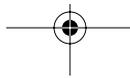
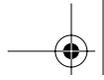
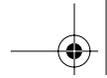


Applied Developmental Psychology in Japan







Applied Developmental Psychology in Japan

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Southeastern Louisiana University

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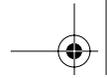
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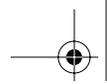


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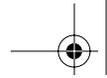




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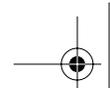
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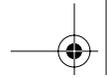
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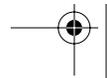
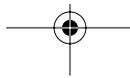
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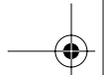


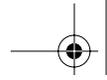


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FOREWORD

Hiroshi Azuma

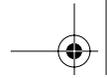


Readers may expect this book to be about psychological development in a Japanese culture that is traditional, unique and different from their own. But it is not. The context culture is Japanese, to be sure, but it is no longer simply a unique traditional culture. Instead, this volume is about development in the context of the contemporary culture of industrialized, urbanized, westernized and even chaotic Japan. The problems discussed are problems every industrialized country encounters. If this is the case, is there any reason for scholars from other modern societies to read about human development in Japan?

The first answer to this question is that Japanese developmental psychology has great potential to contribute to world psychology yet remains unknown to most scholars. Based on the current membership of the Japan Society of Developmental Psychology, there are over 3,000 developmental psychology researchers in Japan. Popular traditions and a folk psychology of child development and education (Hara & Wagatsuma, 1974) formed a background in which developmental studies became one of the most active research fields in Japanese psychology. Although contemporary developmental psychology in Japan shares methods, knowledge and theories with the world, Japanese traditions influence the attitudes and interpretations

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x FOREWORD

of researchers in subtle ways. But the potential contribution of Japanese developmental psychology has been limited by a language barrier and somewhat provincial academic incentive system. This book provides a good opportunity to acquaint international readers with contemporary Japanese psychology.

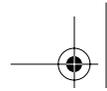
REDEFINING CULTURE

Yet the obvious need to overcome the isolation of Japanese scholarship is not the most important rationale for this book. More importantly, this volume is useful when read based on a new conceptualization of culture, which I call “functional culture.” In the contemporary world, cultures cannot remain as uncontaminated as they were in the past. People experience many different cultures through migration, traveling, reading, and information media. Cultures interact with and influence each other, and among modern cultures the well circumscribed, distinct and static system envisioned by cultural anthropologists in the early 1900s no longer exists. We therefore require a new concept of group culture beyond nationality, geography, class, and even ethnicity. All of these elements of culture are in fact malleable and fluid, and human development now proceeds in interaction with functional culture.

As I read this new book, I distinguish between “functional” and “traditional” culture. Functional culture is the total set of cultures that constitute the milieu for the activities and development of a person or a group of people. Cultural traditions are part of functional culture, but traditions are now usually more fluid or fragmented compared to the original traditional cultures of past generations, and tradition constitutes only a small part of functional culture. Functional culture in any society imports a large portion of its elements from other cultures. Such elements were quite foreign to people even a half century ago, and change and substitution of elements is constant. There may not be big difference among countries or ethnic groups in the types of such elements. As I have written previously (Azuma, 1996), a practice that at first may seem to be limited to one group may actually be clearly found in various groups, albeit with less frequency.

Nevertheless, global culture is far from homogeneous. The distribution of elements will differ from group to group due to traditional emphasis, conditions of industry and labor, natural resources, climate, or just by chance. Cultural specificity may lie not in the kind of elements but in the shape of their distribution in a multi-dimensional space. A specific bias of this distribution characterizes what I would now call group culture. With so much fluidity and exchangeability, a group culture may be a transient phenomenon. But while it is not permanent, it has certain durability



