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The influence of acculturation on parental expectations and parental strategies among Japanese mothers

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THE INFLUENCE OF ACCULTURATION ON PARENTAL EXPECTATIONS
AND PARENTAL STRATEGIES AMONG JAPANESE MOTHERS

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
Psychology

by
Satoko Nagasawa

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ABSTRACT

Previous cross-cultural studies (Hess et al, 1980; Goodnow et al, 1984) suggest that parental expectations and parental practices seem to be derived from cultural and social expectations. Less clear is what happens to individuals who come to a foreign country and are exposed to different cultural values and ideas. The researcher collected data on Japanese mothers who are first generation in the U.S. and Caucasian American mothers in order to see if there are differences in maternal expectations toward their children's development and parenting practices. It is hypothesized that the more acculturated the Japanese mothers, the more they share American mothers' expectation and strategies toward their children. Specifically, acculturated Japanese mothers are more likely to expect children to be independent and verbally assertive, and have social skills. Also acculturated Japanese mothers are more likely to use "Power-oriented" strategies. The results of the study show that Japanese mothers have significantly earlier expectations for emotional maturity and independence whereas American mothers have significantly earlier expectations for social skills and verbal assertiveness. Japanese mothers are more likely to perform "Love-oriented" control strategy whereas American mothers are more likely to use "Power-oriented" strategy. The level of acculturation among Japanese mothers affects their parental expectations toward children but not their parental control strategies.
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INTRODUCTION

Developmental expectations are a component of parental belief systems that may relate to parental childrearing practices and developmental outcomes in the child (Miller, 1986). Miller suggests four general questions regarding parental beliefs about children's abilities: What are the beliefs?; Where do parental beliefs about children's abilities come from?; Do parental beliefs about children's abilities affect the way that parents behave toward children?; and Do children develop best when their parents hold accurate perceptions of their abilities?

While all of these questions lead to interesting lines of research, the focus of this study is on the second question; where do parental beliefs about children's abilities come from? Answers to this question have focused on two main sources of influence categories: experience with children and information from other people or educational resources (Miller, 1988). However, cultural influence has also been of interest in the study of parental beliefs about children's abilities. It is believed that parental expectations about child development may vary depending on the cultural background of the parent (Edwards, Gandini, & Giovaninni, 1995).

Cultural Differences in Developmental Expectations

Chao (1996) examined the differences in Chinese and European American mothers' beliefs about their children. The researcher found that European American mothers believe that academic success was not important for their children's overall development. The American mothers wanted their children to feel that learning is fun and exciting, "not something you work at." On the other
hand, Chinese mothers expected children to recognize that learning and schooling involved hard work and effort and were necessary for their children's overall future success. The researcher concluded that Chinese mothers wanted well-performing children, whereas European American mothers wanted well-rounded children, stressing both social skills and self-esteem in the children.

Goodnow, Cashmore, Cotton, and Knight (1984) compared two ethnic groups of mothers (Australian-born and Lebanese-born) in order to see whether their expectations about children's abilities were different. The researchers found that there were significant differences between Anglo mothers and Lebanese mothers in their expectations toward children. The Lebanese mothers had later expectations than did the Anglo mothers on social skill with peers and verbal assertiveness. The researchers concluded that expectations of attainment of a particular skill reflect the degree of value placed on that skill by the culture. The results of the study reflect differences in cultural values: Australians are more likely to think that earlier attainment of skills is better; on the other hand, Lebanese believe that many skills can be learned when needed.

In a similar study, Hess, Kashiwagi, Asuma, Price, and Dickinson (1980) examined the differences in maternal expectations toward children's abilities between American mothers and Japanese mothers. Mothers in the two countries differed in their views about the age at which children should master specific developmental skills. The researchers applied the Developmental Expectation Questionnaire (DEQ) which consists of seven areas of children's behavior: verbal
assertiveness, politeness, compliance, independence, emotional maturity, school readiness, and social skills. The researchers found that Japanese mothers had earlier expectations for emotional control and compliance with adult authority whereas American mothers had earlier expectations for social skills with peers and verbal assertiveness. The researchers suggest that American and Japanese cultures provide an interesting contrast for the study. For example, American mothers had an earlier expectation of verbal assertiveness than did Japanese mothers which reflects the relative lack of emphasis on verbal expression in Japanese culture compared to American culture.

Several studies suggest (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985; Spence, 1985) that American parents value compliance as well with their emphasis on independence and personal freedom. American parents seem to discourage compliance with seemingly unfair or unreasonable demands. The researchers suggest that American parents view individual and group needs as conflicting and encourage children to learn to balance the needs of the self with the needs of others. On the other hand, Japanese mothers expect children to learn to define individual needs in terms of the needs of the larger social group (Kobayashi-Winata & Power, 1989).

