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Abstract

The ways of policing have been critiqued throughout the years—some have advocated for a direct approach while others value diplomatic techniques. Consideration is emphasized by how culture affects policing in the United States and Japan. In the United States, the customs of policing involve violence, individualism, pragmatism, social mobility, and low power distance, whereas Japan encourages non-violence, face-saving, conservatism, and high power distance. The difference in these cultural norms reflects how policing is conducted in these two countries. To understand how policing in these two countries are different, this paper examines the difference of cultural norms and its impact on both police and community.

Keywords

policing, Japan, United States, cultural norms

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Abstract

The ways of policing have been critiqued throughout the years—some have advocated for a direct approach while others value diplomatic techniques. Consideration is emphasized by how culture affects policing in the United States and Japan. In the United States, the customs of policing involve violence, individualism, pragmatism, social mobility, and low power distance, whereas Japan encourages non-violence, face-saving, conservatism, and high power distance. The difference in these cultural norms reflects how policing is conducted in these two countries. To understand how policing in these two countries are different, this paper examines the difference of cultural norms and its impact on both police and community.

How Japan's Cultural Norms Affect Policing: A Side-By-Side Comparison with the United States

Law enforcement officers in Japan have developed a harmonious relationship with citizens that reduces police brutality (Dammer & Albanese, 2013). Japanese officers are reluctant to use violence against suspected offenders; this is reflected in the extremely low rate statistics of police violence in Japan (Dammer & Albanese, 2013). Recent statistics suggest that Japan did not record any fatal police shootings in 2015 and Japan records 0.0 fatal police shootings for every 1 million people (Baird, 2015). In contrast, data on law enforcement related homicides in the United States indicates that police shot 930 people in 2015. This translates to 2.9 fatal police shootings for every 1 million people, and 4.7 fatal police shootings for every 100,000 people (Baird, 2015). These contrasting statistics on the use of violence by law enforcement officers in both countries has led many to conduct studies on the factors that have contributed to the difference. Some observations suggests the training of law enforcement officers in Japan is markedly different than training afforded to law enforcement officers in the US (Crank, 2004; Dammer & Albanese, 2013; Parker, 1984; Parker, 2001). While some of the claims in those studies might be merited, the differences in the cultural norms practiced in the two countries are the main factor accounting for the divergence in statistics on fatal police shootings and conduct. Japanese cultural norms avoid violence and create far-reaching consequences on policing in Japan.

Nonviolence vs Violence

One of the cultural norms that distinguishes Japanese policing from policing in the US is the norm of nonviolence. Although Japan has had a long history of violent suppressions in

which the state used the police as a tool for controlling behaviors of citizens, contemporary Japan witnessed a change in the country's attitude towards violence and the use of force (Clifford as cited in Dammer & Albanese, 2013; Katzenstein, 1998). The Japanese government implemented several policies that drew the country away from the path of violence and into the path of nonviolence (Katzenstein, 1998). According to Parker (1984), "Japanese rarely act on feelings of hostility in public. A shove will not bring retaliation in a physical way, or probably a verbal way" (p. 20).

To move the country to the path of nonviolence, the country adopted a culture in which they defined security in a comprehensive fashion that intertwines with their cultural norms (Katzenstein, 1998). An example that is a unique form of security in Japan is the use of *koban*, which is integrated into many different areas throughout Japan (Katzenstein, 1998; Parker, 1984). *Koban* is essentially Japan's own form of community policing that allows frequent interaction between police and citizens with the intention to foster a positive relationship (Parker, 1984). Japan's ability to maintain public safety is influenced through Confucian values of non-violence and a deeply ingrained sense of honor (Katzenstein, 1998). This comprehensive approach to crime prevention was consistent with the culture of nonviolence that the country had developed in the post-war period.

The culture of non-violence has affected policing in Japan by defining the peaceful ways in which the police can enhance the level of social stability in the Japanese society by using peaceful ways to resolve crimes. The reluctance of Japanese police officers to use violence is a reflection of the influence of the cultural norm on nonviolence. As previously

stated, Japan's authoritative political power was used to quell protests and individuals from disturbing the status quo (Katzenstein, 1998). Changes can also be observed after the end of the Tokugawa period (Katzenstein, 1998). For example, the respect for leadership is rooted from the Tokugawa era in which samurais forced citizens to follow their commands (Katzenstein, 1998; Parker, 1984).

