A Content Analysis of Interpersonal Coping-Behavior in Japanese and German Primary School Textbooks

Rieko Tomo

1. Problems

It is sometimes said that Japanese tend to hesitate to talk directly about their ideas to others. When they have conflicts, they tend to avoid confrontations and try to accommodate each other. The expected behavior is to read the other person's thoughts rather than to make him/her voice his/her thoughts directly. The Japanese also tend to avoid dispute and discussion of their opinions in public (Nakayama 1988; Kumayama 1991). On the other hand, Western peoples tend to talk about their ideas to others. When conflicts arise between them or in a group, they tend to assert themselves and discuss the point at issue.

What causes the differences in behavior styles? One of the reasons why there are different behavior styles is that there may be different expectations placed on the children in each society to achieve educational goals. The children socialize in communities and schools according to the educational expectations of adults in each society. Adults give children general guidance toward socially acceptable behavior. Socialization also involves specific tools, such as storybooks, TV and video. School textbooks are considered to be particularly important socialization tools for raising children to be good citizens and reflect the educational expectations for future generations in each society. The behaviors displayed by the characters in the school book stories are thought to represent the behaviors that each culture regards as suitable. This study argues that such differences in behavior styles are linked to the cultural projections reflected in school textbooks.

To begin with, the content analysis of school texts is briefly reviewed to clarify their position as socialization tools. Content analysis of the school texts can be classified roughly into two types: the analysis of the methods and contents of the learning (Linton 1992; Landrum 1993; Mayer, Sims and Tajika 1995) and the value and behavior styles of the people in some area or era (Vaughn *et al.* 1989; Peterson and Kroner 1992; Ortmanns 1993; Foster and Iannaccone 1994; Sakita 1996). These papers all recognise that school texts are important tools for socialization.

193

The contents of the school texts are also used to compare the values and the behavior styles in each society through cross-cultural analysis. MINOU-RA (1975) analyzes the kinds of characters and their behaviors in the texts of two countries, assuming that the school texts reflect the value systems in each country. TOMO (1995) analyzes the family structures and communication styles in the texts of two countries, again assuming that the school texts describe the communication styles regarded as suitable in each country. These studies indicate that school texts are regarded as one expression of the values and behavior styles expected in each society.

This study analyzes coping-behavior styles using content analysis of school texts. Cross-cultural studies of the coping-behavior styles are investigated, such as KRAU (1991), HAYES and LIN (1994: 7–16) and TOMO, MASHIMA and NOMOTO (1998: 95–105). These studies contain several different definitions of coping-behavior styles, but only two kinds of coping-behavior styles are specified in this study. One is the behavior of actively contacting or stimulating others by voicing objections or by creating conflict. The other is "adaptive" behavior of accepting and adapting to others even while experiencing conflict. These coping-behavior styles are labeled primary and secondary control by WEISZ, ROTHBAUM and BLACKBURN (1984: 955–969). In the case of primary control, individuals enhance their rewards by influencing existing realities (e.g., other people, circumstances, symptoms, or behavior problems). In the case of secondary control, individuals enhance their rewards by accommodating to existing realities and maximizing satisfaction with things as they are (*Table 1*).

Type of control	General strategy	Typical targets for causal influence	Overall intent
Primary	Influence existing realities	Other people, objects, environmental circumstances, status or standing relative to others, behavior problems	Enhance reward (or reduce punishment) by influencing realities to fit self
Secondary	Accommodate to existing realities	Self's expectations, wishes, goals, perceptions, attitudes, interpretations, attributions	Enhance reward (or reduce punishment) by influencing psychological impact of realities on self

Table 1: **Overview of primary and secondary control**

Source: WEISZ, ROTHBAUM and BLACKBURN (1984: 956)

These different behavior styles may influence different behaviors in modes of self-expression, child rearing, personal relationships, philosophy and beliefs. Weisz *et al.* have suggested that people from Asian, espe-

cially Japanese culture tend to use secondary rather than primary control strategies, whereas people from Western, especially American cultures prefer primary control.