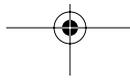


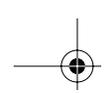
because of the co-construction of culture and person. A group culture shapes its people and the people thus shaped creates the next iteration of the culture; there may also be pressures on the individuals within a group to support the group and to maintain and display particular characteristics. Such culture forms a developmental niche not as a loose collection of fragments but as a configuration that is structured yet inevitably fluid. For this reason, any data on psychological development must be collected and interpreted in relation to regional and historical elements. Human development must be studied as embedded in a dynamically functioning group culture. Generalizability may be obtained by averaging out specificities, but then what we have will be just a dry, lifeless skeleton of understanding. More lively understanding results from carefully analyzing how specific behaviors interact with cultural conditions that are always bound by time and place. Theoretical work thus penetrates the dynamics of the person-culture interaction.

WHAT WE CAN LEARN FROM THIS BOOK

From the above perspective, let us consider the cultural context of this book. The functional culture of contemporary Japan has much in common with the functional culture of any industrialized society. The problems discussed in this volume are for the most part problems of concern in any country, including parenting, learning and teaching, developmental problems and emotional problems. But while these problems seem to be worldwide problems, the choices of problems to emphasize, the recommended ways to deal with them, and the theoretical basis of all the chapters carry the mark of Japan. I believe that the culture-specific definition of this volume as “from Japan” can sensitize the reader to certain domains of events and help us to differentiate concepts in those domains.

Perhaps the best example of an indigenous Japanese concept that has taken hold in Western psychological theory is *amae*, defined as an act of dependency with the expectation that the act will be willingly accepted as part of a close and warm relationship. *Amae* was introduced as a Japanese concept to international audiences by psychiatrist Takeo Doi over fifty years ago (Doi, 1971). However, it was gradually recognized that *amae* is an aspect of interpersonal bonds that are universally observable. Although the concept was indigenous to Japan, the phenomenon itself was not uniquely Japanese. To recognize a phenomenon as a special category of response, however, the mediation by the indigenous concept helped. I believe that some of the theoretical viewpoints advanced by the contributors to this volume likewise will be similarly recognized by international psychology over the years to come.

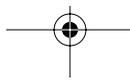


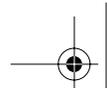


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For example, consider Ichikawa's work on cognitive counseling (Chapter 4). Having followed a number of his works, I think that his basic orientation is to shape clear cognitive foundations for further learning, akin to the goals of Glaser's IPI (Individually Prescribed Instruction) or Bloom's Mastery Learning. But Ichikawa's method of attaining this goal is different. While Glaser and Bloom proposed assessment-based individualized curricula in which the teacher was to monitor and manage learning, Ichikawa instead places the teacher in the role of a counselor. A number of researchers have pointed out what Takeo Doi called "the overwhelming importance of personal relations in Japan" (1996, p. xvi), and Ichikawa's approach mirrors this sensitivity to relationships. In Bloom's scheme, subject matter learning was primarily placed in the cognitive domain. But Ichikawa, who is both a cognitive psychologist and an educational technologist, directs our attention primarily to interpersonal aspects of learning. While the importance of interpersonal bonds in teaching and learning may seem obvious, this relational aspect has been the least exploited area in cognitive educational technology. In my opinion, the cultural milieu of Japan drove a researcher like Ichikawa to venture into this under-explored area.

The script-based language interventions of Nagasaki and Onozato (Chapter 9) provide another example of how culture guides research and theory. It was not a particularly "Japanese" method to teach language by associating it with daily life event scripts, but we should consider why their approach is so widely accepted, practiced and elaborated in Japan. The authors attribute it to the tendency of Japanese to focus attention on careful performance of instrumental routines as much as on goal attainment itself. Although they do not elaborate on such a tendency beyond the example of tea ceremony, one of my own studies with two colleagues corroborates this tendency (Mashima, Yeh, & Azuma, 1998). Children act not only to attain a goal but also because they enjoy the process of achieving the goal. This proposition is universally applicable, but the motivation studies of western mainstream psychology have primarily dealt with achievement goal-directed motivation. A relatively closed society like Japanese society, isolated from the world, tended to become zero-sum state where a gain by one of the members resulted in losses by other members. In such a state the greedy pursuit of productivity was dangerous to the society. As a result, conscientious diligence in the process of achieving became more important than even the outcome. In a society based on new cultivation like the U.S. of past generations, achieving the goal of cultivation meant increasing the wealth of the entire society. Although Japanese culture today also seems also to be strongly outcome-oriented on the surface, we also have a covert tradition against hasty or excessive achievement. As world resources are now approaching a zero-sum state, the Japanese perspective on the work ethic may deserve renewed interest.