As can be seen from these cross-cultural studies, parental expectations seem to be derived from cultural and social expectations; in other words, parental expectations may reflect the norm and value of the specific culture. Japanese parents can be a particularly good comparison with American parents for this
purpose, because the American perspective of parent-child relations contrasts greatly with the Japanese perspective of parent-child relations.

As discussed earlier, Hess et al. (1980) found that Japanese mothers had earlier expectations for emotional control and compliance with adult authority whereas American mothers had earlier expectations for social skills with peers and verbal assertiveness. According to the study, American mothers seem to expect children to be independent. On the other hand, Japanese mothers seem to discourage independence in children. American mothers and Japanese mothers may describe "a good child" differently.

White and LeVine (1986) found that descriptors of a "good child" by Japanese mothers are mild, gentle, patient, compliant, obedient, cooperative, and smart. They argue that these are important characteristics in a homogeneous society. The researchers explain that no conflict exists between personal goals (being a good child) and goals of social integration (being a social person) in Japan. On the other hand, Americans tend to give priority to highly individualized skills and qualities, such as independence, so that personal goals and goals of social integration may be conflicted. In Japan, the two goals are accomplished by the type of socialization encouraged in the mother-child relationship. This relationship is established by the Japanese ideas of interdependence and indulgence. Japanese mothers encourage children to work with others with appropriate ways of expressing and enhancing the self. A fully independent person who does everything for himself/herself may appear unsociable and
arrogant to the Japanese society. Engagement and harmony with others is a positively valued goal. In order to achieve the harmony with others a Japanese child needs to be "a good child" which described by mild, gentle, compliant, obedient, cooperative, and smart.

**Positive Value of Interdependency (Amae) in Japan**

Japanese people tend to see "amae" (interdependency) as an important value in mother-child relations (Kamitani, 1993). Doi (1962) suggests that the word "amae" or interdependency describes healthy mother-child relationship in Japan. Taketomo (1986) gives an example to illustrate how and why "amae" is important to use in Japan. A 26-year-old Japanese married woman remarked:

My mother has never said she was lonely because I am living away from her in New York. However, I would write to her in the pose of amae, intending to be supportive of her desire to feel that I need her. In order to express my indebtedness to her, I let her think with me. There is an aspect of her living through me. (p.533).

The woman feels that she has to show "amae" to her mother, because "amae" is an unwritten rule in Japanese society. Confucianism, which developed the Japanese moral, taught the importance of children's respect and obedience to parents (Honna & Hoffer, 1986). Japanese society is strictly hierarchically arranged, those in the top ranks (parents) are expected to show toward their subordinates (children) a kind of favorable paternalism. In return for such benevolence, children are expected to demonstrate respect and loyalty. A
parent-child relationship symbolized by "amae" is extended to various other relationships, such as husband-wife and teacher-student in Japanese society. In these relationships, the person who wishes to be cared for hopes that his/her dependency is simultaneously giving the other the delight of supporting him/her (Honna & Hoffer, 1986). Unlike the Western concept of dependency, "amae" has a positive meaning in Japan, for it can develop the sense of solidarity among people (Doi, 1992). Japanese mothers encourage children to develop the "amae" relationship with them by fostering the self-indulgent tendency to expect the help and support of individuals and groups close to the children.

**Different Parental Strategies Used in the U.S. and Japan**

It is interesting to see how the different perspectives in interdependency between the U.S. and Japan make a difference in what is considered effective parental strategies. Kobayashi-Winata and Power (1989) examined the differences in the development of child compliance with parental authority between Caucasian American and Japanese who were temporarily living in the United States. The researchers found that American parents reported the use of several kinds of external punishment, such as send to room, physically punish, and socially punish. In addition, American parents were more likely to report providing opportunities and using praise whereas Japanese parents were more likely to report repeating commands and scolding their children. The study demonstrated that Japanese parents tend to rely on verbal commands, reprimands, and explanations to achieve child compliance, whereas American
parents were more likely to report supplementing these techniques with providing opportunities, external punishments, and praise. The researchers also found that the longer the stay of Japanese parents in the U.S., the less they reported using verbal techniques to achieve compliance and the more they reported the use of external punishments.

Kobayashi-Winata and Power (1986) explain their findings by pointing to cultural differences between America and Japan. American parents may feel that it is necessary to use powerful external techniques to achieve compliance, because they often need to encourage independence and nonconformity in others. However, the group-oriented Japanese may rely on verbal means to achieve compliance because individual needs and societal needs are seen as more consistent. Japanese people believe that individual needs are generally achieved through cooperation and dependence on others, so that verbal techniques may be the most effective for Japanese children to understand why compliance is important.

Conroy, Hess, Azuma, and Kashiwagi (1980) also examined differences in strategies that American and Japanese mothers use to gain compliance from their young children. The researchers used questions from the Chicago Study of Cognitive Environments to assess control strategies. Each question includes the situation that a mother and her child is likely to encounter in their daily interactions and that is likely to evoke adult intervention. Two aspects of the responses to the control items were examined: cognitive structuring and
psychological space.