This study shows some aspects of the expected behavior styles in Japanese and German society through a statistical analysis of the behaviors displayed in elementary school texts in these societies. It is often said that behavior styles differ in Asian and Western cultures. In psychology, there are many comparative studies of Japanese and U.S. behavior styles that are generally regarded as typical of the Western culture: for example, DICKSON *et al.* 1979; CONROY *et al.* 1980; AZUMA, KASHIWAGI and HESS, 1981; HAZEL and KITAYAMA 1991; 1994. However it is also important to investigate and compare behavior between Japanese and European societies as representative of other Western societies. Weisz *et al.* have broadly classified control style by influencing existing realities under two categories: primary and secondary control. Are the theories of Weisz *et al.* useful for explaining differences not only between Japanese and American behavior styles, but also between Japanese and other Western countries' behavior styles?

A previous study by TOMO, MASHIMA and NOMOTO (1998: 95–105) examined Japanese and British text content, analyzing behavior styles like control and coping-behavior styles. The earlier findings showed that Japanese and British texts portray some different behavior styles. This result supported the secondary control aspect of the theoretical framework of Weisz *et al.* Can we expect the comparative study between Japanese and German texts to display the same tendencies as the earlier findings? If the same tendencies are displayed in the comparative study between Japanese and German texts, it might be possible to divide the behavior styles into two types, Asian and Western, in terms of secondary control as identified by Weisz *et al.* The purpose of this study is to consider the behavior style depicted in the stories of Japanese and German school reader texts for 6–9 year-old children as the behaviors deemed suitable by adult society in the two countries. This study also reconsiders whether dividing control and behavior styles into two types, in the model of Weisz *et al.*, is useful by comparing the results of the analysis of Japanese and German texts with the earlier findings from Japanese and British texts (TOMO, MASHIMA and NOMOTO 1998).

2. Method

2.1. Sources of Subject Materials

The reader books selected for this study were those used for the mother-tongue language children in the schools. Readers for these children are not used for direct teaching of the life style or behavior style of each culture, (as are home economics, religion and morality texts). Readers are principally used for teaching the children how to read and write, but they also contain adults society's unconscious expectations for their children to learn the behavior patterns that each culture regards as suitable.

Thirty-six Japanese and twenty-one German elementary school readers used for 6–9 year-old children (1st–3rd graders) were investigated in this study. The Japanese readers were published by only six publishing companies under the strict control of the Ministry of Education. On the other hand, German readers were not so strictly controlled by the central government and were therefore published by many companies. Thus, German texts were selected by checking the recommendation lists published by sixteen different state governments in Germany. The textbooks selected for this analysis were recommended in more than ten German states. Stories that had sentences illustrating stimuli toward the main characters and the main characters' reactions were selected. These totaled 118 stories in the Japanese texts and 259 stories in the German texts.

2.2. Selecting the objects for analysis

The behaviors of the stimuli and the main characters were selected for this study. First, a stimulus that influenced a main character was selected in each text. Three types of stimuli toward the main characters were categorized according to kinds, intention and direction. Kinds of stimuli were categorized as "others" and "circumstance". "Others" means that the stimuli are particular living things like human beings and animals. "Circumstance" means that the stimuli are general conditions and situations such as natural disasters, wars, and accidents. Intentions of stimuli to influence the main characters are categorized as "intentional" and "unintentional". "Intentional" means that the stimuli intend to influence the main characters' thinking and behaviors when they behave and speak to the main characters. "Unintentional" means that the stimuli are given and there is no intention to influence the main characters' thinking and behaviors when they behave and speak to the main characters. Directions of stimuli are distinguished into "positive" and "negative". If some stimuli help, reward and encourage the main characters' behaviors and situations,

196

then their directions are called "positive", while they are called "negative" if they avoid, punish, or oppose the main characters, causing the possibility of conflict.

Secondly, the most significant reactions by the main character corresponding to stimulus were also extracted from each text and observed. The types of reactions on a behavioral level, the reactions on an emotional level, and the attempts to change the stimuli were categorized. Two types of main characters' reactions on the behavioral level toward the stimuli were categorized: behavioral-level reaction styles and degrees of reaction. Behavioral-level reaction styles of main characters toward the stimuli were categorized as "accepting" and "rejecting". "Accepting" means that the main characters accept the influences displayed as behaviors, utterances and situations of the stimuli toward the main characters and expressed their own accepting behaviors, whether the directions of the stimuli are "positive" or "negative". "Rejecting" means the main characters reject the influences of the stimuli. Degrees of the main characters' reactions toward the stimuli were categorized as "active" and "passive". "Active" means the main characters react actively or willingly toward the stimuli, whether accepting or rejecting the stimuli. "Passive" means the main characters react passively.

