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ABSTRACT

This study examined culture-specific attachment systems in Japan (including an Okinawan sample), Korea, China, United States, and the United Kingdom, using a questionnaire to measure the relative importance of various categories of interpersonal relations. Subjects were male and female university students and fathers and mothers of kindergarten children in five Asian and Western countries. The purpose of the questionnaire--which took into account beliefs about family relationships stemming from Confucian ethics present in East Asian people--was to determine a complex hierarchical structure by comparing the relative values of each attachment in a particular culture. Results indicated no cultural differences for 22 of the 38 attachment-related questions dealing with parent-child attachment and cross-sexual love. Asian subjects responded positively to questions regarding ancestor worship, whereas all Western subjects responded negatively. A cluster analysis using Ward's method revealed first-order boundaries between Asian and Western countries, between China and the Korea-Japan groups, and between the United States and Britain. There were second-order boundaries between parents versus students in each country. The distance between Japanese and Japanese Okinawan students was closer than that between Japanese students and Korean students, suggesting the greater influence of contemporary culture over historical cultural conditions. (The questionnaire is appended.) (KDFB)

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A CROSS - CULTURAL STUDY OF MOTHER - INFANT INTERACTION BETWEEN JAPAN AND KOREA (4) : Cross-Cultural Comparisons of Human Attachment Systems among Five Asian and Western Countries

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Abstract:

The central aim of our cooperative studies as a whole is to clarify cultural differences of mother-child interaction patterns between Japan and Korea (Fujinaga 1996). However, mother-child relations are none other than one aspect of family relations and family relations themselves are embedded in wider interpersonal relations. The degree of relative intimacy of such various interpersonal relations and their interrelations, we call these human attachment systems, may become an important and tacit factor which influences mother-child interactions as observed from experiments.

To study the culture-specific attachment systems, a new questionnaire to measure the relative importance of various categories of interpersonal relations was devised. The subjects consisted of male and female university students, and fathers and mothers of kindergarten children in five Asian and Western countries, China, Korea, Japan, the United States and the United Kingdom. The results showed some interesting cultural differences between the East and the West.

Introduction:

The term attachment in developmental psychology usually means close relations between the mother and child, but more generally it can be applied to all interpersonal relations, for example, between the father and child, husband and wife, among family members, close relatives, peers, friends

and especially lovers etc.. The patterns of these relations can vary according to cultures.

Harry Harlow(1971), a famous researcher of the behaviour of macaques, argues that macaques have five sorts of affectionate ties, for example, a mother monkey's affection to her offsprings, the baby monkeys' affection to their mothers etc., and these ties are hierarchically constructed and epigenetically developed. His idea is very interesting. In human beings, cross-sexual relations or parent-child relations are so universal because they can be highly determined by biological factors. We undoubtedly also have some types of affectionate ties similar to macaques. However, the importance of relations such as blood relations is probably determined by cultural factors.

Confucian Ethics When using this term, we do not mean here the moral philosophy of Chinese great scholar Confucius, but the ethnic religious beliefs of the East Asian people, originating from China. Its central belief is the idea that preservation of one's own family line is the most important matter in his/her whole life. Consequently and naturally, close harmony and union among blood relatives and family members becomes a genuine source of human morality in Confucian ethics. The morality of filial duty becomes the highest virtue, and the more general moralities are derived from this matrix. For example, the ruler or the authority is regarded as the understudy of the parents and should be a target of one of the higher virtues, a virtue

being dutiful to such persons with the same attitude as to one's own parents. In a word, each individual's identity, loyalty, security, pride and morality have common roots in such a system of family in Confucian ethics. Only children are the keys to preserve his/her family line and blood relatives, so it is natural that they should become the most important treasure in any family. This belief can easily lead to secure attachment between parents and children.

However, in Confucian ethics, only male children can preserve their family line, so sons are held in more respect than daughters. Accordingly, in East Asian countries, it is possible that mother-son relations are more worthy than mother-daughter relations. Also, blood relations may have higher value than in the Western world.

Human Attachment Systems Human affectionate ties may have far more varied and complex hierarchical structures than in the case of macaques. We call these ties as a whole human or cultural attachment systems. Knowledge on human attachment systems of an individual culture may give us an important key context to interpret experimental findings about mother-child interaction in this culture. So we tried to construct a new questionnaire to understand the human attachment systems in the comparative research between Japan and Korea.

