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ABSTRACT

This annual report discusses several topics related to the work of the Research and Clinical Center for Child Development. Seven topics are covered in the report. The articles are: (1) "Fathers' Participation in the Lives of Their 4-Month-Old Infants: The United States and Japan" (Marguerite Stevenson Barratt, Koichi Negayama and Tetsuhiro Minemi); (2) "Relationship between Socioeconomic Status and Maternal Attitudes among Japanese Mothers" (Mari Aoki Toda, Masumi Sugawara, Toshinori Kitamura and Satoru Shima); (3) "Information Conveyed by the Media on Childrearing in France and in Japan: Analysis of French and Japanese Popular Magazines" (Hiroko Norimatsu); (4) "Sacred or Selfish? A Survey on Parental Images of Japanese Children" (David Shwalb and Shing-Jen Chen); (5) "Towards an Understanding of Cultural Psychology: A Case for 'Janken'" (Shing-Jen Chen and R. Jason Rand); (6) "Empathy and Altruistic Behavior among Preschoolers: An Attempt To Measure Empathy of Children Based on Teacher's Report" (Shigehiro Ukegawa); and (7) "Differences in Teacher Classroom Behaviors in USA and Japan: A Field Note" (Hiroshi Usui). References are included with each article. (SD)

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FATHERS' PARTICIPATION IN THE LIVES OF THEIR 4 MONTH-OLD INFANTS: THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

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Abstract

The United States and Japan are economically and educationally quite similar, yet each has unique cultural values and beliefs about children and parenting. This research makes cross-cultural comparisons between fathers' participation in the lives of their first born 4-month-old infants in the United States and Japan. In addition, sources of individual differences in fathers' participation are examined separately in the United States and Japan. Families with first born 4-month-old infants were recruited in Japan through Public Health Centers (n=45), and in the United States through birth records (n=45). Based on interviews with mothers, the day to day participation of fathers in the lives of their infants in the United States was found to be substantially greater than the participation of fathers in Japan. The variability among the reports of the amount of caregiving done by fathers was greater in the United States. Japanese and American mothers responded similarly to questionnaire items indicating the fathers' interest in and enjoyment of fathering; questionnaire responses were more variable among mothers in Japan. High variability suggests cultures in flux, and demographic and societal changes worldwide are leading to changes in fathers' roles. In the United States it may be actual participation in caregiving that is changing, in Japan it may be fathers' interest and commitment to fathering that is changing. Examinations of factors related to individual differences in fathers' participation in the care of their infants indicated that, in Japan, participa-

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tion was related to the mothers' reports of support from their husbands and to social class; in the United States, participation was related to fathers' ages.

Key words: Fathers, Infants, Japan, United States, Caregiving, Cross-cultural

INTRODUCTION

The United States and Japan are economically and educationally quite similar, yet each has unique cultural values and beliefs about children and parenting (Azuma, 1986; Bornstein, 1989; Fogel, Stevenson & Messinger, 1992). Cultural differences in families may be particularly evident during the transition to parenthood, a time when rapid changes within the family seem to call forth traditional roles (LaRoosa & LaRoosa, 1982). Thus the present study focuses on families with first born 4-month-old infants and makes comparisons between families in the United States and families in Japan. Because fatherhood may be psychologically and sociologically more optional than motherhood, it may be particularly subject to the influences of cultural, familial and individual factors. Thus the focus of this research is on a cross-cultural comparsion of fathers' participation in the lives of their first born infants.

Although traditional American families and traditional Japanese families were similar in that fathers were seen as symbolic heads and as breadwinners (Azuma, 1986; Pleck, 1987), there are significant cultural contrasts in families today. The commitment to role perfectionism in Japan (Befu, 1986) inclines many Japanese fathers to work long hours and many Japanese mothers to commit fully to the maternal role. In Japanese families, particularly the nuclear families of today, many mothers assume considerable de facto power, and the major family coalition that emerges is between mothers and children (Kashiwagi, 1993; Ishii-Kuntz, 1993; Smith & Schooler, 1978). In contrast, for families in the United States, there is much more role diffusion wherein many fathers participate in the role of employee, assume an active role in caring for their young children, and have other roles. Role diffusion for many mothers in the United States may include combining the roles of employee and mother with other roles within the family, the circle of friends, and the community (Shand, 1985).

To consider contemporary family life in context, it is necessary to examine demographic and societal changes in Japan and the United States. Perhaps the most significant factors in Japan include the substantial decrease in the number of three generation households and the low rate of fertility. The birth rate in Japan has gone from 18 births per 1000 population in 1960 to 11 per 1000 in 1993 (UNICEF, 1995). In the United States it has gone from 23 per 1000 in 1960 to 16 per 1000 in 1993. In contrast, perhaps the most significant changes in the United States include changes in women's attitudes towards work and family and the substantial increase in maternal employment. In the United States today over half of the mothers of one-year-olds work outside the home at least part time. These demographic and societal changes clearly influence contemporary families (Shwalb, Imaizumi & Nakazawa, 1987).

Going beyond descriptions of fatherhood in Japan and the United States, this study uses a multifactorial approach to understand sources of individual differences in fathers' participation in the lives of their infants. In the 1995 review of fatherhood,

Parke indicates that fathers' participation is influenced by factors including (a) the timing of parenthood (father's age), (b) the husband-wife relationship, (c) social class, and (d) fathers' employment patterns. More specifically, age cohort effects suggest that societal changes in the roles of fathers may particularly be reflected in the behavior of younger fathers, yet older fathers may be at a point in their career to relax and enjoy parenthood. Mothers may be gatekeepers of fathers' access to their infants (Lamb, 1987), and mothers who feel supported by their husbands seem to provide more access and encouragement (Parke, 1995). Socioeconomic factors may be a source of influence on individual difference; families with higher social status may be more free to embrace changing societal norms (Riley, 1990). Constraints on fathers that are placed by the world of work may also influence fathers' involvement with their infants. This discussion of factors influencing fathers' participation in the lives of their infants is largely based on research in the United States, however, the complexity of the construct of culture, including cultural prescriptions for work and leisure, national economics, and the roles of education and religion suggests the importance of examining sources of individual difference in fathers' participation separately in the United States and Japan.

METHOD

Subjects

In Japan all infants receive developmental and medical check-ups at around the age of 4 months. By coordinating with the Public Health Centers in Osaka and Hyogo Prefectures that conducted these check-ups, 45 mothers of first born 4-month-old infants were recruited to participate in this research. All mothers whose homes and apartments were accessible by public transportation were invited to participate, and most mothers responded favorably to the invitation. In the United States, birth records in the state of Wisconsin were used to recruit 45 mothers of first born 4-month-old infants. Only two-parent families were included. To assure the comparability of the samples, families in the United States were selected so as to approximately match the fathers' educational levels and ages in the Japanese sample. These were largely middle class families with only five fathers having less than a high school education, more than half of the fathers having at least two years of education beyond high school, and only six fathers having education beyond college.

Interviews

Interviews in the homes of mothers in Japan and the United States were used to describe the fathers' participation in the lives of their 4-month-old infants. Interview topics included demographic/descriptive information, mothers' reports of fathers' caregiving and mothers' reports of fathers' contact with their infants. *Descriptive* information included asking how many hours in a week the father had responsibility for his infant without the mother being present; in other words, how much time did he spend home alone with his infant. To assess *caregiving*, factual questions were asked of mothers about how many times in a week the fathers did various caregiving tasks. Tasks included feeding the infant, diapering, bathing, putting the infant to sleep at

night and getting the infant up and dressed in the morning; the total number of all these tasks that were performed in a week was also tallied. To assess *contact*, mothers were asked whether fathers ate at least one meal a day with their infants (scored as one point) and whether fathers participated daily in playing with or caring for their infant at least 10 minutes (scored one point). These two items were selected from the Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment (HOME; Caldwell & Bradley, 1984). Interviews in Japan were conducted in Japanese by an American; interviews in the United States were conducted by Americans.

Questionnaire

Two scales were selected from a questionnaire by Lederman and Weingarten (1981) to measure the mothers' reports of the fathers' (a) parental support and (b) spousal support. The two scales of the questionnaire were originally written in English; for this study they were also translated into Japanese and the translations were checked by independently translating the Japanese back into English. Questionnaires were returned by mail after the home visit.

Parental support scale. A questionnaire scale was used to assess the mother's report of the father's interest in and commitment to fathering (Lederman & Weingarten, 1981). Questions included items such as " The baby's father gets annoyed when I ask him to help with the care of the baby " (reverse scored), " The baby's father shows an interest in the baby," and " The baby's father enjoys holding the baby. " Mothers responded to these items on a four point scale indicating the extent to which each statement described the father, from " very much so " to " not at all," Thus mothers with high scores on this 11 item scale reported that their husbands were helpful with the infant and showed interest and enjoyment; the maximum score was 44. Cronbach's alpha estimate of internal consistency reliability for this scale was .83.

Spousal support scale. An additional scale of the questionnaire (Lederman & Weingarten, 1981) assessed the mother's sense of her husband's support for her. There were questions such as " I feel close to the baby's father, " " It is hard to talk with the baby's father about problems that I have " (reverse scored), and " The baby's father cares about how I feel". Thus mothers with high scores on this 12 item scale felt supported by their husbands. Cronbach's alpha estimate of internal consistency reliability for this scale was .84.

Analyses

The first set of analyses compared the United States and Japan on interview reports of participation by fathers (caregiving and contact) and questionnaire reports of fathers' parental support (t-tests were used). F-tests compared the variability of the responses in the United States and Japan. The second set of analyses examined sources of individual differences in fathers' participation separately in the United States and Japan. Independent variables included fathers' ages, spousal support, social class, and fathers' work hours; as dependent variables, fathers' participation was assessed by the measures of caregiving and contact.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Participation by fathers: United States vs. Japan

Descriptions. The first analyses examined the mothers' interview reports of the fathers' participation in the lives of their 4-month-old infants. Fathers in the United States spent significantly more time home alone with their infants than did fathers in Japan: 12.0 hours vs. 0.8 hours per week ($t=5.6$, $p<.001$). No father in Japan spent more than 4 hours a week home alone with his infant, in the United States, six fathers spent at least 40 hours a week home alone with their infants. As would be expected, American mothers who worked longer hours had husbands who spent more time alone with their infants ($r=.47$, $p<.001$).

Caregiving. Fathers in the United States were significantly more likely to feed their infants, diaper their infants, get their infants up and dressed in the morning, and put their infants to sleep at night (Table 1). The only task that fathers performed more often in Japan than in the United States was to bathe their infants. Co-bathing in Japan provides an opportunity for intimacy that is quite different from the usual bathing of infants in the United States in a small tub. The total number of caregiving tasks performed in a week was greater in the United States than in Japan.

Table 1
Fathers' participation in infant caregiving

Times per week	Japan		United States		means	variances
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	t-test	F-test
Feeding	1.7	2.6	7.7	8.2	4.71***	9.90***
Diapering	5.2	5.0	13.0	10.6	4.46***	4.43***
Bathing	3.5	2.6	0.9	1.6	5.56***	2.68***
Up and dressed	0.1	0.5	1.5	1.9	5.12***	12.58***
Put to sleep at night	0.8	1.6	2.0	2.2	2.97**	1.77+
Total, all tasks	11.2	8.2	25.2	19.5	4.45***	5.67***

+ $p<.10$ ** $p<.01$ *** $p<.001$

Contact. Overall, 75.6% of the fathers in Japan were reported to provide some care of their infants daily or to play with their infants daily. In contrast, 95.6% of the fathers in the United States had these forms of daily contact ($\chi^2=7.28$, $p<.01$). The percentage of fathers eating a meal with their infants at least daily was 35.6% in Japan and 77.8% in the United States ($\chi^2=16.33$, $p<.001$). Thus, consistent with our previous work (Barratt, Negayama & Minami, 1993), the day to day participation of fathers in the lives of their infants in the United States was substantially greater than the day to day participation of fathers in Japan.

Opportunities for Japanese fathers to participate in the lives of their infants may have been limited by the demands of their work (Befu, 1986; Ishii-Kuntz, 1993). For many Japanese men, the work day includes a long commute and perhaps mandatory socializing with colleagues. The average Japanese father in these families left home about 7:30 in the morning and returned home shortly after 8:30 in the evening. Thus the work day and commute combined to keep the average father away from home more than 13 hours each day. Since bathing infants is usually an evening task,

Japanese fathers had a particular opportunity to be involved with their infants in this way; however, they seldom put their infants to sleep at night. Fathers' time with their infants was further limited by the fact that half of the fathers worked a 6 day week; Japanese fathers were away from home an average of 71.1 hours per week (S. D.=11.4, range 50 to 96). Thus practical constraints from the world of work may account for part of the limited involvement of Japanese fathers. Consistent with reports by Lebra (1984) of earlier generations, the limited involvement of Japanese fathers in the care of their infants, as well as the limited use of baby-sitting in Japan, means that Japanese mothers have fairly exclusive responsibility for their infants. Unfortunately, similar data on American fathers' work schedules was not available for this sample. However, many middle class Americans work 40 hours a week, commute times are shorter than in Japan, and most American fathers return home by early evening.

The questions raised earlier about ongoing societal changes suggested also examining the *variability* of the responses in the two countries. There was significantly greater variability in the overall number of caregiving tasks that fathers performed in the United States than in Japan as well as greater variability on four of the five tasks (Table 1). This suggests considerably more uniformity in the amount of caregiving among Japanese fathers than among American fathers. The cultural homogeneity in Japan and the demands of role perfectionsim for mothers and fathers may lead to a uniformity of response during the transition to parenthood. It is possible that this uniformity of response to an American interviewer may represent the "*tatemae*" or public presentation of family life; the "honne" or actual family life may be more variable. However, the uniformity of response more probably reflects the cultural homogeneity in Japan that derives from a long and isolated history. In the United States today, even in middle class Midwestern families, there may be more heterogeneity; participation in fathering remains an optional activity: Some fathers choose traditional "hands-off" roles, other fathers become very involved. For example in the United States today, some fathers arrange their schedules to care for their infants while mothers are at work, other fathers assume responsibility for transporting their infants to and from day care.

Parental support : United States vs. Japan

The mothers' reports of the fathers' interest in and commitment to fathering was the focus of the analyses of the first set of questionnaire items. Mothers with high scores reported that their husbands showed interst in and enjoyment of their infants. To check the validity of the questionnaire measure, correlations were examined between participation as reported in response to interview questions about specific caregiving tasks and the parental support scale. There were significant correlations in both cultures between the behavioral reports of the amount of caregiving and the summaries reported by mothers of fathers' interest and enjoyment.

Even though the tallies of fathers' participation in specific caregiving tasks indicated that Japanese fathers participated far less in the day to day care of their infants than fathers in the United States, Japanese and American mothers gave similar responses on the parental support questionnaire. The mean level reported by Japanese

mothers was 39.1 out of the possible score of 44; the mean level for mothers in the United States was 40.8 ($t=1.26$, $p>.10$). In other words, mothers' reports of fathers' parental support were similar in both countries. The Japanese mothers may be summarizing what the fathers say and think rather than reporting on what they actually do. These data may suggest very different expectations by mothers in the two countries: Japanese mothers may have been satisfied with their husbands' low levels of participation because it matched cultural and personal expectations that were lower than the expectations of mothers in the United States. This may also reflect Confucian beliefs about family roles. Mothers in the United States, in contrast, not only received more help, but they had perhaps expected the help that they did receive.

Again, changes in demographics and cultural values suggested examining the *variability* among the responses within each country. Questionnaire responses on the parental support scale were significantly more variable among mothers in Japan than among mothers in the United States ($F=2.29$, $p<.01$). The greater variability among the Japanese mothers suggests that expectations of Japanese mothers as to their husbands' participation in caregiving may be undergoing change. Indeed, in Tokyo today there are courses available for prospective grooms that parallel the long standing courses to prepare brides for marriage. The media reports that some young "salarymen" opt to return to their families at the end of the work day rather than to socialize with colleagues. And further, the decreasing birth rate suggests the possibility of a decreasing commitment by today's young women to the maternal role and opportunities for other roles. These cultural changes in Japan may lead to changing expectations for some young women, thus greater variability among questionnaire responses in Japan than in the United States.

Individual differences

To examine possible influences on individual differences in fathers' participation in the lives of their infants, the following factors were selected as independent variables: (a) Age cohort effects were examined by creating older and younger cohorts of fathers with a median split on fathers' ages. (b) The possible influence of the husuband-wife marital relationship was examined with the mothers' questionnaire reports of the spousal support she felt from her husband. (c) The effect of family background, or the socioeconomic status of the family, was examined with the mean level of education of the mother and father. (d) Possible influences of work were examined in Japan by tallying the number of hours fathers worked. Dependent variables for these analyses included the interview assessments of fathers' caregiving and contact.

As can be seen in Table 2, in the United States, infant caregiving and contact with infants were related to fathers' ages. In the United States there was greater participation in caregiving, e.g. performing tasks such as feeding and diapering, by younger fathers than by older fathers; this suggests that contemporary changes in expectations for fathers' care of their infants particularly impact younger fathers. In the United States, however, it was the older fathers who had more contact with their infants at family mealtimes and at other times. Perhaps, consistent with the suggestion of Parke

Table 2
Fathers' participation with infants in younger and older age cohorts

	Mean	SD	t-test
Japan			
Caregiving			
younger cohort	10.9	6.7	0.30
older cohort	11.7	9.9	
Contact			
younger cohort	1.3	0.7	1.31
older cohort	0.9	0.8	
United States			
Caregiving			
younger cohort	31.0	22.6	1.72+
older cohort	21.1	16.0	
Contact			
younger cohort	1.5	0.5	3.81**
older cohort	1.9	0.3	

Note. Caregiving was measured by the total number of caregiving tasks done in a week. Contact was a scale from 0 to 2 with a point for the fathers' eating with the infant daily and a point for daily playing or caregiving.
+ $p<.10$ ** $p<.01$

(1995), these fathers were at a point in their careers where they were free to make a greater commitment to family. However, the commitment of the older fathers did not seem to extend to providing extensive caregiving.

In Japan the fathers' participation (Table 3) was positively related to the spousal support reported by mothers. This supports the idea of mothers as gatekeepers who encourage more access and involvement when they feel close to their husbands (Lamb, 1987; Parke, 1995). Thus, the participation of Japanese fathers in the lives of their infants is to some extent influenced by their relationships to their wives. In a related finding, earlier research has indicated that Japanese mothers' perceptions of support from their husbands is related to the security of infants' attachment (Durett, Otaki & Richards, 1984). Age cohort did not have an influence in Japan (Table 2). However, in Japan, social class, as measured by the educational levels of mothers and fathers, was also related to fathers' caregiving (Table 3). It may be that in Japan the "new father" is emerging first in the families with higher social status. The participation of Japanese fathers in the lives of their infants seems to have been constrained to some extent by the responsibilities of their work. The total number of hours that fathers spent away from home weekly was not related to fathers' caregiving ($r=-.03$, $p>.10$), but was related to fathers' contact with their infants ($r=-.50$, $p<.001$).

CONCLUSIONS

The findings offer a cross-cultural comparison of largely middle class fathers in Japan and the United States. Though the study is limited because mothers were asked to report on the fathers' participation, findings are consistent with the 1988 report of

Table 3
Correlations between mothers' reports of spousal support from their husbands, parents' educational level and fathers' participation with infants

	Spousal support	Parents' education
Japan		
Caregiving	.38*	.30*
Contact	.29+	.11
United States		
Caregiving	.01	−.10
Contact	.24	.16

Note. Caregiving was measured by the total number of caregiving tasks done in a week. Contact was a scale from 0 to 2 with a point for the fathers' eating with the infant daily and a point for daily playing or caregiving.
+ $p < .10$ * $p < .05$

the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare (Takahashi, Takano, Komiyama, Shindo and Ohinata, 1988). The 1988 report and the present research both indicate that Japanese fathers participate little in taking care of their infants. This is consistent with research describing fathers with older children in Japan and the United States (Ishii-Kuntz, 1994), although, as children become older, Japanese fathers may become more involved than when their children were infants (Lebra, 1984). Perhaps some fathers in the United States participate more in the lives of their infants as they fill in around the mothers whose lives are made busy by role diffusion. In contrast, in Japan, role perfectionism may lead to more specialization within the family such that many fathers concentrate on work while many mothers concentrate on childrearing. Further, there is significantly more variability in participation by fathers in the United States than in Japan. This suggests that ideas about families and role expectations are changing, particularly in the United States, and that some fathers participate far more than others.

Although Japanese fathers participate significantly less in the day to day care of their infants than fathers in the United States, mothers in both countries report that their husbands are similarly interested in their infants. This discrepancy is probably explained by differences in the cultural and personal expectations of Japanese and American mothers. In Japan there seemed to be more variability in the expectations of mothers than in the United States; this perhaps reflects contemporary changes in expectations. Indeed, surveys in Japan consistently find that changes in women's attitudes precede changes in men's attitudes (Iwao, 1993). Some women in Japan may hold the traditional view that the best husband is healthy and absent (Iwao, 1993; Lebra, 1984); others may expect his participation in shared childrearing. Changes in maternal expectations may precede subsequent changes in fathers' participation. It will be very interesting to follow these trends over the next several years to track societal changes and their effects on families at the time of the transition to parenthood with longitudinal research.

In summary, although Japanese fathers provide less caregiving than fathers in the

United States, mothers in both countries report that their husbands show similar interest in and commitment to their infants. Though absent from the home much of the time, Japanese fathers maintain a psychological presence (Ishii-Kuntz, 1992). Further, the findings suggest that there is significantly more variability in actual participation by fathers in the United States than in Japan. In Japan there was more variability in mothers' reports of fathers' interest in fathering than in the United States. High variability suggests cultures in flux, and, in fact, demographic and societal changes worldwide are leading to changes in fathers' roles (Nugent, 1991). Indeed in the United States (Pleck, 1987; Riley, 1990) and Japan (Shand, 1985) there are new cultural norms encouraging fathers' participation.