Emotional-level reaction styles of main characters toward the stimuli were categorized as "accepting" and "rejecting" "Accepting" on an emotional level means the main characters accept the influence of the stimuli in their hearts without expressing reactions, irrespective of whether the direction of the stimuli was "positive" or "negative". "Rejecting" means the main characters consciously reject the influence of the stimuli. The attempts to change the stimuli's behaviors and situations were categorized as "changing" and "non-changing". "Changing" means that the main characters attempt to change the "negative" stimuli that oppose them. "Non-changing" means that the main characters do not attempt to change the stimuli and adapt.

Weisz, Rothbaum and Blackburn (1984) consider accepting behavioral and emotional reactions of the main characters toward negative stimuli to be secondary control strategies by which individuals enhance their rewards by accommodating existing realities and maximizing satisfaction with things as they are. Similarly, Weisz *et al.* consider rejecting behavioral reactions of the main characters toward negative stimuli to be primary control strategies by which individuals enhance their rewards by influencing existing realities. *Table 2* indicates the relationship between the stimuli's actions and the main characters' reactions. They were counted by type.

Stimuli		
A Stimuli kinds	Others	Wolf, Mother, Friend
	Circumstances	War, Typhoon, Accident
B Existence of intentions to in-fluence the main characters	Intentional	Disturbing intentionally or helping willingly
	Unintentional	Disturbing unintentionally or helping incidentally
C Direction of stimuli to influ-ence the main characters	Positive	Helping the main characters, rewarding, encouraging
	Negative	Avoiding the main characters, instigating conflict with the main characters
Reactions of main characters		
D Behavioral-level reaction style	Accepting	Accepting the stimuli's request, receiving the stimuli's help
	Rejecting	Rejecting the stimuli's request, Refusing the stimuli's help
E Degree of the reactions on behavioral level	Active	Active or willing reaction
	Passive	Reluctant or unwilling reaction
F Emotional-level reaction styles	Accepting	Consciously accepting the stimuli's request
	Rejecting	Rejecting the stimuli's request in the main characters' hearts
G Existence of attempt to change stimuli	Changing	Attempting to change the "negative" stimuli's requests and situations
	Non-changing	Not attempting to change the "negative" stimuli's requests and situations

Table 2a: **Coding Example 1**

Relation between the stimuli's actions and the main characters' reactions			
Primary control	C: Negative	D: Rejecting	G: Changing
Secondary control	C: Negative	D: Accepting	F: Accepting

Table 2b: **Coding Example 2**

3. Results and Consideration

The results are divided into two main sections; (1) types and actions of stimuli, and (2) reactions of the main characters. Types and actions of stimuli influence the reactions of the main characters. Thus, not only reactions of main characters but also types and actions of stimuli are analyzed to consider primary and secondary control. *Table 3* shows examples of the relationship between types and actions of stimuli and the reactions of main characters, using the rule indicated in *Table 2*.

3.1. Types and actions of stimuli

Types and actions of stimuli were analyzed in three steps. First, the kinds of stimuli were compared. Secondary, the relationship between kinds and directions of stimuli to influence the main characters were compared. Thirdly, intentions of "others" stimuli were compared. These analysis steps are needed to characterize the types of the influence toward the main characters.

First, as *Table 4* indicates that, in the German texts, there were more instances of "others" being the stimuli influencing the main characters. Secondly, as *Table 5* indicates, more instances of "others" stimuli having "negative" actions toward the main characters were observed in the German texts. These results indicate that the German "others" stimuli, such as "parents", "friends", and "teachers", produced more "negative" actions, such as opposing the main characters' ideas or behaviors, than the Japanese ones.