Furthermore, the low crime rate in Japan is also attributed to the homogenous makeup of the Japanese society (Parker, 1984). According to Parker (1984), "There are very few minorities in Japan, with Koreans representing the largest group, but they number only approximately 600,000 in total population of 115 million" (p. 19). This reduced intention to use violence is one of the results of widespread prevalence of the cultural norm of nonviolence in the current Japanese society. Cultural norms have influenced policy makers in Japan to develop a comprehensive view of the concept of policing that reflected their culture. This comprehensive view has influenced the Japanese police force to view its successes in terms of the social, economic, and political aspects of security that they extend to the citizens they are serving (Katzenstein, 1998). Crime rate in Japan is significantly lower than the US, factoring in the detriments of cultural norms is the concept of face-saving.

In contrast to Japan, the widespread prevalence of violence may stem from the culture of accepted violence in the American society. Within American society, there is a consensus that violence is an acceptable tool for the resolution of disputes (Balko, 2013). This cultural norm has infiltrated the police force, and contributed to the high incidence of police violence and fatal shootings. Holmes and Smith (2008) acknowledge the link between this cultural norm on the acceptability of violence, and

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the high rate of violence among American police. The criminology theory posits that high rates of violent crimes and violence in a society are symptoms of the existence of violence subcultures and violence-based cultural norms (Holmes & Smith, 2008). According to Holmes and Smith (2008), these violence-based cultural norms and violent subcultures state that violence is an acceptable strategy for maintaining honor when people are experiencing interpersonal challenges.

This concept from Holmes and Smith (2008) also coincides with Balko (2013) as he observed a police officer beating an individual for challenging his authority. Holmes and Smith (2008) also argue the relationship between these subcultures and violence does not stem from their promotion of violence; it stems from their definition of the circumstances in which it is acceptable to resort to violence. When one relates this argument to policing in the US, it may become clear that violent subcultures have had an adverse effect on policing. The violent subcultures have defined the circumstances in which police and other members of the society can use violence to resolve conflicts. This may have increased the propensity of the police to use violence when they are facing interpersonal challenges.

Claims regarding the link between police violence and the violent subculture have received support from statistics on police violence in the US. The statistics indicate the US has the highest rate of fatal police shootings among industrialized countries (Baird, 2015). The correlation between the violence subculture and police violence in the US becomes clear when one assesses individual cases of fatal police shooting to determine the circumstances the police shot an individual. In one of the recent cases of fatal police shootings, police officers shot and killed an unarmed man on an interstate after he tried to ask

for assistance on his stalled vehicle (Hannon, 2016). Videos of the incident showed an African American man walking towards his car with his hands firmly raised; moments later, one of the Caucasian officers surrounding him fires her gun, killing him instantly (Hannon, 2016). Although many have pointed to this video as evidence of the widespread prevalence of racism in the US police force, the reality is police officers are both victims and perpetrators of the violent subculture prevailing in the US.

Contemporary scholars also researched the detrimental effects of individualism (at least in its intense forms), and have connected the effects to different types of social pathologies that include: high crime, suicide, divorce, child abuse, emotional, physical, and mental illness rates (Cobb, 1976; Naroll, 1983 as cited in Allik & Realo, 2004). In addition, there were increased levels of isolation and perceived loneliness (Triandis, Leung, Villareal, & Clack, 1985 as cited in Allik & Realo, 2004). The subcultures have defined the circumstances under which it is acceptable for police officers to defend their honor by using violence to settle interpersonal challenges. In the instance as described above, the Caucasian police officer's decision to shoot the unarmed African American man in the middle of the street was an outcome of the cultural norm on the acceptability of violence.

Collectivism vs. Individualism

Historically, the collectivist cultural norm has been a pivotal influence in Japan's approach to policing (Parker, 1984). Kawashima describes how an individual's desires are "absorbed in the interested of collectivity to which he belongs, and the interest of the collectivity is recognized as having primary importance, while the interest of the individual has merely a secondary importance" (as cited in Parker, 1984, p.28). The

cultural norm manifests in the way in which the Japanese society gives prominence to the interests and goals of the group (Dammer & Albanese, 2013; Yamagishi, Cook, & Watnabe, 1998). Collectivism can be dated back to the acceptance of Confucianism in early Japan (Dammer & Albanese, 2013; O'Dwyer, 2003).