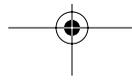


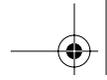
Other chapters are of particular value internationally because they concern very recent cultural problems that are spreading on a global basis. For example, Sakamoto provides a review of extensive Japanese research on video games in Chapter 1. These games are now an epidemic among children and adolescents in Japan. In view of the rapidly spreading accessibility to electronic information gadgets, this epidemic is certainly spreading far beyond the borders of Japan. Yet how many readers were aware of the Japanese data prior to reading this book? In a way, Japan had a head start in studies and evaluation of the effects of video games on the psychological development of young people. Sakamoto's work on video games demonstrates that it is critical for applied researchers to look beyond their own cultures and become aware of how global changes in childhood affect development.

A number of chapters are devoted directly to interpersonal relations, identified by Doi as a key aspect of Japanese psychology (Doi, 1996). For example, Sugawara (Chapter 11) writes about her 12-year longitudinal study of working mothers and child development. Countries differ in general attitudes towards maternal employment and support for working mothers. In a few countries it is taken for granted that mothers work full-time sharing child rearing equally with their husbands. In some others, mothers are supposed to devote their time solely to family and childcare. In Japan we combine the at-home and maternal employment tendencies depending on the local culture, and the majority practice is somewhere in between the two approaches. Does maternal employment weaken the mother-child tie and result in developmental problems? Since this issue is unsettled and is tied in with ideological positions, careful, patient and methodologically sound investigations such as Sugawara's are valuable.

Clinical psychology and research on maladaptive behavior is another rapidly growing field in Japan, and research is badly needed in this area. In this volume, school absenteeism, bullying, and child abuse are each discussed by Japanese experts (Hosaka, Toda, and Shoji, respectively). Again, these problems are found in almost every industrialized country. But since they are problems deeply rooted in the functional culture as the developmental niche of the child, the conditions, symptoms and treatments of such problems are geared toward culture. Japanese, with a strong inclination to emphasize personal relationships, provide new interpretations and alternative approaches in each of these problem areas.

As I have mentioned earlier, the cultural backdrop of the research presented in this volume is the contemporary functional culture of Japan: highly fluid and hybrid, common with other cultures in every element but different in its distribution and prioritization of elements. The authors take for granted that they are studying universally shared problems and universally applicable approaches. And this is true. But when orchestrated





as a collection by the editors of this volume, the chapters also are harmonious in the salience of issues they raise, and as a whole they suggest fresh possibilities for readers outside Japan. It may not be easy to grasp these possibilities, but the careful and open-minded reader has much to learn from these perspectives shaped in another culture.

I conclude that functional culture guides *all* research and theory, and I challenge all readers in and outside of Japan to consider how their own theories and selection of research topics are influenced by their own functional cultures. Shwalb, Nakazawa, and Shwalb wisely left it to the reader to discover the trans-cultural relevance of this collection of cutting edge scholarship. Stimulation of such thinking about functional culture's influence on theory and research may provide a good framework for a closer dialogue between applied researchers and theorists within Japan and around the world.