Title of story	Main character	Summary of story	Stimulus			Reaction of the main character			
			Kinds	*Existence of intention*	*Direction*	*Behavioral level reaction style*	*Degree of reaction*	*Emotional level reaction style*	*Attempt to change stimulus*
Ein besonders kleiner Hase [An especially small rabbit]	Rabbit	A wolf threatens to kill the rabbit. But the rabbit, in turn, threatens the wolf.	Others (wolf)	Intention-al	Negative	Rejecting	Active	Rejecting	Changing
Verlaufen [Lost]	Yvonne	Yvonne is lost. She hails a taxi and asks the taxi driver to take her home for free. The taxi driver is surprised, but finally accepts her request, and she is able to return home safely.	Circumstanc-es (She lost her way)	Uninten-tional	Negative	Rejecting	Active	Rejecting	Changing
Pikapika no Ufu [Shining Ufu]	Ufu	The mother tells her son Ufu to give his trousers to his little cousin because they have become too small for him. At first, he does not want to obey his mother because he loves his trousers so much. While Ufu is walking on stilts, he finally meets his little cousin and notices how much he has grown. He then willingly gives his trousers to his little cousin.	Others (mother)	Intention-al	Negative	Accepting	Active	Accepting	Non-changing
Ojisan no kasa [A man's umbrella]	Ojisan	Ojisan does not want to use his umbrella, even on a rainy day, because he does not want to get his favorite umbrella dirty. One day, a girl asks him to lend his umbrella to a boy. But Ojisan refuses. The girl lends her own umbrella to the boy, and they enjoy sharing her umbrella and talking with each other. Ojisan changes his behavior.	Others (a girl)	Uninten-tional	Negative	Accepting	Active	Accepting	Non-changing

Table 3: **Example of analysis**

Kinds of stimuli / Country	Others	Circumstance	Total	
Japan	66 (55.93)	52 (44.07)	118 (100.00)	
Germany	205 (79.15)	54 (20.85)	259 (100.00)	χ^2=21.62***
Total	271 (71.88)	106 (28.12)	377 (100.00)	

Table 4: **Kinds of stimuli**[1]

Note: *** p<.001; χ^2 =(1, N=377) =21.62, p<.001

Direction / Country	Positive	Negative	Total	
Japan	27 (40.91)	39 (59.09)	66 (100.00)	
Germany	39 (19.31)	163 (80.69)	202 (100.00)	χ^2=12.51***
Total	66 (24.63)	202 (75.37)	268 (100.00)	

Table 5: **Direction of the "others" stimuli**

Note: Frequency missing=3; *** p<.001; χ^2 =(1, N=268) =12.51, p<.001

In the German texts, for example, there is a story where some friends ("others" stimulus) object to the color ("negative" action) which the main character is using to paint her bicycle (WÖLFEL 1994). In another example, a father ("others" stimulus) opposes his son's interests (AUER 1992). His son (main character) wants to have a guinea pig, but his father tries to stop him ("negative" action) because he believes that only girls should want such little pets. His father gives him a soccer ball, a skateboard and a boomerang, but the boy does not want to play with them, continues to resist his father, and insists on having a guinea pig. These examples indicate that German children are not expected to have the same ideas as others and more often insist on their own ideas than Japanese children, who are not shown in textbooks as displaying these kinds of behaviors.

The third result observed is that there was no significant difference in respect to the proportions of unintentional and intentional actions of the stimuli between the Japanese and German texts (Table 6). This result differs from an earlier finding showing that British texts portray more negative stimuli as intentional than the Japanese texts (TOMO, MASHIMA and

---

[1] Numbers in brackets appearing in tables 4 to 10 indicate percentage values.

Nomoto, 1998: 95–105). These results indicate that behavior styles differ even between different Western cultures, at least when comparing German and British texts.

Country \ Intention	Intentional	Unintentional	Total	
Japan	38 (57.58)	28 (42.42)	66 (100.00)	χ^2=0.81
Germany	130 (63.73)	74 (36.27)	202 (100.00)	
Total	168 (62.22)	102 (37.78)	270 (100.00)	

Table 6: **Intention of the "others" stimuli**

Note: Frequency missing=1

3.2. Reactions of the main characters

Reactions of the main characters were analyzed along with the kind of coping-behavior, examining hypotheses concerning primary and secondary control.