The concept of Confucianism is to cast your individual self aside for the benefit and harmony of others (Dammer & Albanese, 2013; O'Dwyer, 2003). For example, Imada (2012) analyzed the difference between children's textbooks in Japan and the US and found that there was a strong cultural influence in the stories. Literature in the US was found to have a higher mean score of self-direction, achievement, and power, while literature in Japan was found to excel in conformity and group harmony (Imada, 2012). This examination was not only fruitful to the education of younger generation, but it also allowed a wider analysis of how cultural psychology is embedded in these literature stories. Japanese citizens believe that they belong to groups or families that take care of them in exchange for their loyalty (Parker, 1984). Gaining and maintaining trust is inevitably the most crucial element that bonds families and communities (Yamagishi et. al., 1998). The country's collectivist norm thus plays an important role in influencing group behavior (Allik & Realo, 2004; Gudykunst, 2001; Parker, 1984; Yamagishi et. al., 1998). According to Gudykunst (2001), Japanese people view their groups as important, and make sacrifices for the group in a way that will influence other members to make similar sacrifices. By actively cooperating with one another, one can see the prevalence of collectivism found in Japanese culture.

In the context of policing, the collectivist cultural norm influences policing by defining the behavior of police officers in a group setting. According to Martin (2014), policing through virtue is present in East Asian cultures. Cultural norms define the police behavior in group settings by encouraging Japanese officers to exhibit cooperative behavior. The outcome has been an enhancement in the level of cooperation between the Japanese police and Japanese citizens (Parker, 1984). The Japanese police force has developed a community-policing program in which citizens and police actively participate in crime prevention (Parker, 1984). According to Parker (1984), the emphasis on teamwork is shown through their low statistics in crime rate. Although a collectivist cultural norm can have positive influence on behavior, they can also have negative consequences in regards to how policing is conducted.

Studies on the reaction of police officers from individualist and collectivist cultural traditions have confirmed that their group behavior is markedly different. In one study conducted by Cox, Lobel, and McLeod (as cited in Jones, 2013), researchers evaluated the group behavior among police officers from individualist and collectivist cultural traditions. The results of the study suggest that law enforcement officers from collectivist traditions demonstrate a higher level of cooperative behavior due to a sense of shared kinship and cultural values (Jones, 2013). The results demonstrated that law enforcement officers in collectivist countries had a higher likelihood to engage in a cooperative behavior when interacting with their colleagues and members of the society compared to the US. According to Parker (1984),

The Japanese also help to discipline each other through

informal assistance and intervention. While occasionally, police have to assist drunks, fellow workers are far more likely to come to their assistance. Group behavior helps the Japanese cope with the oppressiveness of modern urban life. (p. 20)

This outcome of formal and informal behavior of social control to protect cultural norms is consistent with the situation prevailing in Japan (Parker, 1984; Takagishi, 1998). As the evidence from Japan suggests, the country's police officers have displayed greater zeal in their interaction with citizens. Prior to urbanization, the incidence of conflict between police and the communities they are policing was at an all-time low (Ames, 1981).

Evidence from the US suggests that the culture prevailing in the country follows the individualist cultural traditions. According to Chaibong (2000), "Individualism is the quintessential product of modernity" (p. 127). Modern day Western and democratic societies that placed great value on the individual citizen inevitably develop an artificial and increased tension between the individual and society (Allik & Realo, 2004; Drechsler, 1995). In addition, real or imagined threats to individual rights, as well as towards personal freedoms from higher powers—such as the state—might generate intense individualistic doctrines that govern economics, law, or politics (Allik & Realo, 2004). For example, political libertarianism supports that government interference should be minimal (Allik & Realo, 2004).

W. E. B. Du Bois also suggested the ideology of individualism which obstructed America's social and economic democratization as Americans believed that any civilian could succeed through the art of self-discipline and hard work (Turner, 2008). By doing so, it was common for these citizens to

withdraw support for federal aid programs that may provide relief for peers, especially minorities of color (Turner, 2008). Even today, economic and political scholars conclude that individuals who are heavily influenced through individualistic values are less likely to support programs that provide aid to those who may be racially or economically disadvantaged (Turner, 2008). This individualistic cultural tradition found in the US has affected policing through the country by influencing policymakers in the criminal justice system to create policies that underlie their willingness to place the interest of the individual ahead of the interest of the entire group (Borovoy, 2016; Chaibong, 2000).