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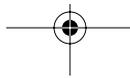
TO THE READER

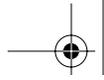
I am very pleased that this unique and seminal volume by the Shwalbs and Jun Nakazawa is part of the Applied Development Series. This set of essays reflects the rapid worldwide growth of interest in practical uses of psychology. It was the inspiration of David and Barbara Shwalb, who spent considerable time in Japan as professors and are leading promoters of Japanese developmental psychology. David Shwalb's extended periods in Japan since 1974 enabled him to become fluent in Japanese, thereby giving him an advantage over many cross-cultural researchers of limited fluency who rely on surrogate translators. What the Shwalbs and Jun Nakazawa (their research partner of 25 years) have accomplished is to edit sixteen chapters that encompass a wide spectrum of developmental research. It is particularly interesting and important to me that so much fine *applied* research is represented in this volume. I am grateful to the editors and to Information Age Publishing for encouraging communication between Japanese and Western researchers and practitioners.

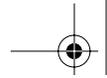
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Series Editor

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INTRODUCTION

David Shwalb, Jun Nakazawa, and Barbara Shwalb

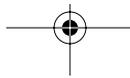


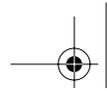
Scholarship on human development is dominated by research and theories originating from North America and Western Europe. But we believe that Japanese research on developmental psychology, which was stereotyped in the past as derivative of Western scholarship, is now reaching parity with that in the U.S. and Western Europe. This volume is a testament to the high quality of developmental psychology research in Japan.



There have been major advances in the field of developmental psychology in Japan since publication of the first English-language book on Japanese child development (Stevenson, Azuma, & Hakuta, 1986). The number of developmental psychology researchers in Japan has increased significantly, college curriculum in psychology has proliferated, and scholarly journals and books are now published in great numbers. For example, there were 24 symposia, 40 round tables, and 522 presentations at the 15th annual convention of the Japanese Society for Developmental Psychology (JSDP) in 2004. In fact, the JSDP almost paralleled the coverage of topics listed in the 2003 Society for Research on Child Development program. The chapters of this book reflect two current trends in Japanese developmental psychology. First, there has been a shift since the 1990s from the traditional emphasis on quantification, experimentation, and cross-sectional

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tional designs, toward qualitative analysis, observational methods, and longitudinal designs. The second trend is toward a focus on real-life problems via applied, intervention, and field-based studies.

Japanese research on human development includes many unique and original works, and often tests the generality of Western theories and hypotheses. Most Japanese are familiar with the work of their non-Japanese peers from reading English-language publications. However, most non-Japanese researchers cannot become familiar with the work of their Japanese peers by reading Japanese-language publications. This inequity is lessened somewhat by the growing but still small number of Japanese scholars who publish in Western journals and attend international academic conferences (Nakazawa & Shwalb, 1997; D. Shwalb, B. Shwalb, & Takahashi, 1998). Yet the work of these individuals cannot be representative of the overall breadth or depth of Japanese scholarship.

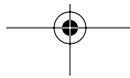
This book presents a body of applied research by some of Japan leading developmental psychologists. It consists of more than research reports; every chapter also reviews the Japanese literature to provide a general overview and introduction to work on each topic. The volume includes both issues native to Japanese culture (e.g., *manga* literacy, abacus studies at *juku*) and also topics common in Western research (e.g., media influences, child abuse, bullying).

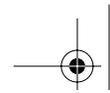
**PREVIEW OF THE FIVE SECTIONS**

Each major topic has generated strong empirical and theoretical interest in Japan. Five areas of applied Japanese developmental psychology are presented in the five sections of this book. There is, of course, significant and interesting work being conducted in other applied areas in Japan, e.g., on improvement of attachment relationships of orphanages, establishment of local support and teacher training systems for disabled preschool children, and the effects of newly developed virtual block toys on children spatial development, but not all topics could be presented in a single volume.