First, as *Table 7* and *Table 8* indicate, the characters in the Japanese texts were more accepting of the "negative" actions of the stimuli on both the behavioral and emotional levels than in the German texts. These results support Weisz *et al.*'s secondary control hypothesis (1984). Some examples in Japanese texts can be shown as exhibiting this secondary control. In the story "Picapica no Ufu" [Shining Ufu] (Kanzawa, 1994: 73–87) in *Table 3*, the mother (stimulus) tells her son (main character) to give his trousers to his little cousin ("negative" action) because they have become too small for him. At first, he does not want to obey his mother because he loves his trousers so much. In the end, he notices that he has grown up, changes his mind, and willingly gives his trousers to his little cousin. The story "Ojisan no kasa" [A man's umbrella] (Sano 1994) in *Table 3* also shows how a man (main character) changes his behavior after seeing a girl's (stimulus) behavior. The girl does not know his intentions or his preferences, and she does not intend to change his behavior, but her request is "negative" action for him because he does not want to get his favorite umbrella dirty. In the end, however, he willingly changes his behavior and begins to use his umbrella on rainy days.

Even when the stimuli produced conflict toward the main characters, this was often portrayed as more warm-hearted in the Japanese texts. For example, there is a story where the mother ("others" stimulus) scolds her daughter (main character) for not tidying up her room ("negative" action)

(OISHI 1994). At first, the girl takes a defiant attitude toward her mother, but eventually she realizes that her mother is warm-hearted and she is thankful for her mother's advice. However, in the German text discussed above, the son does not accept his father's request to play with boys' toys, such as a soccer ball, and insists on his own idea. In the end, the German boy gets his guinea pig (AUER 1992).

Another example indicates how a main character can interpret the stimulus' negative actions with good intent, resulting in a change which redirects the stimulus' action or thinking. For example, there is a story where a fox (stimulus) tries to deceive a rabbit (main character) so the fox can eat the rabbit, but the rabbit continues to believe in the fox's gentle heart. On the surface the fox gives the rabbit some "negative" action, but the rabbit continues to misunderstand favorably and naively. In the end, the fox fights against a wolf to guard the rabbit from the wolf and dies. Instead of the rabbit having some strong resistance toward the fox, he simply continues to believe naively that the fox is good, and the rabbit's behavior finally changes the fox's behavior (AMAN 1994a).

On the other hand, the opposite behavior in a rabbit is shown in German texts. In the story "Ein besonders kleiner Hase" [An especially small rabbit] (JANOSCH 1998) in *Table 3*, a small rabbit threatens the wolf who tries to kill him. This rabbit actively rejects the wolf's behavior and changes his behavior. Another main character in a German text shows different behavior style from the Japanese. As the story "Verlaufen" [Lost] (HELFER 1997: 58) in *Table 3*, a little girl (main character) who is lost (negative situation) asks a taxi driver to take her home for free. The driver accepts her request, and she actively changes her negative situation.

These examples indicate that the main characters in Japanese texts are constructed to avoid major objections to, or confrontations with, the stimuli, even if the stimuli cannot agree with them. German characters, on the contrary, are expected to maintain their objections or confrontations toward others or circumstances and to insist that their thoughts are made known. These examples indicate that Japanese children are expected to maintain a harmonious relationship or atmosphere. They are not expected to express different or unique ideas to their friends and are not encouraged as much to insist on them compared with German children. At the same time, they are also expected more to change their own wishes and behaviors depending on the situation than German children. This type of behavior, as seen in the Japanese texts, is often observed in Japanese classrooms and at home. Japanese children are expected to be good boys/girls and read the adults' minds and intentions before they are told how to behave in situations where there is conflict (AZUMA 1994).

Type of reactions / Country	Accepting	Rejecting	Total	
Japan	57 (66.28)	29 (33.72)	86 (100.00)	χ^2=21.47***
Germany	78 (36.79)	134 (63.21)	212 (100.00)	
Total	135 (45.30)	163 (54.70)	298 (100.00)	

Table 7: **Corresponding reactions of the main characters on behavioral level against "negative" direction stimuli**

Note: Frequency Mssing=1; ***p<.001; χ^2 =(1, N=298) =21.47, p<.001

Type of reactions / Country	Accepting	Rejecting	Total	
Japan	69 (64.49)	38 (35.51)	107 (100.00)	χ^2=33.03***
Germany	82 (31.91)	175 (68.09)	257 (100.00)	
Total	151 (41.48)	213 (58.52)	364 (100.00)	