Method:

Construction of the Questionnaire The aim of this questionnaire is to determine a complex

hierarchical structure by comparison of relative values of each attachment in a particular culture. One of the concrete examples of this questionnaire which aimed to compare the strength of attachment between blood relatives and friends is question no.4, " Love for relatives is much greater than love for friends ". Similarly the question aiming at the recognition of the difference between general cross-sexual attachment and love among spouses is question no.9, " Love that forms between husband and wife is completely different from love for members of the opposite sex, other than ones's spouse ". Question no.12, " Having feelings of love for the opposite sex is instinctive " asks the degree of intensity of the cross-sexual attachment. Thus, a new questionnaire consisting of a total of 48 questions, 38 such questions plus 10 dummy or relational questions, was constructed.

Subjects As the subjects of this questionnaire survey, fathers and mothers of kindergarteners and male and female university students were chosen from five different countries, three East Asian, Japan, Korea and China and two Western, the United States and Britain. However, in Britain, we could not get the subjects of fathers and mothers of kindergartners. In addition, we chose Okinawan university students, because Okinawa has very unique historical traditions among Japanese various subcultures. For example, Okinawan culture accepted Confucian ethics directly from China. Many Okinawan people are still proud of being a " Country Observing Confucian

Morality ". This historical condition of Okinawan culture was similar to the Korean one and in contrast with most of the other subcultures in Japan, which accepted Confucian ethics through Korean mediation. So, total subjects consisted of 20 groups(cf.Table). As a criterion, we made an effort to get at least 100 subjects for each group.

Table The Construction of Ss

	parent		student	
	father	mother	male	female
Japan	91	113	191	230
Japan (Okinawa)			100	101
Korea	127	166	521	392
China	122	121	115	114
USA	100	113	100	100
Britain			102	100

Results:

The results of this questionnaire survey, put simply , lead to the following five conclusions;

First, there were so many questions unexpectedly showing almost the same answering tendencies. Seventeen questions got coincidental agreement and five got disagreement throughout almost all 20 groups, and the total twenty-two questions occupied the majority. This means that there is a remarkable cultural universality of attachment systems among these five countries.

Second, the above main coincidences were divided into two categories. One was about parent-child attachment and the other is about cross-sexual love. Both attachments are

similarly so intense that they were regarded as innate or instinctive. However, question no.37, " Love for members of the opposite sex is stronger than love for one's own child " was commonly denied, so it may be concluded that in these two categories the former is stronger than the latter. Moreover, question no.5, " A child's attachment to his/her parents can be formed by the way the parents raise the child " received common and strong agreement. The parent-child attachment seems to hold in itself a sort of conflict, 'nature or nurture,' and this conflict is stronger in Asian countries than in Western ones. In this way, these two belong to very different categories of attachment, in spite of Freudian assertion.

Thirdly, though not as dominant as cultural universality, some cultural specificities were also recognized. One of the typical questions showing such attitude was no.11, " It is natural to worship one's ancestors ". To this question, Asian subjects' responses were all positive but Western ones' were all negative. This contrast is very impressive. It hardly needs to be said that such an attitude represents one of the beliefs of Confucian ethics already mentioned, that preservation of each family line is the most important matter in one's life. Moreover, responses to both question no.13, " Love for family members is greater than love for one's best friend, " and no.14, " Love for one's own children is much greater than love for one's stepchildren, " are for the most part more agreed to in Asian countries, especially in Korea, compared with

Western countries. These attitudes also represent some other aspects of the same Confucian ethics.

Then, where are the boundaries between different cultures? That is the fourth problem. To answer this question, we did a cluster analysis by Ward's method using the mean scores of the 20 groups, calculated according to the 5 points answering scales of the questionnaire.

The results of the cluster analysis are shown as a dendrogram below(cf. Figure). Looking at the Figure, locations of the the first-order boundaries are quite obvious. The first one naturally exists between Asian and Western countries. And the second exists between China and Korea-Japan groups and also between the United States and Britain. Though commonly having the same Confucian ethics, modern China has particular political, economical and social systems and its Confucian beliefs seem to be relatively changing. For example, to the question no.10, " The more children you have the better, " though all groups indicated their disagreements, the Chinese one is the strongest. This finding suggests one of the influences of the 'one child policy' of modern China and it undoubtedly makes the distance of the attachment-beliefs between China and Korea or Japan farther apart. A similar boundary also exists between the United States and Britain .