Mothers may act as the gatekeepers of fathers' access to their children (Parke, 1995); mothers' support is a major influence on fathers' participation (Lamb, 1987). Thus it is plausible that contemporary changes in mothers' expectations in Japan may lead to subsequent changes in fathers' participation. For example, among the Japanese mothers interviewed by Ishii-Kuntz (1993), the mother who commented on the "unfairness" of men's and women's roles had the husband who participated most with his children. Thus, over the next few years, the variability in mothers' expectations in Japan may lead to more variability in actual participation by Japanese fathers. It has taken many years to change the participation of American fathers in family life (Lamb, 1987). Encouraged by mothers, Japanese fathers may also become increasingly involved.

Thus the present research confirms that cultural factors can be a significant influence on fathers' participation in the lives of their infants. Correlates of individual difference emphasized age cohort effects in the United States and effects of spousal support and social class in Japan. Future research should ask fathers directly about their participation, interest and commitment rather than rely on reports of mothers. Larger samples will add to the statistical power of the analyses in future research on fathers' participation in the lives of their infants. Finally, these findings suggest changing values and ideas about family roles, but only longitudinal research can determine this.

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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND MATERNAL ATTITUDES AMONG JAPANESE MOTHERS

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1. Introduction

Influence of socioeconomic factors on parenting has been studied from various points of view. Bernstein (1960) argued that mothers from different socioeconomic strata would use language differently with their children, so that the children would acquire different communicative styles. Recently, parental belief was found to be associated with socioeconomic status (SES) in that higher SES mothers were likely to recognize their children as active agents of learning and development (Skinner, 1985). Studies focusing on SES suggest that lower SES parents prefer their children to be more submissive to authority, whereas higher SES parents expect their children to be more independent (Hoff-Ginsburg & Tardif, 1995).

In Japan, however, there are few studies which have investigated the relationship between SES and parenting. It has been widely believed that there are narrower social or economic differences in the Japanese society when compared to other countries such as the U. K. or the U. S. (Azuma *et al.*, 1981). There is still no consensus about how to measure socioeconomic status in Japan.

To our knowledge, only Azuma, Kashiwagi, and Hess (1981) and Kashiwagi *et al.* (1984) have examined the influence of SES upon parenting in Japan. In this paper, SES was calculated by the factors of father's job and the educational levels of both parents using Japanese and American families. Children's cognitive development was measured in a variety of methods such as Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, school achievement, WISC-R, and other instruments. In both countries, children from higher SES families tended to have higher scores in these cognitive measures. However, there were several remarkable contrasts between the two countries in maternal strategies which related to child's cognitive development. For example, Japanese mothers of higher SES were more likely to use their authority when controlling their children. This showed having a positive correlation to children's cognitive development. In the sample from the U. S., lower SES mothers were likely to use such strategy. This sug-

gests that there is different relation between parenting and SES in different cultures.

This study reports the relationship between parenting and SES in a large sample from a Japanese urban area.

2. Method

Participants: A total of 1329 pregnant women were recruited from attenders at an antenatal clinic in the obstetrics department of a general hospital in Kawasaki, a heavily industrial city next to Tokyo. After pregnancy was confirmed by the presence of foetal heart beat on echocardiography, each woman was asked to participate in the present longitudinal study. Women at more than 12 weeks gestation were excluded; no other exclusion criteria were applied.

The subjects' age ranged from 17 to 42 years, with a mean (S.D.) of 27.9 (4.6) years. Forty nine percent of them were primiparous. Maternal demographic information included age, educational history, job status of spouse and the women, and annual income of the family. Almost three fourths of women (72.5%) were housewives at pregnancy; this rate went up to 85% when job status was again asked at 6 months after birth. In Japan, many women quit job at the time of marriage or childbirth. High rates of unemployed women in this sample reflect such a social situation. Parental educational levels were asked on 7-point scale; 1 for "not educated at all (0 years of education)" to 7 for "graduate school or more (more than 18 years of education)". Only 9.4% of subjects have nine years of education which is compulsory to all Japanese. Twenty nine percent of them have junior college education or more. This sample seems to represent the average education in the same generation (Monbusho, 1995).

Measures: Questionnaires were distributed to participants 3 times before and 5 times after birth. The first five questionnaires were handed to participants and collected in the clinic. Subsequent three were mailed to participants and also returned by mail. Demographic data were mainly obtained at the first questionnaire. Attitudes to parental role were assessed with Maternal Role Scale (MRS) (Aoki *et al.*, 1986) at 6 months and 18 months after birth. This scale consists of two sub-scales, including positive (acceptant) and negative (rejective) attitudes toward maternal role. Sample items include, respectively, "I really feel happy to have a child"; "I think I am inept for a mother."

3. Results

Acceptance score of the MRS at 6 and 18 months after birth ranged from 0 to 12 with a mean (S.D.) of 10.7 (1.4), 10.4 (1.7), respecitvely. The mean (S.D.) of rejection score at 6 and 18 month were 3.6 (2.6), and 3.3 (2.4), respectively. No relations were found between maternal age and these sub-scales. Subjects were divided into two groups using a median of each score as a cut-off point. In order to compare this sample to a random-sampled data in the same area (Aoki *et al.*, 1986), Chi-square analysis was applied. Our sample had significantly higher acceptant attitude toward maternal role only at 6 months ($\chi^2=7.56$, $p<.01$) and lower rejective attitudes in both points (6 months; $\chi^2=20.89$, $p<.001$, 18 months; $\chi^2=36.98$, $p<.001$). At 18 months, no difference was found between the two data in acceptant attitude.

As shown in Table 1, annual income of the family were significantly related to rejective attitudes toward maternal role at the two points. Among all subjects, only 36% of mothers from low income families (less than 2 million yen per year) were classified as "low rejective group." There were no difference in acceptant attitude (6 months; $\chi^2=1.49$, n. s., 18 months; $\chi^2=4.54$, n. s.).

Table 1 Distribution of maternal role rejection by annual income
Percentages of each sample at 6 and 18 months

Annual income of the family	Groups by role rejection score			
	6 months		18 months	
	Low	High	Low	high
less than 2 million yen	36.0	64.0	38.1	61.9
2 to 4 million yen	61.8	38.2	66.1	33.9
4 to 6 million yen	66.7	33.3	79.5	20.5
more than 6 million yen	67.5	32.5	77.6	22.4
Chi-square	10.01 (p=.018)		21.27 (p=.0001)	

Paternal education showed no significant differences in either sub-scale at any point. However, maternal education was linked to negative attitudes at the two points (Table 2). There was no difference in acceptant attitudes.

Table 2 Distribution of maternal role rejection by education
Percentages of each sample at 6 and 18 months

Educational level of mother	Groups by role rejection score			
	6 months		18 months	
	Low	High	Low	High
Less than 12 years (High school or less)	59.4	40.6	66.4	33.6
More than 12 years (Junior college or more)	71.4	28.6	78.9	21.1
Chi-square	9.86 (p=.002)		8.64 (p=.003)	

Since almost three fourths of subjects were unemployed at the time of pregnancy, both part-timers and fulltime workers were combined in subsequent analyses. There were no relations between the two. However, mothers who came back to work after childbirth were more likely to be classified as low rejective group at both points. At six months postnatally, mothers who reported "now working" and "having maternal leave" were classified as "working." Others were classified as "non working." At both points, there were more acceptant mothers in the "working" group (Table 3). Role rejection had no relation with employment status after birth.

4. Discussion

Compared with the random sampled data in the same area, our subjects shows higher acceptant and lower rejective attitudes toward parental role at six months after

Table 3 Distribution of maternal role acceptance by employment status
Percentages of each sample at 6 and 18 months

Maternal employment status at 6 months after birth	Groups by role acceptance score			
	6 months		18 months	
	Low	High	Low	High
working	25.0	75.0	34.7	65.3
non-working	35.8	64.2	48.2	51.8
Chi-square	2.76 (p=.096)		4.22 (p=.040)	

birth. At 18 months, a lower rejective attitude was indicated. The age of the children seems to relate to the differences. Aoki *et al.* (1986) investigated the women with children whose ages ranged from 0 to 23 years old, whereas subjects of the present study were all, at least, having an infant. Lorenz (1965) stated that some characteristics of infants such as relatively big head or big eyes placed lower on face elicit our feeling of love toward them. Such innate release system could work in the mother of infants. This point, however, needs further detailed investigations.

Instead of combining SES-related variables into one global index, different variables were analysed separately in the present study. Family income was linked to the maternal role rejection. This suggests that there exists SES-related attitude differences among Japanese mothers. Very low income might be the index of other social disadvantages such as unemployment of husband or too young age. It is also suggested that economical advantage could modify maternal stress in daily life, and make mothers less rejective to their roles.

Maternal educational level was another influential variable upon role rejection while paternal education was not. Higher education enables a person to be more independent. In addition, higher academic achievement tends to make students' self-esteem higher and vice versa (O'Malley and Backman, 1979). Such difference might exist between high and low education groups in the present study and consequently influence upon role acceptance as a parent. Another finding is the ineffectiveness of fathers' education in predicting maternal attitudes. Paternal education is often an important component of SES index (Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958). The present result indicates father's education has less influence upon mothering in Japanese urban samples, which is consistent with research in various cultures (Richman, Miller, & Levine, 1992).

Maternal employment status at pregnancy had no significant relation with maternal attitudes, whereas the employment at six months after birth did have positive influence. It is known that housewives with small children are more stressful in child-rearing than working mothers in Japan (Sorifu Seishonen Taisakuhonbu, 1983). The prevailing attitude that mothers should be constantly absorbed in child-rearing is a Japanese tendency (Ohinata, 1988), that forces housewives to be with their children all day long. In contrast, working mothers have time to be separated from children. This experience, or the anticipation of being apart from the child, would make working mothers more accepting than housewives. Kashiwagi and Wakamatsu (1994) reported that fathers who were less involved in child-care tended to have a more positive feeling

to their children. Such fathers were considered as being free from the ambivalence which was inevitable in real interactions with a child. Intermittent separation from children seems to have a possitive effect on being a parent. Further investigation is needed to examine whether these subjective feelings of parents can actually have long-term influences on child development.

In conclusion, socioeconomic-related differences in maternal attitudes were confirmed in this study of Japanese families. Maternal rather than paternal education and family income have been especially highlighted as significant factors. This suggests that pediatricians, nurses, teachers and other practitioners should notice the notable effect of socioeconomic background on the mother-child dyad. Regarding mother's negative attitude as a mere reflection of maternal undesireble personality might deprive practitioners of the opportunity for appropriate intervention.

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INFORMATION CONVEYED BY THE MEDIA ON CHILDREARING IN FRANCE AND IN JAPAN : ANALYSIS OF FRENCH AND JAPANESE POPULAR MAGAZINES

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Abstract

The press is a powerful medium of information that shapes and reflects parents' conceptions of child development. A comparison of Japanese and French magazines provides insight to current trends in childrearing and on their relative importance in each culture.

A comparison was made between similar types of magazines in France (" PARENTS ") and in Japan (" BABY-AGE ") based on twelve issues of each magazine (from November 1991 to October 1992). Classification of five topics (1 : who does the article refer to ?, 2 : who is the article addressed to ?, 3 : form of article (photo/text), 4 : subject-matter, 5 : authors of the article) was conducted on all articles and other texts except advertisements.

The results of the classification reveal that topics concerning " Food ", " Motor development ", " Learning of daily habits " and " Products conceived for infants " appeared more frequently in Japanese magazines, whereas " Psychology (psychoanalysis)" and " Society or Family " appeared more frequently in French magazines. There were no differences between the Japanese and French magazines concerning "Medical " topic category.

This analysis also reveals a predominance of physiological issues in Japanese magazines, whereas psychological issues are given more emphasis in French magazines.

Results of our previous comparative study (1991) concerning parental conceptions of child development and several characteristics of adult behavior in relation to infants were also found in these magazines. The relation between parental conceptions and information conveyed by the magazines is discussed.

Key words : magazine analysis, French-Japanese comparison, parental conceptions, child development.

I . INTRODUCTION

Parents today, especially in developed countries, have access to much information on the ways and methods of child education. In addition to traditional sources such as their own family, parents rely on the media, scholars or doctors. How do mothers select their sources of information ? Shand and Kosawa (1984) have shown,

in relation to breast-feeding, that American and Japanese mothers use several sources at the same time. Furthermore, their results indicated that the media and specialized workshops were used in similar proportions as sources of information in the United States and in Japan. Can one expect similar data in relation to other aspects of child care and development?

The present study of magazines stems form a question posed in a previous work (Norimatsu, 1993). A previous comparative French-Japanese study on the learning of daily tasks concerning meals and toilet training has revealed a difference between the adults' statements (in surveys) and the actual facts as observed in the behavior of both children and adults. This study brought us to consider the origin of adult conceptions on child development: Are these perceptions conceived of individually or can they be attributed to information available to parents? If the latter is the case, we would expect to find parents' conceptions in the media.

Our present study focuses on specialized magazines instead of TV and radio since audio-visual media are not comparable in both countries. For instance, shows specifically addressed to young mothers are broadcast only in Japan. A high circulation of specialized magazines aimed at parents of young children in France and in Japan has lead us to consider this kind of press as more or less equivalent in both countries.

Until now, few studies have analyzed child development information in the media (Young, K. T. 1990). A comparison of French and Japanese magazines will enable us to understand the child care and education models which the media convey in each country. Similar types of magazines exist in both of these countries which are, furthermore, similar in terms of economic and industrial development.

II. SELECTING THE MAGAZINES

Among the monthly magazines that deal with children, we selected two of them for this study.

In France, there are several magazines dealing with children among which two are exceptionally widespread: " *PARENTS MAGAZINE* " (337,000 issues monthly*1) and " *ENFANTS MAGAZINE* " (200,000 issues monthly*1). In France these magazines are aimed at future mothers and at parents with newly born or young children.

In Japan, there are more monthlies and they target their readers more precisely than in France: either future mothers, parents of newly born babies, or young children. There are four magazines for future mothers: 1) " *MATERNITY* ", (since 1987), 2) " *BALOON* ", (since 1987, 250,000 issuess/month*1), 3) " *P-and* ", and 4) " *TAMAGO-CLUB* " (Eggs Club) (since 1993); and three magazines, for babies' parents, which are particularly widespread: 1) " *BABY-AGE* " (since 1970, 320,000 issues/month*1), 2) " *WATASHINO-AKACHAN* " (My baby) (since 1973, 350,000 issues/month*1), and 3) " *HIYOKO-CLUB* " (Chicks Club), (since 1993). In addition, there are other magazines for mothers with older children such as " *PETIT-ENFANT* " (1-4 years, since 1986) or " *COMO* " (schoolchild, 250,000 issues/month*1). The four magazines on maternity are quite similar, as are the three magazines " *BABY-AGE* ", " *WATASHINO-AKACHAN* " and " *HIYOKO-CLUB* " for babies' parents.

TABLE 1
General presentation of magazines

	FRANCE	JAPAN
Name of magazine	" PARENTS "	" BABY-AGE "
Editor	Hachette Filipacchi Presse	Fujin-Seikatsu-Sha
Year of creation	1969	1970
Circulation	337,000/month	320,000/month

In the present analysis, we have chosen to compare the French magazine " *PARENTS* " with the Japanese " *BABY-AGE* " because the contents, date of creation and the circulation are roughly equivalent. Both magazines present some information on maternity, but are mainly concerned with caring for and educating babies.

The study uses 12 issues of each magazine from November 1991 to October 1992.

(*1): Circulation in 1990.

III. METHOD

We have lead the analysis on two fronts: a statistical analysis (frequency of the tackled topics) and a content analysis. We mainly present in this article the results of the frequency analysis. This analysis allows us to know the frequency of the subjects dealt with in both magazines. The results will better enable us to understand the relative importance of the topics in each country.

Classification

For the thematic analysis, we have selected five topics for classification: 1) " *Who* is the article about? " (fetus, children from 0 to 2 years, 3 year old and older, mother, father, parents, other adults), 2) " *To whom is the article addressed ?* " (mother, father, parents, adults, grand-parents, child, family), 3) " *article format* " (picture or text), 4) " *article topic* " (medical, general care, food, motor development, cognitive development or education, learning of daily habits, psychology or psychoanalysis, products for children, leisure, maternity, society, contact, miscellaneous), 5) " *Who is the author of the article ?* " (journalist, specialist (doctor, psychologist, etc.), reader or witness, others),

If two or more categories appear in the same article, they were all counted. Therefore, the sum of all categories does not necessarily amount to 100% but more, since the percentage of each category is calculated in relation to the total number of articles. In order to control the reliability of the data, two persons, one for each of two issues of the French magazines, checked the thematic classification. The reliability, according to this coding system, is between 80% and 83% for the main articles. This test has not been implemented yet on Japanese magazine.

The classification was applied to the whole magazine (everything mentioned in the table of contents) with the exception of advertising pages. The main articles were then analyzed separately. We took special care in analyzing the main articles which

deal with a different topic every month. Regular columns and articles appearing under the same title in each issue were excluded. Articles which only present fashion pictures, products, recipes without written text were also excluded. In this article we present mostly the results of the main articles.

Ⅳ. RESULTS

1. Readership profile of each magazine

The readership profiles of these magazines is elaborated from information delivered by their editors. In both countries, more than 99% of the readers are women.

1-a. *Reader's age*

There exists a very important difference between the two countries in relation to the age of the readers (see Table 2-a). The age of the French readers varies whereas 80% of Japanese readers are between 20 and 29 years old. In France, 16% of the readers are over 50. These women might be grandmothers.

TABLE 2-a
Age of readers

Age	French	Japanese
15 — 24	20 %	29 %
25 — 34	40 %	69 %
35 — 49	26 %	0.4%
50 or+	14 %	0.5%

TABLE 2-b
Number of children of readers

Number of children	French	Japanese
0	36 %*	0.1%
1	31 %	85 %
2	22 %	13 %
3 or+	11 %	2.5%

*The editor of French magazine estimates that the majority of readers without children are pregnant.

1-b. *Number of children*

Mothers with a single child make up the large majority (85%) of the Japanese readers (see Table 2-b). According to the Office of Prime Minister of Japan (1991), 50% of the married population has two children and 23% 3 children. In France, however, the percentage of readers with 1, 2, 3 children or more is closer to the national statistic of the total French female population*2. The marked difference in women without children (probably pregnant women) can be explained by the fact that there are specialized magazines in Japan dealing with maternity. Japanese mothers with two and three children probably do not read this type of publication. In Japan, mothers with only one child do not yet have any experience in child-rearing and they mostly

read this type of publication. In France, among readers of this magazine, there is a wide range in their ages and in the number of their children.

(*2): According to a survey lead by CESP (1992) transmitted by the French editor.

1-c. *Matrimonial status of readers*

Among the French readers, 15% are single, 77% are married or cohabit, 3% are widows, and 5% are divorced. The question was not asked to Japanese readers, but when, in the questionnaire they were asked "family members living in the same household?", 99% of them answered "husband". Few couples live without being married in Japan. The percentage of married women (or women cohabiting) is higher among the French readers than among the total French population.

1-d. *Professional status and level of education of readers*

66% of the French readers work as opposed to 16% of the Japanese readers. However, 53% of Japanese women in the general population work(*3). Proportional to the whole population, many Japanese women who are inactive read the magazine while many active French women read it.

(*3): Figures are taken from a survey lead by the Japanese Service of General Affairs in 1989 on Japanese women with one or more children.

The statistics relating to the level of education of the readers are as follows: primary school: 14% of the French as opposed to 6% of the Japanese/secondary school: 31% (French) and 49% (Japanese)/university level: 22% (French) and 32% (Japanese among whom 22% have 2 years of college and 10% have 4 years of college)/ other technical-trade schools: 33% (French) to 13% (Japanese). These figures show that in both countries, in relation to the general population, women with a higher level of education read the mgazines more often.

2. Results of the thematic analysis

2-a. *General presentation of the magazines*

The Japanese magazine publishes on average two full reports or dossiers, every month, on important themes which are treated in the same manner as the main articles of the magazine itself. We have looked at these reports and the main article in the same way. For the Japanese magazine the study was conducted twice, with the dossier (DI: Including dossier) and without the dossier, but the results presented here are those including the dossiers.

The number of pages amount to an average of 150 pages in "PARENTS", and 299 pages (*DI) for "BABY-AGE". The percentage of pages dedicated to features and regular column (excluding advertising pages) is on average 54% in the French magazine and 57% (61%=*DI) in the Japanese magazine.

The number of articles and regular columns is on average 29 (F) and 34(J *DI). An article or a column covers on average 2.8 pages(F) and 5.4 pages(J). Proportional to the total number of pages, there are more short articles or culumns in the French magazine.

The number of main article in " PARENTS " is on average 8.9, with an average length of 4.6 pages per article; in " BABY-AGE ", we find 8.1(*DI) articles, with 10.7 pages per article.

(*DI): Including the dossier for the calculations in Japanese magazines.

2-b. *Results of the classification*

For each classification topic, we calculated the frequency of the appearance of each category in relation to the total number of articles (and columns as well, for the results concerning the whole magazine) each month, and then we calculated the average for the 12 issues in each country.

Topic 1 : Who is the article about ?

Since the descriptions in the artitle did not specify the ages of the children, in our classification we have taken into account the content of the article, with 7 categories: 1) Baby before birth, fetus, 2) Children between 0-2, 3) 3 years old and older, 4) Mother, 5) Father, 6) Parents, 7) other adults. We present the results of this classification of the main articles (see Fig. 1).