Cognitive structuring refers to the rationale appeal the mother uses in her response to gain compliance from her child (Conroy et al. 1980). Mothers' response to the control strategy items were divided into six categories: appeal to authority, appeal to rules, appeal to feelings, appeal to consequences, appeal to modeling, and appeal to questioning. An authority appeal is when a mother demands compliance and offers neither a rule nor a reason to the child verbally. For example, a mother directly states to the child the behavior expected, but did not offer any further comments. A rules appeal is when a mother offers a rule for appropriate or inappropriate behavior as a reason for compliance. An appeal to feelings is when a mother asks a child to consider how the other people might feel if the child’s misbehave to them. A consequences appeal is when a mother attempts to teach her child what will happen if the child behave a certain way. Modeling is when a mother says to the child that he or she should adopt the behaviors expected in order to be like another individual or to avoid setting a bad example for little siblings. A questioning appeal is when a mother indicates that she questions the child as to the reasons for his or her actions.

According to Conroy et al. (1980), psychological space refers to how persistent the mothers remain when their children do not listen to what they demand. The flexibility of the mothers' approach to the control strategy can be assessed by psychological space score. There are four categories of psychological space: imperative, moderated, persuasion, and yielding.
Imperative is characterized as inflexible mother's response that a mother requires the child to respond immediately to the demand. Moderated approaches are any of several strategies used by mothers to moderate or soften their demands. For example, a mother suggests compensation in the form of future rewards or offers choices on substitute objects or activities. Persuasion is a strategy that does not explicitly require compliance but attempts to persuade the child to obey. Mothers' expectations are implicit and are defined by individual contexts and cultural norms. Yielding is characterized as the most flexible responses that a mother accepts her child's inappropriate behaviors.

The results of the study (Conroy et al. 1980) showed that types of cognitive structuring is significantly different between American mothers and Japanese mothers. American mothers were more likely to employ "appeal to authority" than Japanese mothers, and less likely to report that they use "appeal to feelings" than Japanese mothers. On the other hand, Japanese mothers indicated that they preferred their appeals for compliance on feelings or consequences. The researchers explain the differences in responding by cultural differences between these countries in pattern of socialization. Japanese people rely on close personal and interpersonal ties because their goal of socialization is that affection and interdependence lead to values of the group. On the other hand, in the U.S., socialization is accomplished through direct instrumental processes with explicit rewards, punishments, and techniques of control in encouraging desired behavior.
In the analysis of psychological space, mothers in both America and Japan were more likely to employ imperative approaches (Conroy et al. 1980). However, there was a difference in their second choice. American mothers were more likely to use moderated approaches in situations where imperative approaches are not appropriate. Japanese mothers were more likely to use persuasion as an alternate approach in order to appeal to the child's internalized social norms. The researchers explain that there is an important difference in family control systems between America and Japan.

Japanese mothers believe that the child has internalized a desire to please the mothers and this desire will result in compliance. They believe that if they ask children correctly, the children will respond correctly. However, this idea may not be applied in the same way in the U.S. The meaning of psychological space in the U.S. is that it gives children additional time to think, allows them to change the way they complied, or compensates them for obedience. American mothers may expect children to listen to what they demand by using authority, whereas Japanese mothers use the idea of "amae" (interdependency) that elicits children's desire to please their mothers in order to make children follow rules.

Conroy et al. (1980) conclude that one significant difference is the greater beliefs by Japanese mothers on affective ties and bonds between a mother and a child to gain compliance from children. "Amae" (interdependency) seems to play an important role in Japanese mother and child relationship. As discussed earlier, cultural differences in socialization practices are important factors to
determine the way to regulate the behavior of their young children. American mothers tend to use more externally oriented techniques, whereas Japanese mothers are more likely to encourage internalization of parental norms because Japanese mothers' relationships with children require "amae".

Expectations that Japanese parents hold toward children, such as compliance with adult authority (Hess et al., 1980) and obedient (White et al., 1986) and how they practice child rearing, such as using indulgence, may appear contradictory to each other. However, these Japanese mother's expectations may be able to be accomplished by the Japanese indulgence parenting style, which may prevent the development of child's strong self, when an interdependent relationship exists between a mother and a child.

More specifically, White and LeVine (1986) explain that the process of getting the child to understand requires a principle which is to never go against the child. American mothers may view this manipulation of the child through indulgence as preventing the development of a strong self-will, however, Japanese mothers see long-term benefits of self-motivated cooperation and real commitment from her strategies of keeping the child happy and engaged. Taniuchi (1982) describes a process in which intimacy and supportive attention to a child are used by Japanese mothers to teach the child social standards and the need to work hard to achieve and be valued in society. Conroy, Hess, Azuma, and Kashiwagi (1980) explain Japanese mothers' strategies as "Love-oriented" rather than "Power-assertive" strategies in disciplining children. The feeling of
interdependence helps Japanese children assimilate the hopes and values of the parents, thus enhancing the children's educability.