The second-order boundaries are recognized between the generations of parents versus students in each country. Because fathers and

mothers or male and female students in each country always form a pair without exception, the gender difference of the attachment-beliefs is minimal compared with cultural or generational differences. As for Korea and Japan, the distance between both parent groups is closer than that between both parent and both student groups. This is very impressive. It can be concluded that the attachment-beliefs of Korean and Japanese people are very alike to each other.

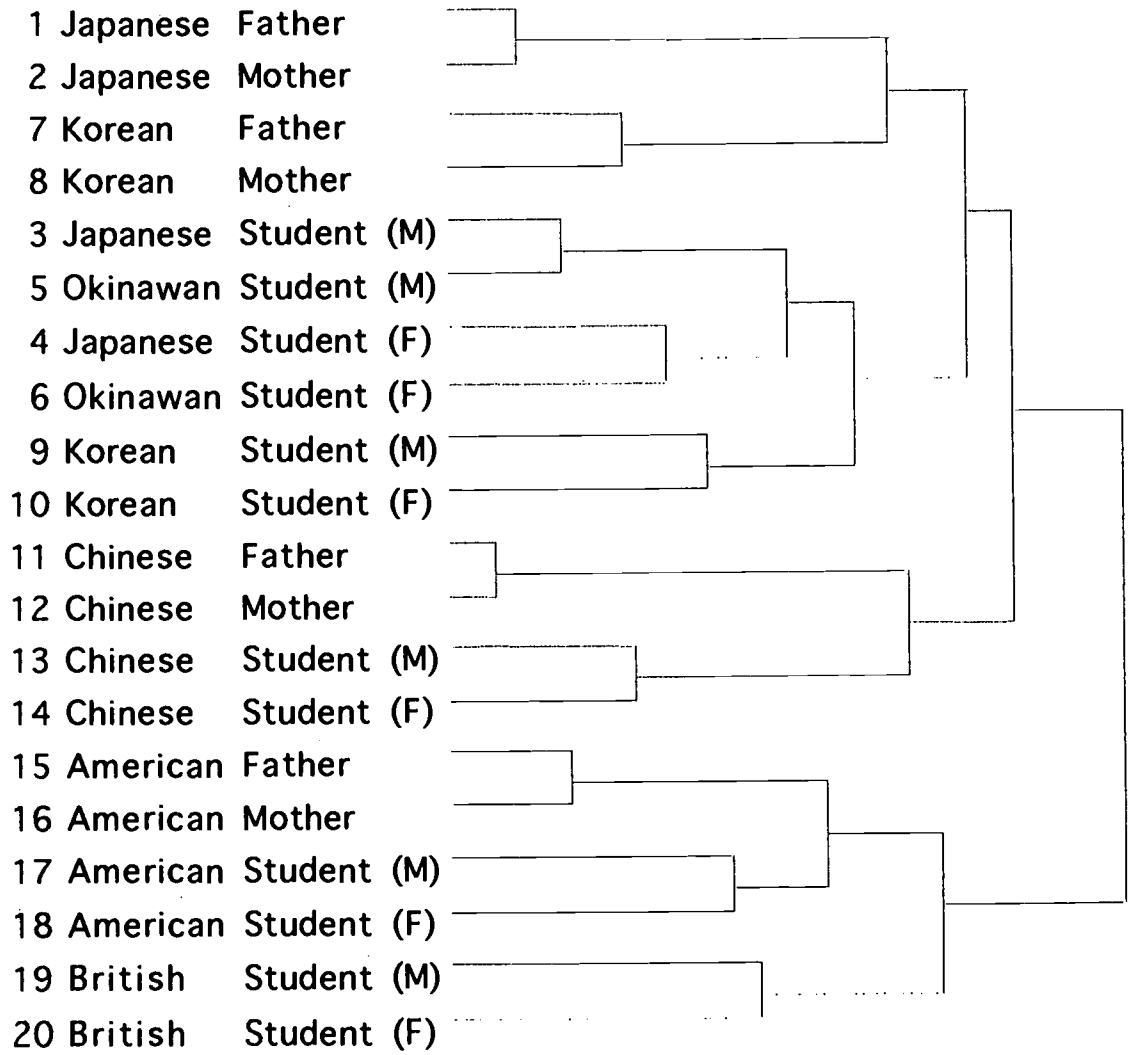
The fifth conclusion is closely related to the fourth finding. As described above, Okinawan and Korean cultures have a similar historical condition accepting the Confucian ethics directly from China. However, the distance between Japanese and Japanese Okinawan students is closer than that between Japanese students as a whole and Korean students. Human attachment-beliefs may be more strongly influenced by contemporary mass cultures than by historical-cultural conditions in such a society as Japan or Korea which are drastically changing into highly technological information societies.