More than 80% of the Japanese articles deal with children between 0 and two years old while the French articles write about children of more diverse age. The difference can be explained by the fact that there are other specialized magazines on maternity or older children in Japan but not in France.

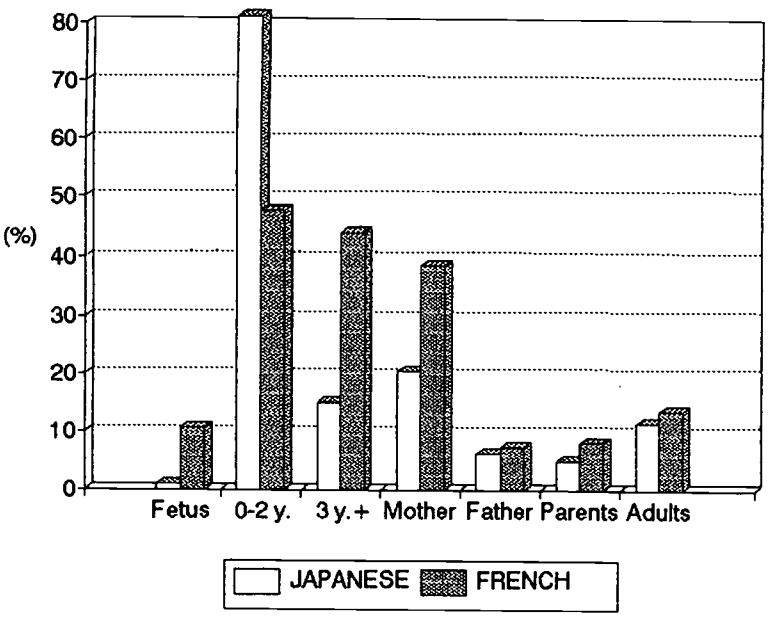

FIGURE 1 Results of topic 1: " Who does the article refer to? " on main articles. Frequency of appearance of each category in relation to the total number of main articles.

Topic 2 : To whom is the article addressed ?

This type is classified with the words used in the text of the articles. For example, the expressions " your husband " or " are you attentive parents ? " are considered as an address to the mother or to the parents. When such an expression, telling clearly to whom the text is addressed, is not used, we have classified it as " adult ".

We have noticed that the French articles are more often addressed to the parents compared to the Japanese articles which are more often geared to mothers or simply to adults. There are some French articles aimed at the grand-parents or at the family, while the Japanese articles are never addressed to them.

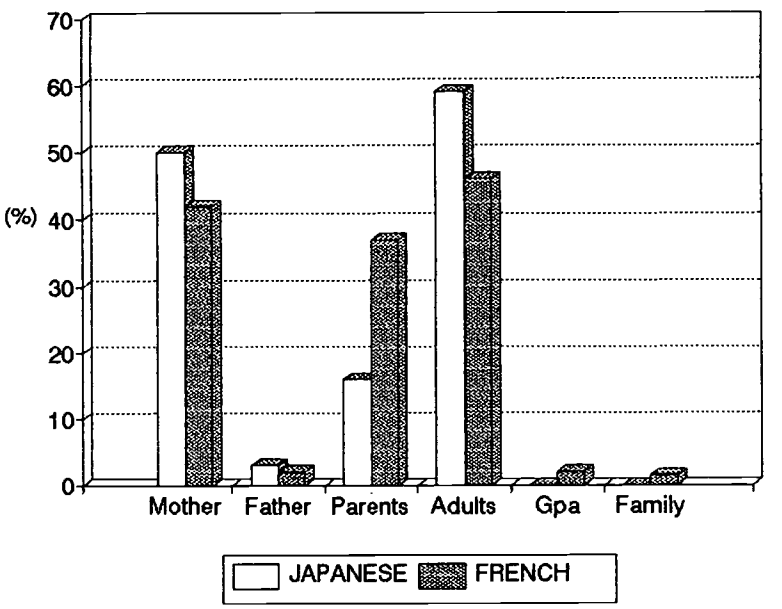

FIGURE 2 Results of topic 2 : " Who is the article addressed to ? " on main articles. Frequency of appearance of each category in relation to the total number of main articles.

Topic 3 : Article format

The point here is to calculate the percentage of images and texts. In total for all articles and columns, the Japanese magazine uses more images with 51% (50%*DI) as opposed to 44% in French magazine. However in the main articles, the result is reversed : 36%(40%*DI) in Japan and 48% in the French magazine.

Topic 4 : Themes

We calculate here the frequency of the specific subjects in relation to the number of total articles or columns. In a single article, two or more subjects can be discussed, and we have counted each subject each time. The percentage sum of all subjects is therefore over 100%.

The results of the frequency of subjects in the whole magazine are not always the same for the main articles (see Fig. 3-a and b).

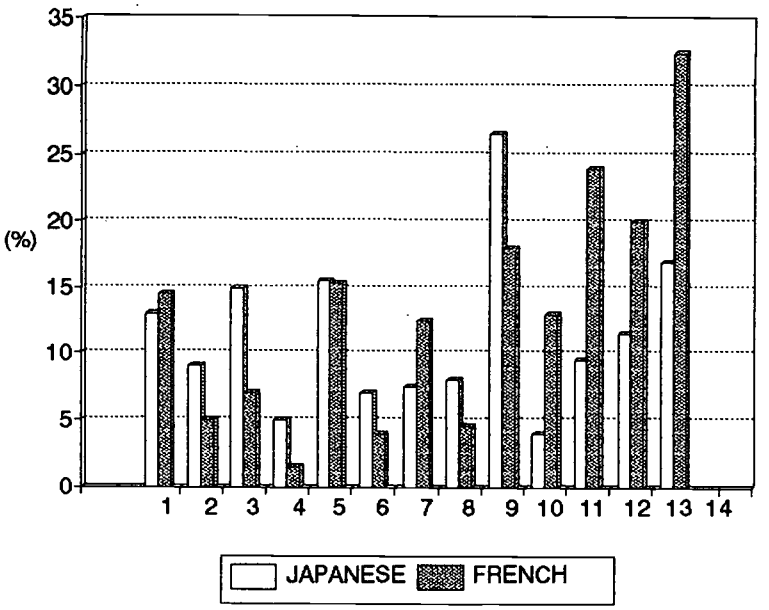

FIGURE 3-a Results of topic 4: "Subject-matter" on the totality of the magazines. Frequency of appearance of each category in relation to the total number of all articles and columns. (1: Medical, 2: General care, 3: Food, 4: Motor development, 5: Cognitive development or Education, 6: Daily habits, 7: Psychology, 8: Products for infants, 9: Leisure, 10: Pregnancy, 11: Society, 12: Contact, 13: Miscellaneous, 14: Cannot be classified).

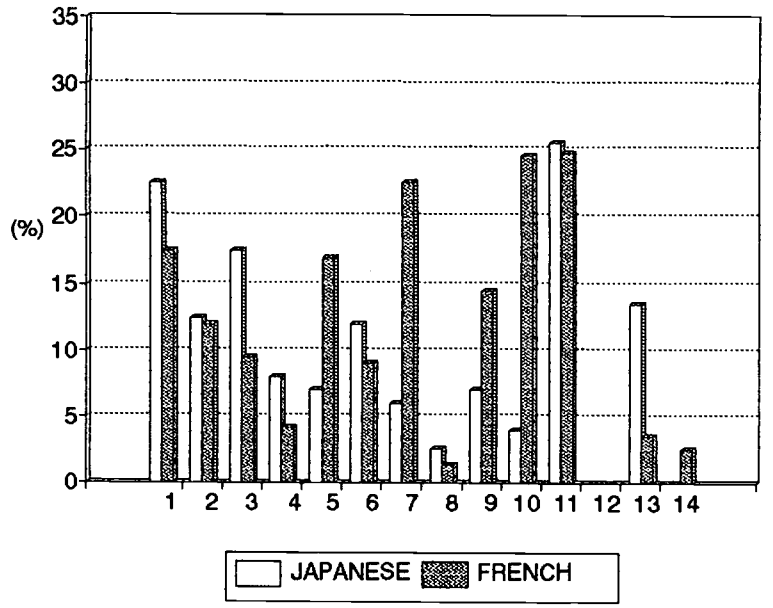

FIGURE 3-b Results of topic 4: "Subject-matter" on main articles. Frequency of appearance of each category in relation to the total number of main articles.

In the whole magazine, excluding advertising pages, the Japanese magazine deals more often with the following subjects: 2: general care, 3: food, 4: motor development, 6: daily habits, 8: products for children, 9: leisure. The French magazine treats more often of 7: psychology, 10: maternity, 11: society, 12: contact, 13: miscellaneous. There are few differences for 1: medical, and 5: cognitive developement or education. As for the main articles, the Japanese articles deal more often with: 1: medical, and still 3: food, 4: motor development, 6: products for children and 13: miscellaneous. The main French articles deal more often with: 5: cognitive development, 9: leisure, and still 7: psychology and 10: maternity.

Topic 5 : Authors

Noticeable differences appear between both countries (see Fig. 4). About 80% of the French texts are written by journalists both for the whole magazine and the main articles, while the Japanese journalists were involved in 40% of the texts. French journalists often use the explanations of specialists that they interview and quote examples from witnesses. In this case, journalists, specialists, and witnesses are all considered authors. On the other hand, many more Japanese articles are written on the question/answer mode: the reader questions the specialists and the journalists are not involved. As for the specialist, he/she usually write the text himself/herself. Finally, the percentage of specialists is slightly higher in the French magazine. However, over all, it seemed to us that quantitatively we read more explanations from specialists in the Japanese magazines, probably because of what we mentioned about how the specialists were involved in the articles.

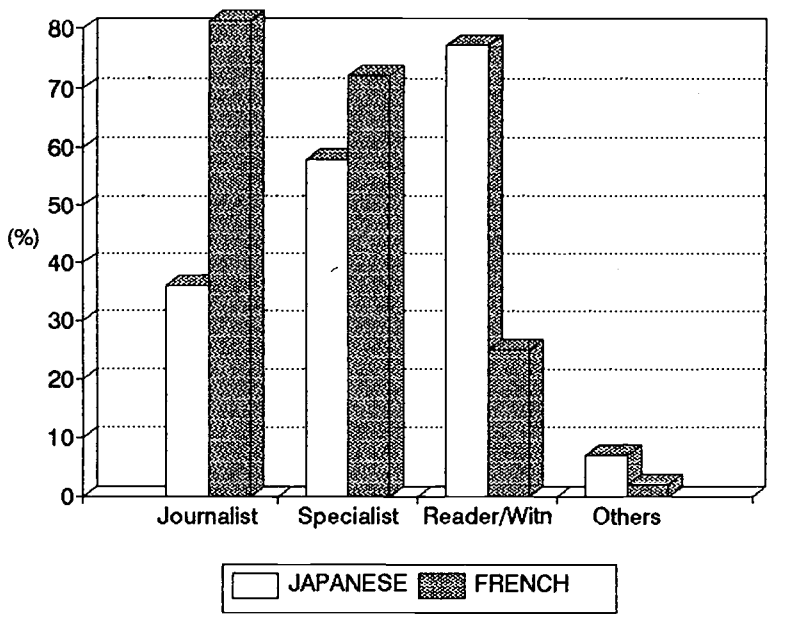

FIGURE 4 Results of topic 5: "Authors of the article" on main articles. Frequency of appearance of each category in relation to the total number of main articles.

The frequency percentage of readers and witnesses authoring articles is always higher in the Japanese magazine. In the main articles it reaches 77%.

V. DISCUSSION

We summarize here the general remarks on the French and Japanese magazines. Certain particularities appear in both magazines, resulting from different society traits, which can play a role in communicating information to parents: 1) the person giving out information, 2) role models, 3) thematic frequency, and 4) the use of information.

1. Who is talking?

In the French magazine, it is always the journalists who are the writers and it is difficult to know exactly which sentences or ideas expressed are the specialists'. On the contrary, in the Japanese magazines, the specialists write their text themselves more often and their interventions are often singled out. The proportion of specialists as authors is quite similar in both magazines (F: 40%, J: 34%). If we look at these specialists, they are: 1) doctors, (professors in medicine included) and 2) psychologists, therapists (professors in psychology included). We see that there are many more psychologists in French magazines. On the whole of 12 issues, there were 44% psychologists and 50% doctors in French magazine as compared to 23% psychologists and 75% doctors in the Japanese magazine. As already noticed in the thematic analysis, the subject "psychology" occurs more often in the French magazine. The high percentage of psychologist or psychoanalyst-authors in France stresses the importance of the subject.

2. Which role model?

The persons serving as role models or examples are not treated in the same manner in both magazines. Who is the mother's model? The models are often clearly identified in Japan while they remain anonymous in the French magazine.

In the Japanese articles, the testimonies are almost always identified and the pictures which illustrate the articles are pictures of "real children and parents" (not professional models). Pictures from daily life in ordinary homes appear often. In fact, these witnesses are readers who answer classified ads published in the magazine asking for examples. Kakinuma (1995) made the same remarks in her analysis of Japanese and American magazines; the patricipation of readers in the Japanese magazine was much higher.

On the contrary, in the French magazine, mothers who are quoted are only mentioned through their first name and are impossible to identify. Furthermore, many mothers, children and fathers' pictures are of professional models.

Is the importance of the witnesses=readers in Japan linked to a sensitivity to what others are doing? Do Japanese mothers feel safer with examples of ordinary persons "like them"? This approach is contrary to the French magazine that seems to prefer idealization. The baby and adult models correspond to physical criteria that are more idealistic than real.

3. Thematic frequency

3-a. *Importance of the physical in Japan and the psychological in France.*

The results of the thematic analysis show that the subjects linked to physical characteristics such as motor development or food are discussed more often in the Japanese magazines whereas the French magazines deal more frequently with psychological topics. This observation confirms the results of our French-Japanese comparative study (Norimatsu, 1991) whereas Japanese adults are more insistent than the French in regard to food. It is important for them that the child eat all that the adults give him/her in order to have a balanced diet. In toilet training, Japanese adults use a " physical strategy " such as monitoring the frequency of urination, the use of cotton or training diapers so that the child feels the humidity of the urine, whereas the French adults use a " verbal strategy ", explaining to the child what must be done concerning toilet training.

3-b. *Conception of the life of children*

Furthermore, the French magazine deals more often with social subjects. Themes are often presented on a social level and even sometimes on an international level. In Japan, the subject remains on an individual, family or mother-child level. In the French magazine, contacts of help associations and groups, as well as legal information concerning the treated subjects, are often mentioned. A regular column entitled " your rights " presents each month legal information concerning parents and family life. In other areas of the magazine, information on demonstrations, calls for help or participation (for sick children for example) or emergency numbers are given. This type of information rarely appears in the Japanese magazine. This difference reveals something of the conception of young children and family in both societies. The French place the child's life and especially the protection of his or her rights on a societal level, whereas in Japan these matters are more individual or family-oriented.

3-c. *Father's place in each society*

The relationship between " father-mother-child " is conceived of differently in both countries. The magazines from both countries use father as a topic with the same frequency (J=6%, F=7% of the main articles mentioning the father). However, the way in which the father is discussed is different: in the French magazine, examples are: " daddy jealous of baby ", " changes in a couple's life when the child arrives ", " life when you are three " ; whereas in Japan, the father is mentioned in relation to his participation in the baby's care. In France, the father is mentioned as the mother's mate or as an element in the couple, especially when the subject discussed is the changes in the couple's relationship after the baby's birth, the father in relation to the child, and lives of parents and children. In Japan, the " father " is the " child's father " and his role is to participate in the child's care. The father is seldom mentioned as the mother's partner (only one time, the notion of " couple father -mother " is mentioned in the " White book of the parents' life "). Furthermore, in the French magazine, there is a " couple " column for professional advice on the couple's issues (each month since January 1992), whereas in the Japanese magazine, there is a

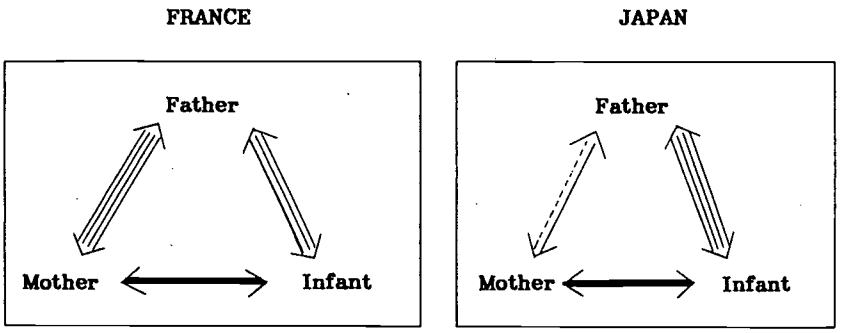

FIGURE 5 Model of Father-Mother-Infant relations

*The mother-infant relation isn't accounted for in this model because of it's predominance in both countries. Data on father-infant and father-mother relations come from articles and columns related to the " father ".

monthly column " father " presenting letters from father readers discussing their experience with their child and an other column " mother's room " where mother readers talk about the baby's birth.

Statistically, we can summarize the interests' centers concerning family ties in the following manner (see Fig. 5) :

This difference corresponds with the patterns presented by Vogel (1963) in the western world : on one side there are the parents (father/mother) and on the other side, the children. In Japan, on one side there are the mother and child, on the other side the father. In general, western society puts more emphasis on the couple's life whereas in Japan as soon as the child is born, he or she is placed at the center of the family. In the media these differences are clearly expressed when discussing the child and the father's position in each country. This kind of relationship, however, may evolve in the future.

4. Knowledge and use of knowledge

We have described how many of the explanations came from specialists. Their point of view is similar in both magazines concerning the theme of " breast-feeding and toilet training " which we have analyzed. However, if they agree on the " technical " side, it appears that technically the opinions are subtlely different in the two societies.

For example, pediatricians from both countries talk about the spectacular progress of artificial milk and the high quality of maternal milk (due to natural antibodies) in the same manner. However, Japanese articles consider artificial milk as a substitute while the French specialists place it at the same level ; mothers can choose " what's best for them ". In Japan, there is a " normal way " (breast feeding). The majority of the mothers eventually choose this method. There is a widespread belief that " a baby who drinks artificial milk will become fat, lack intelligence, be weak and at last will encounter difficulties in school ".

This example shows that even scientific information does not necessarily have the same impact in different cultures. The implementation and interpretation of science is

influenced by traditional beliefs and morals. In one place, the object becomes a substitute when in need; in the other, it is an alternative.

VI. CONCLUSION

The present comparative study of the French and Japanese magazines reveals a strong presence of certain themes which we had already noticed in the survey and observation of our previous study (1991).

The norms of child development, whether the French and Japanese parents in our survey share them or not, can be found in the magazines. The only exception is the specialist's explanation concerning toilet training. They tend to avoid indicating learning ages, and remain ambivalent in regards to parents' conceptions. Overall, parents' conceptions on child development were usually, found in the magazines.

Furthermore, characteristics of the adult's behavior in relation to the child observed in our previous soudy are repeated in the results of the magazine analysis. These characteristics are for France: emphasis on a psychological or cognitive (verbal) approach, and for Japan: emphasis on a physical approach (motor development or food).

We have put into light a strong parallel between parental conceptions of child development and the information conveyed by the magazines in both countries. In addition, the social or cultural characteristics of each country is mirrored in the magazine. We are thus tempted to believe that the parents take into account outside information to form their opinions, and among the outside influence is the media. Still, it is difficult to measure the level of influence of the magazines on the parents' conceptions. In order to pursue our research we have introduced in the questionnaire of a current work a series of questions on the mother's information sources and their use.

Note: Part of this study was presented at the XIII th Biennial Meeting of ISSBD in Amsterdam, June 28-July 2nd 1994.

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SACRED OR SELFISH? A SURVEY ON PARENTAL IMAGES OF JAPANESE CHILDREN

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Abstract

This study examined several common images of Japanese children and child development. Images, closely related to parental ethnotheories, were defined as visual, mental representations which may be expressed in sayings, proverbs, and symbols, or inferred from customs or practices. A sample of 53 mothers and 29 fathers of urban middle class elementary school children completed a one-page questionnaire concerning their *jidokan* (view of children). Very few had heard the traditional saying, "before seven, among the gods," although most felt that this proverb still applied to today's children. Most believed the proverb referred to the inherent purity of young children. A majority of parents reported that child-rearing is more analogous to the metaphor of cultivating a plant rather than to that of training an animal. Among five descriptors of children, many parents agreed that children "take a lot of work," are "selfish," and are "prone to loneliness," while few described children as generally "robust, not fragile," or "pitiable." Finally, parents stated that they would intervene more often in children's disputes if (1) the dispute were physical rather than verbal, (2) the children were their own rather than neighbors', and (3) the children were preschoolers rather than school-age. The results were discussed in relation to cultural stereotypes and to norms of Japanese child development and childrearing.

INTRODUCTION

What is your image of a typical Japanese child? The title of this article may have already influenced your response, but try anyway to do the following. *Take one minute, and imagine a behavioral sequence involving that prototypic Japanese child.* Our goal in this paper is to have you compare the image you have just created with those suggested by a small sample of Japanese parents.

We express our deep appreciation to the parents, teachers, children and PTA of the Hirabari Municipal Elementary School of Nagoya for their cooperation. Correspondence concerning this article may be addressed to David Shwalb, Koryo Women's College, Sagamine, Komenoki-cho, Nisshin-shi, Aichi-ken, 470-01, or Shing-Jen Chen, Faculty of Education, Hokkaido University, Kita 11 Nishi 7, Kita-ku, Sapporo, 060.