Since there are several cultural differences between the U.S. and Japan, it is hard to apply either set of findings to the other country. Examining cross-cultural differences may be a good lesson for any society. Something which is highly discouraged in one culture, such as dependence, may be highly valued in another culture. We should recognize that there are cultural differences in different countries because if one society imposes one's value on the lives of person in other cultures, the person may lose a source of self-enhancing productivity.

A comparison study between American mothers and Japanese mothers may provide an interesting contrast for a study of maternal expectations toward children's abilities because there are known cultural differences in several strategies. For example, Japanese system functions within a tightly knit, homogeneous society that places great emphasis on uniquely Japanese values such as conformity and consensus (Piccigallo, 1988). Piccigallo also indicated that Japanese teachers discourage individual comparison. Instead, they emphasize group effort and achievement. However, these practice may not suitable to American society that emphasizes individualism and pluralism.

**Acculturation**

It is understandable that each culture has own unique values and ideas, so that people in the specific culture may behave accordingly. What happens, then,
to the people who come to a foreign country and are exposed to different cultural values and ideas? Do they persist in their original cultural values, change to believe the new cultural values and ideas, or mix different cultural values together and make it own?

Buriel, Mercado, Rodriguez, and Chavez (1991) compared foreign-born and native-born Mexican American mothers in the U.S. in their discipline strategies. The researchers found that mothers in both groups chose corporal punishment as their last choice of discipline strategy when their children misbehaved. The mothers of both groups were most likely to use "no television/no play with a friend" and least likely to use "spanking." However, there were significant differences in their second choice. Foreign-born mothers were more likely to use combination of "spanking" and "verbal reasoning" than were native-born mothers. They would first spank their child and then explain the reasons for the spanking. Native-born mothers tend to use scolding than the combination of spanking and verbal reasoning. Spanking is the least used method in both groups; however, more Foreign-born mothers used spanking than Native-born mothers did.

According to Caudill and Weinstein (1969), who compared the behavior of mothers and their infants in middle class homes in Japan and the U.S., it appeared that by three to four months of age, infants have already learned to behave in culturally distinctive ways because of the different parenting styles in two countries. Hendry (1986) examined preschoolers and their socialization
environment in Japan. The researcher concluded that the Japanese cultural ethos is learned early. Then, the question is, do these culturally distinctive behaviors and parental strategies stay the same no matter the levels of one's acculturation?

Fugita and O'Brien (1991) argue that there are important cultural elements in the persistence of ethnicity. For Japanese Americans, involvement in the Japanese American community persists despite high levels of acculturation. The researchers suggest that structural assimilation does not always result in the destruction of group cohesiveness. Though loss of cohesiveness was true of many European immigrants, Japanese immigrants remain their identity.

However, Tamura and Furnham (1993) found an interesting finding that may conflict with the idea of Fugita and O'Brien (1991). The researchers examined children who stayed in countries outside Japan with their families and went back to Japan afterwards in order to see their adaptation to the home culture of Japan. The researchers found that the longer the children stayed overseas, the more they had complaints about life in Japan and difficulties with their Japanese friends, and the less negative attitudes towards overseas life. As an example of these difficulties, Minoura (1992) introduced Jiro who moved to the U.S. at age of 6 and returned to Japan at age 13 years and 6 months. He states that:

Coming back to Japan does not mean that I become a Japanese. I don't have any "Japan" to begin with. I had to make a Japanese out of myself.
Around the time I entered senior high school, I was determined to become a bilingual who could understand both Japan and the U.S. and be a bridge between the two, although I harbored my wish to go back to America in my heart. (p 320)

How acculturation affects an individual's value systems is yet unclear. Examining children and mothers who live temporarily in cultures other than their own may help to clarify how their levels of acculturation affect their original value systems.

This study has a practical purpose. In the U.S., especially in California, there are many immigrants, and many of their children are attending American schools. However, teachers of these children may have difficulties knowing parental expectations and parenting styles. If one's parents and teachers have different expectations toward the child, the child may receive double messages regarding these expectations. Immigrant children may have a hard time dealing with different expectations between parents and teachers. This study will provide information on how parental beliefs toward children and parenting practice vary as a function of culture.

Research Proposal

In this study, the researcher collected data on Japanese mothers who are first generation in the U.S. and Caucasian American mothers in order to see if there are differences in maternal expectations about child development and their strategies. As discussed earlier, American and Japanese cultures provide a
contrast for the study of maternal expectation, and these different patterns of child rearing seem to reflected in both beliefs and practice. In this study, Japanese mothers who live in the U.S. were used because Hess et al. (1980) already found that there are significant differences in maternal expectation toward children's abilities between American mothers who live in the U.S. and Japanese mothers who live in Japan. It is interesting to see whether the expectations and parenting practices of Japanese sojourners stay consistent with Japanese expectations and ways of parenting or whether these expectations and practices have been adjusted by living in the U.S.