References:

Fujinaga, T. (Ed.) 1996. A Cross-Cultural Study of Mother-Child Interactions between Japan and Korea (in Japanese). Osaka: Osaka Gakuin University.

Harlow, H.F. 1971. Learning to Love. Ca.: Albion Publishing Company.

Figure. Dendrogram of the 20 Groups



Survey on Human Nature

Please place a CHECKMARK (✓) in the blank next to the information that best describes you.

1. Age: _____ years old Sex: male _____ female _____
2. Residence: _____ Large City _____ Small City
 _____ Mid-size City _____ Other
3. Do you have a spouse?
 - a. _____ Yes _____ First Spouse _____ Remarried
 - b. _____ No _____ Single _____ Divorced _____ Widowed
4. Children: _____ None _____ Yes
5. How many children do you have? (Place the number of children and their age(s) in the blank spaces provided below.)

_____ Boy(s)	Age(s): _____	(years old)		
_____ Girl(s)	Age(s): _____	(years old)		
6. Step or Adopted Children:
 - a. _____ None
 - b. Adopted: (Place the number of children and their age(s) in the blank space provided below.)

_____ Boy(s)	Age(s): _____	(years old)		
_____ Girl(s)	Age(s): _____	(years old)		
 - c. Stepchildren: (Place the number of children and their age(s) in the blank space provided below.)

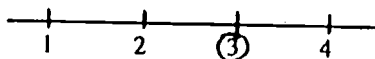
_____ Boy(s)	Age(s): _____	(years old)		
_____ Girls(s)	Age(s): _____	(years old)		

The following is a list of ways of thinking about life. Please CIRCLE the number which best fits the way you think.

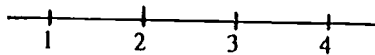
The meaning of the number ratings are:

1 = Fits Very Much 2 = Fits a Little 3 = Does Not Fit Very Much 4 = Does Not Fit at All

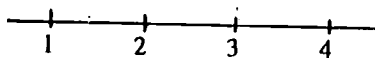
EXAMPLE: From the viewpoint of the parent, raising children is an unrewarding task.



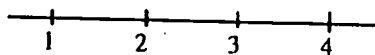
1) There has not been much change in human relationships between the present and the past.



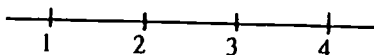
2) I want my parents to live as long as possible.



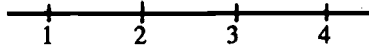
3) A happy marriage cannot be expected when the age difference between husband and wife is too great.



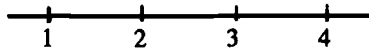
4) Love for relatives is much greater than love for friends.



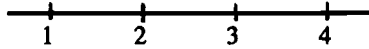
5) A child's attachment to his/her parents can be formed by the way the parents raise the child.



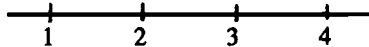
6) Only human beings can have free will.



7) Sexual desire never arises between brothers and sisters.



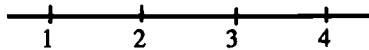
8) It is natural to have strong rebellious feelings towards one's parents.



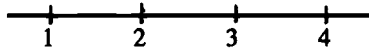
9) Love that forms between husband and wife is completely different from love for members of the opposite sex, other than one's spouse.



10) The more children you have, the better.



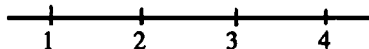
11) It is natural to worship one's ancestors.



12) Having feelings of love for the opposite sex is instinctive.



13) Love for family members is greater than love for one's best friend.



14) Love for one's own children is much greater than love for one's stepchildren.



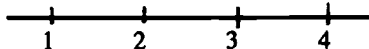
15) Even if a man is married, he cannot hold back feelings of love for other women.



16) Almost all differences between men and women are present at birth.



17) If I could have only one child, I would prefer to have a boy.