Table 8: **Corresponding reactions of the main characters on emotional level against "negative" direction stimuli**

Note: *** p<.001; χ^2 =(1, N=364) =33.03, p<.001

Secondly, primary control was analyzed by using the direction of the stimuli, the main characters' reaction type on a behavioral level, and any attempt to change the stimuli's behaviors and intentions. As *Table 7* also indicates, the characters in the German texts rejected the "negative" actions of the stimuli on a behavioral level more than in the Japanese texts. This result indicates that German children are expected to reject the "negative" actions and assert themselves more than Japanese children. However, as *Table 9* shows, there was no significant difference with respect to the proportions of "changing" and "non-changing" stimuli between the texts of the two countries. One of the reasons is that there were few descriptions of the attempts to change the stimuli's behaviors and intentions. This could be related to the fact that the texts analyzed in this study were for children aged 6–9. These texts were simplified and sometimes omitted detailed descriptions. In addition, it could be also related to the fact that there were some stories in the German texts left without endings because the children are expected to imagine for themselves the stimuli's reactions toward the main characters. The German texts more frequently miss a number of "changing" and "non-changing" stimuli (χ^2 =(1, N=377) =51.19, p<.001).

These results indicate that Weisz *et al.*'s primary control hypothesis is supported within certain limitations. This means that German children are expected to assert themselves when they have conflicts, but small German children aged about 6–9 are not expected to do so to the extent of changing the stimuli's behaviors and situations. This point of primary control will need to be analyzed using texts written for older children at a level where German society expects their children's developmental stage to change.

Attempt to change stimuli / Country	Changing	Non-changing	Total	
Japan	22 (75.86)	7 (24.14)	29 (100.00)	
Germany	9 (81.82)	2 (18.18)	11 (100.00)	$\chi^2=0.16$
Total	31 (77.50)	9 (22.50)	40 (100.00)	

Table 9: **Attempt to change stimuli**

Third, there was no significant difference between Japanese and German texts with respect to the categories "active" and "passive" on the degree of the main characters' reactions on a behavioral level toward "negative" actions (*Table 10*). This result differs from earlier findings that Japanese texts portray the reactions of the main characters as more active than British texts (Tomo, Mashima and Nomoto, 1998: 95–105). These results indicate that behavior styles as seen in coping-behaviors could differ between German and British society even if they are both considered "Western" cultures.

Degrees of reaction / Country	Active	Passive	Total	
Japan	15 (60.00)	10 (40.00)	25 (100.00)	
Germany	28 (49.12)	29 (50.88)	57 (100.00)	$\chi^2=0.82$
Total	43 (52.44)	39 (47.56)	82 (100.00)	

Table 10: **Degrees of the main characters' reactions against "negative" direction stimuli**

4. CONCLUSION

The results show two kinds of cultural differences. One is an inter-cultural difference between Japanese and Western culture. The other might be labeled an intra-cultural difference between two Western cultures. Weisz *et al.*'s secondary control hypothesis is not only supported by comparing Japanese and British texts (Tomo, Mashima and Nomoto 1998: 95–105) but also Japanese and German texts. Japanese children are educated more to avoid major conflicts between themselves and others compared with the two European societies. They are already socialized in elementary school to behave with a secondary control coping style. In addition, unlike the German and English children, they are expected to accommodate others or circumstances by changing their own behaviors and desires. The inter-cultural difference of behavior style in Japanese and Western cultures may support Weisz *et al.*'s secondary control hypothesis.

However, the behavior styles are not identical even in Western societies, and the results suggest behavior styles within Western societies must be analyzed in an intra-cultural study. In particluar, the results in the intention of stimuli (*Table 6*) and degrees of the main characters' reactions (*Table 10*) in the Japanese and German texts showed differences from the results obtained in the earlier study comparing Japanese and British texts. These intra-cultural differences of behavior styles could be noticed not only among "Western" cultures but also among "Asian" cultures. TOMO and TUNG (1997: 67–84) have found that sex-role behaviors in child-rearing are heterogeneous even in Asian countries that share a historico-cultural background, such as Confucianism, which places women in a subservient role. Furthermore, even in Japanese texts we can find a few main characters who insist on their needs toward the stimuli. For example, a girl has her hat taken by a giant, but she insists on getting it back from him and, through her persistence, finally recovers it (AMAN 1994b: 2–12). Such an assertive main character could not have been found in Japanese school texts 18 years ago. The expected behavior styles may, therefore, change even within one country. Thus, we also need to consider factors such as historico-cultural background which change the behavior styles within a country.