It is hypothesized that Japanese mothers have earlier expectations for emotional maturity and compliance with authority whereas American mothers have earlier expectations for independence, social skills with peers, and verbal assertiveness. Also, it is hypothesized that Japanese mothers use "Love-oriented" strategies whereas American mothers use "Power-oriented" strategies. The third hypothesis is that the more acculturated the Japanese mothers, the more they will share American mothers' expectation and strategies toward their children. Acculturated Japanese mothers may expect children to be independent, verbally assertive, and have higher social skills than Japanese mothers who are less acculturated. Also, it is expected that as Japanese mothers become acculturated, they are more likely to use "Power-oriented" strategies.
METHOD

Participants

Participants were 70 Japanese mothers with children aged 3 to 6 who live in the United States and 50 Caucasian American mothers with children aged 3 to 6. The numbers of participants from each category were approximately matched. Japanese participants were collected from Suika preschool in Torrance and Santa Monica. American participants were collected from the Children's Center in California State University, San Bernardino.

Procedure

The participants were given a questionnaire version of the 38-item Developmental Expectation Questionnaire (DEQ) in English or Japanese to assess mothers' expectations regarding age of mastery for a variety of early childhood achievement. The 38 items are categorized into seven variables: emotional maturity (comprised of 4 items), compliance (comprised of 5 items), politeness (comprised of 2 items), independence (comprised of 8 items), school-related skills (comprised of 3 items), social skills with peers (comprised of 6 items), and verbal assertiveness (comprised of 5 items). The scores of the seven variables are derived from the sum of the scores in the variable divided by the numbers of the items in the variable. An example of an item assessing emotional maturity is "Does not cry easily". One of the items that assesses compliance is "Does not do things forbidden by parents". An example of one assessing politeness is "Use polite forms, 'please,' to adults". "Takes care of own clothes"
is an example of independence. An example of assessing school-related skills "Read aloud a 30-page picture book". One of the items that assesses social skills is that "Shares his/her toys with other children". An example of verbal assertiveness is "States own preference when asked". Participants were asked to think about child in general and check off when they believe that children usually acquire these abilities; emotional maturity, compliance, politeness, independence, school-related skills, social skills, verbal assertiveness.

Participants were asked to write down the age that you expect children to master the skills; younger than 3 years old, 3 years old, 4 years old, 5 years old, 6 years old, and older than six years old. The expectations thus elicited presumably reflect parental beliefs about children's development.

The participants were given a questionnaire version of six hypothetical situations: refusing a vegetable, hitting with block, refusing medicine, refusing to brush teeth, disrupting shopping, and painting picture on wall, from the Chicago Study of Cognitive Environments (Hess, Shipman, Brophy, & Bear, 1968) that examines maternal control strategies. These items were previously selected by members of the American and Japanese research teams (Conroy, Hess, Azuma, & Kashiwagi, 1980). The participants were asked to imagine the situation, then asked to write exactly what they would say if their child were present in the situation described. The mothers' responses to the control strategies items will be divided into six categories: appeal to authority, rules, feelings, consequences, modeling, or to questioning.
In order to assess intercoder agreement on the Chicago Study of Cognitive Environment, the researcher of this study and an additional rater coded participants' answers into six different categories; authority, rules, feelings, consequences, modeling, and questioning. Interrater reliability correlation coefficients for six categories between two raters were tested.

Participants also were given Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA) which includes 26 items regarding: years lived in the U.S., years in a non-Asian neighborhood, years attending school in the U.S., age upon beginning school in the U.S., and age on arriving in the U.S. The scale also asks yes or no questions about whether English is their first language, and to rate their "primary values" on a five point scale, from "1" for "Highly Asian" to "5" for "Highly Western." The SL-ASIA includes 21 items covering areas of acculturation such as language (comprised of 4 items), identity (comprised of 4 items), friendships (comprised of 4 items), behaviors (comprised of 5 items), generational/geographic background (comprised of 3 items), and attitudes (comprised of 1 item). Scores can range from a low of 1.00 meaning of low acculturation (or High Asian identity) to a high of 5.00, meaning of high acculturation (or high Western identity).

The length of stay in the U.S., educational levels, socioeconomic backgrounds, occupation, if their children attend American school, Japanese school, or both American school and Japanese school, and if they have a plan to stay in the U.S., or go back to Japan in the near future were asked.
Analysis

Four main statistical tests were conducted in order to examine hypotheses of this study. The following were assessed: difference between Japanese mothers and American mothers on the Developmental Expectation Questionnaire (DEQ), effects of acculturation among Japanese mothers on the DEQ, differences between Japanese mothers and American mothers on the Chicago Study of Cognitive Environment, and effects of acculturation among Japanese mothers on the Chicago Study of Cognitive Environment. In addition, in order to avoid confounding variable, the difference in the levels of socioeconomic status between American mothers and Japanese mothers were examined.