We consider "images" as did Chen (1996, p. 113), to be "visual, mental representations ('pictures in the head') as can be provoked by sayings, proverbs and symbols, or inferred from customs or practices." The image you just created should vary according to several factors, such as whether or not you (1) are Japanese, (2) live in Japan, (3) have ever visited Japan, (4) are the parent of a Japanese child, (5) are a parent, etc. Many other variables probably influence such images (gender, age, etc.), although no data are available to test such assumptions.

It is important to study images for two reasons. First, since images are related to parental beliefs and ethnotheories about children (Harkness & Super, 1996), they are important influences on child development. Adult beliefs about childrearing, their own children, or children in general, affect parenting behavior and therefore the lives of children. When these beliefs are generalized within or across cultures, they appear in the developmental goals and priorities of society and parents. In Japanese, a popular expression is used to convey the idea of images of children: *jidōkan* ("child-view"). Research on *jidōkan* has been common in Japan among scholars of developmental psychology, history, education and anthropology, and has shown that views on children have changed historically. We sought here to evaluate some common notions about children which have evolved over Japan's long history.

Another reason to study images of children is to encourage readers to think critically about images. In the course of a half-century of cross-cultural studies on Japanese children (D. Shwalb & B. Shwalb, in press), researchers, journalists, and other writers have created a generalized image of Japanese children. Previous research and media images probably contributed to the prototype you created at the beginning of this paper. We think that while many images in English-language publications are quite valid, they lack empirical support. And even when not supported by objective evidence, an image may be transmitted (like a rumor or stereotype) in scholarly publications, and become accepted as truth. We ask you to consider whether your images of Japanese children, or those you have read about in scholarly publications, are truth, fiction, or something in between.

The Young Japanese Child as "Among the Gods"

Many scholars have referred to the Japanese saying, "before seven, among the gods" (*nanatsu made wa kami no uchi*). This expression may be interpreted in many ways, but most often it has been said to reflect the Japanese view that children under the age of seven are pure and innocent (Arai, 1992; Hara & Wagatsuma, 1974). The following is a sampling of writings concerning the *nanatsu made* saying.

> "... the Japanese of the 19th and early 20th century believed that a child is closely related to kami (supernatural beings or spirits) until the seventh birthday. Other sources indicate that this belief may have originated before 900 A. D... In the context of such traditional beliefs children under seven are often indulged, and are still treated by some with respect and even awe... But according to the traditional Japanese viewpoint, an inherently pure and sin-free child is gradually corrupted by the adult world..." (Hara & Minagawa, in press).

"I am tempted to suggest that an analogy may be drawn between a child in a tantrum and a god in the Japanese pantheon who vents his anger by causing trouble for humans. Both the child and the god are expected to be placated and quieted down by some sort of pacifier. Indeed, the folk belief has it that a child is a god's gift or a god himself to be looked after..." (Lebra, 1976, p. 144).

"At age 6, the child was officially admitted as a member of the clan...The most important stage came at age 6; at this time the child was first recognized as an independent human being and member of the community. 'The first six years are in the hands of the gods,' or so the traditional saying goes, referring to the instability of life during this first period..." (Yamamura, 1986, p. 30).

"'Until seven, amongst the gods' runs the saying, and care was to be exercised with this special being. Much ritual and ceremony accompanies the first seven years of development. ...Children are also described as 'favours from the gods' and 'bestowed by the gods' and as such to be accorded appropriate care and attention..." (Hendry, 1986, p. 16).

This saying, reported by Yanagida Kunio (1949) and others, has in a sense become part of the conventional wisdom regarding Japanese images of children. Many scholars assume that the Japanese have a benevolent view of children, and that this modern-day view *resulted* in part from the traditional view of children as sacred. We asked parents here about the saying, *nanatsu made wa kami no uchi*.

Japanese Children as Delicate Plants to be Cultivated

If you visit any Japanese elementary school you will notice a garden in which children (in classroom or grade-level groups) plant and cultivate plants. School children are also assigned to raise individual potted plants, and to bring these plants home at vacation time. Coincidentally, at some all-female Japanese junior colleges (McVeigh, 1995), teachers may refer to students as potted plants, in the sense that the goal of junior college socialization is to *cultivate* delicate beauties. Chen (1996) has referred to plant cultivation as a metaphor for childrearing. Citing documents which date back to the 1600s, he suggests that a second image of the Japanese child is as a plant-like being, to be groomed and nurtured like a small tree or flower. For example, Chen discusses a 1615 writing by Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (reported by Yamazumi, 1979), in which a newborn was likened to the sprouting of a seed-leaf. After two or three years of careful nurturance, supporting stakes are placed in the ground, and the defective branches are cut away. At age 4 or 5 it is the responsibility of an adult to "prune the branch of selfishness" (Yamazumi, 1979, p. 41), so that the child does not grow selfish in the future. This metaphor also suggests that children are selfish by nature although they can be corrected by adults.

Chen (1996) claims that because of the long-term historical prevalence of this cultivation model, there has been little acceptance for a contrasting "animal training" approach to childrearing (Miller, 1983). The animal training model is best represented

within psychology by principles of learning and conditioning. Childrearing documents more often indicate a Japanese view of children as fragile seedlings in need of adult care. We asked our sample about both the plant cultivation and animal training images of children and childrearing.

The Child as Vulnerable, Lonely and in Need of Adults

As delicate flowers Japanese children might be seen as needing a close relationship with their parents. A close parent-child attachment is generally viewed as natural (Bowlby, 1969), but a third common image of Japanese children consists of a very close mother-child relationship. For instance, separation of infants from mothers during the Strange Situation procedure (Takahashi, 1986) produced such high levels of distress that the paradigm had to be altered for use in Japan. Other researchers have noticed that compared with Western samples Japanese parents and children are more likely to co-bathe, co-sleep, and maintain a generally close physical relationship (Caudill & Plath, 1966).

One common parental explanation for such closeness is that Japanese children are prone to loneliness. *By nature* the child is lonely when left alone, so it seems natural for adults to feel sorry for their lonely children and to accompany the child at such moments when the child is most vulnerable (bathing, going to sleep, etc.). Perhaps the most common images of the Japanese parent-child relationship among non- Japanese concern dependency and interdependency. In Japan dependency is considered natural, and we may add as common images those of vulnerability and loneliness. Particularly in modern times, since most Japanese families have only two children, parents are particularly sensitive to the loneliness of children.

Japanese Children as 'Not to be Disturbed'

If young Japanese children are indeed "among the gods," it may seem natural to some that children should not be interfered with by mortals such as their parents. As Hara and Minagawa (in press) describe it, the "sin-free child is gradually corrupted by the adult world." In such a context it may be best to take a hands-off approach towards children. A common observation by Westerners who visit or conduct research in Japan is that Japanese seldom punish children and almost never use physical punishment (Lanham, 1966). We asked our sample a few hypothetical questions about situations in which adults might intervene between children. According to the "do not disturb" image, we predicted that adults would not prefer to intervene.

The pilot survey reported here concerned each of the above four images of Japanese children. The data do not confirm or disprove any of the images—the survey was intended to generate discussion than to draw definitive conclusions.

Method

Participants

Fifty-three mothers of elementary school children, and 29 fathers from the same families, participated in the survey. Of these 54 reported that they had lived most of their lives in Aichi Prefecture (where the survey was conducted) and 28 responded that

they had lived longest outside of Aichi. The location of the school was a relatively new middle-class residential area on the eastern edge of Nagoya, the fourth largest city in Japan.

Procedures

Addresses of participants were collected at a school-wide PTA meeting, and questionnaires were mailed to each family and returned by mail (return rate=91%). A translation of the single-page questionnaire is provided in the Appendix.

Results

The " Among the Gods " Proverb

Parents were first asked whether or not they had heard the traditional saying, " before seven, among the gods." Only 19% of mothers and 7% of fathers reported that they knew this proverb (we report percentages here since the *n*s of mothers and fathers differed). Of those few who knew the saying, some said they had read it somewhere, but most stated that they could not recall when or how they first heard it. Most parents therefore were not familiar with this saying.

When asked what the saying meant, majorities of mothers (60%) and fathers (76%) thought that it meant that " young children are pure," while smaller percentages (33% of mothers and 14% of fathers) thought it meant " children are more godlike than human." Very few (only 7% of mothers and 10% of fathers) related the expression to the view that " the fate of young children is unstable, as they are prone to accidents and illness."

There was a relatively even division between parents who thought that this saying is relevant today, as 49% of mothers and 38% of fathers agreed that it still applies. To explain these choices, most of those who agreed said that the basic nature of children cannot change. Many who disagreed stated that children today are no longer pure, due to corrupting environmental influences and to the increasingly complex lifestyles of young children.

Finally, when asked to suggest a contemporary saying analogous to *nanatsu made wa kami no uchi*, only 13% of mothers and 17% of fathers offered any idea. Almost all of these parents offered the same proverb, *mitsugo no tamashii hyaku made* (" the spirit of the three-year-olds lasts until age one hundred ").

The Plant Cultivation vs. Animal-Training Metaphors

Using a 5- point (0=not applicable; 4=applicable) most mothers and fathers rated the image of animal-training as non-applicable as a metaphor for childrearing (mean rating=1.35 for mothers, 1.05 for fathers). Surprisingly, the plant cultivation image was usually not rated as applicable either (mean rating=1.90 for mothers, 1.40 for fathers). The distributions of these ratings are presented in Table 1. Given a choice between these two images, however, most mothers (67%) and fathers (60%) preferred the plant cultivation analogy. Still, a sizable number of parents opted for the animal-training image.

Table 1 Plant Cultivation and Animal-Training Images of Childrearing: Distributions (%) of Parents' Ratings

Ratings:	0	1	2	3	4
Plant Cultivation Image:					
Mothers	30	11	17	23	19
Fathers	38	23	12	15	12
Animal-Training Image:					
Mothers	32	30	15	17	6
Fathers	50	15	19	12	4

Note. Rating of 0="Does not apply"; Rating of 4="Applies."

General Images of Children

Parents were asked next to characterize "children in general" using five descriptors. The distributions of their 5-point scale rating of these images are presented in Table 2. Among the five, the most applicable image of children was that "they take a lot of work" (mean rating=3.11 by mothers, 2.95 for fathers; 0=not applicable, 4=applicable). Many parents also rated children as "selfish" (mean=2.69 for mothers, 2.55 for fathers) and "prone to loneliness" (mean=2.86 for mothers, 2.25 for fathers). Fewer parents thought that children are "robust, not fragile" (mean=1.84 for mothers, 1.40 for fathers), and very few parents rated children in general as "pitiable" (mean=0.84 for mothers, 0.88 for fathers).

Table 2 General Characteristics of Children: Distributions (%) of Parents' Ratings

Rating:		0	1	2	3	4
Characteristic:						
Takes a lot of work	(Mothers)	2	4	23	23	48
	(Fathers)	7	7	14	28	44
Robust, not fragile	(Mothers)	22	14	32	20	12
	(Fathers)	32	14	36	18	0
Selfish	(Mothers)	6	10	24	29	31
	(Fathers)	15	0	21	43	21
Prone to loneliness	(Mothers)	2	6	34	20	38
	(Fathers)	18	3	29	36	14
Pitiable	(Mothers)	63	12	14	4	8
	(Fathers)	69	3	10	3	14

Note. Rating of 0="does not apply"; rating of 4="applies."

Adult Intervention in Children's Disputes

Asked the general question, "Do you think adults should intervene in children's fights or arguments?" most parents (75% of mothers and 88% of fathers) responded "No." This issue was pursued further by asking for yes/no responses according to the child's age (infant/preschooler vs. school age) and the respondent's relationship to the children (neighborhood non-family vs. one's own children).

Several trends and group differences are apparent in the distributions of "Yes"

(pro-intervention) responses listed in Table 3. First it is clear that both men and women, irrespective of their relationship (family/non-family) to the child or the age of the child, report a stronger preference to intervene when the dispute is a physical fight rather than a verbal argument. Second, with the exception of fathers' responses concerning verbal arguments, the trend was toward stronger preferences for intervention among younger (preschool) than older (school-age) children. That is, contrary to our hypothesis, the tendency to 'not disturb' the child was clearer with regard to older children. A third trend observable in Table 3 is that, with the exception of verbal arguments among older children, mothers had a stronger preference for intervention than fathers.

Table 3 Preferences for Intervention Among Children: Proportions Who Chose Intervention in Different Situations

	Verbal Arguments		Physical Fights	
	Neighborhood	In-Family	Neighborhood	In-Family
Mothers, about:				
Younger Children:	35	27	75	69
Older Children:	6	15	61	62
Fathers, about:				
Younger Children:	12	8	48	48
Older Children:	12	12	32	40

Discussion

This small-sample survey took place in a middle class section of one Japanese city. Participants were parents of elementary school children, and this self-selected group might be more concerned with childrearing issues than are other parents. Most questionnaire items used a forced-choice format, which restricted the range of responses. Therefore the following interpretations are tentative, and intensive follow-up data collection is planned to clarify the issues raised here.

What is it to be "Among the Gods"?

We were surprised by the lack of familiarity among parents with the proverb "before seven, among the gods." This proverb is widely cited by childhood historians, but may be of greater historical interest than contemporary relevance. Not only did few parents know the proverb, but some even jotted in the questionnaire's margin "I have no idea what this saying is about, so it is difficult to answer your questions!" The proverb is usually quoted in relation to traditional rather than modern Japan, yet writers tend to use it to reinforce their depiction of modern parents' positive view of children.

A majority of parents attributed the same meaning to the proverb as have most scholars, that little children are "pure" by nature. But since most did not know the proverb it is doubtful that the saying itself has any influence on their images of children. In addition, the questionnaire did not ask parents directly whether they view children as pure or impure, so we cannot know whether parents think the proverb reflects current thinking about children. Few parents made the interpretation that chil-

dren are "more god-like than human," and we do not expect that in 1996 parents consider preschoolers to be super-human or sub-human. The smallest percentage of parents interpreted the saying to mean that children's fate is "unstable as they are prone to accidents or illness." Particularly in modern Japan, with the hazards of infectious diseases and infant mortality largely averted (Hara & Minagawa, in press) the fate of children is indeed stable. Therefore the view of childhood as an unstable period seems obsolete.

About half of the parents reported that the proverb is still applicable today, yet many parents disagreed. As some wrote, children today may be less pure than in the past and more quickly corrupted than in the past by modern vices. What then should we conclude about these data? First, the proverb was unknown to most parents in our sample. Second, the proverb, even if parents understand it, may not be seen as applicable in modern society. Third, there are individual differences in how parents understand the proverb and whether they think it is true.

Children as Plants or Animals?

The two metaphors or childrearing posed to the mothers and fathers were those of children as plants to cultivate, and as animals to train. We should also consider alternative images of childrearing in future research. Chen (1996) has proposed a "river crossing" image in which the parent guides rather than instructs the child. The data here were limited to parents' feelings about only two possible metaphors.

As expected, many parents responded unfavorably to the image of childrearing as akin to raising animals. This mechanistic view of children seems out of place in Japanese society, and the data showed that most parents reject this imagery. More surprisingly, there was only slightly more support for the plant cultivation image. Either this cultivation metaphor (which was not defined on the survey form) was unclear to the participants, or they may prefer some other metaphor or image which was not offered as an option.

Given a choice between the two, most parents preferred the plant cultivation image, yet one in three parents opted for the animal-training image. This shows that there are individual differences in parental thinking, and that it is an overstatement to say that the sample rejected the animal-raising view. A sizable minority of parents in fact responded positively to this image.

Five Characteristics of Children

The data showed to some extent that the parents were not entirely humanistic, benevolent child-worshippers. One hears nowadays in Japan about childrearing anxiety, revulsion towards one's own children, and of an increasing incidence of child abuse (Hara & Minagawa, in press; Kawai *et al.*, 1994). So it was natural that several parents would rate children using negative descriptors. The five characteristics listed on the questionnaire represented a small subset of descriptors, and were chosen based on our theoretical interests. These do not encompass all possible parental descriptors of children.

Most parents agreed that "children take a lot of work," which is not a favorable

image. The connotation of the expression *te no kakaru sonzai* is not as negative as to say that " children are a burden," but it is perhaps closer to the expression, " children are a big chore." The second most applicable statement, according to parents, was that children are " selfish " (*wagamama*). This expression is to some degree related to the words willful, spoiled, self-centered, or babyish, and it is used also to describe selfish adults (D. Shwalb & B. Shwalb, 1996). Again many parents reported an image of children which is not socially desirable. Are children selfish because they are " among the gods " ? Or is selfishness permitted because children are among the gods? These questions should be addressed in follow-up research.

As had been predicted (Chen, 1996), a majority of parents agreed with the image of children as " prone to loneliness." We interpret this finding as indicative of an empathic view of parents toward children, and assume that they also feel a need to protect them from loneliness. Is " loneliness " itself socially desirable? Loneliness might be seen as a part of human nature, and also might be related to the dependency Japanese consider natural (Doi, 1973). It would be interesting to see whether parents in other societies perceive this same loneliness among children. We wonder whether loneliness is more noticeable in societies with smaller family sizes, closer parent- child bonds, or weak social support mechanisms.

Few parents rated children as " robust, not fragile," which might reflect a decline in the physical fitness of today's children. It might also coincide with the idea of cultivating children as fragile flowers. The questionnaire did not differentiate between images of boys and girls, and the issue of gender differences in images of children (e. g. as robust vs. fragile) requires further study. Parents were empathic in seeing their children as potentially lonely, but they seldom applied the image of " pitiable " to children. Both mothers and fathers (with a few exceptions) rejected the pitiable image. Children may be needy in Japan, in the sense of social support, but most parents would probably consider their children as fortunate (*shiawase*) to live in a comfortable, safe and affluent environment.

Should Adults Intervene Among Children?

Parents in our sample were more likely to prefer intervention among younger than older children. We had thought that if parents considered children " among the gods " prior to age seven they might take a more hands-off approach with younger children than older children. This was not evident in the data. Instead these parents probably grant greater autonomy to their older children and keep a closer watch over younger children.

Parents preferred intervention more in cases of physical fights than for verbal arguments, in response to the severity of the situation. They were also more interventionist towards their own children than towards children outside the family, probably reflecting a sense of personal responsibility. In addition mothers were more likely to prefer intervention than fathers. " Hands-off " characterizes the philosophy of many Japanese fathers (Shwalb, Imaizumi, & Nakazawa, 1987), while mothers may be more willing to get involved with and between their children.

Concluding Questions to the Reader

We hope that this paper provokes thinking about how to study parental images of children. Did any of the images reported by our sample correspond to the prototypic child which you conjured up at the beginning of this paper? If you are a non-Japanese, are the images emphasized here the same or different from images you have of children in your culture? Do you have sayings in any way analogous to "until seven, among the gods"? Would you respond differently in your images of children if you were told to imagine a boy, or a girl? If you are a parent, to what degree do your images reflect your view of your own children? Are these images mainly positive or negative? If you were to ask your own parents about their images of children, would their images differ from yours? How do the above images of Japanese children compare with those in the popular literature or mass media? Are your images, the images provided by our sample, or those in the media stereotypes or accurate? Do the images discussed here differ from those you have read in scholarly reports about Japanese child development or childrearing?

We hope that our pilot data and the subsequent research we are planning will provide clearer images of Japanese children, and more generally contribute to a understanding of parental thinking about children.

Appendix: Childrearing Questionnaire

1. Have you ever heard the saying, "Before seven, among the gods"?

2. What do you think this saying means?
   a. Young children are pure.
   b. Young children are more god-like than human.
   c. The fate of young children is unstable, as they are prone to accident and illness.
   d. Other_____
3. If you answered "yes" to #1, when & from whom did you hear it?

   _____
4. Do you think this saying still applies today?
   Why or why not?
5. If you know a similar saying, please write it here.

   _____
6. How do these images apply to childrearing?
   (5-point scale, 0=doesn't apply at all; 4=applies)
   Like plant cultivation: 01234
   Like animal-raising: 01234

6a. Which of these two do you think applies more to childrearing?
   a. Animal raising
   b. Plant cultivation (choose only 1)

7. In general, children to me... (rate on 5 point scale; 0=doesn't apply at all, 4=definitely)
   a. take a lot work: 0 1 2 3 4
   b. are robust, not fragile: 0 1 2 3 4
   c. are selfish: 0 1 2 3 4
   d. are prone to loneliness: 0 1 2 3 4
   e. are pitiable: 0 1 2 3 4

8. In general, do you think adults should intervene in children's fights or arguments?
   Yes/No

8a. Should somebody intervene in the following situations?

   a. a verbal dispute among neighborhood children (infant or preschool age)? Yes/No
   b. a verbal dispute among neighborhood children (school age)? Yes/No
   c. a physical fight among neighborhood children (infant or preschool age)? Yes/No
   d. a physical fight among neighborhood children (school age)? Yes/No
   e. a verbal dispute among your own children (infant or preschool age)? Yes/No
   f. a verbal dispute among your own children (school age)? Yes/No
   g. a physical fight among your own children (infant or preschool age)? Yes/No
   h. a physical fight among your own children (school age)? Yes/No

9. Your gender: Male/Female
10. Your age: 20s 30s 40s 50s 60s 70s
11. Your son(s)' age (s): _____
12. Your daughter(s)' ages (s): _____
13. In what prefecture have you lived the longest?_____

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TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY : A CASE FOR *JANKEN*

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we explore the relationship between human action and the cultural, institutional, and historical situations in which this functioning occurs by focussing on a widely practiced Japanese children's game, *janken* ('Paper, scissors and stone'). We start from a general observation that although known in other parts of the world, this game has a special place in the lives of modern Japanese children. We point out that in Japan, apart from being a widely practiced starting game among children, it also serves as an important tool for group management. Generally believed to be originated in China, *janken* seems to have undergone a sociocultural processes of selection, adaptation, and variation. We argue that in order to understand the sociocultural processes that result in the *janken* as known today, it is necessary to approach it with multiple levels of analysis to include, for example, the individual socialization process, the person-context interaction process, and the sociocultural development process. We present some preliminary thoughts on these aspects.