Cultural behavior styles in different countries have often been compared in cross-cultural studies which simplisticly divide them into two types, such as Asian or Western behavior, "independent self" or "interdependent self" (HAZEL and KITAYAMA 1991: 224–253; 1994), "ego-centrism" or "socio-centrism" (SHWEDER and BOURNE 1984) and "individualism" or "collectivism" (TRIANDIS 1994). However, it is necessary for cultural psychologists to reconsider the division in greater detail. We need not only to

compare these two types of behavior styles as an inter-cultural difference, but also to study the details of these behaviors or control styles by comparing more than three cultures. This style of comparative study will not only lead us to recognize the intra-cultural differences, but will also allow us to develop research that examines the differences resulting from social and economic systems which affect human behavior. If we are to consider factors such as life style, educational goals, educational systems, and the individual history of each society, the many countries considered simply "Western" must also be investigated. It is important for cultural psychologists to study the structure of "culture" to find the detailed differences between these behaviors and control styles not only inter-culturally but also intra-culturally. Studying cultures intra-culturally will help us in cultural psychology to be more specific in identifying the various factors that go into making up the behavioral differences between Asian and Western and Japanese and German cultures.

References

AMAN, Kimiko (1994a): *Kitsune no okyakusama* [Fox's guest]. In: *Kokugo 2 Jō*. Tōkyō: Kyōiku Shuppan, pp. 52–60.

AMAN, Kimiko (1994b): *Namae o mite chōdai* [Check the name]. In: *Kokugo 2 Ge*. Tōkyō: Tōkyō Shoseki, pp. 2–12.

AUER, Martin (1992): Ein richtiger Bub. In: *Überall ist Lesezeit 3: Lesebuch für Grundschulen*. München: Oldenbourg Verlag, pp.14–15.

AZUMA, Hiroshi (1994): *Nihon-jin no shitsuke to kyōiku* [Japanese discipline and education]. Tōkyō: Tokyo University Press.

AZUMA, Hiroshi, Keiko KASHIWAGI and Robert D. HESS (1981): *Maternal Attitudes, Behaviors and Child's Cognitive Development: A Comparative Study*. Tōkyō: Tokyo University Press.

CONROY, Mary, Robert D. HESS, Hiroshi AZUMA and Keiko KASHIWAGI (1980): Maternal Strategies for Regulating Children's Behavior: Japanese and American Families. In: *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology* 11, 2, pp. 153–172.

DICKSON, Patrick W., Robert D. HESS, Naomi MIYAKE and Hiroshi AZUMA (1979): Referential Communication Accuracy between Mother and Child as a Predictor of Cognitive Development in the United States and Japan. In: *Child Development* 50, 1, pp. 53–59.

FOSTER, Herbert L. and Carmen J. IANNACCONE (1994): Multicultural Content in Special Education Introductory Textbooks. In: *Journal of Special Education* 28, 1, pp. 77–92.

H AYES, Richard L. and Heng Rue L IN (1994): Coming to America: Developing Social Support Systems for International Students. In: *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development* 22, 1, pp. 7–16.

H AZEL, Markus R. and Shinobu K ITAYAMA (1991): Culture and the Self: Implications for Cognition, Emotion, and Motivation. In: *Psychological Review* 98, 2, pp. 224–253.

H AZEL, Markus R. and Shinobu K ITAYAMA (1994): Sense, Culture, and Sensibility. In: K ITAYAMA, Shinobu and Markus R. H AZEL (eds.): *Emotion and Culture: Empirical Studies of Mutual Influence.* Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association, pp. 23–50.

H ELFER, Hannes (1997): Verlaufen. In: *Die Fibel.* Braunschweig: Westermann, p. 58.

J ANOSCH (1998): Ein besonders kleiner Hase. In: *Die Kunterbunt Fibel.* Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Schulbuchverlag, pp. 93–95.