First, seven ANOVA were used to examine if there are differences between American mothers and Japanese mothers on the six measures of DEQ. The percentile of each developmental expectations; emotional maturity, compliance with authority, politeness, independence, school related skill, social skill, verbal assertiveness, were examined among Japanese mothers and American mothers. Second, Pearson's correlation of DEQ scores on levels of acculturation among Japanese mothers was examined in order to see whether parental expectations of their children stay consistent with Japanese mothers' expectations regardless of their levels of acculturation.

Third, a comparison between Japanese mothers and American mothers on the Chicago Study of Cognitive Environment was examined by six ANOVA. The percentile of each six control strategies were examined among Japanese and
Americans. Lastly, Pearson’s correlation of control strategies on levels of acculturation among Japanese mothers were tested to see whether their parental control strategies stay consistent with Japanese control strategies.

In order to examine the influence of acculturation levels on control strategies among Japanese mothers, Japanese mothers were divided into three categories; low acculturation, middle acculturation, and high acculturation. The high acculturation group contains 28 people counted from the highest acculturation score. The low acculturation group contains 29 people counted from the lowest (this group has 29 people because participant number 28 and 29 scored the same). The percentile of control strategies used by lower and higher levels of acculturation among Japanese mothers were measured.
RESULTS

First of all, the mean numbers of categories regarding family income between American mothers and Japanese mothers were both 3 (SD=1.414) which represents $30,000-45,000 of income.

Table 1 presents the mean scores on the DEQ (Developmental Expectation Questionnaire) for Japanese mothers and American mothers for 7 summary scales; emotional maturity, compliance with authority, politeness, independence, school related skill, social skill, and verbal assertiveness. Analysis of variance was performed to examine whether there are significant differences between group means on each seven summary scales. Table 1 also indicates the ANOVA results for the two-way analysis involving Japanese mothers and American mothers’ expectation toward children's developmental skills. The results do not support the hypothesis that Japanese mothers have earlier expectations for compliance with adult authority than American mothers. Japanese mothers have significantly earlier expectations of emotional maturity, F(1,118) = 23.57, p < .001, and independence, F(1,118) = 31.45, p < .001, than American mothers. American mothers have significantly earlier expectations regarding social skill, F(1,118) = 4.11, p < .05, and verbal assertiveness, F(1,118) = 32.45, p < .001, than Japanese mothers.

Acculturation levels between Japanese and American were examined by ANOVA in order to examine the accuracy of the Suinn Asian Acculturation scale. The range of the score is between 1 (low acculturation) and 5 (high
acculturation). The mean score of Japanese mothers’ acculturation is 1.9 (SD=.66). The mean score of American mothers’ acculturation is 4.3 (SD=.20). The results of ANOVA show that these two groups are significantly different, $F(1,118) = 630.22, p < .001$, regarding their levels of acculturation. This expected findings support the validity of the Suinn Asian Acculturation Scale.

Pearson’s correlations were performed to examine six categories of DEQ scores on levels of acculturation. The result indicate that as the level of Japanese mothers’ acculturation increases, their expectation regarding emotional maturity decreases, $r(68) = .352, p < .01$. The result also shows that Japanese mothers who scored higher on the acculturation scale have lower expectations of independence, $r(68) = .282, p < .05$. It was also found that Japanese mothers who have higher acculturation levels have higher expectation on social skills and verbal assertiveness than Japanese mothers who have lower acculturation levels, $r(68) = -.266, p < .05$, and $r(68) = -.311, p < .01$, respectively. There were no significant relationships between school related skills and level of acculturation, compliance with authority and level of acculturation, politeness and level of acculturation among Japanese mothers.

Interrater reliability for six categories: authority, rules, feeling, consequences, modeling, and questioning, on six hypothetical situations; refusing vegetable, hitting with block, refusing medication, refusing to brush teeth, disrupting shopping, and painting picture on wall, between two raters were examined by correlation coefficients. Correlation coefficients for the six
categories ranged from 0.863 to 0.948. The ratings by the two raters were significantly correlated.

Japanese and American mothers differed in the types of appeals they reported they would use in their attempts to gain their children's compliance (Table 2). The most popular control strategy among Japanese mothers is appeal to consequence (49%) whereas the most used control strategies among American mothers is appeal to authority (53%). Modeling was rarely used among Japanese mothers (1%). None of the American mothers used modeling in this study. The difference between Japanese mothers and American mothers on the reports of appealing to authority is significant, $F(1,10) = 30.19, p < .001$. Compared with Japanese mothers, American mothers were more likely to report that they would appeal to authority. Approximately 53% of American mothers reported authority whereas about 20% of Japanese mothers did. There is significant difference between Japanese mothers and American mothers on the reports of questioning, $F(1,10) = 21.25, p < .001$. Japanese mothers were more likely to use questioning strategies than American mothers.