Section 1, "Technology and Media Influences," introduces two phenomena (video games and *manga*) that emerged first in Japan but have since spread worldwide. Japanese data on the influences of video games and television are presented because this research literature has been previously limited to data collected from European and North American populations. The review of psychological research on literacy for *manga* comics, which originated in Japan and is now growing in global popularity among young people, is probably the first of its kind.

Section 2, "Cognitive Development and Education," is of interest to those who want a greater understanding of psychological aspects of Japa-





nese-style education. Japan has a literacy rate close to 100%, is known as a society that values education, and fares well in international comparisons of academic achievement. There is a wealth of Japanese research on cognition and learning, which is represented in this book by chapters on literacy acquisition, science learning, cognitive counseling to improve metacognition, and after-school achievement at *juku* academies.

Section 3, “Children with Disabilities,” documents new interventions that assist children with physical and psychological impairments. Research on uses of cellular phone technology, scripts for language acquisition, and attachment relationships of autistic children is relevant to child clinicians and other practitioners.

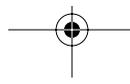
In Section 4, “Research on the Family with Policy Implications,” maternal employment, paternal absence, and child abuse are all of great interest to applied developmental psychologists in Japan. Japanese families are changing rapidly in the context of increased involvement of women in public domains, decreasing family size (average number of children per family = 1.29 in 2003), and an aging population. How Japanese scholars treat these issues is revealing to Westerners who study these same phenomena in different cultural settings.

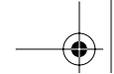
Last, Section 5, “Peer Relations,” looks at an area of great public concern. The Japanese mass media have spotlighted bullying, school refusal, delinquency, and even child homicide, as serious problem for child development and education. In an era of globalization, many children from other cultures now live in Japan, and adaptation, bullying, and peer support are key issues for those with a theoretical interest in problem behavior and the development of peer relations.



INSTRUCTIONS TO CONTRIBUTORS

All chapter contributors were asked to write about five aspects of their research: (1) applied, (2) psychological, (3) developmental, (4) cultural, and (5) theoretical. We encouraged every contributor to think creatively and speculate about the research to address all five elements. While the chapter contents are diverse, these five threads run through the volume. Contributors were asked to relate their data to features of Japanese culture, and also to explore the universal implications of their findings. Our instructions also stimulated discussions of methodologies and theories. Methods represented include ethnography, systematic observations, interviews, case history, experiments, surveys, archival research, and action research. In theoretical orientation, some contributors are rooted in American/European theories, others develop their own approach as an offshoot of Western theory, and still others are building their own theories. These





University, where he conducted research in 2002-2003. The Department of Developmental Science (Kayoko Inagaki, Chair) of the Faculty of Education (Hideaki Fujisawa, Dean) at Chiba University provided sabbatical support that enabled this work in Florida, and Professor David G. Perry was a generous host at FAU. We next acknowledge the support and encouragement of the Psychology Department at Southeastern Louisiana University (Al Burstein, Head), the Departments of Psychology (Gawain Wells and Erin Bigler, Chairs) and Marriage Family & Human Development (Craig Hart, Chair) at Brigham Young University, Kiyoshi Asakawa, Michael Lamb, Charlie Super, Tak Uemura, and Sue Vogel. We appreciate above all the inspiration of the Shwalb children (Lori Niven, Connie Blagg, Becky Franz, Davy, and Debbie) and their families, and of Sayuri and Yui Nakazawa. Finally, we thank George Johnson and Information Age Publications for their fine assistance.

DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to Seisoh Sukemune, Wilbert McKeachie, and Harold Stevenson. Dr. Sukemune, a leader in the internationalization of psychology, first introduced us in 1977 and made the Shwalbs/Nakazawa team possible. Dr. McKeachie has been a role model of kindness, professionalism, and grace over the decades. Finally we thank Dr. Stevenson, who helped bring Japan into a prominent place in the field of developmental psychology. We are indebted to these three gentlemen and to Dr. Hiroshi Azuma, who has honored us with his thoughtful Foreword.

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