Key words : *janken*, sociocultural research, children's game, group management, cultural tool.

INTRODUCTION

The term 'cultural psychology' began to attract the attention of the first author about ten years ago. Coming to the field of developmental psychology with a background in social anthropology, the term seemed to promise a potential solution to the problem of the relationship between human psyche and culture. According to one of its proponents, the aim of cultural psychology is 'to examine ethnic and cultural sources of psychological diversity in emotional and somatic (health) functioning, self organization, moral evaluation, social cognition, and human development' (Shweder, 1991, p. 497). Although some writers on this subject have generally described it as an approach towards understanding the relation between human mental functioning and social, institutional and historical contexts, its boundary and potential and limits have yet to be explored (Edwards, 1995, p. 55 ; Moll, 1995, p. 361, Shweder, 1991, p. 73). A newly founded journal, *Culture & Psychology*, is one of the major platforms for such discussions.

In this article, we hope to contribute to the understanding of the sociocultural processes through which a cultural activity is situated in a social setting by focussing on a Japanese children's game, *janken*, or 'Paper, scissors and stone' in the English speaking world.

What is so special about *janken* that makes it a topic of our examination? This question can be answered by two general observations concerning *janken*: (1) *Janken* is not only widely known but also practiced by Japanese children both in the playground as well as in classroom. (2) *Janken* is recognized as a legitimate method of decision making in many situations in the lives of children as well as that of the adults. The significance of these observations becomes even clearer when the role of *janken* in Japanese society is compared with that in other society where similar game is also widely known. While in other society, games may be started by various starting games among which *janken* (or its equivalen) is but one. In contrast, *janken* precedes almost all social plays that involve more than two children. Partly because of its prevalence in Japan, the nature of children's social interactions are shaped by the adoption of *janken*. In other words, in Japan, *janken* is a cultural activity through which social lives of the children are mediated.

There are a number of previous studies on different aspects of *janken* from a traditional psychological viewpoint. One researcher for example, addressed the topic of imitative learning of social behaviors among kindergarten children using *janken* as the target behavior (Ushijima, 1969, 1973, 1974). Another researcher focussed on the rule-understanding aspect of *janken* among kindergarteners (Minamitate, 1987, 1988). However, these studies failed to view *janken* as a cultural activity which is the result of complicated sociocultural processes. We argue that by approaching *janken* from a cultural psychological point of view provides us a good example for investigating the relationship between human action and its cultural, institutional, and historical situations in which this action occurs.

JANKEN AS A CULTURAL ACTIVITY

The activity in question, *janken*, is widely known as a children's game in many parts of the world. For example, it is known as 'Paper-scissors-stone, or Rock-paper-scissors' in the English speaking world. The Opies provide a survey of similar games in the ancient world (Opie, 1984, pp. 27-28). However, despite similarities in the motoric actions and rules, the games have drastically different social implications in their respective cultural contexts. The Western version, 'Paper, scissors and stone' has a very limited application and is not observed often in daily life. In contrast, in Japan, *janken* is not only widely observed among children (and sometimes even among adults), its wide acceptance creates a new category of situations which otherwise would not have existed (example will be given below).

Janken as it is known today should be properly understood as a cultural activity which is a result of historical development involving complicated factors at various levels.

The fact that *janken* can be observed among two years old children suggests that it has its first appearance in parent-infant play. The adoption of *janken* or its infantile

version in this earliest dyadic context within the family is not carried out in a cultural vacuum but must have obtained various suggestions from the larger world beyond the family. Thus, parents or adults either take the idea from their memory as children or from what is current in the neighbourhood or in street and playground. What takes place in dyadic interaction must make some cultural sense. This process of participatory appropriation of *janken* contributes to the formation of a cultural activity (Rogoff, 1995). As a result, by the time children are ready to participate in a social interaction with others outside the family, they have already learned the 'basics' of *janken* and therefore are well prepared for its applications. At the same time when *janken* is being adopted in children's socialization, its range of application begins to include non-game contexts such as in deciding individual roles in carrying out a task assigned to a children's group at school. This method gains its legitimacy either by impressing the teacher who is responsible for the management of the class with its efficiency, or by 'persuading' the paticipating children and adults concerned with its fairness or harmlessness under the circumstances. In other words, as a cultural institution, *janken* has the sanction of the society in general. Furthermore, in sactioning *janken* as a culturally appropriate activity, a zeitgeist is being created and strengthed. In this way, the individual activity and the cultural, institutional process "make each other up" (Shweder, 1990).

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENTAL ASPECT

From the point of view of the individual, *janken* requires the correct timing of finger gestures, the arm movements, and the prescribed chants. These must also be coordinated with those of rival participants. Once the participants have presented their "hands," the finger positions have to be scanned and compared to determine winners and losers. This computation is usually accomplished quickly and accurately, at which time the participants either determine a result, or continue for another round in the case of a tie.

Apparently children in Japan learn the skill of *janken* from their parents or peers at a very young age. Presumably, this process begins in parent-infant play. With very young children, parents or adults may show the different finger formations while they repeat the "jan, ken, pon" chant. In such a parent-infant interaction situation, a researcher can ask questions such as 'what is the distance in between the dyad?,' 'what are their relative eye levels?,' 'in what mode (verbal, gesture, etc.) is the communication being carried out?,' and 'what are the assumptions underlying the adult's behavior toward the child?'. In other words, while concentrating on a specific behavior (*janken*), a researcher can focus on the issue of cultural transmission processes. Aspects of cultural transmission that are specific to motoric skills, or vocal-movement coordination, together with Japanese features of cultural transmission can be examined here. Data and ideas thus obtained can be compared with those found in the literature on these topics.

PERSON-CONTEXT DEVELOPMENT

As individual children grow older, their relationships also develop. Relationship

with other members of the family other than the mother adds on to mother-infant relationship. When children are old enough to locomote and play by themselves, their relationship further extends, and they come into contact with people in the neighbourhood. The beginning of primary school education marks another milestone in the development of children's social relationship. In each of these stages of development, while children play or interact with one another, *janken* can be considered as taking place in many different contexts. What is considered appropriate in one stage or one context might not be so in another. It is all these context-specific "meanings" of *janken* that constitutes a part of children's understanding of this activity. In order to understand *janken*, as many as possible of these different contexts at different stages and their associated meanings will have to be examined, not only from the point of view of the individuals, but also from that of the different groups formed at each stage.

SOCIOHISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Because of the lack of a research-based account of the development of *janken* in Japanese society, only a speculative outline will be attempted here. In a preliminary attempt to find a visual representation of *janken* in ukiyo-e or other genres of pictures, several popular books on these subjects were scanned. However, among hundreds of pictures depicting children and their lives, only one work by Utagawa Hiroshige (1757-1858) including the picture of two children playing *janken* was found (Edo kodomo bunka kenkyukai, 1993). Just as 'Paper, scissors and stone' does not seem to appear in popular Mother Goose songs, *janken* does not seem to have left its trace in Japanese folk tales either. Of course, these negative findings do not by themselves prove anything, but they seem to suggest that *janken*, as it is known and practiced nowadays, is a relatively new phenomenon.

According to one account (Masuda, 1989; see Kako, 1975 for similar view), *janken* originated from China. We do not know how and when it came to Japan nor what transformations it has gone through. It is even doubtful whether its earlier history can be fruitfuly traced. One speculation attributes the original development of *janken* in Japan to the contact between the Chinese merchants and the Japanese geishas in Nagasaki during the Tokugawa Shogunate period, when Japan isolated herself from the rest of the world. Known first as '*Hon-ken*' (the original ken) or '*Nagasaki-ken*,' it was adapted and modified to become '*Tōhachiken*' or '*Kitsuneken*' ('fox'-ken) which further diversified into 'Toraken' ('tiger'-ken) and 'Mushiken' ('worm'-ken). Unlike the original Chinese game which is a game of guessing the total number of fingers put out by the players, these Japanese derived versions have only three finger formations or guestures. The term '*janken*' comes from 'ishi-ken,' or 'stone'- ken.

Kako, a writer on children's culture, thinks that it was the children who 'picked what was good in these different versions and brought them into their lives' (Kako, 1975, p. 36). He further mentions two reasons why the 'stone'-ken, or *janken*, was "selected" by the children. One reason is that *janken* can be played with a single hand. This is important because "excited with expectation and decision, a child can make big arm movements up and down and concentrate on the expressions of the hands while the other hand can hold the toy." The second reason is that not only the finger

formations can be expressed centrally and easily carried out, the result can also be instantly judged without ambiguity (Kako, *ibid*, p. 37). We agree with this author in assuming that *janken* has gone through a selection process, but we argue that the selection process should include the socialization process in which the children and the socializing agents interact, as well as the cultural context in which these processes occured.

The socialization process of *janken* today that we can observed directly is the product of sociohistorical processes. An examination of *janken*'s history in Japanese society will provide us the opportunity to look into the 'social or cultural motive' for the development of *janken* among present-day Japanese school children. As we noted above, the position in present-day Japanese school culture occupied by *janken* is very different from that of its equivalent, 'paper, scissors and stone' in, say, the school culture of the USA. While *janken* is not only widely practiced as a game in itself, it is widely adopted as a tool for group management, not only in kindergartens or primary schools, but also beyond that. In contrast, 'paper, scissors and stone' does not seem to be employed to the same extent even among school children, let alone level beyond that. Indeed, several Western persons we talked to said they recognized the game or knew the rules, but they did not remember ever playing it.

Although to our knowledge a historical account of *janken*'s development in Japanese society does not exist yet, we do not think the introduction and the subsequent development of this activity took place with the premeditated aim of more efficient group management. That *janken* has become a tool for group management is a new development. Although *janken* was known to some people, or even to most people, we hypothesize that there was time when it was only a game for children.

One hypothetical context for the development of *janken* as a group management tool is the modern educational system. With its introduction, a large number of children were brought together and organized into different hierachical groups such as grades, classess and squads (*han*) for the first time in Japanese society. Under such a situation, the knowledge and skills about *janken* may have taken on a new form to become a tool for group management. This hypothesis can be further strengthened by the trend towards democratization in primary schools after World War II. Following the War, Japanese school children were more often encouraged to manage themselves, and teachers have come to avoid too much direct control over many aspects of children's daily lives. This environment may have encouraged the development of *janken* as we know it today.

An alternative context for the development of *janken* as a group management tool is in the Japanese military organization, although it is hard to speculate on when this took place. While the notion of military organization might discourage the assumption of anything as 'loose' as *janken*, it seems not entirely unreasonable to assume that there were matters not under the control of the military system of order and command. There also may have been cases when *janken* was clandestinely practiced to settle minor matters among peers when not on the front line. These admittedly speculative ideas need to be examined against empirical data.

What these two contexts (the military organization and the modern schools)

have in common is a hierarchical organization with a task. Furthermore, while there is an overall hierarchy (they both have levels of human groupings in which members belonging to the same units (e. g., the squads, the 'han') are of equal "rank" that when carrying out the task there is no "natural order" for deciding who gets which job. Under such circumstances, *janken* seems to suggest itself to participants who have been socialized with the skills.

Assuming that *janken* or its equivalent is equally widely known, or knowable, to any society, it is an interesting question why it has developed into the *janken* as we know it now. We argue that one of the reasons lies in its socialization process. It is our impression that Japanese children engage in *janken* from a very young age. If this impression can be confirmed, this phenomenon by itself can be explained as due to the prevalent presence of *janken* in Japanese children's world that parents or adults find the 'material' or 'topic' of *janken* readily available and appropriate. Appropriate because it is likely to arouse the interest in young children, and it is interesting to play with young children. Another reason lies in the way it is perpetuated or reinforced by the society to which older children enter. Once the socialization process has succeeded in preparing each new generation of Japanese children for doing *janken*, children themselves and/or adults involved with the managment of children's groups not only find it useful, they often find new ways of applying it. The fact that *janken* is found to be useful is not enough. It has to be judged (by both the children and the socilization agents) as appropriate. In other words, here we are dealing with the motives and the morality underlying the socialization process of *janken*.

There are many non-game occasions in which *janken* is applied. For example, in many primary schools, children adopt *janken* as a means in assigning the different tasks to individual children when carrying out the cleaning-up of their classrooms. In this case, obviously, it is considered appropriate that the decision is made in this manner. Few would disagree, be they Japanese or otherwise. However, in another example in which *janken* is carried out to decide who should be responsible for collecting the dishes and trays and carrying them to the cafeteria kitchen when a group of students finish their lunch, a person from Western society, for example, might not agree with the moral judgement implied in the adoption of *janken* in such a case. More frequent application of a rule tends to creat atmosphere and moral judgement that pave the way for its easy acceptance; the rarity, on the contrary, tends to prevent the development of understanding and appreciation necessary for the introduction of the rule.

IMPLICIT ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING HUMAN ACTION

Most of the social activities in a society have their 'reasons', which the individuals living in it can express when asked. Indeed, in folk theory, membership in a society is sometimes 'defined' by the degree of knowledge an individual possesses concerning these reasons. However, there are some other reasons that can account for the social behaviors of a society but are beyond the conscious grasp of its members. We are referring to some of the models, images or meta-images in a society concerning a particular custom or ways of doing things, such as the images of childhood or childrearing (Chen, 1996; Ward, 1965). Some of these images or meta-images emerge only as

a result of intensive analyses and interpretations by specialists. That some aspects of cultural things are beyond conscious grasp of its members is a fact which can be explained in terms of the lack of comparative formulation of the issue in the society which in turn implies that there is no survival or operational 'function' for such a formulation in the maintenance of the custom or ways of doing things in a certain way. The practitioners of the custom or ways of doing things operate from a different view point from the specialists who formulate the model or meta-image to account for the custom or ways of doing things. In other words, the specialist and the practitioners have different motives. In addition, unlike the specialist who approaches the issue within a limited span of time and concentrates on formulating an answer, the practitioners (usually involving socializing agents (adults) and the socialized (children)) take a much longer span of time during socialization in developing the behavioral pattern, not having to answer the same question. To the practitioners, their main concerns are the accomplishment of more practical everyday activities, such as feeding the infant or getting fed, preparing a meal or eating the meal with other members of the family, or carrying out the classroom clean-up assignment, etc. In these situations, both the socalizing agents and the socialized have their respective objectives and tasks at hand (including regulating emotional expression), that it is not possible for the socializing agents to point out these details, nor is it necessary to do so, even if they may have a better understanding of the sources or contexts of the information or messages they are trying to pass on to the children. Thus, social activities are being accomplished mainly through actions by the participants, without their being explicated at the same time. As patterns of behavior are acquired in such a way, the practitioners usually are not aware of their having meta-models or themes.

Just like most native speakers of a language are not aware of the existence of a grammar, children participating in the application of *janken* to various settings are not aware of there being a grammar of *janken*. However, we suggest that it is not only possible to extract and to compile a *janken* grammar as applied in modern Japanese society, the knowledge thus obtained will also contribute to our understanding of child development in Japanese society in particular and the process of culture transmission in general.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this article, we use *janken* as a window to look into the relationship between human action and its sociocultural aspects. We suggest that when approached from a cultural psychological viewpoint, an activity such as *janken* can lead us to questions not usually expectable from the traditional psychological point of view. We have to admit that most of the ideas presented in this article are still pure speculations. However, we believe that we have made a sketch of what seems to be important aspects for further systematic analysis and interpretation.

In full agreement with Rogoff, we want to emphasize that in order to have a fuller understanding of a human activity such as *janken*, it is necessary to consider how individuals, groups, and society in general transform as they constitute and are constituted by sociocultural activity (Rogoff, 1995).

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EMPATHY AND ALTRUISTIC BEHAVIOR AMONG PRESCHOOLERS
AN ATTEMPT TO MEASURE EMPATHY OF CHILDREN BASED ON TEACHER'S REPORT*

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Introduction

In the field of developmental psychology from the 1970s on, empathy has often been offered as a cause of prosocial and altruistic behavior. Assisting others, and other cooperative behavior, are essential for living and working in a social group. However, there are both people who are concerned with others and act kindly towards them, and others who put personal profit first and behave egotistically. Although the judgement of this behavior depends on social and cultural values, when living in a group, cooperation and helping each other is indispensable. What are the factors underlying this altruistic behavior? These factors can be broadly divided into two groups. The first are biological and genetic factors which are inborn. The second are environmental factors born out of experience and learned through social interaction. Looking at altruism from a developmental standpoint, these environmental factors are especially important.

Feshbach & Roe (1969) developed a method for measuring empathy behavior in children using picture-book stories. This method, called FASTE (Feshback & Roe Affective Situations Test for Empathy), presents a story with a series of scenes depicting the emotional state (happiness, sadness, anger, fear) of a hypothetical story protagonist. The subject is then asked to describe his or her own emotions when seeing these pictures. This is a relatively simple method, and because it can be used for research on a large number of subjects it is often employed in studies of children. However, when this method is used to measure empathy of children, instead of using verbal reports, cards with facial expressions representing different emotions are often used, and children are encouraged to pick up the card that corresponds to his or her own feelings (Hamazaki, 1985; Watanabe & Takiguchi, 1986). While this takes less time and can be carried out more easily, it can be biased towards empathetic responses and sometimes does not sufficiently demonstrate that the emotion of the card is really shared by the subject. In other words, this method might measure an ability totally different from empathy which is seen as a fundamental factor in altruistic behavior. Since empathy, which seems to regulate altruistic behavior, includes not only recogni-

* This paper is based on the present author's Master's thesis, submitted to the Tokyo Gakugei University in 1995.

tion but also the evocation of emotion, research that searches for the relation between empathy and altruistic behavior often leaves something to be desired.

Bryant (1982) emphasized the importance of empathetic reaction and constructed a questionnaire to measure the empathy of children. The questionnaire presented various scenes to test whether or not the subject can share emotion such as happiness and sadness. These questions were answered directly by the children themselves. This method, relying on written questions, might be an especially effective means to measure empathy if I can show that it produces high validity and reliability. However, we must also assume that this self-reported type of measurement is often affected by the social desirability of a response. If the child would reply as he or she truly feels, empathy could be grasped in a more natural form. However, when measurement is carried out through written questions, there is a tendency, especially conspicuous among children, to choose the most socially appropriate reply (Sakurai, 1984). It may also be difficult, if not impossible, to carry out a self-report style questionnaire with preschoolers.

Morishita (1990) reformulated a set of written questions to measure the empathy of preschoolers through the rated responses of mothers. Although the subject is still the child, because the respondent in this case is the mother, it is possible to collect data on preschoolers who cannot yet answer questionnaires on their own. However this method shares another problem with the self-report method. Each child subject will be rated by his or her own mother, therefore all children will be rated based on different standards of judgment. A second problem is that responses tend to be influenced by their social desirability. Mothers who answer questions about their own children may give higher scores for empathy because it is socially valued. On the other hand, it is also possible that some mothers interpret the questions more strictly and give their children lower scores. For this reason, even if the subject is the same child, the larger the number of respondents, the more diversity in the standards for judging a question. This is more likely to lead to results with low reliability.

This study is motivated by a realization of these considerable difficulties in measuring empathy. The subject and ultimate objective of this study are focused on answering the question: Is there a better way to measure children's empathy, which is assumed to be a factor in altruistic behavior? With this goal in mind, this study attempts to alleviate problems with multiple respondents by having preschool teachers respond to written questions measuring empathy of children. Because the preschool teachers are in a position to intimately know many child subjects, by using their as respondents it should be possible to guard against the low reliability which plagues studies with multiple respondents. To test reliability I carried out a test of altruistic behavior, and from the premise that empathy is a fixed factor leading to altruistic behavior, I examined the relation between the two.

Measuring empathy from questionnaires administered to teachers

1 Objective

Based on the research results by Bryant (1982), Sakurai (1986), and Morishita (1990), a set of scales for measuring children's empathy was created by present author. Preliminary survey was done with four nursery school teachers to examine the scales

Table 1 Results of factor analysis (Varimax rotaion)

Item	Factor loading F 1	F 2	F 3
① During free play, he/she is unconcerned even if a schoolmate is in trouble. (R)*	.68		
He/She is unconcerned even if a schoolmate seems to want a toy he/she is using. (R)	.64		
⑫ On seeing a classmate with no friends to play with, he/she does not think 'how sad to be all alone'.	.55		
⑪ Even if a younger child falls down, he/she does not seem to want to help. (R)	.50	.49	
② He/She thinks that kids who are alone and seem sad probably want friends.	.50		
⑨ He/She feels sorry for a child who has been left eating alone.	.47		
⑧ He/She is unconcerned even if another child falls and get hurt. (R)	.47	.44	
⑥ When he/she sees a child who seems sick and not energetic, he/she seems worried.	.45		
③ When he/she seems that a pet at the preschool is hurt, he/she seems sad.	.40		
⑯ Even upon hearing a pitiful story, he/she will not feel sympathy for the character in the story. (R)		.81	
⑱ When a story has a happy ending, he/she shares the happines as if it were a personal experience.		.71	
⑰ Even upon seeing another child being bullied, he/she does not get angry. (R)		.45	
④ He/She seems to be very happy when listening to and singing a particular song.		.44	
⑬ Upon seeing another child cyring, he/she seems to want to console that child.	.41	.42	
⑮ Upon seeing a friend's art project, created with much effort, being destroyed, he/she also becomes angry.		.41	
⑲ Upon seeing another child crying he/she becomes sad himself or herself.			−.58
⑦ When a friend is praised, he/she also become happy.			−.55
⑩ When a friend is laughing, he/she also seems to be having fun.			−.49
⑳ When friends or siblings do not seem to be well, he/she seems worried.			−.40
⑤ He/She does not sympathize with friends or siblings even if they are being scolded for breaking a rule. (R)	.34		
Communality	3.10	2.82	1.69
Contribution (%)	15.52	14.12	8.44
Cumulative contribution (%)	15.52	29.64	38.09

* Questions marked (R) were posed in the negative so an answer of [untrue] was the most empathic. For all items the most empathetic reply was assigned score of 5, and the least empathetic reply was assigned a score of 1.

extensively and intensively, and further corrections and additions were made, thus resulting in a final revised questionnaire. (The questionnaire items can be seen in Table 1).