Pearson's correlation of control strategies on levels of acculturation (high and low) among Japanese mother was performed. However, none of the results was significant. The levels of acculturation did not affect Japanese mothers control strategies in this study.
DISCUSSION

The results of this study show that Japanese mothers have earlier expectations regarding emotional maturity and independence whereas American mother have earlier expectations for social skills and verbal assertiveness in their children. The results are consistent with previous studies (Hess, Kashiwagi, Asuma, Price, & Dickinson, 1980; Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985; Spence, 1985) except for the following: nonsignificant difference between Japanese and American mothers for compliance with authority, and the earlier expectations for independence among Japanese mothers.

Previous studies (Hess, et al., 1980; Bellah, et al., 1985; Spence, 1985) reported that American mothers tend to expect children to be independent. On the other hand, they report Japanese mothers are less likely to encourage independence in children. There are several possibilities for the conflicting findings.

First of all, it is very difficult to define independence. Even though dependence and interdependence have different meanings in Japanese sense, these two words tend to be used interchangeably in American literature. As discussed in the introduction, interdependency describes a healthy mother-child relationship in Japan. Since Japanese society is strictly hierarchically arranged, parents are expected to show a kind of favorable paternalism toward children. Children are expected to show respect and loyalty. In these kind of relationships, the person who wishes to be cared for hopes that his/her dependency is
simultaneously giving the other person the delight of supporting him/her (Honna & Hoffer, 1986). Not only do children depend on their parents, but the parents themselves depend on their children which make for interdependence between parents and children in Japan.

Second, because of the unclear definition of independency, measuring independency is also difficult. In order to measure independency, the mean of 8 items were used in this study. The questions are followed;

Stay home alone for an hour or so.
Take care of own clothes.
Makes phone calls without help.
Sits at table and eats without help.
Does regular household tasks.
Spends own money carefully.
Can entertain self alone
Play outside without adult supervision.

These questions may not measure "amae" (interdependence). These questions seem to assess independence in American sense. As discussed earlier, the possible confusion between the meanings of independence and interdependence should be considered. The questions for interdependence may need to ask something about emotions and feelings that parents have toward their children and also children have toward their parents. Interdependence may be described as an strong emotional tie between parent and child, whereas independence may
be examined by the behaviors of children if they depend on parents regarding everyday life, such as clothing, eating meals, playing, and so on.

Another conflicting finding in this study is that there is no significant difference between American and Japanese mothers in their expectations for compliance with adult authority. Interdependence seems to be a key factor of this conflicting finding.

Interdependent relationship between a mother and child makes it easier for Japanese mothers to control their children's behaviors (Azuma, 1986). For example, the statement that "You don't have to obey me," is actually a very powerful threat for Japanese children. Because it carries the hidden message: "We have been close together, but now you want to have your own way, so I will untie the bond between us." The message is effective because the child had assimilated the amae culture in which interdependence is the key. Stereotypical speaking, Japanese parents tend to be seen as authoritarian parents who hold control over their children. However, their authoritarian tendency may be hard to examine because it seems to be covered by interdependent relationship. This may explain the result that Japanese mothers did not have earlier expectations for compliance with adult authority compared with American mothers. Japanese mothers themselves may not recognize that they are manipulating their children by using interdependent relationship to gain compliance from them.

The unclear definitions of interdependence and independence may also affect the findings in the effects of acculturation on maternal expectations in this
study. The results of the study show that as Japanese mothers get acculturated, their expectation for emotional maturity and independence decrease. The decrease in emotional maturity supports the hypothesis, but the decrease in independence is counter to expected findings. It is also found that as Japanese mothers get acculturated, their expectation for social skills and verbal assertiveness increase. These findings indicate that as they get acculturated, they are more likely to share similar expectations with American mothers which support the hypotheses of this study.

It is understandable that Japanese mothers who scored high on acculturation scale have earlier expectations for social skills and verbal assertiveness because these two skills are something that Japanese children are not expected to have in Japan. For example, one of the items in the measurement of social skills is "Get own way by persuading friends". This type of behavior may not be encouraged in group-oriented society because it may be seen as being selfish. According to Azuma (1986), it is the sender's responsibility to produce a coherent, clear, and intelligible message in American society, whereas it is the receiver's responsibility to make sense out of the message in Japan because for a Japanese to express himself/herself too clearly is considered impolite.

The cultural differences between Japan and the U.S. may be more clear on verbal assertiveness. As discussed earlier, American mothers have an earlier expectation of verbal assertiveness than did Japanese mothers which reflects the
relative lack of emphasis on verbal expression in Japanese culture compared to American culture. Since being social integrated is important in Japan (White & LeVine, 1986), being verbally assertive may appear unsociable and arrogant to the Japanese society.

Increasing expectations for social skills with peers and verbal assertiveness among acculturated Japanese mothers may encourage their children to develop these skills which are less likely to be encouraged in Japan, so that these children can adjust better at school and to American culture. In the U.S. children need to express their feelings and thoughts to make other people understand them and get what they want. On the other hand, in Japan, talking about own feelings and thoughts may be considered socially unacceptable because in Japan "Us" talking should come first.