K ANZAWA, Toshiko (1994): Picapica no Ufu [Shining Ufu]. In: *Shōgaku kokugo 1 Ge.* Ōsaka: Ōsaka shoseki, pp. 73–87.

K RAU, Edgar (1991): *The Contradictory Immigrant Problem: A Sociopsychological Analysis.* New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

K UMAYAMA, Akihisa (1991): *Suisei bunka to yūsei bunka* [Aqueous culture and oleaginous culture]. Tōkyō: Taishūkan.

L ANDRUM, Eric R. (1993): Identifying Core Concepts in Introductory Psychology. In: *Psychological Reports* 72, 2, pp. 659–666.

L INTON, Simi (1992): Analysis of Information about Television in Developmental Psychology Textbooks. In: *Teaching of Psychology* 19, 2, pp. 82–86.

M AYER, Richard E., Valerie S IMS and Hidetsugu T AJIKA (1995): A Comparison of How Textbooks Teach Mathematical Problem Solving in Japan and the United States. In: *American Educational Research Journal* 32, 2, pp. 443–460.

M INOURA, Yasuko (1975): Value Orientations Found in British Columbian and Japanese Schoolbooks: The 1920's – the 1970's. Master's thesis, Victoria University.

N AKAYAMA, Osamu (1988): "*Bokashi" no Shinri: Hitomishiri shinwa-gata bunka to nihon-jin* ["*Bokashi*" psychology: shy of strangers affiliation culture and Japanese]. Tōkyō: Sōgensha.

O ISHI, Makoto (1994): *Okāsan no te* [*Mother's hand*]. In: *Kokugo 3 Jō.* Tōkyō: Kyōiku Shuppan, pp. 8–13.

O RTMANNS, Annelie (1993/94): Rollenbilder im Wandel – Mann und Frau in japanischen Sozialkundebüchern von 1945 bis 1993. In: *Japanstudien* 5, pp. 281–309.

P ETERSON, Sharyl B. and Traci K RONER (1992): Gender Biases in Textbooks for Introductory Psychology and Human Development. In: *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 16, 1, pp. 17–36.

SAKITA, Tomoko (1996): Subconscious Japanese Sexism as Seen in Content Analysis of English Textbooks. In: *The Japanese Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 36, 1, pp. 103–113.

SANO, Yōko (1994): Ojisan no kasa [A man's umbrella]. In: *Kokugo 1 Ge*. Tō-kyō: Kyōiku Shuppan, pp. 4–15.

SHWEDER, Richard A. and Edmund J. BOURNE (1984): Does the Concept of the Person Vary Cross-culturally? In: SHWEDER, Richard and Robert LE-VINE (eds.): *Culture Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 158–199.

TOMO, Rieko (1995): Content Analysis of Japanese and British Textbooks: Sex Role of Child-rearing Behavior. In: *Boshi Kenkyū* 16, pp. 79–89.

TOMO, Rieko and Chao-Huei TUNG (1997): Content Analysis of Japanese and Taiwanese Textbooks: Sex Role of Child-rearing Behavior. In: *Journal of Koshien Junior College* 16, pp. 67–84.

TOMO, Rieko, Mari MASHIMA and Tomoko NOMOTO (1998): Content Analysis of Interpersonal Coping-behavior in Japanese and British Primary School Textbooks. In: *Japanese Journal of Educational Psychology* 46, 1, pp. 95–105.

TRIANDIS, Harry C., (1995): *Individualism and Collectivism*. Boulder: West-view Press.

VAUGHN, Roberson C., Gail E. TOMPKINS, Mary E. HITCHCOCK and Mary OLDHAM (1989): Sexism in Basal Reader: An Analysis of Male Main Characters. In: *Journal of Research in Childhood Education* 4, 1, pp. 62–68.

WEISZ, John R., Fred M. ROTHBAUM and Thomas C. BLACKBURN (1984): Standing out and Standing: The Psychology of Control in America and Japan. In: *American Psychologist* 39, 9, pp. 955–969.

WÖLFEL, Ursula (1994): Die Geschichte vom grünen Fahrrad. In: Lesefuchs II. Klasse 3. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Schulbuchverlag, pp. 25–26.