In this study, empathy was measured by the set of scales, and factor analysis

explores its factorial substructure. The reliability of the scales was examined by the agreement between two independent raters.

2 Method

1) Respondents

The respondents were two teachers from public preschools in Hokkaido (both in charge of 4 and 5-year-olds), 2 teachers from public preschools in Tokyo (both in charge of 4 and 5-year-olds), and 4 teachers from a private preschool in Tokyo (2 in charge of 4-year-olds, 2 in charge of 5-year-olds). Also, two pairs of preschool teachers from a private preschool participated in this study. Each pair of teachers were in charge of the same class, and they responded to the questionnaire on each child in their class. The present study was basically designed to give an index of reliability by comparing the responses of these two pairs of teachers.

2) Procedures

The respondents were asked to there judgement on each item of the empathy scales along with following 5 ordered categories: [true], [somewhat true], [can't say either way], [somewhat untrue], and [untrue]. 10 out of 21 questions were constructed so as the answer of [true] was the not empathetic. 10 questions in these questions are marked 'R' so as the answer of [untrue] was the most empathetic. Each judgement was assigned a point value starting 5 to the most empathetic, and descending to 1 to the least. The questionnaire was distributed to the above said respondents on September 20, 1994 and collected October 3.

3 Results

The average scores and standard deviations were caliculated, and correlation coefficients were obtained between each item of scale and the overall score. As a result, only item 14, "He or she thinks that a child who always cries is strange and not normal," showed a low correlation (.34) and an especially low communality (0.1205) with the overall score. The items were used for conducting factor analysis, so item 14 was not included. Other items had rather high correlation's ranging from .44 to .67 ($p<.001$) with the overall score.

Next, in order to shed light on the structural relation between the different items used as standards for measuring empathy, factor analysis was carried out using the principal factor method. As a result, 3 factors were obtained which could be interpreted with the Varimax rotation method. The result of this analysis was shown in Table 1. In order to interpret and name factors, the items with a factor loading of .40 or greater were selected. Item 5, "He or she doesn't sympathize with friends or siblings even if they are being scolded for breaking a rule," was not included in the final analysis because the highest factor loading was only .34.

Factor 1 (F1) showed high loading in the following 9 items: "1, During free play, he or she is unconcerned even if a schoolmate is in trouble (R: scored in reverse order)," "21, He or she is unconcerned even if a schoolmate seems to want a toy that he or she is using (R)," and "12, On seeing a classmate with no friends to play with he

or she does not think 'how sad to be all alone' (R)," This factor was interpreted as 'Concern for surroundings' which reflects a solicitude for surrounding people and animals that are in a negative emotional state. Factor 2 (F2) showed high loading in the following 9 items: "16, Even upon hearing a pitiful story, he or she will not feel sympathy for the character in the story (R)," "18, When a story has a happy ending, he or she shares the happiness as if it were a personal experience," and "4, He or she seems to be very happy when listening to and singing a particular song." This factor was interpreted as a 'Sensitivity factor' which is not related to any particular emotion, but how the person reacts to various situations. Factor 3 (F3) was high in 4 items that test whether or not a child can feel the same emotions as another person. This was called the 'Shared emotion' factor and is reflected in the following items: "19, Upon seeing another child crying he or she becomes sad herself," and "7, He or she becomes happy when a friend is praised." The items which obtained comparatively higher factor loading than .40 on two factors were placed under the factor which showed higher loading.

Next the reliability of the empathy test was examined by using two methods. First, the degree of agreement between two respondents who rated the same target child was examined. Out of a total of 261 children, 36 four-year olds (approximately 14%) were rated on empathy by two independent respondents. There was a significant correlation of .59 ($p<.001$) between their responses. Next the items of the questionnaire were devided between odd and even numbered items. The correlation coefficient between the scores of these two halves was caliculated. A high correlation coefficient of .86 ($p<.001$) was obtained, and the Spearman index was .92, which is also unexpectedly high. These two methods were used to confirm the reliability of this measure of empathy.

Measuring altruistic behavior

1 Objective

Existing empirical research has demonstrated a significant mutual relation between empathy and altruistic behavior (Shutoh, 1985; Watanabe, 1989). In order to test the validity of the empathy measured in this study through teachers' reports, the experimenter will make a measure of altruistic behavior. The goal will be to select some kind of altruistic behavior which shows individual variability and can be measured objectively, and study the relationship between this behavior and empathy.

2 Method

1) Subjects

A total of 71 preschoolers from the private H Preschool in Tokyo participated in the experiment. Among these were 36 boys from the middle age class with an average age of 5 years and 2 months. The other 35 preschoolers were from the older class with an average age of 6 years and 2 months.

The experiment was carried out by the present author. The subjects were broken down into 12 subgroups, classified by 2 (age) $\times$ 2 (sex) $\times$ 3 (degree of empathy), which were used as the basis for the subsequent analysis.

2) Procedures

The experiment was carried out on an individual basis using the reception room of the preschool. The experimenter asked each child individually, "Won't you play a maze game with me?" and then led him or her to the experiment (reception) room. The experimenter then explained that he was interested in how well the child could do on the maze game, and explained the procedures. After giving a demonstration to the child, the experimenter had him or her practice. The experimenter then placed a card (token) in front of the child and explained that he or she would receive a number of cards depending on how many maze puzzles he or she could successfully complete. The experimenter also explained that each card could be exchanged for a prize; if the child collected many cards, these could be exchanged for many prizes. In order to control the desirability of the prize, the experimenter did not tell them what it would be in advance. The child played the game for one minute and each received 5 tokens regardless of his or her performance.

Next each child was shown a picture of people who suffered from the earthquake in Hokkaido, and the children in the picture are called as the subject's "friend." (It is common, when talking to children in Japan, to refer to a third party as a "friend" (*otomodachi*) regardless of the true relationship.) The experimenter then explained that the child could contribute some or all of the cards to these "friends," indicated the box where the cards could be making some donation to the child victims, and given them the following instruction:

> You now have 5 cards, right? In this box marked "for me" put as many cards as you want to purchase prizes for yourself. In this other box marked "for my friends" put as many cards as you want to get prizes for those poor "friends" that I just told you about. If you think it would be nice to give some cards to your "friends," I want you to put them into this box. If you put card in this box, when I got to Hokkaido I can bring the cards and prizes and give them away saying, 'These cards and prizes are from your friends in Tokyo!'

After explaining that the child can divide the cards however he or she likes between the two boxes, the experimenter took the child along with the boxes to a corner of the room where a screen was set up. "I'm going to be working over there and won't be looking, so go ahead and put your cards one at a time into either box. When you are all done, tell me, OK?" The experimenter added these instructions, sat down at his chair and waited for the child to finish. After the child finished, experimenter thanked him or her and explained that the teacher would hand out the prizes later. After all the subjects had finished their experiments, the teacher passed out the prizes enclosed in envelopes.

3) Results

The average number of shared cards tended to be low, from 1.39−1.80. Because the number of subjects was small, the results did not show a clear normal distribution. However, there was a small bell curve at lower values, suggesting a more self-centered trend in the division of cards.

Because children have yet to gain a lot of social experience and learn about altruism, the results may differ from those of adults.

There may also be a difference in the sharing patterns between 4 and 5-year-olds. Although the difference in the average sharing values was not significant, 5-year-olds did give away more cards, suggesting that in this one year period there are some forces acting to reinforce altruistic behavior.

Looking at the results from 4 and 5-year-olds as a whole, there was a trend of giving away two cards. This result is consistent with previous experiments on children's sharing behavior which have demonstrated a "1/2 rule," In the present experiment preschoolers often gave away 2 cards while keeping 3 for him-or herself. In this experiment the child is placed in a difficult position when he or she receives 5 cards; this number cannot be divided evenly, so perhaps this explains why the child typically takes only one card more than those given away. In the case of 4-year-olds there were more cases of 0 cards being shared (non-sharing) than 2 cards being shared. Compared to 4-year- olds, 5-year-olds were less likely to share 0 cards. It seems likely that a selfish motive affects the behavior of 4-year-olds; since they are strongly attracted to the cards and the imagined prize, they would rather keep the prize than give it away. However, with 5-year-olds it is more common to share 2 or 3 cards. These results suggest that as children move from the developmental level of 4 to 5-year- olds, their altruistic motives also develop and they become more likely to share with others.

Discussion

The questions in this questionnaire for measuring empathy often present emotionally negative situations that focus on sadness, distress, and anger. Among these, Factor 1 corresponds to "Indifferent" as described by Morishita (1990). However in contrast to that, in this study Factor 1 was named as "Concern for surroundings" so a higher factor score reflects a greater concern for others. many of the statements in the questionnaire used in this study carry negative connotation, so it would also be possible to name Factor 1 as "Concern for others in distress." If we include in the questionnaire some statements which refer to emotional states which are enperienced in playing with good friends, helping classmates in trouble, and in joint achievement with peers, then we may obtain another factor of empathy and altruistic behavior.

It is impossible to judge based on the results of this survey, whether the concentration of "distress" items in Factor 1 is coincidental, or Factor 1 takes its shape because of the inclusion of this element. To clarify this problem it would be necessary to restructure the questionnaire with various kinds of emotional situations included. Factor 1 also reflects the degree to which a child can understand another person's emotional condition.

Factor 2, "Sensitivity," also includes cases where the object is not a real person, such as in picture books, paper doll plays, and songs. This is often seen among adults too, as when they are emotionally moved by a movie or TV program. Here empathy includes both cases where the 'other' is a real person and cases where it is not. The emergence of this factor suggests that the ability to feel empathy for objects is a basic

element in overall empathy.

The items most closely related to Factor 3 tested whether a child him/herself could feel the emotions of another person. The emotions involved in this factor included both happiness and sadness; it could be said that this factor is more closely related to the sharing of emotion in general rather than a particular emotion. The items related to Factor 3 focus on whether a child actually comes to share the emotion which he/she perceives in another person. This is in contrast to Factor 1 which questions whether this perception of emotion takes place at all, and whether this leads to a desire to act on the emotion.

Next the correlation between the results of the altruistic behavior experiment and those of the empathy questionnaire was examined. The hypothesis was that there would be a close correlation between empathy as scored by teachers and altruistic behavior as judged by the experiment. Altruistic behavior for each individual was scored according to the number of cards he/she put in the box for 'friends'. From the results of the empathy questionnaire, subjects were divided into 3 groups: (L) low empathy, (M) medium empathy, and (H) high empathy. The author then compared the average number of cards given away by each of the 3 groups and tested for statistical significance. A meaningful difference was found between the low empathy and medium empathy groups ($t(68)=1.87$, $.05<p<.10$), but no meaningful difference between L and H or M and H groups.

Next, The author redivided the subjects according to the results of the altruism experiment. Those who shared at least one card formed one group and those who shared none formed a second group. The author then carried out a χ^2 test across the previous 3 empathy groups. As a result, it was found that many subjects in the low empathy category did not give any cards away. In contrast, many of the subjects from the medium and high empathy groups gave away at least some cards. This trend was found to be meaningful($\chi^2(2)=5.01$, $.05<p<.10$). This result partially supports the conclusion by Watanabe (1989) that empathy is a factor contributing to sharing behavior. However, the results as a whole did not present a clear relationship between empathy and altruistic behavior.

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DIFFERENCES IN TEACHER CLASSROOM BEHAVIORS IN USA AND JAPAN: A FIELD NOTE

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The following comments are based upon several observations of American classrooms which I, as a Japanese developmental psychologist who has been interested in education, made during a year long visit to the United States during 1992-1993. The observations were not systematic in any way but do reflect deliberate efforts to visit a number of different educational sites. Given these limitations as well as the fact that English is not my native tongue and America is not my native land, these comments may contain some linguistic as well as cross-cultural misunderstandings and misinterpretations. Nevertheless, I am very curious whether and to what extent my interpretations may reveal patterns that are generalizable.

1. Using the Chalkboard

It was striking to me that teachers of the schools I visited did not seem to consciously organize their writing on the chalkboard in a way that would help promote communication with students. As well, they seemed to use the chalkboard less frequently than Japanese teachers.

In Japan, the chalkboard is used as a primary medium of communication so that teachers are always aware of clarity, size, shape as well as saliency of the items placed on the chalkboard. For instance, they sometimes bend or squat down while writing so that every one can see the process of writing or sketching as well as the product. On the top of the board, they like to use colored chalk and careful underlining to indicate emphases and embellish this by using:

- framing,
- edge as well as the point of the chalk,
- larger letters.

Most of this report was written when I was a visiting scholar at the Center for Human Growth and Development, University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. I wish to thank Dr. Harold W. Stevenson who has offered me not only a stimulating research environment but a lot of priceless opportunities to observe schools there. And I appreciate the help of our colleagues, Shinying Lee of the University of Michigan, Carolyn McCarty of University of California at Los Angeles, Mike Goldenberg and Thomas Evans of University of Michigan. Lastly, I feel indebted to Dr. Daiyo Sawada of University of Alberta for his editing my first draft.

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Above all, teachers believe that the way the chalkboard is organized is an intrinsic reflection of their teaching processes, like a mirror reflecting back to them what they are doing and how it is coming across. It is as if a record of the teaching had been etched on the board for all to see. Accordingly, Japanese teachers pay close attention to the use of the chalkboard both for the way it supports learning and for the way it identifies them as a teacher. For example, chalk is very strongly associated with the essential character of teaching, and it is symbolic of a school teacher. We also use the title of "a life with a piece of chalk" which means teachers whose life-long teaching profession is, and we Japanese tend to admire individuals who remain engaged in teaching children more than those who leave the classrooms and are promoted to principals.

In the American classrooms I visited, the lesson often began with items left from previous lessons as well as schedules for the day and other notices to students. I often wondered who erases the chalkboards and why the boards were allowed to become so disorganized as if it were just a collection of miscellaneous items. For example, amongst the many items still on the board, a teacher would find a small space to write new things, and items written within those confines would be too small and too unorganized to get students' attention or even to be seen. The medium may be speaking louder to students than the messages carried.

2. Writing teaching plans in advance

Frankly speaking, while observing teaching in American schools I sometimes felt totally lost as to where the lesson was, where it was now or heading; certainly I could not predict what might happen next. I would also say that students also could not predict. While it is certainly possible that my inability to detect a strong coherence in the lesson said as much about me as it did the lesson, nevertheless it seemed to me that much of the problem resided in the lesson plan or lack thereof. Perhaps the teachers were deliberately being flexible but it seemed to me that if there appears to be no semblance of strategy or plan, then it will be very difficult for students to behave appropriately in contributing to the lesson or the direction it might take. In particular it would be difficult for the teacher to induce certain concepts or skills.

Although not every Japanese teacher prepares a written instructional plan, most do. Like the chalkboard, the lesson plan is seen as an important teaching device and is therefore carefully arranged as a preliminary expression of their logic of teaching. Given a common curriculum and common textbooks, the consistency of lessons from one teacher to another that one often observes in Japan is in part due to the attention and effort put into the teaching plans that carry out the intent of the curriculum.

3. Less time for explaining fundamental concepts

It struck me that American teachers basically like to employ what I would call a "trial-and-error" approach. Or more concretely, I sometimes had the feeling that teachers were hosts of a quiz show: They announce whether each answer is correct or incorrect, but do not explain one way or another. This is understandable in a TV show, but as an instructional approach it seemed questionable.

For example, I had a chance to observe a math class using a computerized game

to practice multidigit computation. In the game (simulation) the student had to go through a complex maze trying to avoid obstacles like the attack of killer bees and the wrath of tornadoes on their way to the goal. Whenever they passed a corner, they had to overcome a "barrier" which was to do a calculation problem. It was CMI (computer managed instruction) in a simulated game mode providing instant correct/incorrect feedback just as in a TV game show. But students didn't get any explanatory feedback if they made mistakes. I noticed one girl, after unsuccessfully trying the same problem three times, simply gave up and moved on. The program did supply a format based on place value to handle the multidigits. However, since none of the students brought pencil and paper with them, the fact that they were having difficulty in remembering the numbers moved from one column to another (carrying and borrowing), simply exacerbated the difficulty they were having in solving these problems. These circumstances forced them into having to do two things simultaneously and they were seemingly having little success on either and less on both.

After the class, I asked the teacher why students would not bring pencils and notebooks. He explained that students could use ten digits (from 0 to 9) which were placed in the lower-left corner of the TV screen. I admitted that I saw this frame on the screen but never saw a single student using it. In fact, I subsequently asked a student during the class and he was not aware of this provision. I could not help thinking that the lower-left corner of the TV screen was like the little space on the chalkboard where messages are crammed and overlooked.

Hence, I felt dubious about the effects of using computers in this particular manner. I also wondered how students could learn from computers if errors did not lead to opportunities to learn (through explanations or other modes of teaching).

I was very impressed by the another computer lab which involved students in the preparation of their own biographies. Every student devised a unique layout by placing pre-designed pictures into their essays. And the teacher in charge of this course told me that he used to be a computer science student and had been also interested in education. I have been told that in America the number of teachers with decent knowledge about computers and a strong interest in teaching children is rather small. Nevertheless, the number would be still larger than those in Japan where teachers enthusiastic about computerized instruction are seen as less competent in working with students. Because the vast majority of Japanese teachers believe that direct interactions between teachers and children are necessary for cognitive feedback as well as emotional support, they are apt to characterize teachers who are enthusiastic about using computers as being less competent in this very essential human aspect of teaching. I think this characterization, while having many exceptions, is largely true in Japan.

4. Less time for discussion among students

Over and over again I observed is a certain kind of teaching style. I call it the Question-Answer cycle. The teacher asks a question, a student answers. This repeats again and again. This pattern was salient for me because it contrasted with Japanese teaching in which discussions among students are more prevalent. The teacher's role is more like a coordinator than a judge of student responses. Indeed, Japanese teachers

have coined a word "kneading ideas" (*neriai*) to describe the process occurring among students in order to emphasize the importance of group thinking and sharing of beliefs during which each child has many opportunities to elaborate and criticize ideas as well as to receive the same from classmates. Hence, from a measurement perspective, one important index of the quality of instruction is the opportunities that students have to intensively and extensively knead their ideas. Several instructional techniques have been invented to promote children's participation in and control of discussion. For example, even in a teacher-led discussion, a teacher will often refrain from directing who will speak next. Instead the class might adopt a convention that when a student has finished speaking, s/he designates the next speaker. At times during these discussions, the teacher will summarize the points or even intervene when she feels the need to organize the line of discussion. That is to say, she also participates in the kneading. Then, as long as these processes run smoothly, teachers let them go most of the time.

Stereotypic views about teaching styles in Japan, held by people in Japan as well as overseas, depict Japanese teachers as authoritarian and restrictive, particularly as regards interactions among students. But, based on my observations, Japanese teachers in elementary schools appeal less to authority.

5. American classrooms are less noisy

When I entered the kindergarten classroom, I was very surprised at its calmness. The teacher was conducting a lesson on the human body explaining each of the body parts using a skeleton-model and pictures of human organs. Students sat around the teacher in close proximity, making little noise, not speaking out of turn nor in an overly loud voice. There were no student initiated disturbances or interruptions.

In contrast, Japanese classrooms are usually noisier; indeed they are often quite boisterous (Sato, 1990; Lewis, 1994). In part this is due to the custom of saying *yes* ("Hai" in Japanese) when raising their hands to indicate readiness and willingness to respond, and this practice raises the noise level. Because this kind of noisiness is taken as a reflection of cheerfulness and attentiveness, it is encouraged by teachers. Additionally, and as mentioned earlier, the extensive use of "kneading" results in a prevailing level of talk almost like prevailing breezes. At the same time, there are some disruptive children in almost every class, especially boys in the lower grade who often if not regularly disturb teachers by making undue noise or speaking loudly, and annoying others. In contrast, in the schools I observed in America, there were some children who were not attentive to teachers, but did not express their inattentiveness through making noise. Rather they would take lengthy leaves to the washroom or withdraw in other ways. Most of the children whom I recognized as non-participants were avoiding their involvement in in-class activities instead of disturbing them. They were rather passive towards the teacher even though they would not comply with her.

In addition, even in the hallway children were less noisy. Less noise seems to be a fairly general characteristic in the United States. In contrast with this, we often see many children running through the hallway, and singing songs loudly in Japan. And I saw all the children singing their school song as they went out of their classrooms in two rows into the gym where the entire school assembled for the meeting which was

held in the morning. Generally speaking, noisiness itself is not always seen as disturbing behavior but as the desirable state of children being ready for charged energy within them. Of course, however, Japanese teachers also try to teach children the clear distinction (*kejime*) between these playful time and the time of having to be silent. In other words, teachers usually take advantage of the active state of children and sometimes try to induce them to discharge their overflowed energy in order to make an optimal level for paying attention. For example, when the bell (in most of the schools, they use an elegant bell sound of Westminster Abbey or such kind of sound instead of the sound of buzzer which is associated with factory) rings, children may have to freeze all of their actions during the time of ringing. This extremely contrasting shift of behavior gives the children a clearer distinction between play time and study time.