One of the consequences of individualism is the reluctance of law enforcement behavior to display teamwork with the community. Their lack of teamwork can conflict with the interests of the public. In situations where there is a conflict between the police and the community the policies and practices of the police demonstrate how the police will place their interests, or the interests of their colleagues ahead of the interests of the wider society. Some of the individualistic policies implemented in the US criminal justice department include the “Stop and Frisk” policy and the “Three Strikes” policy (ACLU, 2016). The underlying tones found within the Stop and Frisk and Three Strikes policies often targets individuals of color and is based on discriminatory practices. Not only are people of color targeted for crimes, taking into consideration their socioeconomic status and gender can heavily impact the decision making as well. These two policies have only proved effective in creating conflict between law enforcement officers and minority communities.

Conflict between minority communities and law enforcement officers in the US have demonstrated how the individualistic norm continues to undermine the ability of police officers to display positive group behaviors like cooperation and teamwork (Verma, Das, & Abraham, 2013). In many of the incidents of conflict between police officers and the communities, police officers have deliberately withheld crucial information of the circumstances leading to the arrest or death of a suspect. In the case of the fatal police shooting in which police officers shot and killed a man seeking assistance for his stalled vehicle, police officers refused to release video footage of the incident (Hannon, 2016). The officers displayed an “us” vs. “them” mentality that is emblematic of group behavior in individualistic cultural traditions.

Individual police officers will place their interests ahead of the interests of the entire society or community by attempting to skew the narrative in the favor of the status quo (Balko, 2013). The outcome in most of these situations is the development of a culture consisting of distrust between the community and the police. However, it is important to note that the extensive prevalence of the individualistic norm is not helpful to the police. The cultural norm has also influenced individuals in communities to place their interests ahead of the interests of the police. This has created an antagonistic relationship between the police and the community, thereby increasing the level of mistrust and conflict. Other cultural distinctions that influence policing in Japan and the US are the concepts of face-saving versus pragmatism.

Face-Saving vs. Pragmatism

Face-saving is another concept that not only distinguishes Japan's cultural norms, it also highlights why the

country's approach to policing differs extensively from the US approach to policy. According to Merriam-Webster (2016), face-saving is defined as "done to keep oneself from looking foolish." In Japanese culture, face-saving is extremely important (Katzenstein, 1998; Parker, 1984). Family heads, educators, executives, government officials, and law enforcement officers engage in certain actions that they believe are necessary to save face. The extensive nature of the practice of face-saving has influenced many of the country's citizens to condemn government officials and other senior members of the Japanese government for engaging in *happo bijin gaiko*, or the practice of looking good for everyone (Katzenstein, 1998; Parker, 1984). However, senior officials are not the only individuals known to engage in the practice of face-saving. Japanese caterers in the Japanese city of Nagoya engage in the practice when they use vehicles to deliver food to employees working at an automotive factory (Nishiyama, 2000). They engage in this practice because of their desire to maintain positive relations with all persons.

In the context of police, the face-saving cultural norm has affected the police by influencing the way in which Japanese law enforcement officers interact with the community. The face-saving norm has defined the way in which Japanese law enforcement officers resolve and respond to crime. Using face-saving with the use of the *koban* system, Parker (1984) stated, "at an average koban, there are approximately five hundred households assigned to each officer for the purpose of the routine family visits" (p. 77). The face-saving practice has also had a significant influence on the policies implemented in the Japanese criminal justice system. One of the detrimental counters to Japan's concept of face-saving is crime reporting. As stated previously, crime statistics in Japan are much lower than in

America, however, the issue with reporting crime remains a mystery when taking in the element of face-saving. For example, in domestic violence disputes in Japan, many individuals do not want to disgrace their honor and bring shame by admitting that there are problems within their families (Parker, 1984). By not actively reporting domestic disputes to law enforcement, the data of a low crime statistic in Japan becomes questionable.