The results of the study show that Japanese and American mothers differed in their types of appeals to gain their children's compliance. Appeal to consequence (49%) is the most popular control strategy in Japanese mothers. The most used control strategy in American mothers is appeal to authority (53%). These findings support the hypothesis that Japanese mothers use "Love-oriented" strategies whereas American mothers use "Power-oriented" strategies.

"Love-oriented" oriented strategies, such as appeal to consequences and questioning may work best in Japanese culture. White and Levine (1986) described the process of "wakaraseru" ("getting the child to understand"), or the engaging of the child in the goals the mother has set. The main principle seems
to be "never go against the child." Japanese mothers see long-term benefits of self-motivated cooperation and real commitment from her strategies of keeping the child happy and engaged, where American mothers may view this manipulation of the child through indulgence as preventing the child from developing a strong self-will.

On the other hand, the "Love-oriented" strategies may not work for American mothers and children because of less value in interdependency. American mothers tend to use "Power-oriented" strategies because they may assume that discipline is good not only for the immediate correction of a fault or misdeed, but in the long run as well.

American mothers employ appeal to authority significantly more than Japanese mother do. However, there is no significant differences on appeal to consequences because not only is the strategy the most common one among Japanese mothers, but the strategy is the second most common one among American mothers. Japanese mother used appeal to questioning significantly more than American mothers did which also support the hypothesis that Japanese mother are more likely to use "Love-oriented" strategies than American mothers.

The levels of acculturation did not affect Japanese mothers' types of control strategies in this study. Even though Japanese mothers seem to share similar expectations toward their children as they get acculturated, their types of control strategies stay consistent with their original ones regardless of their levels
of acculturation.

As discussed earlier, there are important cultural elements in the persistence of ethnicity. Fugita and O'Brien (1991) suggest that structural assimilation does not always result in the destruction of group cohesiveness. Japanese American tend to maintain their identity whereas loss of cohesiveness is true of many European immigrants. According to these researchers, Japanese American, regardless of their generation, are more likely to stay consistent with their origin compared to European immigrants.

However, Japanese mothers change their expectations toward their children depending on their levels of acculturation, while the tendency is not seen between their control strategies and acculturation. Why do Japanese mothers change their expectation toward their children but not their parental control strategies? There are several possibilities of the different tendency between expectations toward children and parental control strategies in Japanese mothers.

First, expectation toward children and parental control strategies are totally different subjects. Expectations can be considered as beliefs and control strategies can be considered as behaviors. Generally speaking, beliefs are relatively easier to be changed compared with behaviors. Just like old saying "Easier said than done." Japanese mothers who scored high on aculturation scale may adjusted their expectations toward children to American expectations but may not be able to change their parental control strategies simply because it
is harder to be changed.

Second, it is possible that Japanese parents feel that they need to change or adjust their expectations toward children so that their children adjust better to school environment in the U.S. More specifically, since the contents of parental expectations involve children's outside the home environment, such as school, it may be harder to hold onto their original expectations. If they try to keep their expectation, their children may confront difficulties when the children interact with other children, especially with non-Japanese children. In order to get along with other children at school, Japanese children may be required to have higher social skills with their peers and be verbally assertive. On the other hand, as long as Japanese mothers keep "amae" (interdependence) with their children, "Love-oriented" control strategies may work best in order to gain compliance from their children regardless of where they live.

In a future study, a scale needs to be developed to measure "amae" (interdependency) more accurately to examine Japanese culture. As discussed earlier interdependence and independence seems to be used interchangeably in American literature, although these two have different meanings. It seems that the misusage of interdependence and independence are confounding results of a study in Japanese mother-child relationships. Since the concept of "amae" seems to affect Japanese people's behaviors, a clear definition and measurement of "amae" are necessarily to be developed in a future study of Japanese culture.
FOOTNOTES

In DEQ (Developmental Expectation Questionnaire), there are two items that almost all American participants answered they expect their children to do these after age of six. The items are "Stay home alone for and hour or so", and "Play outside without adult supervision". These two behaviors are considered appropriate parental behaviors in Japan. However, it may not be true in the U.S. because of the safety issue. In order to avoid problems in the items the ANOVA was performed without these two items to measure for independence. However, the results with and without these two items were both significant, $F(1,118) = 31.15, p < .001$, and $F(1,118) = 19.96, p < .001$, respectively.
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<thead>
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<th>Summary Scales</th>
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<td>Compliance</td>
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<td>Politeness</td>
<td>4.2 (1.05)</td>
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<td>School-Related Skills</td>
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<td>Social Skills</td>
<td>4.7 (0.82)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verbal Assertiveness</td>
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* p < .05  
** p < .01

inside the () represents a standard deviation score
Table 2

Responses to Control Situation Items Coded According to 6 Basis of Appeals

Used by Japanese(J) and American(A) Mothers (proportions)

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* p<.001
REFERENCES


