを保つように心がける。	1	2	3	4	5
8. おだやかに対立を解決することは私にとって大切だ。	1	2	3	4	5
9. 私の主な関心は、相手のメンツを保つようにすることだ。	1	2	3	4	5
10. 自分の所属する集団の前では自分の弱さを見せないようにする。	1	2	3	4	5
11. 相手の自己イメージを保とうと配慮する。	1	2	3	4	5
12. 会話のやりとりが穏やかなものになるようにすることは大切だ。	1	2	3	4	5
13. 他人の前では自分の品位を保ちたい。	1	2	3	4	5
14. 自分の自己イメージを守るように心がける。	1	2	3	4	5
15. 相手の創造性を保てるように配慮する。	1	2	3	4	5

質問６：あなたが思い浮かべたようなストレスを感じる状況への対処方法として、以下の文章は一般的にどの程度「効果的」でしょうか？「効果的な」行動とは「望ましい結果を達成するための行動」のことを指します。１から５のスケールでもっともふさわしい数字に○をつけてください。

全く効果的でない	あまり効果的でない	どちらでもない	やや効果的	とても効果的
1	2	3	4	5

1. 自分が置かれている状況について何かしようと力を注ぐこと	1	2	3	4	5
2. 何をすべきか戦略を立てようとすること	1	2	3	4	5
3. それが起こったという現実を受け入れること	1	2	3	4	5
4. 誰かから精神的な支えを得ること	1	2	3	4	5
5. 何をすべきか誰かからアドバイスや援助を得ようとすること	1	2	3	4	5
6. どんな方法をとるか一生懸命考えること	1	2	3	4	5
7. その状況を受け入れようとすること	1	2	3	4	5
8. 状況をよくしようと行動すること	1	2	3	4	5
9. 誰かから励ましや理解を得ること	1	2	3	4	5
10. 誰かから援助やアドバイスを得ること	1	2	3	4	5
11. それがよりよく思えるように、別の視点から見ようとすること	1	2	3	4	5
12. 起こっていることの良いところを探すこと	1	2	3	4	5
13. それが起こったことを信じようとしないこと	1	2	3	4	5
14. 「これは現実ではない」と自分に言い聞かせること	1	2	3	4	5
15. 不快な気持ちがでていくようなことを言うこと	1	2	3	4	5
16. いやな気持ちを外に出すこと	1	2	3	4	5
17. 自分自身を非難すること	1	2	3	4	5
18. 起こったことについて自分自身を責めること	1	2	3	4	5
19. それに取り組もうとすることをあきらめること	1	2	3	4	5
20. それに対処しようとすることをあきらめること	1	2	3	4	5
21. それについて冗談を言うこと	1	2	3	4	5
22. その状況をおもしろおかしくとらえること	1	2	3	4	5

質問７：あなたが思い浮かべたようなストレスを感じる状況への対処方法として、一般的に以下の文章はどの程度「適切」でしょうか？「適切な」行動とは「ある状況にとってふさわしく、もっともらしい行動」のことを指します。もっともふさわしい数字に○をつけてください。

全く適切でない	あまり適切でない	どちらでもない	やや適切	とても適切
1	2	3	4	5

1. 自分が置かれている状況について何かしようと力を注ぐこと	1	2	3	4	5
2. 何をすべきか戦略を立てようとすること	1	2	3	4	5
3. それが起こったという現実を受け入れること	1	2	3	4	5
4. 誰かから精神的な支えを得ること	1	2	3	4	5
5. 何をすべきか誰かからアドバイスや援助を得ようとすること	1	2	3	4	5
6. どんな方法をとるか一生懸命考えること	1	2	3	4	5
7. その状況を受け入れようとすること	1	2	3	4	5

8. 状況をよくしようと行動すること	1	2	3	4	5
9. 誰かから励ましや理解を得ること	1	2	3	4	5
10. 誰かから援助やアドバイスを得ること	1	2	3	4	5
11. それがよりよく思えるように、別の視点から見ようとすること	1	2	3	4	5
12. 起こっていることの良いところを探すこと	1	2	3	4	5
13. それが起こったことを信じようとしないこと	1	2	3	4	5
14. 「これは現実ではない」と自分に言い聞かせること	1	2	3	4	5
15. 不快な気持ちがでていくようなことを言うこと	1	2	3	4	5
16. いやな気持ちを外に出すこと	1	2	3	4	5
17. 自分自身を非難すること	1	2	3	4	5
18. 起こったことについて自分自身を責めること	1	2	3	4	5
19. それに取り組もうとすることをあきらめること	1	2	3	4	5
20. それに対処しようとすることをあきらめること	1	2	3	4	5
21. それについて冗談を言うこと	1	2	3	4	5
22. その状況をおもしろおかしくとらえること	1	2	3	4	5