The Comprehensive Police Initiative to Reduce Street Crime and Break-In Crime offers a good illustration on how the face-saving cultural norm has influenced law enforcement officers to implement policies that tend to appease criminals as well as the country's citizens (Kanayama & Eguchi, 2010). Stakeholders in Japan's National Police Agency implemented the policies after statistics indicated that there was an increase in the incidence of street assaults, break-ins, and burglaries. The statistics indicated that juveniles were the main perpetrators of the crimes and that street gangs composed primarily of juveniles were engaged in street robberies, purse snatching, break-ins, burglaries, and other forms of street crime (Kanayama & Eguchi, 2010). Stakeholders in the country's criminal justice system stated that the most effective strategy for ending these crimes was a crackdown on gang activity, illegally parked bicycles, graffiti, and lock-picking equipment (Kanayama & Eguchi, 2010). However, the Comprehensive Measures Against Street Crime and Break-In Crime policy acknowledged that there was a spike in the incidents of street crime, but rejected the calls for a crackdown on illegally parked bikes, graffiti, and lock-picking tools (Kanayama & Eguchi, 2010).

The policy states that law enforcement officers intensify their investigations on street gangs, and make the necessary arrests whenever they engage in street crime and other types of

crime (Kanayama & Eguchi, 2010). This response demonstrates the extent of the face-saving practice in Japan. In this case, drafters of the policy sought to save their faces by implementing a policy that attempted to appease the victims of street crimes, as well as the juveniles engaging in those crimes (Kanayama & Eguchi, 2010). The Japanese police also appeased the public by stating they would be robust in launching investigations into reports of street crimes. The stakeholders believe that such an approach is necessary because it prevents *ni doro wo nuru*, the smearing of the face with mud (Kanayama & Eguichi, 2010).

It should be noted that as time progresses, the influence of Western culture may slowly be leaking into Japan; thus, may be a contributor to the rising cases of rebellious behaviors from juveniles (Parker, 1984). For example, the Japanese understanding of rights were not as prevalent as it is in modern day Japan as they believed their rights were unified (Parker, 1984). It could be concluded that the citizens were so strongly influenced by cultural and group norms that they did not take into consideration of their own individualized rights. Ames describes how “the legal consciousness suggests a greater awareness of rights now than before the Occupation” (as cited in Parker, 1984, p. 28). For youth, observing the rise of rebellious juvenile behavior can be connected with the influence of Western ideas of individualism. Although face-saving still remains prevalent in Japan, one must also take into account how it can serve as a harmful side-effect to the country itself.

Unlike Japan, the extensive prevalence of cultural norms that advocate for pragmatism means that law enforcement officers and other stakeholders in the US justice system are more realistic and pragmatic when they are dealing with crime and interacting with criminals. The culture of pragmatism in the US

has influenced people to become more direct in their approach to address issues that affect themselves and the society. The country's citizens believe directness is a sign of respect and courage (Stanfield & Carroll, 2008). They shun the concept of political correctness, and argue that people should speak their minds and resolve issues in a way that reflects their genuine views on a subject (Stanfield & Carroll, 2008). In the context of policing, American pragmatism has contributed to the emergence of a tactic in which law enforcement agencies are more direct and realistic in their approach to crime prevention and detection. Indeed, stakeholders in the criminal justice system see the direct approach as more effective than delaying issues. Therefore, they have been quick to implement policies which clearly spell out their stance on crime and deviance in the country.

For example, the War on Drugs in the 1980s led many people of color, particularly African-Americans, to be targeted by law enforcement (Sudbury, 2005). In doing so, the aftermath of the War on Drugs has resulted in many people of color being targeted simply because they do not reflect the nature of the status quo and are easily labeled as perpetrators of crime (Balko, 2013). The response to the War on Drugs demonstrates how pragmatism has influenced law enforcement officers to deal with crime and deviance in a direct manner. One can argue that Americans' desire for pragmatism influences law enforcement officers to implement effective approaches to crime prevention. The Western approach tackles the immediate causes of the crime as well as the underlying factors that may enhance the likelihood of crime and deviance. In contrast, Japan's face-saving undermines law enforcement officers' ability to implement robust crime prevention strategies by influencing them to implement policies that appease the criminals as well as the

communities that are victims of crime. While pragmatism and face-saving influences policing in Japan and the US, conservatism and social mobility are also controlling factors.