6. Controlling children's deviant behaviors

As suggested above, American teachers are likely to intervene when the noise due to chatter is at levels which in Japan would have been deemed acceptable. Such acceptability is based on the assumption that a certain level of chatter is necessary if students are actively and genuinely participating in the lesson. For instance, teachers use "Shh" with a gesture of bringing their forefingers to their mouths and "zip up your mouth" very frequently in the classrooms and hallways when they had to wait to move to another room. If American teachers would witness the same behaviors in the hallways in Japanese kindergartens and elementary schools, they would be surprised by the level of children's noise and vivaciousness that is tolerated by teachers.

In general, American teachers focused on and controlled children's disturbing behaviors rather than only their off-task behaviors, while Japanese elementary school teachers attended more to the off-task behaviors. In one 8th grade class I observed a student lay with his head on his desk for the whole period sleeping from beginning to end and the teacher just ignored him.

Japanese teachers have developed several techniques to handle such situations. For example, when children are tired or inattentive teachers incite everyone to say something loudly in unison. Or they might order them to stand up and stretch their arms. I found it very strange that American children as well as teachers didn't have a time of stretching their arms although all of the audience were mildly forced to stretch their arms and legs in the middle of the ball game here. On other occasions I have witnessed teachers stopping the class and engaging the students in singing songs while moving around. This practice is believed to produce a more pleasant as well as more relaxing atmosphere.

7. Children's attention-getting behaviors

As noted above, American teachers pay less attention to getting students focused on the chalkboard, the computer screen, or on the lesson generally as long as the students weren't actively interrupting the class. In keeping with this, they would often begin speaking to the class without checking to see whether anyone was ready to listen. Perhaps this is due in part to the fact that, as noted above, the noise level in American

classrooms is lower. Whether students are listening or not does not change the noise level much. In contrast, when Japanese students are listening, the noise level goes down dramatically. This makes it much easier for Japanese teachers to monitor the attentiveness of students.

Japanese teachers use several kinds of techniques in order to get children's attention. In addition to direct techniques like saying, " Check your mouth," " Stop chattering," or " Be quiet," they may gradually fade their voice to the point of not talking at all and wait until students realize that something had really changed. Such techniques may not work as well in some American classrooms.

A famous educator in an elementary school, Kihaku Saito, wrote in his huge collection of writings about one impressive example. When his students became noisy and less attentive, he suddenly opened several windows. It had been raining only a few moments ago but now it stopped. He pointed at the pine tree standing near by and asked what could be heard. He waited until students were able to hear the slightest sound of drops falling from the pine leaves to the ground. After appreciating the variation of the sound as well as the scene, he resumed teaching.

Perhaps one reason why American teachers seem less preoccupied with seeking the attentiveness and compliance of all of their students is because they value the process of self-paced learning, or they might believe that not all children are capable of complying with them. In a second grade classroom, the teacher distributed blank cards to students asking them to list words they did not understand. When a boy came to her with his card asking about the spelling of a certain word, she took his card and instantly wrote the word very quickly as if she were writing it for herself without any concern of his attentiveness to it. To me, this was a very astounding experience. In Japan, if as student made such a request, except under particular circumstances, teachers would write the letters (characters) very carefully, showing every stroke so that the child could see the order of strokes and at the same time learn the value of politeness in writing letters. I think the contrasting teacher reactions to this request reflect in part the large differences between the different letter systems. In Japan it is deemed necessary to teach the proper order of strokes that make up a character whether it be in hiragana, katakana, or kanji. I am told that such an emphasis on the proper form of writing is not a priority in America. Japanese believe that the right order of strokes is necessary to make beautiful letters, and furthermore believe that well shaped letters reflect intelligence as well as diligence. I have heard from my American friends a totally opposite view about the merit of hand writing: bad (ill-formed) hand writing reflects quickness of mind. This extremely contrasting attribution is not only very interesting to me, it does, I believe, help to explain why chalkboards in America also seem to be not so well-organized: perhaps messy writing and disorganized chalkboard displays are associated with sharp-witted and spontaneous teaching. Is it called " winging it "?

8. Shared activities and cooperative learning

American teachers stress individual learning and individual excellence. Japanese teachers stress the importance of improving the learning of the whole class and enlist

the help of all children, including the smartest, to take the discussion as far as possible. For example, Japanese teachers place a high priority on just how the lesson gets started as a way of ensuring discussion within the whole class. Many teachers admit that they will devote more energy to thinking how to "direct" the introduction phase than to the follow-up phases. For they think that if they will fail to get the children interested in a specific task and fail to bring about an atmosphere of 'esprit de corps,' the lesson may flop entirely. At times they speak as if they do not know the answer (and perhaps at times they do not) as a way of encouraging the whole class to resolve the challenge together. This strategy draws the students together while at the same time depending on the pride of each student. The main point is that when a task is shared with all class members they can all find resolution through helping each other. In summing up, the teachers assume children are more agentic in problem solving and are less dependent on teachers and those the students who have advanced knowledge.

Beyond the school, generally speaking Japanese people are apt to take a longer time introducing anything. For example, in a recent study Japanese mothers with three-year-old children took a longer time than their American counterparts in instructing simple rules (Azuma, Kashiwagi, & Hess, 1983).

In keeping with these general findings, introduction of new problems or units by American teachers are rather abrupt and brief in comparison. It is as if spending time laying out the setting for a problem is a waste of valuable time. American teachers seemed impressed by how far they had traveled and how many different topics they had covered. Because of this priority on speed and coverage, I often had difficulty keeping up with them: In trying to follow a certain line of development, my thoughts often got in the way of the changing course of the lesson.

I wondered if students felt this way too, or perhaps they are accustomed to this style. If teachers would take more time to discuss the task and children could realize the relevance of the task to their own interests, their attentiveness might be increased. Exchanging tentative solutions with other children will also allow slower learners time to enter and participate in the activities.

9. Tuning to children's developmental stage

During my first visit to a kindergarten class, I was shocked by the difficulty of the words the teacher used. It was as if she were speaking with her colleagues. She was explaining the parts of the human body and asked students to name the systems one by one: stomach, heart, large intestine, small intestine, cerebellum, and even esophagus. To my surprise, a couple of students could say all the names. It appeared to me that when dealing with vocabulary, the approach American teachers may like to use is to challenge and lift students to reach adult levels.

In Japan, I think the most popular approach of teachers might be the opposite. That is to say, teachers come down to the children's level both to participate and to emphasize the equality between teachers and students. In experimental as well as ethnographic studies (Azuma, Kashiwagi, & Hess, 1983; Peak, 1991), Japanese teachers and mothers were less likely to appeal to authority figures than their American counterparts. I think these behavioral differences in adults in the two countries come from the

differences in the acknowledged status of the reference groups. In other words, since parents, especially teachers are assumed to be respected (more so in Japan) regardless of their ages and their backgrounds, they will less likely feel threatened by students. Under the situation where dominance vs. submissive relationships were salient, it would work well if those who are accorded higher status would operate at the lower level.

I think there might be another reason why Japanese teachers would not take the same approach as American teachers: They are generally very cautious in introducing new learning materials of any kind. Like any other introduction, when introducing new material teachers would very carefully organize things so that all children could have clear conceptual access to the new materials. Teachers are likely to assume that instruction which depends on individual differences in the knowledge about the new material would not work well. Many of the students may feel inferior when more precocious peers become comfortable with the new material more quickly. Additionally, many children may become dependent on a small number of students who have prior acquaintance with the material, and they may not have strong motivation to solve that problem. Because of considerations such as these, teachers often ask more advanced children to hold their answers for a while or to ask for additional answers as well.

Basically, teachers are expected to attend to the developmental differences in children and not to press them for achievement too much. For, if children would not have achieved fully, they will finally reach the desired level as long as they have acquired appropriate attitudes and learning habits.

One of the most popular techniques, especially for teachers with younger children, is to speak to children at their eye level, squatting down if need be. I didn't observe this happening at all in the American classrooms. It seemed to me American teachers treat children as more mature.

10. Evaluative feedback

It seemed to me that American teachers were less likely to use evaluative feedback, particularly when it is negative. For instance, in a second grade language class, students were making many spelling errors, but the teacher didn't correct them. I think this behavior reflects a belief on the part of the teacher that such corrections will diminish motivation. The teacher told me that she tried to encourage children to write as much as possible at this stage.

I am wondering whether use of this strategy may be restricted to only beginners. For example, my English composition teacher in America always told us that rather than being preoccupied with grammatical errors, we should do more writing. Thinking of my own experience in my studying English, Japanese teachers were more meticulous on subtle grammatical errors and provided a lot of feedback about it. To be honest, since this type of instruction seemed to be informative to us, I as well as other Asian students felt uncomfortable in the American style of teaching for a while. But, after a short while, I realized that there might be more pressure to conform and depend on the teachers in the Japanese style of English composition. And we were more likely to become obsessed with making mistakes which would lead to a deep rooted feeling of

inadequacy or incompetence.

11. To cover lots of topics in one class period

Generally speaking, it always seemed to me that instruction in the US did not focus and dwell on a major theme or problem. Rather, teachers seemed to prefer moving from one topic to another in quick succession. And as mentioned earlier I sometimes had difficulty keeping up with the shifts. While I failed to ask the teachers why they preferred this strategy, it may arise from the following beliefs. First, the belief that a person who can shift quickly and do two or more things simultaneously is more able or valuable than one who seems only to be able to engage in one thing at a time no matter how deeply. In other words, American people might idealize a "concurrent processing" person rather than a "sequential processing" one. When I went to the gym on a university campus, I was very surprised to see so many people doing two things at the same time: jogging while listening to their walkman (I would rename it as *jogman*); jogging while talking continuously with someone; reading books and newspapers while exercising vigorously under dimmed light. We in Japan listen to a walkman or read a newspaper while riding on a train, but I have never seen these multi-task persons in Japan.

Second, the great emphasis on quickness and briskness in American lifestyle as for example in speed reading and the skill of skimming and weeding out huge amount of material. In contrast, this type of skill training in Japan is not so popular, at least not in language education. Instead, Japanese teachers emphasize "*kodawari*," which literally means "*obsession*," so that they might make children focus on a single word or phrase, continuously coming back to subtle differences, and encouraging students to activate their images of and empathy with the writer and characters. In Japanese language classrooms, it is not unusual for teachers to use half of the period discussing one adverb like "*dake*", which means "only" or "just." An old Japanese proverb says that in any difficult book, after we read it one hundred times, we can naturally understand the meaning. However, in fact, we have one group of Japanese educators who advocate global comprehension of content as a whole with only one reading. But like rapid reading, this type of movement has not yet become popular.

Third, American teachers might provide a wide variety of tasks so that children have a broader opportunity to experience success, at least on one of the tasks. Since they move so quickly from task to task, there is not enough time for children who fail one problem to be hurt severely, because soon they will be working on something else. A broad variety of tasks would likely be less boring as well, at least to the extent that variety itself is interesting.

12. Emphasis on achievement rather than on styles

American teachers paid little attention to children's sitting posture, position in reading a book, the way of holding the pencil, or to any other stylistic aspects of children's behavior. Perhaps American teachers look more tolerantly toward children's individuality and are less likely to expect a unified pattern of behavior. For instance, I was very surprised to find a scene in a first grade guidebook for parents depicting a

child lying on his stomach and reading a book. The caption spoke of encouraging reading in children. If it were in Japan, this boy must be taken as a model of ill-disciplined children. We think this kind of posture while reading will easily lead to deterioration of eyesight and to fatigue.

Traditionally, in other fields as well, there is a belief that proper form is important. For instance, baseball players from the United States playing in Japan complained that their Japanese coaches were only too eager to suggest modifications in their batting stance after only two or three bad games (White, 1989).

13. Leadership of principals

As shown by a recent cross-cultural survey on teachers in the US and Japan (Sato & McLaughlin, 1992) principals in the States were much more active and aggressive than Japanese principals. I think these differences are partially due to age (many principals in the US were relatively young; i. e. forties) and partially to differences in comparison with regular teachers in their academic background and career-minded. I was also very impressed that principals responded to each child by calling his/her first name.

In contrast, in Sapporo, the average age of the first promotion to a principalship is about 55, and because retirement age is 60, the position is not a career assignment (*note 1*). Principals do not possess special qualifications beyond those of ordinary teachers. Although principals are relatively older, they often serve at schools where they have been teaching and therefore know the teachers from before. This situation means that principals are less likely to assume a position of power over their colleagues.

Because of these conditions, the figures of principals are not salient for outsiders. A few years ago, I had a chance to guide a graduate student from Stanford University to my university's junior high school. The most intriguing question that she asked me was about the position of principal. In her observations of many schools in Japan, she couldn't discern that the principal was actually working in the school, and often could not find the principal there. Therefore, she was wondering what the principal was doing or what his (more than 90% of principals are male) duties were.

Generally speaking, leadership positions in Japan, regardless of field, are not salient and not clearly delineated. It seems to us that they do not have the same kind of power that American leaders have. The role and expectation of a Japanese principal is that of a moderator who reconciles the discrepancies and differences among teachers rather than influences them directly. While principals and senior leaders do have the final vote, they do not like to force their intention or determination on their followers. For example, our decision-making system is mostly dependent on "bottom-up" processes and all of the members are incorporated into these decision processes. These procedures usually take more time than "top-down" procedures, but it is easier and more efficient to execute once decisions have been reached, because having been involved in the process, all members have a good feel for what needs to be done and can easily relate their own work with the work of others, and to organizational goals as well. In this setting, good leaders must be patient, attentive and empathetic, listen-

ing to others and assuming that their power derives from their colleagues. "*Sassuru*," to understand an other's inclination without explicit verbal cues, is one of the most important concepts in the human relations among Japanese people. Lower ranked people do try to "*sassuru*" the inclination of their bosses, if their bosses are not bossing them around.

14. Obligations for teachers

Although I didn't get enough information about their non-teaching responsibilities, American teachers seemed not to have so many. They may teach students longer hours than Japanese teachers, particularly at the primary level, but their other duties are fewer. For example, there is only one person, perhaps a part-timer, who is responsible for budgeting in Japanese schools. Every home room teacher has to collect money at least a few times a month: school lunch charge (every month), bus fee for outings, charge for workbooks and test sheets, and charge for learning materials such as art crafts and musical instruments. With limited clerical help, teachers are responsible for the paper work relating to the transference of children, enrollment, and other kinds of administration. They supervise and often participate with students in carrying out duties (i. e.: cleaning their rooms) that in America are done by custodial staff.

Lunch time is an excellent opportunity for Japanese teachers to teach children about manners and diet. In every lunch, "*kyushoku toban*," lunch attenders who rotate in turn among students, carry foods from the kitchen, distribute them to classmates, saying "*itadaki masu*" ("have lunch," the cue to start eating), saying "*gochiso sama deshita*" ("have had a nice meal," the greeting to end the lunch), then they collect all dishes and spoons. During the half hour of lunch time, they enjoy news and music through cable radios which are broadcast by students. Every teacher is responsible for having her/his students learn and carry out these luncheon duties. Concerning diet, first graders used to be taught "triangle eating" which means that they should eat bread, side dish (*okazu*) and soup in cyclical fashion so as not to avoid any part, although this manner is becoming less popular recently. Teachers usually try to identify special dislikes of students (carrots, cheese, etc.) and the nature of their appetite. They ask parents to try to make children eat everything and advice about children's lives. For instance, if a child seemed to be always hungry, they might ask the parent if the child skips breakfast.

All teachers have to commit to various kinds of in-school committees (*i'inkai*) and all of the school work is organized under the title of "*kōmu bunsho*" or school job specification (*kōmu* means work in school, and *bunsho* means sharing the duties among everyone). These committees and specified work groups number more than fifty (see Appendix which follows after notes).

15. Quantity of interaction between teachers and children

In terms of the hours of teaching, there are not any clear differences between American and Japanese teachers, although American teachers in charge of lower graders teach a few more hours than do their Japanese counterparts. However, when we look at the amount of time teachers spent interacting with their homeroom students,

Japanese teachers have more contact than American teachers. For example, music, gym, art, and library study are taught by special teachers in the United States. In contrast, Japanese teachers have to teach all of the subjects (seven subjects for first to fourth grade teachers, and eight subjects for fifth and sixth grade teachers), because it is very rare to have special teachers in elementary schools (note 2). On top of this, they have to share their lunch with supervision responsibilities, oversee their students' cleaning classrooms, and participate in extracurricular activities such as club activities and students' autonomous activities. In brief, each homeroom teacher meets his/her children from the homeroom meeting in the morning before the first academic hour until after class meeting, and they often meet some of them in other activities in the schools.

The longer time and more extended opportunities for teachers to interact with their children in Japan may lead the teachers to understand children's lives and personalities much more easily. And they are more able to get information about disciplinary problems from parents during home visits and conferences with parents, because they are also expected to be responsible for disciplining their students to some extent (*note 3*). Given the mutual interest and shared knowledge about each child by teachers and parents, we expect that the actual process of socializing children in the schools will proceed more smoothly. I have heard many times that American teachers complain about parents being less interested in education and less cooperative with teachers and they have confessed to me that it is very difficult to talk with parents directly about the problems of their own children. After they have met them, the teachers still seem to have great difficulty in persuading them to change their children's behaviors.

Of course, Japanese teachers also complain that there are many parents who are not cooperative with them. However, I think the nature of problems between teachers and parents are different in the United States and Japan. In Japan, the territory or zone of the responsibility for teachers and parents are always very blurred or vague; many problems come from these overlap. Teachers often blame parents for inadequately disciplining children and justify the teachers' intervening students' behaviors which are usually judged as to be corrected too much. And parents also blame teachers for overly intrusive attempts toward their children's behavior styles, hobbies, life styles and even eating habits(*note 4*). On the other hand, still considerable portions of parents often complain that teachers pay too little attention to above matters. There has been a lot of confusion between teachers and parents stems from these vague borders of responsibility for each party (*note 5, 6*).

16. Flexible but a little bit unpredictable schedule

When I first went into a classroom in the United States, I looked around the whole room and wondered why there was not a large schedule. In every classroom in Japan, a large and colorful timetable is placed in front of the classroom. Then any newcomers can know at a glance what subject the children are learning now, and what is coming next. At the beginning of the semester, teachers distribute a schedule and children are required to place it in front of their desks in their houses. Before they go to school, they can prepare the right textbooks, notebooks, and other materials by

checking the schedule for that day. In Japan, all the textbooks are given to the children (*note 7*) and they have to carry them between school and their homes. In order to ease their carrying them every school days, textbooks are light and thin and those of basic academic subjects like math, language, science, and social studies are partitioned into two volumes.

The timetable is very important for children, and it will remind them of the homework today, and what things they have to prepare by next morning. It is also convenient for parents to monitor what the children learn today and to help children prepare materials for next day.

In the United States, since the textbooks are usually expected to leave at their classrooms, children do not select and prepare them everyday. Hence, they may not need a timetable.

17. Teachers are friendly but less cooperative with each other

I happened to witness a very impressive occasion in the classroom of a middle school in the United States. In the middle of the class, the teacher was notified as her daughter's illness by someone and had to pick her up soon. She went out of her classroom for several minutes and went back to resume in teaching. After nearly ten minutes passed, a tall black male came into the classroom, talked with her and sat down in the front seat. Not only I but also two of the American researchers there thought he must be an advisor or a supervisor of her. But, suddenly, he took over her teaching, and she left. He seemed to wait until a better time to alternate the teaching. Luckily enough, we met again one hour later, and we had a chance to talk to her and her colleague math teacher. Although these happenings occur only rarely, it seems difficult to arrange them between the teachers and ask another teacher to take care of their classrooms.

Judging from my observation and incidental talk with teachers in the United States, there seems to be relatively fewer opportunity to help and cooperate each other than there are in Japanese schools. In Japan, all teachers in charge of the same grade are to meet every one or two week(s) in order to exchange information how far each of them have proceeded in each subject (*note 8*) as well as the general information of students during a certain period, discuss the schedule of next week(s) and content of the specific grade newsletter (*gakunen dayori*). Older teacher, especially chief teachers (*note 9*) are expected to give advice to younger teachers in this meeting as well as doing this incidentally in everyday. Same grade teachers often integrate two or three classes in music and gym class and they are relatively easier to exchange with each so that they become familiar to children in other teachers' homeroom.

In order to maximize the cooperativeness among the teachers in the same grade, principals usually try to combine inexperienced teachers with veteran teachers in the hope of older teachers' taking a role like a mentor for younger one and the latter's stimulating the former one. Parental expectation as well as principals' ones toward each teacher is focused on his/her performing in the same level as other teachers in the same grade in order to assure the egalitarianism, rather than focused on differentiating others. Hence, each teacher is required to minimize the differences among the classes,

and more competent teachers are to help and give advice to the less competent ones. These lateral relationships may be taken as threatening to each other : more competent teachers will feel unfair if s/he help less competent one and this practice will impress others less salient in the differences among these contrasting teachers. And American people might also think that less competent teachers, especially young and less experienced teachers feel them more humiliating and miserable if they have been more frequently helped in stead of actively helping others. But, it is quite natural in Japanes schoolt that such younger teachers are expected to depend upon the veteran and competent teachers. The competent teachers are to welcome being relied on them, because the behavior shown by younger ones is the clear-cut indication of dependability, reliance, and respect for them. Because these *amae* or mutually dependent relationships among the teachers varying in their extensive skills, veteran teachers are likely to feel rewarded by their influencing others and recognition from others and younger ones are likely to be encouraged by their every progress which has been reinforced by veteran teachers often. I think this pro-cooperative atmosphere is not special in the world of teachers but this is intermeatable even across the most competitive private companies. As long as the promotion is basically based on the seniority, the older ones who have occupied higher ranks do not feel threatened if they have more competent colleagues. Under this situation, younger promising ones will not compete with their boss, but rather they prefer to seek their support and encouragement in return for their commitment to their responsibilities. Therefore, in terms of a team spirit, or a sense of cooperation, American people as well as Japanese people understand these concepts clearly, but the contexts underpinning these concepts seem to be very different in two countries.