セクション 2：このセクションではあなたの家族（ご結婚されている場合は元の家族）に見られる規範（ルール）やコミュニケーション・パターンについておたずねします。一般的に家族とは、「家としての感覚や集団のアイデンティティを生み出す人々の集まり」と考えられます。それぞれ下の文章を読んで、あなたの家族の規範やパターンをふりかえり、もっともふさわしい数字を○で囲んでください。また以下の文章に答える際には、あなたの両親または主たる養育者について思い浮かべてお答えください。

全くあてはまらない	あまりあてはまらない	どちらでもない	ややあてはまる	とてもあてはまる
1	2	3	4	5

1. 私の家族は政治や宗教のようなトピックについてよく話し、誰かしら家族の意見によく反対する。	1	2	3	4	5
2. 重要な決め事について、親の意見に私は従うべきだと親は考えている。	1	2	3	4	5
3. 私の親は「一人ひとりが家族の決定について何か言うべき」というようなことをよく言う。	1	2	3	4	5
4. 私の家では、最後の決断をするのは親だ。	1	2	3	4	5
5. 家族で話をしている時に、親はよく私の意見を求める。	1	2	3	4	5
6. 私の親は、親は家族の中心であるべきだと思っている。	1	2	3	4	5
7. 親の考えや信念が絶対ではないという考えを持つように私に励ます。	1	2	3	4	5
8. 私の考えと異なっていると、親は私の見方にイライラする。	1	2	3	4	5
9. 私の親は、「物事は両方の視点から見なさい」というようなことをよく言う。	1	2	3	4	5
10. 私の行動を親が賛成しない時、親はそのことを知ろうとしない。	1	2	3	4	5
11. 自分の中で今なにを考えているのかを両親によく話す。	1	2	3	4	5
12. 私の家庭では、両親の作った規則に従うことが当然とされている。	1	2	3	4	5
13. 親にほとんどなんでも話すことができる。	1	2	3	4	5
14. 両親は、「もっと大人になれば、物事がもっとわかる					

ようになる」というようなことをよく言う。 1 2 3 4 5
15. 私の家族は、お互いの気持ちや感情についてよく話をする。 1 2 3 4 5
16. 私の親は、「私の考えが正しいので、それについて疑問を感じるべきでない」というようなことをよく言う。 1 2 3 4 5
17. 親ととりたてて重要ではないことについて長く、くだけた会話をよくする。 1 2 3 4 5
18. 私の親は、「こどもは大人と言い争ってはならない」というようなことをよく言う。 1 2 3 4 5
19. お互いに意見が異なっても、親とは楽しく話す。 1 2 3 4 5
20. 両親は、よく「子どもには話してはいけないこともある」というようなことを言う。 1 2 3 4 5
21. 私の親は自分の気持ちは相手に伝えるようにとよく言う。 1 2 3 4 5
22.「相手を怒らせるくらいなら、議論では自分から折れるべき」というようなことを親はよく言う。 1 2 3 4 5
23. 私の親は感情や気持ちを外に出しやすい。 1 2 3 4 5
24. その日に起こったことをよく家族で語り合う。 1 2 3 4 5
25. 将来の計画や希望についてよく家族で話す。 1 2 3 4 5
26. 親の意見とは異なっていても、親は私の意見を聞きたがる。 1 2 3 4 5