Conservatism vs. Social Mobility

In Japan, the cultural norm on conservatism has influenced law enforcement officers and other members of the Japanese society to exhibit a strong preference for maintenance of the status quo in the resolution of disputes (Katzenstein, 1998; Parker, 1984). The country's businesses and institutions are often reluctant to make robust changes because of their perception these changes will only disrupt harmonious relations between them and their customers. However, this reluctance to accept robust changes does not mean that the country's institutions cannot use new technologies. In fact, institutions like the police are willing to use and adopt new technologies, but they will only do so within the boundaries of their conservatism.

Such institutions will purchase and install the new technologies, recruit a few young people that they believe are necessary for operating the tools, and retain the elderly managers who are not technologically savvy (Jain, 1990). The managers will retain authority over the young engineers even though their level of productivity and expertise is inferior (Jain, 1990). The decision to retain the elderly staff stems from companies' beliefs that a mass layoff will be counterproductive to their harmonious relations with their customers and the Japanese society (Jain, 1990). These arguments suggest the cultural norm of conservatism influences Japanese institutions by forcing them to adopt policies that tend to maintain (rather than disturb) the status quo. The cultural norm influences them to implement policies that preserve harmonious relations between organizations and the Japanese society.

In the policing arena, the cultural norm on conservatism has played a significant role in influencing stakeholders in the criminal justice system to implement strategies that tend to preserve the status quo. Like the rest of the Japanese society, the stakeholders believe that the policies that tend to disrupt the status quo are unacceptable because of their negative impact on the relationship between the police and the society (Rinalducci, 1972). Japan's conservative approach to the role of the prosecutor offers insights into the impact of the culture of conservatism on policing in the country. As noted with the use of *kobans*, citizens often seek the assistance of police for counseling, also known as *komarigoto sodan*, and resolving problems more than citizens in America (Parker, 1984). According to Parker (1984) "the Japanese prefer a moral norm as opposed to a legal one for conflict resolution. Turning to a lawyer is admitting failure" (p. 24). For more than 90 years, Japan has limited the role of the prosecutor to the investigation, prevention, and prosecution of crimes (Johnson, 2001). As part of this conservative approach, the policy also banned prosecutors from engaging in audits and consultations, and insulated them from the influence of politicians (Johnson, 2001). These limitations have reduced the workload of prosecutors, and insulated them from the public scrutiny and political pressures that American prosecutors face in the course of their work (Johnson, 2001).

The reduced workload and political influence have contributed to an increase in conviction rates, as prosecutors use their free time to supervise the effectiveness with which law enforcement officers are investigating and screening cases (Johnson, 2001). The reduced workload has also improved Japanese prosecutors' ability to attend to the expectations of the

public (Johnson, 2001). These prosecutors often state their duty to serve the interests of the public when stating the cautious manner with which they are making charge decisions (Johnson, 2001). This expression of caution, and the Japanese government's decision to limit the duties of prosecutors over the 90-year period, is a reflection of the influence of the conservative culture on policing (Johnson, 2001). The conservative culture has proved pivotal in influencing policymakers to refrain from instituting far-reaching changes in the responsibilities of the prosecutor (Johnson, 2001). The policymakers believe that these changes may alter the quality of the interpersonal relations between the office of the prosecutor and other stakeholders like the police and the public (Johnson, 2001). Therefore, they decided to maintain the status quo by refraining from making material alterations to the responsibilities of the prosecutor (Johnson, 2001).

In contrast to the Japanese, Americans exhibit a high degree of preference for cultural norms associated with social mobility. Their preference for social mobility manifests in Americans' willingness to take on new challenges and confront uncertain situations by taking drastic actions (Pisano & Shih, 2009). Thus, Americans will change their jobs abruptly, and move from one company to another without stopping to think about the impact of their decision on their friends and relatives (Pisano & Shih, 2009). In addition, job changing among Americans can also impact their relationship with clients and potential business partners. This culture of social mobility has also infiltrated into the criminal justice system. In particular, it has contributed to the practice of reforming policing in the country. The reforms recommend wholesale changes in the practices of the police, and contribute to far-reaching changes in

the relationship between law enforcement officers and American communities (JRank, 2016). In the 20th century, policymakers implemented several reform initiatives that had a significant impact on their interpersonal relations with society. However, the reform that had the greatest impact on those relations were adopting the telephone, patrol car, and two-way radio (JRank, 2016).