18. Relationships between teachers and parents

Generally speaking, communication between teachers and parents seems more frequent in Japan than in the United States. For example, the open classrooms are arranged a few times each semester in Japanese schools, and the open classrooms in Japan are quite different from those in America. Typically, parents are invited to observe the actual instruction in their homerooms and to participate in a conference with their teachers which follows the instruction. These schedules are arranged in the mornings or afternoons of weekdays, and also on Sundays (*note 10*).

Topics at a conference cover various things such as information about the important school activities, contents of recent academic subjects, and lectures by the teachers about child rearing problems (*note 11*). Parents are sometimes integrated into the same grade classes to discuss the grade specific problems. Similarly, some experts in education and child development are invited to give lectures to all of the parents. The recent behavioral problems in school and out of schools such as traffic accidents, delinquent behaviors, and bullying are very popular topics.

Besides these meetings with parents, all of the teachers have to make home visits to each of their children's homes during the prescribed weeks within the first two months after the new school year. In the beginning of the first semester each child is required to report his/her own personal history including their past diseases, every person who lives with them, age and occupations of all of these people, their own personal-

ity characteristics, hobbies, preferences for foods, the attendance of out-of-school activities like *juku* (the cram schools in academic learning), and other lessons like piano, drawing, and swimming (*note 12*). In addition to the abundance of information about every student, teachers get still more information from their home visits. For instance, every teacher knows even the details of their students' private lives like divorce, disconcordance and makeup between the parents, bankruptcy due to the huge amount of debts in order to buy their houses, pregnancy of mothers, pets, and neighbors by relations. Teachers are expected to know this private information in order to understand their students and to give them the appropriate guidance (*note 13*).

In addition to these measures, teachers also distribute school newsletters, class newsletters, and grade newsletters. The class newsletter offers information concerning what they will learn each week, necessary preparations for upcoming tasks, and special topics pertinent to their own classes.

In contrast to these situations in Japan, I have heard some American teachers complain about the lack of parental availability. In the daytime it is harder to ask working parents to come see their classrooms, but it is also difficult to do so in the evening because of fatigue. One female high school mathematics teacher showed me the special format of her homework. At the bottom of the page, a column for the signature of parents/guardians is placed. She told me that this practice might cause parents to become more interested in their children's academic matters, although they might not understand the problems which were assigned to the children. She did tell me that the rest of the teachers in her school did not practice this type of activity.

19. Tentative conclusive comments: Some implications for Japanese education

Culturally Bound Windows

As I noted before, my observations of American schools have many limitations based upon my incidental and unsystematic methods as well as the language barrier. However what I want to emphasize is that the nature of the window through which I see usually narrows the focus down to some aspects of the truth. Furthermore, although the concepts and the terms referring to certain phenomena are defined the same way in terms of the lexical meanings, the actual functioning may be totally different, depending on their contexts and cultural and historical background. For instance, I sometimes feel that the translation of "*tokoya*" into "barber's shop" is nonsense because there are huge differences between the same establishment in the two cultures (De Mente, 1991). So is it with the descriptions of teachers' behavior.

Honestly speaking, almost all my observations come through my own indigenous windows, or my frame of reference as a Japanese person, as the most excellent observations on Japanese schools by American scholars come through their own culturally specific windows (Lewis, 1992; Peak, 1992). I admit that my descriptions and interpretations of the American education system might focus on more of the negative aspects rather than the positive ones. However, I never mean that the quality of American education is inferior to that of Japan. Instead, I mean that my interpretations of the behavioral differences between American teachers and Japanese teachers are based on my own cultural frame of reference.

Education and Nationality

After the war Japanese educational reforms have been continually influenced by American education. Policy makers in education have often introduced "new" trends into Japanese schools, such as programmed learning in the early 1960s, the spiral curriculum in the middle of 1960s, taxonomies of educational goals and mastery learning in the late 1970s, open schools in the middle of the 1970s and its revival in the late 1980s. Very recently, for example, many policy makers as well as educators have hoped that students would develop their individuality and creativity by introducing open education, points which are assumed to be the weak for the Japanese people. I am quite skeptical about the possibilities of realizing such educational goals by transplanting a specific method from another country into one's own country.

First, I am dubious about the validity of these educational goals. Are Japanese people really lacking individuality and creativity? (Lewis, 1992; Ichikawa, 1991) As I mentioned before, even if the word "individuality" is translated into Japanese as "*kosei*," the adaptive value or functional meaning of this word seems different to the Japanese. Under the given situation where huge numbers of people are living within small islands, that is to say "zero-sum society" (Azuma, 1995), perhaps it might be the better way to live in Japanese society peacefully through the process of long selection over the thousands of years not to be assertive, or aggressive, but mutually interdependent. For example, since each of the personal space seems smaller and there seems to be shared more psychological space among the people in the less variety of ethnicities, languages, and cultural backgrounds, the clear and strong emotional expressions and explicit verbal message might exceed their optimal level of stimulation. Instead, restraining the self-assertion might be more needed in Japan.

Second, I am still doubtful about the truism of the presupposition which states that children will not develop their individualities within classroom instruction with a large number of students. In other words, they might say that the smaller the class size, the higher the probability of developing one's individuality. Do many educators obsessed by the illusion of reformation know that a teacher's full appreciation of a child's individuality is the essential condition which leads to successful instruction, and every child can express their uniqueness fully and freely under the guidance of these teachers?. In the situation which emphasizes the group processes, I think a certain number of students, say more than 20, will be needed in order to induct the "kneading" processes exhaustively. The important thing is to examine the conditions which might cripple or incapacitate the success of the whole class, rather than introducing a foreign method without probing it thoroughly.

In a word, the Japanese should not merely imitate American education. Rather, they should learn from American education and become more aware of their own indigenous beliefs and meta instructional methods.

Education for Looking-Forward vs. Looking-Backward

Much empirical research focused on Japanese schools indicate that the students are generally well disciplined, thus enabling the teachers to devote more attention to

academic matters than to the controlling the deviant behaviors of children. This in turn might induce higher achievement of the children (Stevenson, Stigler and Lee, 1986 : Stevenson and Stigler, 1992 : Stevenson, Chen, and Lee, 1993). I think it would be better to explain the nature of the beneficial attitudinal and behavioral orientation toward learning in Japanese children. As I described before, the actual behavior of Japanese children in the classrooms is totally different from the general image of their being well-disciplined. They are not quiet at all, but seem to be much noisier than the children in American classrooms. I think these salient behavioral differences of children come from the differential treatment of teachers in the United States and in Japan. Teachers in America seem to be more likely to emphasize coping with problems individually and to use the one-on-one question and answer type of interactions more frequently. In contrast with the American classroom, Japanese students are more likely to participate in discussions involving the whole class or small groups. Given this instructional style characterizing the " kneading " processes, higher levels of noise or buzz in the classroom are not seen as obstacles to learning, but this energy will contribute to an active discussion.

Students, even preschoolers, are expected to perform many autonomous tasks and various management chores in the classroom (Lewis, 1984). However, the actual behavior of Japanese teachers seems very "hands off " toward children. There are still oversimplified stereotypic conceptions about Japanese education which are supported more strongly by Japanese people than by American scholars (Ad Hoc Council on Education, 1986 ; Rohlen, 1985-86). According to their claims, Japanese teachers force children and their mothers to constantly study harder and this relentless and inhumane pressure causes them to achieve higher scores in basic academic subjects. Therefore, Japanese children as well as their parents have to pay painful sacrifices like school refusals, bullying, neurosis, and suicides (Schoolland, 1990 ; Young, 1993 ; Goya, 1993). Although many of these descriptions are selectively collected, this preoccupation has not been challenged empirically until recent large-scale cross-cultural studies (Stevenson *et al.*, 1990 ; Crystal *et al.*, 1994 ; Fuligni and Stevenson, 1995). Based on Stevenson and his colleagues' studies, socio-psychological adaptation of senior high school students in Japan is generally better than that of the American students.

In fact, the atmosphere in Japanese elementary schools is very permissive to the students. These permissive attitudes and behaviors of teachers might contribute to the students' autonomous behaviors and attitudes toward school learning (Lewis, 1984). Although this interpretation may not be appealing to us, the effect of coercive measures on modifying the children's behaviors has been challenged by recent experimental research. For example, the generalization which comes from intrinsic motivation research and attribution theory research, strongly suggests that the internalization of a specific value is devalued when that specific behavior is associated with tangible rewards. In contrast, if the specific behavior is not associated with such salient rewards, children are more likely to attribute their personal interest to the task.

Another important way to develop a child's autonomous behavior is " *hansei*," or self-reflection. Although, *hansei* is translated into English as self-reflection (Peak, 1992), the actual meaning of the word is considerably different from the English trans-

lation. Self-reflection and its related behavior in terms of Japanese meaning are the key concepts in understanding the achievement of Japanese people. We must be expected to reflect upon ourselves not only when we fail at something, but also when we are successful. We are usually required to think back on what we have done, and review whether we have fully devoted our efforts to the task in order to perfect the performance. Since success might come from luck or other incidental events, we should not boast about own works, nor should we be complacent. Meticulousness and perfectionism are pointed out as characteristics of the Japanese modal personality traits (Minami, 1953). These characteristics inevitably contribute to the endless cycle of the self-reflection.

As I described above, self-reflection or *hansei* means redirecting our attention toward the past. We never reflect ourselves towards the future. *Hansei* also makes us focus on our weak points, deficiencies, and inadequacies, rather than our positive aspects. In fact, I know the English word as "weak point," but I do not know its antonym in English. Weak point is a very popular phrase and even the elementary school children know the word in English but they might have never heard of the word "strong point." (*note 14*).

In contrast, self-reflection, in terms of the American viewpoint, seems to focus more on positive and strong points as well as their positive and hopeful time perspectives towards the future. I am always impressed by the elaboration and elegance of American people's constructions about the future. They tend to be more future-oriented and more likely to maintain and raise their self-esteem by reconfirming their inner sense of strength every time.

Let me cite one example of the difference of car equipment in the Unites Stated and Japan. In the United States, every car is not required to have a side view mirror on the right side and actually I see lots of cars with only one side view mirror. Furthermore, I have never seen the larger wide-angle mirror attached to the standard very tiny one. Although Japanese drivers are always aware of traffic behind them and on both sides, American drivers' attention always seems to be directed forward thus showing their emphasis on self-determination. I think this behavioral difference between Americans and Japanese might be generalized to their everyday behavior.

Notes :

1) According to the latest nation-wide information available (1993), more than three-fourths or 76.9 percent of principals are over fifty-five years old. And the mode of the age when they were promoted to this position is 56. Female's share of the position is 5.5 percent among all kinds of schools, but is 11.5 percent in elementary schools.
2) Special teachers: According to the Japanese regulation of educational law, elementary schools which have more than a certain number of classes, have the eligibility of hiring a few additional teachers. The numbers of teachers are defined by the numbers of the classrooms in the school. This means that these relatively large school can hire special teachers such as music, art, and gym. But, actually principals do not hire the special teachers in most cases, instead they hire regular teachers with very few exceptions. Principals used to hire music teachers before, although this practice was not frequently. For music teachers are likely to have much more difficulties in dealing with children. Since the opportunities for contact with children are very

limited, such as two times a week, most music teachers can not produce an atmosphere mutually supported by teachers and students which has been built up gradually through time and will contribute to the success of classroom instruction essentially. In addition, many music teachers were not interested in music education per se rather than music itself and this inclination and preoccupation made this situation still worse.

After these painful introductions of new policies, principals gave up hiring special teachers and were willing to invite regular teachers who were dispensable with any teachers. This gives principals more rooms to assign their fellow teachers as their charge of grade as well as school job specifications.

3) Traditionally, the Japanese school system was introduced by the new *Meiji* government which took over the Shogunate regime immediately after the restoration. Leaders in the new government expected the schools to realize their grand goal of "enrichment of nation and enforcement of army" policy by means of educating academically as well as morally and tried to incorporated these future workforces into the new nation. Since education, especially compulsory education was given by the government, or the Emperor and the school culture was assumed very foreign to ordinary parents, it was emphasized that the teachers' responsibility for moral education was in order to mobilize educable people into the goal of nation more efficiently.

4) As I wrote before, to eat everything that is served at a school lunch is encouraged and children are basically required to eat all of it. Beyond the goal of developing the better eating habits and manner, there are still more important reasons. First, it is always taught that children have to get along with everybody, even their most unwelcome peers and they are expected to yield their personal preference to the public goals and endure this uncomfortableness in order to establish a harmonious relationships (*wa*) within the groups. In the same vein, children's preference to special food is usually assumed as the sign of *wagamama*, or self-indulgence which must be corrected. That is, the principle of teaching about school lunch stems from values underlying in Japanese society. Second, teachers also put great emphasis on making children to empathize and appreciate farmers and cooks. Teachers would like to elucidate how painful it is for farmers to raise rice plants by explaining the makeup of a letter of rice. This word is composed of "eighty- eight" which symbolizes the idea that rice farmers have to care for rice plants as many as eighty-eight times until the harvest time, although children are served bread as their main food in most of the time.

But, this practice may sometimes go beyond their proclaimed goal which is to assure that children take in balanced nutrients. For example, I am sometimes asked by parents to give them advice about the eating problem such as habitual unbalanced diet or eating less in the schools. The extreme story is that teachers will not allow children to go out their classroom before they have drunk up the whole milk pack (200 ml), or eaten up all their food.

Recently, we have had a specially serious problem about allergic reactions of children. Several years ago, a third grade boy in Sapporo was dead several hours after eating buckwheat noodle in his school lunch. He was suffering from allergy to buckwheat, but he could not refuse to eat it, neither would his parents not tell his teacher about it. They might think that telling such a special eating habit might cause his teacher to view him as less self-controlled, or self-indulgent.

5) About one week before the long vacations in summer and winter, teachers hand out lots of printed materials to children. One is the dos and don'ts during the holidays (i. e. : do study in the morning and do not visit friend in the morning, go to bed early and get up early and at regular time, and so on). Then, teachers distribute written formats of schedules during the holidays and request to report them. Children have to fill out the personal goals during the holidays (for example, to become able to get up early, to become able to swim 100 meters, to become more skillful in computation, be more helpful to mother, not to fight with brothers, and various kinds of things which cover health, academic, life habits, and human relationships). In

addition to this, children are also required to fill out their daily plan from getting up to going to bed. Before the long vacation begins, teachers check each children's goals, plans, and schedules and sometimes ask them to modify them if necessary (i. e.: to study too much, or only playing around all the time). After this feedback from teachers, every child pins them up on the wall in front of their desks.

But, recently some parents have become a little skeptical about these policies and consider them invasion into one's privacy rather than teaching.

6) Since Japanese teachers, with the exception of a very small portion of part-time teachers, are paid twelve months, about fifty days during summer and winter vacation are defined as days of studying in their own homes and developing their professional skills. In fact, almost all teachers have to go to their schools at least several times during the two off-school periods in order to supervise swimming pools opened to children, clean up the school yard, and attend the teachers meeting.

Teachers used to be envied by many people for their having lavish holidays until about a decade ago. But after the introduction of the policy of the five work-day in many company as well as the national and civil institutions, the number of off-work days become the same or sometimes outnumber those given to teachers. In fact, teachers are allowed to have paid off-days, but it is very rare to use a whole day- off except the very special days like wedding ceremonies and funerals of the close relatives. Now, although the relative strength of incentives of this has become less, still some principals would give their teachers the following precautions immediately before the vacations: they had better stay in their homes during the daytime and try to impress the neighborhoods with their studying something in their homes.

7) All textbooks are free to the students who are eligible of compulsory education: from first to ninth grade children. We used to buy them, but this new policy began about thirty years ago. Some of the influential political leaders of ruling party have tried to cut this expense due to aggravated national budget. However, in fact, parents have to pay a lot of money for their children who are even given free textbooks. For instance, they have to buy notebooks, workbooks, test sheets, school materials such as art and craft kits, musical instruments, bus fee for outing, fare of watching movies, and school lunch. Let me put one example, I paid about 39,000 yen or about 390 dollars and 75,000 yen or 750 dollars for my fourth grade and ninth grade sons during last year.

8) All the teacher in charge of same grade students are very nervous about the pace of their instructing each subject. If one class proceeds far beyond another class, or vice versa, parents of the class which is behind the another one sometimes complain it at the teacher-parents conference. Or, parents may remonstrate it directly to the principal. Generally, Japanese parents seem to expect the equalities among classrooms and every homeroom is called in terms of numbers like 1-*kumi*, 2-*kumi*, instead of being called; for example, Ms. Brown's classroom.

9) Nearly twenty years ago (1976), the Ministry of Education ordered all of the board of education in every Prefecture to assign a head teacher. In elementary schools, the head teachers are to be posted as one in every grade, curriculum, etc. Former the Japan Teachers Union (*Nikkyoso*, the nationwide largest union for teachers but it split at 1989 into several unions) has been very strongly fighting against the introduction of this new policy so that it will deteriorate the egalitarianism among teachers. However, these positions of head teachers end up being assigned at almost of the schools and they are paid additionally about 70,000 yen or 700 dollars for one year.

10) Open classrooms on Sundays used to be called "Fathers' observation day," because the rest of the open classroom are set on weekdays. In fact, many fathers with their wives are willing to attend their children's classrooms. However, there are more than a half mothers work as the part-time or full-time workers, but many parents, especially mothers of the first grade children are expected to attend the observation days. This means many parents are usually allowed to leave their workplaces temporarily in order to attend these meetings.

11) As I noted before, Japanese teachers are expected to involve in disciplining the child to some extent. All of the teachers regardless of their age and experiences of the child rearing practices are assumed to qualify the advisers on child development. Since very young teachers as just twenty or twenty-two years old, especially most of the teachers in kindergartens are less than 25 years old and they do not have their own children, they often feel nervous about the wide range of disciplinary problems brought by mothers and are pressed with their requirement of advice. Even though each mother should have known their own children more than their teachers do, mothers still have some expectations upon their teachers in terms of giving them the important advice of the child rearing.

    Reflecting upon these situation, there are many books and cover stories in the monthly magazines for teachers which deal with the topics how to tackle these problems.

12) Parents used to report their academic careers, job status and names of their working places, but recently parents are becoming less willing to report this kinds of private information to the schools. Then the format titled home survey sheet comes to be more simplified than before.

13) In fact, some of these factual things look much more intriguing to us than the novels. Since some sorts of accidents or misdemeanor by the students and their parents are usually informed to the teachers through their frequent everyday conversations, principals sometimes warn their teachers not to go to restaurants or bars in their school districts for the fear of leaking such private information.

14) In everyday after the academic hours, they are to have "*hansei* meeting" in the classrooms. Usually two day-duty students (*Nicchoku*, or *Toban*) (a boy and a girl) assume as the chair persons and ask the classmates to report how they devote to learning and other school activities. Although various positive behaviors like their contributions and helping others are reported frequently, the children who do some nasty things and naughty behaviors are nominated there. It is the considerably painful experience if they are nominated as the child who do some bad things and lose their faces in the public. Hence, this type of sanction by their inner groups will induce them to pause and keep their awareness of watchful eyes of other people before committing potential deviant behaviors.

Appendix: Content of school job specifications

Let me introduce an example of school job specifications from one public elementary school in Sapporo. According to the 1992 fiscal year version, there are six divisions:

Curriculum

This division is involved in making timetables, annual plans, preparing the teaching, student-teachers and newly recruited teachers, publishing school newspaper, arranging the special rooms (music, gym, and art), evaluation forms, administering intelligence and achievement tests, taking homeroom pictures, coordinating audio-visual media, landscape maintenance, and some other jobs.

Research

This division plans in-school workshops about instruction and management of classroom, curriculum development, planning the invited lectures and interest-group meetings, and other activities.

In this school, they had their division meetings twenty-two times during 1991. And they had exhibition instruction for five days which went with a conference.

Supervising students

This division checks three of the divisions concerning extracurricular activities (homeroom activities, children's activities, and school ceremonies).

Homeroom activities

In order to support children's adjustment and homeroom teachers, they make concrete action plans which covers: adjustment, safety (natural hazards like earth quake), traffic, and water,

school lunch, and library.

Children's activities

Is involved in teaching and monitoring students autonomous activities (music, play, library, broadcasting, health, public relations, newspaper, gym, student meetings, raising plants and animals), student board, club activities (gate ball, mini basketball, baseball, Guinness book, softball, dodge ball, field athletics, succor, table tennis, badminton, tennis, art craft, cartoon and illustration, classic Japanese poems with only 31 letters (*waka, hyakunin isshu*), embroidery, Othello, cards, science, pottery, cooking, and painting)(in every activity, one to three teachers are assigned), planing ceremonies like entrance and graduation ceremony, and others. They had this sub-division meeting thirty-three times in 1991.

School ceremonies

Involved in making action plans for various ceremonies, rallies, excursions and other activities: entrance ceremony, measurement and medical checkups, traffic safety class, whole school morning meeting, outing in spring, sports day, transplanting young rice plants to the school rice field, touring science museum, school excursion, outing for painting, practicing evacuation from disasters, injections, X-ray, outing for climbing, watching dramas, crop rice plants, play and music performance by students, exhibition of students' print works, outing for skiing, big cleaning up whole school, and graduation ceremony.

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