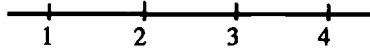
18) Even towards my own children, I sometimes have feelings of hate.



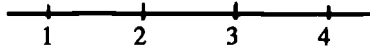
19) Love between husband and wife is of a totally different nature from the love between parent and child.



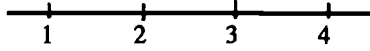
20) A father's love for his daughter is much stronger than love for his son.



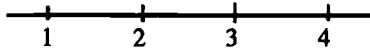
21) Human beings and monkeys are fundamentally different animals.



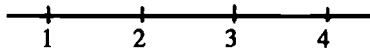
22) The strength of a parent's love for his/her child has been the same throughout time regardless of country.



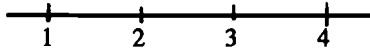
23) One never has sexual feelings for his/her parent or child.



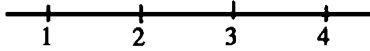
24) There is something sacred in a parent's love for his/her child.



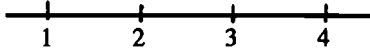
25) All love comes from the same source.



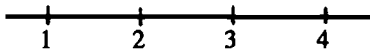
26) Adults are superior to children in every respect.



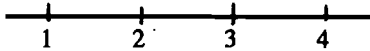
27) There is no love as pure as the romantic love we feel when we are young.



28) I want my children to live as long as possible.



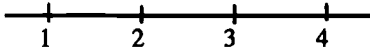
29) Love for a member of the opposite sex sometimes makes a person irrational.



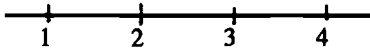
30) All children are dear.



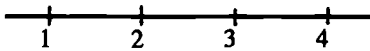
31) Religion is the most important thing for humans.



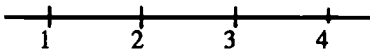
32) The strength of one sex's attraction for the other has been the same through all the ages and in every country.



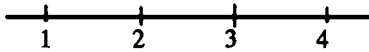
33) The way in which a parent loves his/her child differs depending on how the parent was raised.



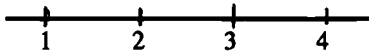
34) Nothing in this world is as precious as our children.



35) A mother's love for her son is much stronger than love for her daughter.



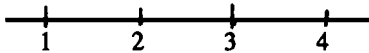
36) All human beings tend to form intimate groups.



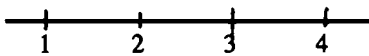
37) Love for members of the opposite sex is stronger than love for one's own child.



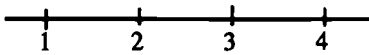
38) The attachment a child feels for his/her own parents is natural and instinctive.



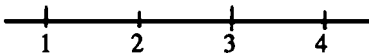
39) Friendship with someone of the same sex differs in quality from friendship with someone of the opposite sex.



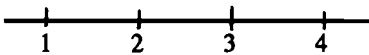
40) No matter who the person is, feelings of repulsion arise if one gets too intimate with someone else.



41) When comparing a woman and a man, both have the same abilities.



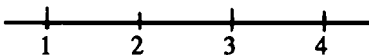
42) Even if a woman is married, she cannot hold back feelings of love for other men.



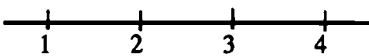
43) I cannot understand parents who punish their children so harshly that the child gets injured.



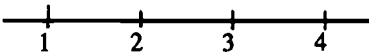
44) Intellectual people never drown in love.



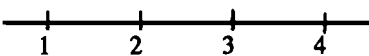
45) Homosexuality is natural.



46) The sexual attraction between husband and wife soon reaches a stage of tedium, then changes into something else.



47) The charm of children and the attractiveness of members of the opposite sex are totally different things.



48) A child is really cute only up to age 3 or 4 at most.





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XIVth Biennial Meetings of the International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development (Quebec City, Quebec, August 12-16, 1996).

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August 16, 1996

Dear Colleague:

The ERIC Clearinghouse on Elementary and Early Childhood Education is increasing its efforts to collect and disseminate information relating to all aspects of children's development, care, and education. Your presentation at the **XIVth Biennial Meetings of the International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development** held in Quebec City, Quebec, on August 12-16, 1996, is eligible to be considered for inclusion in the ERIC database and microfiche collection, **IF:**

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Karen E. Smith".

Karen E. Smith
Acquisitions Coordinator