セクション 3：今までの経験やあなたの考え方から、以下の文章はどの程度あてはまりますか？最もあてはまるところの数字を○で囲んでください。

全くあてはまらない 1　あまりあてはまらない 2　どちらでもない 3　ややあてはまる 4　とてもあてはまる 5

1. 人が自分をどう思っているかを気にする。 1 2 3 4 5
2. 自分がいいと思うならば、他の人が自分の考えを何と思おうと気にしない。 1 2 3 4 5
3. 自分の周りの人が異なった考えを持っていても，自分の信じるところを守り通す。 1 2 3 4 5
4. 自分の所属集団の仲間と意見が対立することを避ける。 1 2 3 4 5
5. 自分の意見をいつもはっきりと言う。 1 2 3 4 5
6. 人と意見が対立したとき，相手の意見を受け入れることが多い。 1 2 3 4 5
7. いつも自信をもって発言し，行動する。 1 2 3 4 5
8. 相手やその場の状況によって，自分の態度や行動を変えることがある。 1 2 3 4 5
9. 他人が自分のことをどう評価しているのか気になる。 1 2 3 4 5
10. 自分がどう感じるのかは、まわりの人や状況による。 1 2 3 4 5
11. 私は他人より自分自身に頼りたい。 1 2 3 4 5
12. 他人より良い仕事をすることは大切だ。 1 2 3 4 5
13. 同僚やクラスメートが賞をとると、私も誇りに思う。 1 2 3 4 5
14. 両親と子供はできるだけ一緒にいるべきだ。 1 2 3 4 5
15. 同僚やクラスメートの幸せは私にとっても大切だ。 1 2 3 4 5
16. あまり人に頼らず、多くの場合は自分を信じて行動する。 1 2 3 4 5

全くあてはまらない	あまりあてはまらない	どちらでもない	ややあてはまる	とてもあてはまる
1	2	3	4	5

17.自分がやりたいことを犠牲にしてまでも、家族の面倒をみることは私の義務だ。	1	2	3	4	5
18. 勝負に勝つことがすべてだ。	1	2	3	4	5
19.どんな犠牲を払っても、家族は一緒にいるべきだ。	1	2	3	4	5
20.他の人と一緒に過ごすことは楽しい。	1	2	3	4	5
21.自分に関係したことだけをよく行う。	1	2	3	4	5
22. 競争することは、自然の法則のような当たり前のものだ。	1	2	3	4	5
23. 自分の所属している集団で決定したことを尊重することは大切だ。	1	2	3	4	5
24.他人とは異なる自分のアイデンティティをもつことはとても大切だ。	1	2	3	4	5
25.他の人と協力している時は気分がよい。	1	2	3	4	5
26.他人が自分より優れていると、私は緊張し、刺激される。	1	2	3	4	5
27.私は家族との関係に満足している。	1	2	3	4	5
28.私は親友との関係に満足している。	1	2	3	4	5
29.私はおおよそ対人関係には満足している。	1	2	3	4	5

セクション 4：最後に皆様ご自身についておたずねします。あてはまる単語に〇をつけていただくか、語句をお書きください。

性別： 男性 女性 **年齢**:_____

人種・民族： 日本人 その他: _____

学年: _____ **専攻**: _____

Appendix C. Scoring for Instrument

The items on the instruments in the questionnaire are composed from the following perspectives

Section I

A. Free written response to the greatest social stressor over the past three months
B. Manipulation check for recalled stressful events (stressfulness, importance, and pleasantness)
C. Free written response to cope with recalled stressful situation
D. Coping styles
   Active coping-1, 8
   Acceptance-3, 7
   Emotional support-4, 9
   Instrumental support-5, 10
   Planning-2, 6
E. Social support from/to parents, close friends, and outgroup members
   Instrumental support-1, 2, 5, 8
   Emotional support-3, 4, 6, 7
F. Face Concerns
   Self-4, 6, 10, 13, 14
   Mutual-1, 2, 3, 8, 12
   Other-5, 7, 9, 11, 15
G. Perceived effectiveness in coping styles
   Active coping-1, 8
   Acceptance-3, 7
   Emotional support-4, 9
   Instrumental support-5, 10
   Planning-2, 6
H. Perceived appropriateness in coping styles
   Active coping-1, 8
   Acceptance-3, 7
   Emotional support-4, 9
   Instrumental support-5, 10
   Planning-2, 6

Section II

Family Socialization Patterns (1-26)

Section III

1. Self-construals (1-10)
    Interdependent-1, 4, 5, 6, 7
    Independent-2, 3, 8, 9, 10
2. Vertical-horizontal individualism and collectivism (11-26)
    Horizontal individualism-11, 16, 21, 24
    Vertical individualism-12, 18, 22, 26
    Horizontal collectivism-13, 15, 20, 25
    Vertical collectivism-14, 17, 19, 23
3. Relationship satisfaction (27-29)

Section IV

Demographics