The immediate impact of the adoption of this technology was the reduction of direct contact between the police and the society (JRank, 2016). The patrol car isolated law enforcement officers by ending the practice of foot patrols. During foot patrols, law enforcement officers could engage with the public by holding long conversations on crime trends, and responding directly to issues when members of the public raised them (JRank, 2016). The move to the patrol cars ended this practice by isolating police officers from the communities they were protecting (Gudykunst, 2001). Whenever law enforcement officers drove their patrol cars into the community and rolled down their windows, citizens perceived them as outsiders (JRank, 2016). This advancement of technology created increased division between police and society. This is a reflection of the social mobilities culture which eliminated the need for caution and concern about uncertainties, and set the stage for the implementation of policing strategies that would isolate police officers.

High Power Distance vs. Low Power Distance

Power distance denotes the extent to which members of a society accept inequalities in the distribution of power between leaders and citizens (Hofstede, 2001). In high power distance countries like Japan, citizens have a high level of tolerance for inequality in the distribution of power. This respect for

hierarchies stems from the Tokugawa feudalism in which samurai lords forced peasants, farmers, and high-end households to obey their rules (Katzenstein, 1998; Parker, 1984). The Meiji government fashioned a notion of national community, or also known as “national body” (*kokutai*), that tactfully relied on deeply rooted folk ideologies of Confucius beliefs. In the attempt to create a kin-like relationship with their nation, the Meiji government also aimed to develop a shared morality along with civic virtue (Duus & Scheiner 1998; Gluck 1985; Siemes 1966, as cited in Borovoy, 2016). During the Meiji imperial control, political rights were given through national belonging rather than proposing natural rights inhering to the individual (Borovoy, 2016). People have therefore grown up with the knowledge that people in positions of power have a strong influence on their lives. Regarding the police, this manifested in the embrace of a centralized and hierarchical system of management where senior bureaucrats control power and their day-to-day operations.

Unlike Japan, the US is a low power distance country due to its infatuation with individualism. Historically in the West, individual rights granted a check on the governmental powers to ensure that individuals with high authority did not misuse their powers (Allik & Realo, 2004). For example, Morris (1972) stated, “The Middle Ages, a similar tension between the Church—the first rational bureaucracy in history and civil authority created a heightened concern for the individual person and his individual religious practices” (as cited in Allik & Realo, 2004, p.30). Due to the high probability of the power misuses, the birth of individuality in Europe became a sign of future changes in western society during the end of the 11th century (Gurevich, 1995 as cited in Allik & Realo, 2004). However, due

to the manifestation of capitalism and consumerism in the US, the ideology behind individualism has become increasingly self-oriented and now threatens the existing social cohesion (Ackerly, 2005).

Having low power distance with the combination of individualism means that the country's citizens have a lower level of tolerance for inequalities in the distribution of power. According to Hofstede (2001), a society that prizes individualism often looks after only themselves, and their immediate family. Therefore, subordinates demand greater symmetry between the power they are wielding and the power that senior executives are wielding. In the context of police, this has manifested in a way in which the police have implemented a decentralized system of management that is free from the interference of the federal government. In contrast to the American system, police are under the control of local governments. This decentralization is a direct outcome of the cultural norm on the acceptability power symmetry between leaders and their followers.

Conclusion

Culture has played a significant role in contributing to the divergence in the policing approach developed in Japan and America. In Japan, cultural norms related to non-violence collectivism, face-saving, conservatism, and high power distance have influenced policing by defining how the police will interact with members of the public and the types of policies they have implemented to fight crime. In the US, norms related to violent subculture, individualism, pragmatism, social mobility, and low power distance have influenced law enforcement officers to develop policing policies that are a reflection of those cultural norms. The implications of a culture driven on the foundation of

violence can only lead to an unfair and disproportionate level of treatment from police officers. In contrast, a culture that exists on the values of conservatism may not produce an assertive approach to combating crimes. In order to understand why certain policing methods are acceptable in a society, one must examine the underlying influence of cultural norms and how that ultimately impacts individuals' behaviors and attitudes.

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